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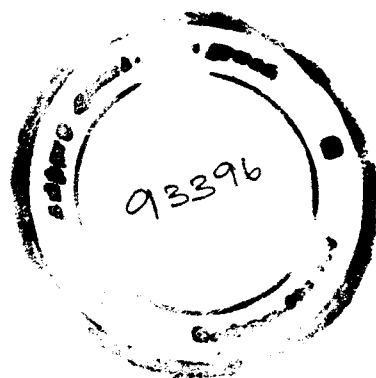
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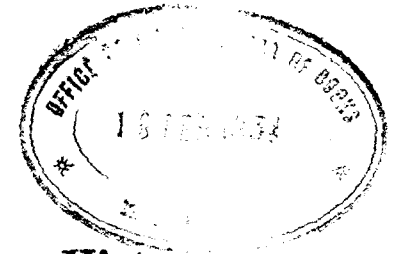
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Journal of Indian History

Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and His Times

By

MR. S. N. PRADHAN, M.Sc., Ph.D., Brihaspati.

(Continued from page 183 of Vol. XII, Pt. II.)

I now proceed to show how seriously mistaken is the supposition made by H. that, at the time of Dṛti Aindrota, Janamejaya was dead and the Kuru kingdom was occupied by Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni. In this connection H. has referred us to the Vedic Index 1, 373. We consult the Vedic Index and find it has never indulged in such bold speculations. Now from the Chāndogya Upa- niṣat (V. 11, 1—2.) we learn that Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi, etc., consulted together at the house of their reverend teacher Uddālaka Āruṇi. This shows that Uddālaka Āruṇi was, to a certain extent, contemporary with Satyayajña's father Puluṣa who was according to the Jaim. Up. Br. (III, 40, 2.), the pupil of Dṛti Aindrota. Dṛti's father Indrota officiated as a chief priest in the Āśvamedha instituted by Janamejaya. In any great sacrifice whether Āśvamedha or Vājapeya or Rājasūya, no less than 16 to 20 priests were necessary. Vedic literature does not inform us as to who the other priests were, and it is exactly in this direction that light comes from the Vāyu, Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa. The Matsya (50, 57—65) says:—"Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, made Vājasaneyā (= Yājñavalkya) his Brahman priest. For this Vaiśampāyana cursed Janamejaya and his Vājasaneyin priests. From that time on account of the curse of Vaiśampāyana, officiating priests of a Kṣatriya became ruined and no brāhman would officiate for a

Kṣatriya. Janamejaya propitiated the deity Prajāpati with Paurṇamāsa oblation, but Vaiśampāyana entered the sacrificial hall and prevented him. Still Janamejaya became a great Vājasaneyaka (i.e. a follower of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya), after performing two Aśvamedha sacrifices. Thus by appointing the Ṛṣi Vājasaneyā (=Yājñavalkya) in that *sattra*, Janamejaya quarrelling with the brāhmanas (i.e. the followers of Vaiśampāyana), became cursed and went away to a forest."

The Vāyu (99, 250—255) says that Janamejaya made the Vājasaneyins his priests, and for this, Vaiśampāyana cursed him out of anger. Still Janamejaya worshipped the deity Prajāpati with the Paurṇamāsa oblation and obtained his desire in the sacrifice in honour of that deity. He performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to the formulas and regulations of Vājasaneyā (=Yājñavalkya). Thus after giving a practical start to the Vājasaneyā Veda (i.e. the White Yajurveda), Janamejaya became stunted or powerless amongst peoples of which the Aśvakas were the head in the north, the Aṅgas in the east, and the Mid-Indians. (Perhaps these peoples rebelled and Janamejaya lost all his control over them). After the quarrel with the brāhmanas (of the opposite school), Janamejaya being cursed went away to a forest.

The Brahmanḍa version of the account says that Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, the son of Abhimanyu, instituted a Vājasaneyā sacrificial session which was not protected by Vaiśampāyana who angrily cursed Janamejaya saying "you ill-advised king, your word will not endure as long as I continue to live." Thus cursing Janamejaya, Vaiśampāyana remained near Janamejaya during that Vājasaneyā sacrificial session. Henceforth on account of the curse of that high-souled Vaiśampāyana no priest would officiate in a sacrifice started by a Kṣatriya. Janamejaya offered the full-moon day oblation to the deity Prajāpati and performed the two Vājasaneyā horse-sacrifices. Thus after giving a practical start to the Vājasaneyā Veda (i.e. the White Yajurveda), Janamejaya became stunted in three ways, and being cursed by the brāhmanas (i.e. Vaiśampāyana and his followers) in a quarrel with them, went away to a forest.

Thus it is clear from the combined narratives of the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa and Matsya that Janamejaya appointed Vājasaneyā

Yājñavalkya and his followers and pupils, the Vājasaneyins, as priests in the two Aśvamedha sacrifices instituted by him. Vaiśampāyana cursed him and his Vājasaneyin priests. Still Janamejaya gave a practical start to the White Yajurveda by performing two Aśvamedha sacrifices according to Vājasaneyā regulations and formulas i.e., the sacrificial formulas prescribed by Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya. But afterwards the brāhmanas of the opposite school fomented a rebellion against Janamejaya and he lost all his control over the three dependent provinces of his empire. Thus the result of this was that he had to go away to a forest never to come back again and nobody knew his whereabouts after that event.

This sort of detailed information can only spring from a source which has the surest foundation of truth. The Purāṇas are not tired of hammering on us the contemporaneity of Yājñavalkya with Janamejaya. Thus the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata say that Yājñavalkya taught the Vedas to Janamejaya's son Śatānīka. The Mahābhārata says that Uddālaka Āruṇi's fellow-student Baidā was invited by Janamejaya to officiate as one of his priests. It says again that it was on account of the instigation of this Baidā's pupil Uttānka that Janamejaya instituted the *sarpa-sattra* when he finished his conquest of Takṣaśilā. It also says that Yājñavalkya was the pupil and nephew (=Bhāgineya = sister's son) of Vaiśampāyana. It further says that Uddālaka Āruṇi with his son Śvetaketu attended the *sarpa-sattra* of Janamejaya. The Purāṇas, as I have already stated in this essay, describe the quarrel between Yājñavalkya and his teacher Vaiśampāyana in great detail. I have also shown in the Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1932, from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that the *adhvaryu* priest Yājñavalkya was cursed by the *adhvaryu* priest Caraka who was no other than Vaiśampāyana, and that absolutely establishes the contemporaneity between Yājñavalkya and Janamejaya. I have also shown that the use of *lañ* in the sentence 'kva Pārikṣitā abhavan' used by Bhujyu Lāhyāyani establishes it beyond all doubt that the death of Janamejaya and his brothers was a very recent event with reference to the time of debate in Mithilā. After all, synchronisms in the running Purāṇic account of royal dynasties in the Vāyu, Brahmanḍa, Matsya and Viṣṇu are seldom wrong.

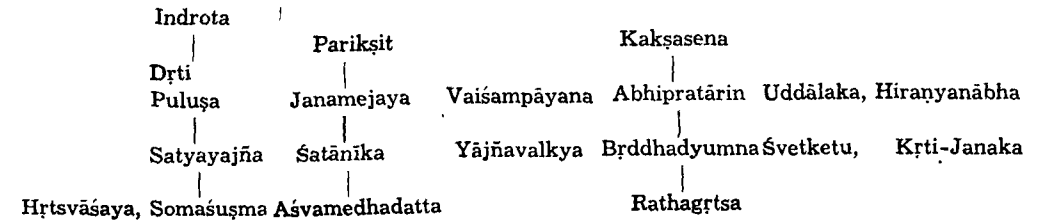
Again Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara in the introduction to his commentary on the Taittirīya Saṃhitā says: "Formerly the illustrious worshipful

Vyāsa for the benefit of the world divided the Vedas and separated their branches. He employed his pupil Vaiśampāyana in the work of supervising *yajus* branches; he (Vaiśampāyana) verily spoke that reading to Yājñavalkya; and he (Yājñavalkya), to Tittiri; and he (Tittiri) too, to Ukha; and Ukha gave it to Ātreya and had by him the division of *pādas* made; hence this branch i.e. the Taittirīya Samhitā, is called the Ātreya Śākhā.

Mahidhara also says in the introduction to his commentary on the White Yajurveda: "Vaiśampāyana, the pupil of Vyāsa, taught the Yajurveda to his pupil Yājñavalkya and others. Once Vaiśampāyana being angry for some reason, said to Yājñavalkya, 'Give up what I have taught thee.' He (i.e. Yājñavalkya) made his vedic knowledge embodied by means of his power in Yoga and vomitted it forth. The other pupils of Vaiśampāyana being asked by their teacher to take up the vomitted *yajuses*, became Tittira birds and ate them up. These *yajuses* became black owing to the weakness of intellect. Then Yājñavalkya praying to the Sun-god, received the other white *yajuses*."

Thus it will appear that there is a continuous tradition running from the times of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Mahābhārata to those of ours that Yājñavalkya was contemporary with Vaiśampāyana, the Mahābhārata professor at the court of Janamejaya Pārikṣita. These considerations will convince all historians that on the genealogical table Janamejaya must have a position which will make him a contemporary of both Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka as well as Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya, and in order that he may have such a position, it cannot but be held that he was a much younger contemporary of Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka. Hence he must be placed in the same generation with Puluṣa Prācinayogya, the pupil of Dṛti Aindrota. This Puluṣa might have belonged to almost the same generation with his teacher Dṛti. As Uddālaka Āruṇi is very reverentially spoken of by Satyayajña, the son of Puluṣa, Buḍila Āsvatarāśvi and Indradyumna Bhāllaveya in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (V, II, 1—2), therefore Uddālaka should be placed in the same step with Puluṣa and therefore with Janamejaya. This conclusion is also unavoidable from a comparison of the lists of Sāmavedic and Atharvavedic teachers with the pedigree of Janamejaya, as I have shown long ago in my Chronology of Ancient India and as V. has already pointed out in the Bhandarkar Annals (Vol. XIII,

part III-IV, 1932). The following table is illustrative of the relative positions of persons mentioned:



The table shows that old and experienced Indrota almost equal in age to the grandfather of Janamejaya performed sacrifices for Janamejaya. He was the chief (probably Hotṛ) priest as the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas say, but it is well-known to every Vedic scholar that in a Vedic sacrifice, no less than 16 priests were necessary: Hotṛ, Udgātṛ, Adhvaryu, Brahman, Prastotṛ, Pratihartṛ, Maitrāvaruṇa, Brāhmaṇacchamsin, Nestṛ, Potṛ, Āgnidhra, Sadasya, Subrahmaṇya, Grāvastotṛ, Unnetṛ, Accāvāk, Pratiprasthātṛ, etc. The more, the better. Indrota was probably the chief Hotṛ priest, and as such, has been mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. But who were the other priests? It is exactly at this point that light comes from the Vāyu, Brahmaṇḍa and Matsya. They say that Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and his followers the Vājasaneyins were there. For this reason, Vaiśampāyana, the leader of the opposite school, namely of the Carakas and Taittirīyas, became angry and cursed Janamejaya and his Vājasaneyin priests. After this Janamejaya had to retire to a forest and perish. This is exactly the point on which Yājñavalkya was asked by Bhujyu at the court of Janaka.

The events with regard to Yājñavalkya and his contemporaries happened in the following order: First of all there was a quarrel between Yājñavalkya—the pupil, and Caraka Vaiśampāyana—the teacher, in connection with the latter's expiation of *brahma-vadhyā*; then Yājñavalkya after giving up the teaching of the Black Yajurveda, become engaged in compiling and composing the White Yajurveda. At the same time, the other pupils of Vaiśampāyana began wandering about in various places like Āsvaka, Madra etc., in the north where Śyāmāyani, Kaṭha, Kalāpin and their associates were despatched as the Carakas one of whom was Bhujyu Lāhyāyani; Āṅga and other countries in the east where Ālambi, Phaliṅga, Kamala and their associates were sent; the countries in mid-India

where Aruṇi, R̥cābha, Tāṇḍya with their associate Carakas wandered about teaching the Black Yajurveda. Then after a short time Yājñavalkya and his pupils the Vājins began to collect reputation as starters of a new rival school of the Yajurveda and this reached the ears of the King Janamejaya who being influenced by Yājñavalkya and his followers, performed two horse-sacrifices in the Āsandivant country according to the sacrificial formulas prescribed by Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya. In one of these, Indrota Daivāpa, and in the other Tura Kāvaṣeya were the chief Hotṛ priests. Caraka Vaiśampāyana was present in the last of these sacrifices and tried to prevent Janamejaya from doing it according to the formulas of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya. Failing in his attempt, Vaiśampāyana very probably fomented a rebellion through the agencies of his Caraka disciples and compelled Janamejaya to abdicate whereupon the latter retired to a forest and perished. Then a very short time after, that is, within 5 years from the death of Janamejaya and his brothers, Janaka Vaideha held his sacrifice, and Bhujyu Lāhyāyāni who, in the meantime, returned from his expiatory wanderings in the north, debated with Yājñavalkya about the ill-fate of the sons of Parikṣit, of which he had heard while he was in the Madra country.

It is now clear from the foregoing table and accounts that Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni, having been a contemporary, younger or older, of Dṛti belonged to a step above or was an older contemporary of Janamejaya. It is really difficult to understand how the Vedic Index (I, 373) could help H. to infer the obvious death of Janamejaya at the time of Dṛti Aindrota and the occupation of the Kuru throne by Abhipratārin. The matter is not so obvious as it has been supposed to be. The Vedic literature nowhere says that Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni ever occupied the Kuru throne which was at Hastināpura. He only belonged to the Kuru family, but the sceptre was wielded by Parikṣit, Janamejaya, Śatānika, Aśvamedhadatta, Adhisimakṛṣṇa, Nṛcakṣas etc. successively, with Hastināpura as the capital. Abhipratārin was a petty king with a small principality as his kingdom, and took interest in theological discussions with brāhmins in sacrifices, and as such, has been mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (III, 156, Journal of the American Oriental Society 26, 61.) states that his sons divided his property amongst themselves while he was yet alive. Neither was he the king of Indrapat as H. has supposed (P. H. A. I., 1st ed., p. 15.). It was on the throne of Indraprastha that Arjuna Pāṇḍava installed Vajra, the great grandson of Kṛṣṇa

Vāsudeva, as king, and hence a line of the Yadus used to rule there and that Vajra, having belonged to the same step with Janamejaya, was a younger contemporary of Abhipratārin. The latter seems to have held his principality far away from the Kuru capital Hastināpura, and the above table illustrates that he was contemporary partly with Parikṣit and partly with Janamejaya.

Now had H. consulted the Vedic texts in the Original he would have perceived that the name of the Vedic teacher in the R. L. Mitra edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is 'Dantābala Dhaumra' and not 'Dantabāla Dhaumra', as he has taken it to be. Neither has he been sufficiently careful to note even the diacritical mark made by V. over the vowel 'a' after 't' in the name 'Dantābala.' As I have already noticed elsewhere that the R. L. Mitra edition of the Gop. Br. contains not a few corrupt readings. Gaastras' edition has improved it into 'Dantāvala.' This is phonetically equivalent to 'Dantāla', as every scholar acquainted with Vedic phonology is aware of. How easily the semivowel 'v' is elided due to phonetic decay in Vedic speech which was handed down mainly by oral tradition will be clear when we remember the following few instances:—

Vṛṣabha (RV. 1, 31, 5, etc.) becomes Ṛṣabha (AV. 9, 4, 3 etc.)

Suvarga (TS. 7, 2, 1, 1) becomes Svarga (VS. 15, 10)

Suvarṇa becomes Svarṇa

Samvardhana becomes Samardhana

Even personal names in the Brāhmaṇa literature have suffered phonetic decay. Thus Pratidarśa Vaibhāvāta, the famous Pāñcāla king and teacher mentioned in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (II, 276-8) is variantly named as Pratidarśa Aibhāvata mentioned in the Madh-Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII, 8, 2, 3.). There are numerous words in which the syncope of the semi-vowel 'v' takes place in accordance with rules noticed in Prakrit grammar. Thus Malāvāra becomes Mallāra; Kumāravana, Kumāun; Vakṣu, Oxus; Yavana-pura, Jaunpur; Lāvāṇaka, Lāanaa; Amarāvātī, Amroṭi; Devakula, Deul; Valabhī, Ollā and so forth. Pischel notices the following in his Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen: Kalevara become Kalera; suve, sue; evam, em; evam ete, em, ee; evam eva, em, ea; etc. Dr. L. H. Gray notices the following in his Indo-Iranian phonology: Skt. Jīva 'life' Prak. Jīa; Skt. divasa 'day' Prak. diāha; Skt. Upaviṣṭa 'seated', Prk. Uvaiṭṭha, Hindi, Pañj. Bāiṭh; Skt. dhavala

'white,' Uria, Beng. dhalā; Iranian Avesta gāv 'cow', Pahlavi, New Pers. go; Avesta Yava 'barley,' Kāsāni Ya. The loss of Indo-Iranian 'v' gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Thus ava becomes ā in the following:

Skt. Prabhavāmi 'am able', Prk. pabhavai, Pali pabhavāmi, Gāthā prabhāmi.

Skt. sambhavanti 'are able', Prk. sambhavai, Pali sambhavati, Gāthā sambhānti.

Contraction of āvi to ā

Skt. āviṣkṛta 'manifest' Pahl. āškārāk, New Pers. āškār (ā)—this has crept into Beng. Hindi, Panj. etc.

Hence the simpler contraction āva to ā

Skt. Malāvāra, Prk. Mallāra.

Maith. Hāvaldāra, Beng. Hāldār.

Skt. Lāvāṇaka, Prk. Lāanaa, Lāna

Thus the syncope of the Indo-Iranian 'v' takes place after a, ā i, u, e, ai, etc., with the slightest modification of the lip in pronunciation in accordance with the rules noticed in Prakrit grammar. After all there was Prakritism in Vedic speech. Not only the semi vowel 'v' but also 'y' is elided producing phonetic decay after the vowel ā. A well-known illustration of it is afforded by the syncope of 'y' in Skt. Kātyāyana, Pali Kaccāyana, Kaccāna.

Now it is clear that there has been a phonetic decay of the form 'Dantāvala' into the form 'Dantāla'.

It should be noticed here that instead of the phonetic decay from the form 'Vaibhāvata' to the form 'Aibhāvata', there has been a prothesis of 'v' in the form 'Vaibhāvata' from 'Aibhāvata', as Dr. Gray has illustrated in the following:—

Skt. uccate 'is said,' Prk. vuccai, Saur. Māg. Prk. vuccadi, Pali vuccati.

Skt. ukta 'said,' Prk. (inscr. of Girnar) vuta.

Skt. uṣita 'inhabited' beside vasita, Pali vutha, vusita.

Accordingly we obtain the equation: Dantāvala = Dantāla. Thus the older form 'Dantāvala' has been preserved in the later Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

Now as regards the second component 'Dhaumra,' it is well-known to students of Vedic, Epic, and Puranic literature in the original that 'Dhaumya' was the famous brāhmanic gotra-title and not 'Dhaumra'. A certain Dhaumya was the priest of the Pāṇḍavas. Uddālaka Āruṇi's fellow-student Baidā who was appointed by Janamejaya Pāriksita to become one of his priests, was the pupil of Āpoda Dhaumya. Here in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa we have Dantāla Dhaumya the teacher of the Mahāvṛṣa king Hṛtsvāsya Allakeya. Here is also an influence of Prakritism in this change from 'Dhaumya' to 'Dhaumra,' for the semi vowel 'y' is noticed to change into 'r'. Thus

Skt. Śramaneya 'novice,' Pali Sāmaṇera

Skt. Snāyu 'sinew,' Jain. Prk. ṇhāru, Pali nahāru, Sinhalese naharaya. We know the following equations:

- (1) Taittireya = Taittiriya = Taittiriya.
- (2) Sūriya = Sūrya
- (3) Vājasaneya = Vājasanya.

From the above it will be perceived that the suffixes 'eya', 'iya', and 'ya' were the same and interchangeable. Thus 'Śramaneya' could easily become 'Śramanya' and then become decayed into 'Sāmanra'. Thus 'Dhaumya' has easily changed into 'Dhaumra' and this change is evidently due to Prakritism. Hence the form 'Dhaumra' should be emended into 'Dhaumya'.

Again H. has been shocked to learn V's suggestion for the emendation of a name occurring in a printed text of the Veda namely, of 'Dantābala Dhaumra' into 'Dantāla Dhaumya', and yet the truth is that lots of words in printed texts of the Veda badly require emendation. Ignorant and orthodox people who believe that the Vedas have been pronounced by the four mouths of the four-headed Brahman (also named as Veda-Puruṣa) may, in their state of blessed ignorance, object to such emendations of Vedic texts, but

critical scholars are no respectors of blind religious and ignorant beliefs. They know that

Ṣaṇḍika Audbhāri (MS. 1, 4, 12) should be emended to Khaṇḍika Audbhāri (Śat. Br. 11, 8, 4, 1—6; Tāṇḍ. Br. 13, 10, 8; Śāṅkh. Br. 7, 4; etc.).

Ṛtuparṇa Bhaṅgyaśvin (Āpst. Sr. S. 21, 20, 3) should be emended to Ṛtuparṇa Bhāṅgāśvina (Baudh. Sr. S. 18, 13).

Para Ahṇāra Hiranyanābha (Śāṅkh. Śr. S. 16, 6, 11—13) should be emended to Para Āṇāra Hiranyanābha (Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4, 4).

Para Ahṇāra (Tāṇḍ. Br. 25, 16, 3) should be emended to Para Āṇāra (TS. 5, 6, 5, 3; Jaim. Up. Br. 2, 6, 11; Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4, 4; etc.).

Para Āṇāra (KS. 22, 3) should be emended to Para Āṇāra.

Śunaskarṇa Bāṣkiha (Tāṇḍ. Br. 17, 12, 6) should be emended to Śunaskarṇa Vārṣṇyaka (Jaim. Br. 2, 167).

Bharatānām manasvatyā (Tāṇḍ. Br. 14, 3, 13) should be emended to Bharatānām anasvatyā (Jaim. Br. 3, 183).

Namī Sāpya (Tāṇḍ. Br. 25, 10, 17) should be emended to Namī Sāyya (RV. 1, 53, 7; 6, 20, 6).

Pravati Kāśānteya (Jaim. Br. 2, 431) should be emended to Proti Kauśāmbeya (Śat. Br. 12, 2, 2, 13).

Kusurvinda (Jaim. Br. 2, 431) should be emended to Kusuru-vinda (Śat. Br. 12, 2, 2, 13; Tāṇḍ. Br. 22, 15, 10; TS. 7, 2, 2, 1).

Citra Gāṅgyāyani (Śāṅkh. Ar. 3, 1) should be emended to Citra Gauśrāyani (Śāṅkh. Br. 23, 5).

Gośrut Vaiyāghrapadya (Śāṅkh. Ar. 9, 7) should be emended to Gośruti Vaiyāghrapadya (Chāṇḍ. Up. 5, 2, 3).

Gṛtsamada Bābhṛava (Śāṅkh. Br. 22, 4) should be emended to Gṛtsamada Bhārgava.

Rīkayus (Śāṅkh. Br. 26, 5) should be emended to Alikayus.

Janamejaya Pāṅkṣita (Gop. Br. 1, 25) should be emended to Janamejaya Pārikṣita.

There are numerous other instances to show that many corruptions have crept into the printed and manuscript texts of the Veda. The Schroeder edition of the Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā is full of corrupt readings, and the R. L. Mitra edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is no better. Even the Gaastra edition, though much better than the Mitra edition, requires further improvement. The A. S. B. edition of the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa contains corrupt readings in every third page. Emendations have been suggested even in the texts of Max Müller's second edition of the R̥gveda. No critical scholar is shocked to learn that it is necessary to emend even the Vedic texts.

H. thinks that he can discount the value of the reference to Dantāvalā Dhaumra for chronological purposes simply because it occurs in the mythical legend of Janamejaya and two ganders. Now if one goes on discounting the chronological values of incidents mentioned in the Vedic literature, one will, I am afraid, have to reject the value of almost the whole mass of Vedic literature, for there is mythology in almost every Vedic legend. A perusal of a portion of the Vedic literature in the original, Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, Hillebrandt's Vedische Mythologie etc., will convince every student of the Veda that almost the whole of Vedic literature bristles with mythology. And yet the chronological values of Vedic legends are indeed very great. Let us take a few instances. The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (III, 237-8) mentions Viśvāmitra and his nephew Jamadagni in connection with the mythical legend of the Ikṣvāku King Bhayada Āsamātya and the Vedic god Indra and the river Indus, making Viśvāmitra contemporary with Bhayada. Any Vedic scholar who has some historical sense can at once catch that the contemporaneity of Viśvāmitra with Bhayada, the son of Āsamāti of the Ikṣvākus is beyond all doubt. The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 53-4) says that the Pāṇcāla teacher Sutvan Yājñasena became a golden bird and sat on the sacrificial post and talked with the Pāṇcāla king Keśin Dālbhya who called the golden bird a bitch. Scholars will at once realize that the Pāṇcāla teacher Sutvan Yājñasena was contemporary with the Pāṇcāla king Keśin Dālbhya in spite of the mythology that Sutvan became a golden bird and sat on the sacrificial post and talked with Keśin. The R̥gveda (III, 33), the Bṛhaddevata (IV, 108), the Ārṣānukramaṇī (III, 7), the Sarvānukramaṇī etc., refer to Sudās Paijavana in the mythological legend of the seer Viśvāmitra and the two rivers—the Vipās and the Śutudrī; and yet there is not a shadow of doubt that Viśvāmitra was contemporary with Sudās Paijavana,

Rathavīti and his daughter are referred to in the mythological legend of Śyāvāśva and the Maruts (Rv. V, 61; Brd. Dv. V, 67-72). He who would discount the contemporaneity of the king Rathavīti Dārbhya with Śyāvāśva, because there is the mythology of Śyāvāśva and the Maruts, must be pronounced to be destitute of historical instinct. Similarly in spite of the introduction of the mythological legend of the ghost of Kabandha Ātharvaṇa possessing Patañcala Kāpyas's wife and taking part in conversations, into the description of the debate between Uddālaka Āruṇi and Yājñavalkya (Brd. Ar. Up. III, 7, 1.), the contemporaneity of Uddālaka with Yājñavalkya is unquestionable, even though there were no other reasons for the same. We know that Sudhanvan Āngirasa was contemporary with Virocana Prāhrādi, and belonged to the very earliest Rigvedic period; and had by Keśinī, his three famous sons Ṛbhu, Vibhvan and Vāja who were in the mediaeval and later Rigvedic periods apothosised in Rigvedic hymns. This famous ancient personality Sudhanvan Āngirasa was, in later times, believed to have become a *gandharva*, or ghost or spirit, and to have possessed the daughter of Patañcala Kāpya, a householder resident in the Madra country; and Bhujyu Lāhyāyani while wandering in the Madra country asked that spirit-possessed daughter of Patañcala Kāpya "Whither have the Pārikṣitas gone?" The answer came from the spirit of Sudhanvan "Thither where the Āsvamedha sacrificers go." It is evidently a mythological legend in which Bhujyu is inextricably involved. It requires to be explained by H. why he has, in spite of the mythological legend of Bhujyu and the spirit, held Bhujyu as contemporary with Yājñavalkya. Instances can be multiplied to show that Vedic literature is quite filled with mythology; and extremely rash must be he who would discount the historical value of these Vedic legends simply because there is mythology in them. I have dealt with this point in greater detail in my Chronology of Ancient India and showed that myths could be no bar to historicity of persons and events. All old narratives of far older events had in those days the tendency of inventing myths. It is in human nature to manufacture myths and it is known that even some of the great men of this twentieth century, which arrogantly boasts of rationalism, have myths gathering round their names as nuclei.

As regards H.'s identification of Āsvalāyana Kausalya of the Praśna Upaniṣat with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti of the Majjhima Nikāya, it should be noticed that in his reply in the Indian Historical quarterly, (September, 1932) to V.'s criticism in the Bhandar-

kar Annals (Vol. XIII, Parts III-IV, 1932), H. has only repeated, without adding anything new, the grounds already given by him in his book. The first two grounds have no weight with Vedic scholars who know that Āsvalāyana like Śāṅkhāyana, Kātyāyana, Cākrāyana, Vātsyāyana, Kāṇvāyana, Lāṭyāyana, Drāhyāyana, Śākaṭāyana, Śāmsapāyana, Baudhāyana, Śaunakāyana, Gobhilāyana, Bādarāyana, Āsurāyana, Vaiśampāyana, Gāṅgāyana, Ālubhāyana, Kāralāyana, Rauhiṇāyana etc., was a branch gotra-title of a section of brāhmanas. Such were the titles of some brāhmana families in India of the later Vedic Period. The modern titles, Mukherjee, Banerjee, Bhattācharya, Pradhan, Misra, Trivedi, Dvivedi, etc., did not originate in those days. The late Sir Āsutoṣ Mukherjee, had he belonged to those days, would have been called Āsutoṣa Bhāradvāja, Mm. Padmanath Bhattacharya of Sylhet, had he belonged to those days, would have been called Padmanātha Kātyāyana; Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Upendranātha Vātsya; Dr. N. C. Banerjee, Nārāyaṇacandra Śāṇḍilya; Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Devadatta Kauśika, Dr. Amareśwar Thakur, Amareśvara Rāthitara; and so forth. The practice of calling people by their gotra-titles or branch gotra-titles continued down to the times of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, as is indicated by the names Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya, Dīrgha Cārāyana, Vararuci Kātyāyana, Vāsudeva Kāṇvāyana, Puṣyamitra Śauṅga etc. The modern titles such as Mukherji, Banerjee, Pradhan, Trivedi, Bhandarkar, Aiyangar etc., are of much later growth. Thus it will be evident that Āsvalāyana, like Kāṇvāyana, Kātyāyana, Vātsyāyana etc., is no personal name but a branch gotra-title indicating that the family was descended from a certain Āsvala—the word belonging to the 'Naḍa' group. The expression 'Āssalāyana of Sāvatti' is as meaningless as 'Mukherjee of Bhowanipur' which may mean any Mukherjee living in Bhowanipur; or as 'Mukhuṭi of Phulia' which may mean any Mukhuṭi living in Phulia; or as 'Roy Choudhury of Barisal' which may mean any 'Roy Choudhury living' in Barisal; or as 'Belvalkar of Kārāṣṭra' which may mean any Belvalkar living in Kārāṣṭra; or as 'Sen of Kālia' which may mean any Sen living in Kālia (Jessore, Bengal); and so on. It is unfortunate that V.'s hints in this direction have been entirely slipped by H. Āsvalāyana Kausalya mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣat as contemporary with the Ātharvavedic Professor Pippalāda and the Kosala Prince Hiraṇyānābha can never be identified with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya as contemporary with Gautama Buddha. No less than 500 years elapsed between the one and the other. The only fact that can be had from the word 'Kausalya' in the one and 'Sāvatti' in the

other is that some of the Āśvalāyana families were settled in those days in the Kosala country and some of them specially at Śrāvastī, the capital of Kosala. In later times the Āśvalāyanas have migrated to different places in India, as we find some of them now settled in Śrīsthala in Gurjjara. They now bear the titles 'Deva,' 'Paṇḍyā,' 'Dave,' 'Pādhyāya' etc. Some of them form a section of Deśastha brāhmins of Mahārāṣṭra and bear the title 'Haḍage' and so on. Now as has been pointed out in detail by V., the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda, having been only the 3rd in the descending order of teachers from Sumantu to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of the then existing Atharvāṅgirasas (afterwards called the Atharva-veda), practically belonged to the beginning of the period of the modern recension of the Atharva-veda. Similarly Hiranyanābha Kausalya as well as his fellow-student Pauṣpiṇḍya, having been only the 4th in the descending order of teachers from Jaimini to whom Vyāsa entrusted the teaching of the Sāmaveda, practically belonged to the beginning of the period of the modern recension of the Sāmaveda. It was about this time that Vaiśampāyana (=Caraka) was entrusted with the charge of the Yajurveda. Thus Āśvalāyana Kausalya of the Praśna Upaniṣat belonged practically to the beginning of the period of the Yajurveda and modern recension of the Atharva-veda. This is not evidently the time of Āssalāyana of Sāvatti who was contemporary with Gautama Buddha. Thus Āssalāyana of Sāvatti was no less than 500 years later, and might or might not have been the Gṛhya-Sūtra-kāra about whom we know very little. More material is necessary to identify even the author of the Gṛhyasūtra with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti. As the Vedas and their branches and limbs formed the principal subject of learning and teaching in those days, and as the Āśvalāyana family belonged to the Rigvedic group, the expression "Tiṇṇam Vedānam pāragū sanighaṇḍu ketubhānam" is of little help to us and could be applied to many members of the family. It can only prove this that there was one learned man of the family at the time of Buddha. It is unfortunate that in advancing the 3rd ground for identifying Āśvalāyana Kausalya with Āssalāyana of Sāvatti, H. gratuitously assumes that the author of the Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras was Āśvalāyana Kausalya of the Praśna Upaniṣat, without adducing any evidence.

Like Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana also was the name of a family of brāhmins descended from Kātya. Kavandhin Kātyāyana having been contemporary with the Sāmavedic teacher Hiranyanābha

Kausalya and the Atharvavedic teacher Pippalāda, also belonged to the beginning of the period of the Yajurveda and the modern recension of the Sāmaveda and the Atharvaveda; hence he could not evidently have been identical with Pakudha Kaccāyana who was contemporary with Gautama Buddha. It should have been noted by H. that Hiranyanābha's descendant Para Ātñāra is mentioned in the Taittirīya Samhita, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Maitrāyaṇī Samhita and Kāthaka Samhitā. Hence Kavandhin Kātyāyana, a contemporary of Para's ancestor Hiranyanābha could not be brought down to the time of the Buddha who was no less than 500 years later than Hiranyanābha. It is also plain on general linguistic grounds that the Taittirīya, Maitrāyaṇī and Kāthaka Samhitas as well as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa can never belong to the time of Buddha. Even the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣat, the latest portion of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was far earlier than Buddha.

V. showed in his essay in the Bhandarkar Annals that the words 'Kavandha' and 'Kakuda' did not mean the same thing, and hence Kavandhin Kātyāyana of the Praśna Upaniṣat could never be identified with Pakudha Kaccāyana of the Majjhima Nikāya. Now in spite of the attempt made in his reply in the Indian Historical Quarterly, September, 1932, H. has failed to establish the equation:

Kavandhin=Pakudha, or=Kakuda, or=Kakudha from the verses of the R̥gveda and Atharvaveda referred to by him. In the Atharvaveda 9, 4, 3 the bull is spoken of as bearing a trunk of good or treasure (vasoḥ kabandham ṛṣabho vibharti). Here 'vasu' means 'treasure' or 'good', and 'kabandha' means 'trunk' or 'belly'. In the Atharvaveda 9, 4, 8 the hump of the bull is conceived of as that belonging to the Maruts (marutām iyam kakut). The Maruts are conceived of as possessing a hump. In the R̥gveda 5, 54, 8 the Maruts are imagined to be laden with barrels of water (marutaḥ kabandhinah). Thus 'kabandha' here means a 'barrel or cask of water' and 'kabandhin' means 'carrying a cask or barrel of water',—almost exactly equivalent to the modern Hindi word 'bhistiwālāh'. Thus the Maruts are conceived of as so many bhistiwālāhs filling the cloud with water from the barrels of water carried by them (pinvanti utsam). Thus it is clear that there is no connection between the word 'kabandha' which means a trunk, or barrel, or water-barrel, and the word 'kakut' which means the hump of the bullock. Just as the bull possesses both the trunk and the hump,

so the Maruts as imagined by the Vedic poet. The word 'kavandha' in Rv. 5, 85, 3; 8, 7, 10; 9, 74, 7, means always the cloud.

The word 'kabandha' in AV. 10, 2, 3, indeed means the moveable (śithira) barrel-like portions from the knees (jānubhyām ūrdhvam) to the hips, consisting of the Śroni and the two thighs. The barrel-like portions between the four joints (catuṣṭayam samhitāntam), consisting of the thighs and hips, are somewhat elongated. Thus it has no connection with 'kakudmati' which is really the portion expressed by the Bengali word 'pāchā' (= buttocks). 'Kakut' means a bulge and 'kakudmati' means the portion having the two bulges.

'Kakut' in later Indian literature as in Raghu 13, 47 indeed means a peak because it generally means any bulge or projection, and for this reason it means the hump of the shoulder of the bull, and the peak may be conceived of as the hump of the mountain. But the word 'kabandhin' can never mean and has never meant in the whole stock of Sanskrit literature 'cloud-capped'. As 'kabandha' means a belly, a cask, a barrel, a water cask, the word 'kabandhin' means 'one possessing a belly or cask, or water-cask', the suffix 'nini' being added in the sense of 'one possessing it' (astyarthe). The Vedic word 'kabandha' means what is expressed by the modern word 'bhisti' and 'kabandhin' means exactly a *bhistiwālāh*, a carrier of water-cask, one laden with water-cask. In fact, 'kakut' has never meant the same as 'kabandhin' in Sanskrit.

In Pali, 'kakudha' indeed means a king's symbol, and 'kakudha-bhaṇḍa' and 'rājakakudha-bhaṇḍa' mean an ensign of royalty. The five regalia are vālavijani, unhisa, khagga, chatta and pādukā i.e., the fan, diadem, sword, canopy and slippers. Kakudha or kakudha-bhaṇḍa or rājakakudha-bhaṇḍa may mean any one of them. We are not concerned with literal meanings, but the special meanings actually current in the Pali literature. For example, the Sanskrit word 'jaladhi' which although literally means 'anything containing water' actually means the sea only and not a vessel, pot, tank, pond, river which may contain water. The word 'kakudha' in Pāli has never meant a barrel or a cask or a large-bellied vessel which the word 'kabandha' has in Sanskrit. 'Kabandha' has indeed the sense of water according to Yāska and Amara but 'kabandhin' has never actually meant 'a reservoir of water.' It has meant 'one laden with water-barrel or water-cask' or 'a man

carrying water.' The question is not what it may be made to mean by an uncommon stretch of one's imagination but what it has actually meant. It is thus clear that H. has failed to identify Pakudha Kaccāyana of the Majjhima Nikāya, with the Vedic teacher Kabandhin Kātyāyana mentioned in the Praśna Upaniṣat. Even admitting for the sake of argument that the word 'kabandhin' may, by means of an extraordinary exertion of one's imagination, be made to mean 'kakudha' or its twin-form 'pakudha', still they cannot be identified, for it would then prove this much only that in the Kātyāyana gotra or family, one was named 'Kabandhin' and another 'Pakudha'. Even persons of the same name in a particular family cannot be identified if there are reasons to the contrary.

It should be particularly noticed in the reply given by H. (I. H. Q. Sept. 1932) that he is silent about Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana having been the Gṛhya-Sūtra-kāra. Perhaps he is convinced of the strength of V's argument that Guṇākhyā having been a younger contemporary of Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya, belonged to the very beginning of the Yajurvedic period and hence he could not have been the Gṛhyasūtrakāra, for the Gṛhyasūtras are admittedly later than the Samhitas, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and the earliest Upaniṣats. It was long ago shown by H. Oldenberg that Suyajña Śāṅkhāyana was very probably the author of the Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. What holds good for Guṇākhyā Śāṅkhāyana also holds good for Kabandhin Kātyāyana and Kausalya Āśvalāyana. They too were younger contemporaries of the king Hiraṇyanābha Kausalya, the prācya Sāmavedic teacher, and of the Atharva-vedic teacher Pippalāda, and hence Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya, the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha. To bring these ancient Vedic teachers down in the scale of time, to the time of Gautama Buddha is to make a stupendous muddle of ancient Indian history and chronology. Dr. B. M. Barua's identification of Kabandhin Kātyāyana with Pakudha Kaccāyana is no cogent reason why it should be borrowed without criticism.

H. says that he did not really entertain the opinion that the Videhas from Śiradhvaja downwards began to flourish six generations after Janamejaya Pāriksita. But why of all ancient Indian royal dynasties, have the Puranic Videhas been described in a book which deals with the political history of India from the birth of Pāriksit? Why have they been styled the later Videhas of Mithilā? Why has Yājñavalkya's friend, Janaka Vaideha of the Vedic texts, also named as Mahājanaka, been considered as the father of Sita

(although this gaping error is being gradually modified in later editions)? And why, after all, have the Puranic descendants of Siradhvaja Janaka been supposed to be the same as the descendants of the Vedic Janaka? It shows that Janaka of the Vedic texts has been considered by H. to be identical with Siradhvaja. All impartial scholars like V. will suggest coolly that it is under this impression that the Puranic Videhas are still kept there by H.; that the monarchy of the later Videhas described, was, under the same impression, supposed by H. to have resolved itself into the Vajjian confederacy just after the reign of Kṛti or Nimi. If H. is really convinced that the Videhans from Siradhvaja downwards did not begin to reign six generations after Janamejaya, then scholars would naturally expect him to delete the whole section on the so-called later Videhas of Mithilā, so that there may not be any chance of misunderstanding.

A few words need be said about the list of teachers mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (10, 6, 5, 9; 14, 3, 2, 32) which places Yājñavalkya at the sixth step below Tura Kāvaṣeya. Janamejaya Pārikṣita was undoubtedly contemporary with Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya (1) because Pāṇini's rule 'praśne cāsanna-kāle' (3, 2, 117) applied to Bhujyu's statement 'kva Pārikṣitā abhavan' absolutely establishes it beyond all doubt; (2) because according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3, 8, 2, 24) Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka (= Vaiśampāyana—Kaśikā), the court-historian of Janamejaya; (3) because Hṛtsvaśaya Āllakeya, the king of the Mahāvṛṣas, was, according to the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (II, 55—6), the pupil of Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi as well as of Dantāla Dhaumya, and that Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi was, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11, 6, 2, 1) a younger contemporary of Yājñavalkya, and that Dantāla Dhaumya (=Dantāvala Dhaumra), was, according to the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (1, 2, 5), courteously received by Janamejaya Pārikṣita; (4) because according to the Vāyu (61, 5—24) Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana with whom he had a quarrel and compiled the White Yajurveda; (5) because according to the Vāyu (99, 250—5) Janamejaya gave a practical start to the Vājasaneyā Veda by performing two horse-sacrifices according to the formulas and rules prescribed by Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and thus established the Vājasaneyins in honour by appointing them as his priests; (6) because according to the Brahmanḍa (1, 35, 9—27), Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana with whom he had a quarrel and compiled and composed the White Yajurveda; (7) because according to the Brahmanḍa (the manuscript in my

possession) Janamejaya instituted a sacrificial session according to the formulas of Vājasaneyā (= Yājñavalkya) and performed two Vājasaneyā horse-sacrifices and established the use of the Vājasaneyā Veda i.e. the White Yajurveda; (8) because according to the Matsya (50, 57—65) Janamejaya appointed the Ṛṣi Vājasaneyā (= Yājñavalkya) as the Brahman priest in the two Vājasaneyā horse-sacrifices and was compelled to retire to a forest on account of the curse of Vaiśampāyana; (9) because according to the Viṣṇu (3, 5 ch.), Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and composed and compiled the White Yajurveda; (10) because according to the Viṣṇu (4, 21, 2) Yājñavalkya taught the Vedas to Śatānika, son of Janamejaya; (11) because according to the Bhāgavata (12, 6 ch.), there was a friction between Yājñavalkya the pupil, and Vaiśampāyana the teacher, and the White Yajurveda was the outcome of that friction; (12) because according to the Bhāgavata (9, 22, 38) Śatānika, son of Janamejaya, learnt the three Vedas of Yājñavalkya; (13) because according to the Mahābhārata (12, 318, 17; 19; Kumb. ed. 12, 323, 17; 19), Yājñavalkya was the pupil and nephew (= sister's son = bhāginēya) of Vaiśampāyana, the court-historian of Janamejaya; (14) because according to MBh. (1, 3, 21—2; 82), Janamejaya appointed as an officiating priest the teacher named Baida who was the fellow-student of Uddālaka Āruṇi whose pupil, as the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣat (VI, 3, 7; VI, 5, 3) says, Yājñavalkya was; (15) because according to MBh. (1, 3, 170—188) it was at the instigation of Uttāṅka, the pupil of Baida (—the fellow-student of Uddālaka Āruṇi) that Janamejaya tried to exterminate the Non-Aryan Sarpas by burning them in a sacrifice; (16) because according to MBh. (1, 53, 7), Uddālaka Āruṇi (Yājñavalkya's teacher), with his son Śvetaketu attended the Sarpa-satra of Janamejaya; (17) because according to the Vāyu (88, 208), Brahmanḍa (2, 63, 208), Viṣṇu (4, 4, 48), and Bhāgavata (9, 12, 3), Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Hiranyanābha who, because he was the pupil of Sukarman the great grandson of Jaimini, the pupil of Vyāsa, was contemporary with Janamejaya, the fifth in descent from Vyāsa; (18) because according to the Vāyu (61, 49—52), Brahmanḍa (1, 35, 55—59), Viṣṇu (3, 6, 9—12) and Bhāgavata (12, 7, 1—2), the list of Atharvavedic teachers when compared with the pedigree of Janamejaya shows that the Atharvavedic Professor Pippalāda was contemporary with Janamejaya, and Yājñavalkya's teacher Hiranyanābha was, as the Praśna Upaniṣat (1, 1; 6, 1) says, contemporary with Pippalāda; (19) because Patañjali's admirable guess that the

Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇas were contemporaneous with the Saulabha Brāhmaṇas makes Yājñavalkya approximately contemporary with Janamejaya, and not with Citraratha the sixth in descent from Janamejaya; (20) because Kaiyaṭa's guess that the Yājñavalkya Brāhmaṇas were contemporaneous with the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇas makes Yājñavalkya contemporary with Janamejaya; (21) because Mahidāsabudha states that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana; (22) because the Vedic scholar Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara says that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana; (23) because Mahidhara holds that Yājñavalkya was the pupil of Vaiśampāyana with whom he quarrelled and compiled and composed the White Yajurveda. Thus it is clear that the contemporaneity of Vājasaneyya Yājñavalkya and Janamejaya Pāriṣita is an absolute historical reality. Yet we must accept the information of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (8, 21) that Janamejaya Pāriṣita was anointed with the great anointing of Indra by Tura Kāvaṣeya who was the sixth in the ascending series of teachers from Yājñavalkya according to the combined evidence of Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (10, 6, 5, 9; 14, 3, 2, 32) and the Kāthaka Samhitā (26, 10). The explanation is that the average age-difference between the teacher and the pupil in the case of the first four teachers from Tura Kāvaṣeya to Upaveśi was much less than the average age-difference between a father and his son which is generally 25 to 30 years. In our days we find Principal R. S. Trivedi, the pupil, was junior to Sir J. C. Bose, the teacher, by 3 or 4 years only. Even so in those days we find old and reverend Uddālaka Āruṇi learning from the king Pravāhaṇa Jaivali who was just older than Śvetaketu, the Kṣetrajā son of Uddālaka. In mediaeval times we find the old Maṇḍana Miśra, the pupil, was much older than Śaṅkara, the teacher. We have also found that Paila, the pupil, was almost of the same age as Vyāsa, the teacher. We also know that Aṅgiras's eloquent (kavi) descendant Śiśu used to teach his fathers and address them as his sons. The fathers of Śiśu resenting this sort of address complained to the Devas who decided that Śiśu was perfectly right in calling them as his sons because the teacher of the Veda, as the Devas said, was to be looked upon as the father (T. Br. XIII, 3, 24; M. Bh. IX, 51, 46, etc.; Baudh. Dh. S. I., 3, 47; Manu 2, 150-3). These details of historical information tend to show that a teacher was not always older than his pupil. Besides, a generation was not always the separation between the teacher and the pupil as we find even now-a-days. The separation between the teacher and the pupil was generally less than a gene-

ration. But of course it was in some cases more than a generation. As Dr. L. D. Barnett has observed,—'Nothing is certain about the lists of Vedic teachers, so that theories founded only on the lists of Vedic teachers are beset with dangers.' Besides the lists themselves are sometimes incomplete as we have seen in the case of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa list. The Vamśa Brāhmaṇa list is wrong, as I have already shown in my Chronology of Ancient India in placing Ṛṣyaśrṅga Kāśyapa above Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa. It can only be defended on the supposition that the son taught the father. Generally, however, the list of teachers in the Brāhmaṇas may be trusted; but the average separation between the teacher and the pupil is much less than an average generation which is 25 to 30 years, or even more in some cases. We have learnt it from the Brd. Ar. Up. that Uddālaka Āruṇi, although he was the teacher of Yājñavalkya, debated as a rival scholar with Yājñavalkya at the court of Janaka Vaideha. Hence it may be inferred that Uddālaka was not separated from Yājñavalkya by a generation i.e. he was older than Yājñavalkya by a few years, say 10 years, only, and this is expressed by saying that Uddālaka was an older contemporary of Yājñavalkya. Hence in the adjoined series of teachers,

Tura Kāvaṣeya
Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana
Kusri Vājaśravasa
Upaveśi
|
Āruṇa
|
Uddālaka
Yājñavalkya

from Tura Kāvaṣeya to Upaveśi, the average separation per step was much less than an average generation which is 25 to 30 years. Similarly in the last step, the separation between Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya was much less than a generation. Thus there are only two steps i.e. the step between Upaveśi and Āruṇa and that between Āruṇa and Uddālaka, where the average separation was a generation, because Āruṇa was pupil of his father Upaveśi and Uddālaka was the pupil of his father Āruṇa. It should also be borne in mind that Vedic teachers in those days generally had long lives. Thus Vyāsa Pārāśarya is known to have attended the court of Janamejaya, the fifth in descent from Vyāsa. And Kṛpācārya who took part in the Bhārata battle and who thus belonged to the

same step with Pāṇḍu or Drupada lived long enough to teach Janamejaya's son Śatānika who was the fifth in descent from Pāṇḍu. The Vedic seer Dīrghatamas lived to the 10th decade of his life (RV. 1, 158, 6), while Mahidāsa Aitareya lived 116 years (Chand. Up. 3, 16, 7) and Bharadvāja is said to have been the most long-lived person in those days (Ait. Ar. 1, 2, 2). It must be supposed that Tura Kāvaseya lived to a great age to officiate as the chief Hotṛ priest in the horse-sacrifice of Janamejaya who was truly an older contemporary of Vājasaneyi Yājñavalkya and appointed the Vājasaneyins as priests in a session of horse-sacrifice and had it performed according to the Mantras and regulations formulated by Vājasaneyi Yājñavalkya.

ERRATA

Page	Line	8	Correct	Kamsam	into	Kamsam
"	159	"	9	"	Kamsa	" Kamsa
"	159	"	18	"	Pārikṣitās	" Pārikṣitās
"	159	"	22	"	Motilāla-	" Motilāla-
"	159	"	37	"	vi-prakṛṣṭakālam	" vi-prakṛṣṭakālam
"	160	"	27	"	Sarveṣām	" Sarveṣām
"	160	"	31	"	-pratiṣṭhānām	" -pratiṣṭhānām
"	164	"	38	"		
	(foot-note)			Close up	-hatyā and nṛhaḥ	
"	165	"	18	Correct	cintamaṇi	" cintāmaṇi
"	165	"	23	"	bhikṣātanam	" bhikṣātanam
"	168	"	7	"	Vājasaneyi Samhita	" Vājasaneyi-Samhitā
"	169	"	18	"	Aghamarṣana	" Aghamarṣana
"	171		last line	"		
	(foot-note)			"	Mārtanḍa	" Mārtanḍo
"	172	line	14	"	Brāhmaṇās	" Brāhmaṇas
"	172	"	14	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	172	"	16	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	173	"	9	insert	me	between 'yasya' and 'nāsti'
"	176	"	12	Correct	Svetakethu	into śvetaketu
"	176	"	20	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	177	"	36	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	177	"	37	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	182	"	5	"	Yājñavalka	" Yājñavalka
"	182	"	22	invert	H. has	" has H.

Note : In this article italicised m is used for m as the type is not available.

The Puṇḍras of Ancient Bengal

By

DR. B. C. LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L.

THE Puṇḍras seem to have been a very ancient people. They are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 18) where they are described as outcasted descendants of Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra had many sons; but he also adopted the Bhārgava Śunaḥśepa with the name Devarāta and made him the chief of all his sons. But Viśvāmitra's sons did not all accept Devarāta's headship; and it is said that Viśvāmitra cursed those who repudiated it to become dog-eaters or mlēcchas, (Mbh. xiii, chap. 3), such as Āndhras Puṇḍras and Sabaras (cf. also Sāṅkhyāyana Śr. Sūtra, xv, 26; vide Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 235). Their name occurs in the Sūtras as well (cf. Baudhāyana, 1, 2, 14). Vāsudeva defeated the Puṇḍras along with the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Kāśīs, Kosalas, Karūṣas and others (Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva, XI). The Pauṇḍrakas (Puṇḍras) are also mentioned by Manu in his Dharmaśāstra (10, 43-44). But they are most frequently mentioned in the Purāṇas and the Epics by the name of their originator, Puṇḍra, who is described along with Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Suhma as an eponymous son of King Bali.¹ In the Hari-varṇṣa, Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, is referred to have once held his sway over the Puṇḍras along with the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas (Chap. 116). In the Rāmāyaṇa, Puṇḍra is referred to as a southern country (Kishkindhyā, XLI, 12), but, according to the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata, the realm of the Puṇḍras seems evidently to have been situated in the eastern division, as they are always and invariably associated with the Vaṅgas, Aṅgas and Kaliṅgas, as also with the Suhmas. This is also supported by the Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara who places the Puṇḍra country in the east along with Prāgjyotiṣa and Tāmralipta.² This at once

1. Brahma P. chap. 13, 30-31; Agni P. chap. 278; Matsya P. chap. 48, 19; Viṣṇu P. IV. chap. 18, 1-2; Mbh., Ādiparva, chap. 104, Garuḍa P. chap. 143, śl. 71.

2. Chap. 17. "Bārāṇasyāḥ purataḥ pūrvadesaḥ
Yatra Aṅgakaliṅgakosalatosalotkala Magadha-Mudgara.
Videha Nepāla Puṇḍra Prāgjyotiṣa Tāmraliptaka
Malada Mallavaritaka Suhma Brahmottara pravṛtayoh janapadāḥ."

determines the correctness of the usually accepted identification of the ancient Puṇḍra country with what later on came to be known as Puṇḍravardhana.

The Puṇḍras are sometimes mentioned as Paṇḍras, Paṇḍrakas or even as Paṇḍrikas. In the Mahābhārata they are sometimes used as equivalents but sometimes a distinction has been made between the Paṇḍras and Puṇḍras (Bhīṣma P. IX; Sabhā P. LII). Pargiter thinks (J. A. S. B., 1897, p. 85) that they were two different tribes occupying two different countries. The Puṇḍras linked as they were with the Vaṅgas and Kirātas (Sabhā P. XIV) and with Aṅgas and Vaṅgas (Sabhā P. IV), occupied some intermediate position between the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and the hilly countries of the Himalayas. So the Puṇḍra country should be identified with Maldah, portions of Purnea, east of the Kosi, and parts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi. The Paṇḍras, however, linked as they were with the Udras, Utkalas, Mekalas, Kaliṅgas and Andhras (Bhīṣma P. IX; Droṇa P. IV), occupied the modern districts of Santal Parganas and Birbhum and northern portion of Hazaribagh (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, Majumdar, Notes, pp. 723-24). But as the enumeration of the countries and peoples in the Epics and Purāṇas are often loose, the distinction can hardly be pushed very far, and in fact it is hardly ever accepted. In later references, i.e., in later literary and epigraphic records the distinction between Puṇḍra and Paṇḍra is never maintained.

According to the Divyāvadāna, Puṇḍravardhana, or the country of the Puṇḍras, was the eastern boundary of the Middle country (Div. pp. 21-22). In the Sumāgadhāvadāna of the Avadāna Kalpalatā (Ch. 93, Verse 10), Puṇḍravardhana is described to be 160 yojanas (or 640 miles) to the east of Śrāvastī.

The capital city of the Puṇḍras must now be definitely identified with Pundranagala (=Puṇḍranagara) mentioned in a fragmentary Maurya Brahmin inscription palaeographically dated in the 2nd century B. C., discovered at Mahāsthān, seven miles north of the modern town of Bogra.³ Puṇḍranagara or the capital city of Puṇḍravardhana should, therefore, be identified conclusively with Mahāsthān, an identification long ago made by Cunningham on the

authority of Yuan Chwang's description of Po-shih-po monastery in Puṇḍravardhana (Watters, II. p. 184).⁴

It is not improbable that during the time of the Mauryas as late as the time of Aśoka, Puṇḍravardhana formed a part of the Magadhan empire. This is suggested not only by the testimony of the Divyāvadāna but also of Yuan Chwang who saw stūpas of Aśoka near Tāmralipti and Karmasuvārṇa, in Samatāṭa, as well as in Pun-na-fa-tan-na (=Punjavardhana=Puṇḍravardhana). Yuan Chwang observes thus, "travelling east, he (Yuan Chwang) crossed the Ganges and after a journey of above 600 li reached the Pun-na-fa-tan-na country. This country was above 4,000 li in circuit and its capital was more than 30 li in circuit. Twenty li to the west of the capital was a magnificent Buddhist establishment the name of which is given in some texts as Po-shih-po. Near it was an Aśoka tope at the place where Buddha had preached for three months." (On Yuan Chwang, II, 184-85). About Puṇḍravardhana he observes (A. S. R., XV. p. 110) "In my account of Bhāsu Vihāra, four miles to the west of Mahāsthān (which he identifies to have been the capital of Puṇḍravardhana) I mentioned that the Buddhist remains at the place corresponded both in description and position with those noted by Hiuen Tsang at the Po-shih-po monastery which was situated just four miles to the west of the capital city of Paṇḍravardhana."

We have already seen that the Puṇḍras had their chief city at Puṇḍranagala (Puṇḍranagara). This was about the second century before Christ; and not long after they had spread over a wider area which came to be known as Puṇḍravardhana (=Punjavardhana=Puṇḍravardhana). For, in at least two inscriptions Nos. 102 and 217. Ep. Ind. Vol. II. pp. 108 and 380 of the Sāñchi stūpa occurs the name Puṇḍravardhana whose inhabitants, Dhamatā (Dharmadattā) and Isinadana (Rṣinandana), made gifts of architectural pieces that went to the building up of the Sāñchi stūpa and its walls and toraṇas. The Mahāsthān fragmentary inscription proves that the district of Bogra was certainly included in what came later on to be known as Puṇḍravardhana. That it also included the district of Rajshahi, at least portions of it, is proved by the recently discovered Paharpur (in Rajshahi) copper plate

3. This inscription is now being edited by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for the Ep. Ind.

4. Also cf. Mahāsthān and its environs. (Monograph No. 2). Vide also D. R. Bhandarkar's Varendra Research Society's Important Fragmentary Inscription found at Mahāsthān (Bogra District) published in the Indian Antiquary, September 1933.

(478-79 A.D.) which is purported to have been issued from Puṇḍravardhana city itself.⁵ But just contemporaneously the term appears as the name of a bhukti or provincial division. Thus, in the Damodarpur (a village in the Dinajpur district) copper plate (Ep. Ind., XV, pp. 113 ff) of Kumāragupta I (443 and 448 A.D.) and of Budhagupta, Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti is referred to as being governed successively by Chirātadatta, Brahmadatta and Yayadatta, all provincial governors. In all these records, Koṭivarṣaviṣaya is recorded as a subdivision of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. But, naturally enough, it is in the epigraphic records of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal that the name frequently occurs. It continued as in the days of the Guptas to be a provincial division of the Pāla and Sena kingdoms. Of the Pāla records it is referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla, the Nālanda grant of Devapāla, the Bāngarh grant of Mahipāla I, the Amgachi grant of Vighrapāla III and the Manhali grant of Madanapāla.⁶ Of the Sena grants it is referred to in the Barrackpur grant of Vijayasena, the Anulīa, the Tarpanadighi, the Madhainagar and the Sunderban copper plates, all of Lakṣmaṇasena, the Edilpur copper plate of Kesava-sena, the Madanapāda and the Sāhitya Parishad copper-plates of Viśvarūpasena (for Sena Records, see Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, Varendra Research Society). During the rule of the Guptas, Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti included as we have seen Koṭivarṣaviṣaya which must have included the whole or part of Dinajpur. It is certain that by that time Puṇḍravardhana stood for the greater part of north-Bengal including at least the modern districts of Rajsahi, Bogra, Dinajpur, and portions probably of Maldah and Rungpur. But during the time of the Pālas, the Bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana must have comprised a larger area, and during the supremacy of the Senas a still larger division. For the records of these two dynasties refer to the following subdivisions to have been included in the larger division of Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, e.g., the Vyaghrataṭi maṇḍala (Maldah), the Koṭivarṣaviṣaya (Dinajpur), the Khādiviṣaya (identical with the Sunderbans and the 24 Parganas), Varendri (roughly identical with Rajsahi, Bogra, Rungpur, Dinajpur), and Vaṅga (eastern Bengal,

more particularly the Dacca division). That Puṇḍravardhana included Varendri as well as Gauḍa (Maldah and Dinajpur) is also proved by a reference to the lexicon of Purushottama (11th century A.D.) where we have "Puṇḍrahsyur-Varendri Gauḍa nivṛti," that is, "the Puṇḍras are Varendri and Gauḍa countries." The capital city of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti is referred to in the Rāmacaritaṃ of Sandhyākara Nandi (11th century A.D.) as well as in the Karatoyā Māhātmyaṃ (c. 16th century A.D.) as Śrī Puṇḍravardhanapura and also as Puṇḍranagara. According to the Rāmacaritaṃ, Śrī Puṇḍravardhanapura seems to have been situated in Varendri. Verse 1 of the Kaviprasasti of the Rāmacaritaṃ says:

Vasudhā-Śiro Varendrī-maṇḍala cūḍāmanaiḥ Kulasthānaṃ |
Śrī Pauṇḍravardhanapura-pratibaddha-puṇyabhūḥ
brihaḍbatuḥ ||

(Varendri is the foremost place of the east and Pauṇḍravardhanapura is its crest jewel.).

Puṇḍravardhana is also referred to in a picture label of a manuscript of the Pāla period now in the Cambridge University Library: Puṇḍavardhane Triśaraṇa-Buddha-Bhaṭṭārakaḥ dvitiyā-āriṣasthāna (Foucher, Iconographie Boudhique de l'Inde, p. 190). The name also occurs in the Devī-bhāgavata, Pādma, Matsya, Brahmāṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, as well as in the Jñānārṇava Tantra. According to the Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhaṇa, Pauṇḍravardhana was the residence of Jayanta, a vassal chief of the kingdom of Gauḍa, when Jayāpīḍa, King of Kāśmīr (8th century A.D.), is said to have visited it (Chronicles of the Kings of Kāśmīr, pp. 93-94). Pauṇḍrabhukti, a shortened form of Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti, is referred to in the Rāmpāl copper plate of Śrī Chandra Deva, Belava copper plate of Bhojavarman, and in the Dhullā plate of Śrī Chandra (For these records see Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III.).

5. In the Sangli copper-plates (Śaka year 855) of the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Govinda Suvarṇa-varṣa, Pauṇḍravardhananagara is mentioned as the place from which the donee, Keśava Dikṣita, is said to have come (Ind. Ant., XII, pp. 251 ff).

6. For Pāla inscriptions see Gauḍalekhamālā (in Bengali), Varendra Research Society.

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi

By

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FROM the Tālagunda inscription,¹ we have the following historical account as regards the origin as well as the first 6 or 7 kings of the Kadamba dynasty.

There was a family of the Brāhmaṇas born in the Mānavya gōtra and descended from Hārīti, which followed the course of 3 Rishis² ज्यार्षवर्त्म हारितीपुत्रमुषिमुख्य मानव्य गोत्रजम् (v. 4). There had grown a Kadamba tree (*Nauclea Cadamba*) near their house, which they carefully tended; and on that account their family came to be known as the Kadamba family (vv. 7-8). In that family was born an illustrious Brāhmaṇa called Mayūraśarma, who desirous of studying the scriptures went along with his preceptor Virāśarma to the capital of the Pallavas (v. 10) i.e., Kāñchi (v. 17).

The next hemistich (v. 11)—

तत्र पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन कलहेन तीव्रेण रोषितः ।

1. Epigraphia Carnatica (E. C.), VII, Sk. 176.
2. In all the (X) inscriptions of the Kadambas, they speak of themselves as 'Hārītiputras' (e.g. Sk. 29; 264.), or of their family as 'हारितीपुत्राणां कदम्बानाम्' (Sk. 66, &c.) whence it is evident that they were descended from Hārīti, and not from Hārītiputra, as has been said in the translation of this inscription (E. C., VII, p. 113.), which is therefore quite incorrect. In the Dēvagere plates of Mṛigēśavarma (I. A., VII, p. 35.), their family is further described as मानव्य-सगोत्राणां हारितीपुत्राणां आङ्गिरसां...कदम्बानाम् whence it appears again that they also traced their descent from the Āṅgīrasas; and we know (Pargiter: Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 225.) that one of the several parties (*paksha*) among the Āṅgīrasas was named Hārīti. The Hārīti-gōtra, which is one of the 49 gōtras mentioned in the Śrauta-sūtras (Book XII) of Āśvalāyana claims 3 ancestors, viz., Āṅgīrasa, Ambarisha and Yauvanāśva, who constitute the distinctive character of that gōtra; and that is why, I believe, the Kadamba family is called ज्यार्षवर्त्म in this inscription (i.e. following the ancestral course of 3 Rishis.).

has been rendered as 'There being enraged by a sharp quarrel connected with the Pallava horse (or stables),'³ and this story of the commotion in the stables of the Pallavas has ever since become the keystone of the Kadamba history. But let us just ask ourselves—what on earth could a Brāhmaṇa lad have to do with the horse-soldiers or the horse-grooms? What business could a Brāhmaṇa boy, who had left his house and home and gone to the perhaps far off Pallava Capital for the acquisition of Vedic lore have with the Pallava cavalry or in their stables? Or does either of the words अश्वसंस्थ (Masc.) or अश्वसंस्था (fem.) ever mean cavalry or the horse stable? Never. Evidently therefore this is an obvious mis-translation, and this mistake is due to the ignorance of the correct meaning of the compound आश्वसंस्थ. Now the phrase पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन कलहेन means 'by a quarrel pertaining to or originated in the अश्वसंस्था (fem.) or अश्वसंस्थ (masc.) of the Pallavas' and both the words अश्वसंस्था and अश्वसंस्थ mean the *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice; for the words संस्थ (masc.) as well as संस्था (fem.) mean 'a sacrifice,' as is clearly borne out by the following authorities—

- (१) संस्थः समाप्ति क्रतुषु चरश्च निजराष्ट्रगः ॥⁴
- (२) संस्था नाशे व्यवस्थायां व्यक्तिसादृश्ययोः स्थितौ ।
क्रतुभेदे समाप्तौ च चरे च निजराष्ट्रगे ॥⁵
- (३) दीक्षायाः पशुसंस्थायाः सौत्रामण्याश्च सत्तमाः ।
अन्यत्र दीक्षितस्यापि नाश्रमश्नन्ति दुष्यति ॥⁶

Thus it will be seen that अश्वसंस्थ or अश्वसंस्था means the horse-sacrifice, and its adjectival form आश्वसंस्थ therefore means what pertains to or is originated in the horse-sacrifice. It is manifest therefore that the quarrel referred to in this inscription was neither with the horse-soldiers, nor the horse-grooms of the Pallavas, but it took place during the course of the *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice, which the Pallava contemporary of Mayūraśarma was engaged in performing, and perhaps it arose from some one or other matter connected with that sacrifice itself.

3. E. C. VII (Translations), p. 113.
4. Purushōttamadēva's 'Trikaṇḍaśeṣa' (v. 753.).
5. Hēmachandra's *Anēkāṛtha-Saṅgraha* (v. 234.).
6. *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X, 23, 8.).

We are further told in this inscription that Mayūraśarma had a preceptor called Virāśarma. It stands to reason that Mayūraśarma would go to Kāñchi only after he had finished learning all that his preceptor could teach him. But it is also said that Mayūraśarma went to Kāñchi along with his preceptor. It cannot be said that Virāśarma went to Kāñchi for the study of the scriptures, whence it would follow that Virāśarma must have been attracted thither by the report of the *Āśvamēdha* undertaken by the Pallava king. This sacrifice, as is well-known, would continue for several years, and probably both Virāśarma and Mayūraśarma were invited to officiate in it, when they were in Kāñchi. Sometime afterwards, perhaps at the time of its consummation there was a quarrel or a violent altercation between Mayūraśarma and that Pallava king himself, or some other members of his royal household or of his retinue.

‘Enraged at this, Mayūraśarma exclaimed, Alas! Brāhmaṇa-hood is thus reduced to mere nullity by the regal caste! (v. 11). What else can be more humiliating than that Vedic accomplishment acquired by toilsome study should hang upon the mere will and pleasure of a king? (v. 12). And thus distressed he took up flashing weapons with the hands that were dexterous in handling *Kuśa* grass, sacrificial fuel, (sacrificial) stones, ladles, butter and (other) oblations, and eager to conquer the world (v. 13) he set out and forthwith overcame the frontier guards of the Pallavas.’ (v. 14).

The next hemistich of the 14th verse has been read as—

अधुवास दुर्गमामटवीं श्रीपर्वतान्तर संश्रिताम् ॥

and translated—‘he took up his abode in the inaccessible forest situated in the middle of Śrīparvata,’ which is quite untenable. It ought to be त्रिपर्वतान्तर⁷ संश्रिताम्, and not श्रीपर्वतान्ता(त)रसंश्रिताम्. For Śrīparvata, as is well-known, is the name of the hill in Karnūl district, which contains the famous temple of god Śiva called Mallikārjuna, and is thus a very famous and also a very ancient

7. A similar mislection of श्री for त्रि (and also शि for ति) is found in the Bennūr plates (E. C., V, Bl. 245.), where the first line of the last verse has been read as श्रीदोषराशिवर्मन्मा, and ‘Dōsharāśivarma’ is taken as a proper name intended for the king (E. C., V, Int., p. iii.), whereas the correct reading obviously is त्रिदोषाराति धर्म्मन्मा, which contains no king’s name.

place of pilgrimage. Consequently streams of pilgrims would be daily coming in and going out of that locality, which therefore can never be the ‘inaccessible forest,’ as is intended in the context. Moreover अन्तर means ‘interior,’ and ‘in the forest situated in the interior of (the hill) Śrīparvata’ would be hardly sensible in that a forest should be either upon the hill (on its summit) or beneath the hill (at its foot) but never in the interior of any hill. From the very fact that the forest is here said to be situated in the interior of a hilly locality, it is evident that there ought to be more than one hill, nay more than two hills,⁸ in the vicinity, when the hollow enclosed within them would be properly their interior, and the forest lying in that hollow, surrounded as it is by hills on all sides, would undoubtedly be inaccessible. The correct reading of the last line of the 14th verse therefore ought to be

अधुवास दुर्गमामटवीं त्रिपर्वतान्तर संश्रिताम् ॥

when the hemistich would mean—‘he took up his abode in an inaccessible forest situated in the interior of three hills (or the locality known as Triparvata)’.

Now let us see if we can identify this place Triparvata, or the three hills. Just as the name Śrīparvata, which, as a common noun, simply means the ‘holy hill,’ would not signify any hill that may be holy as containing some one or other famous temple, but stands for that particular hill in Karnūl district, which contains the temple of Śrī Mallikārjuna, it is reasonable to hold that the name Triparvata likewise implies some particular spot containing three hills (whence its name), and not any other place where there would be three hills. It is possible that the forest contained within those three hills had no particular name of its own, and also that those three hills too had no separate names of their own; but the whole locality, it is quite possible, was known as Triparvata. Where could it be?

In the Dēvagere plates⁹ of Kadamba Yuvarāja Dēvavarma it is said that from his residence (विजय) at Triparvata he made a

8. As in the case of two hills, the interjacent forest would be said to be situated between (मध्ये) those hills and not in their interior (अन्तर).

9. Indian Antiquary (I. A.), VII, p. 34; vide also Fleet’s ‘Kanarese Dynasties’ (F. K. D.), p. 377, f.n. 4, where it is explained how copper-plate grants are liable to travel and lose their connection with the places to which they originally belonged.

grant of 12 royal measures of land in *Siddhakēdāra*, which was situated in the Triparvata division—*दत्ता भूमिस्त्रिपर्वते* The donative passage in the Halsi plates of the Kadamba king Harivarma¹⁰

उच्चशृङ्ग्याम्...पितृव्येण शिवरथ नामधेयेनोपदिष्टः पलाशिकायाम्.....

मुगेशेन कारितस्याहंदायतनस्य....क्रियार्थम्...सुदिकुन्दूर विषये दत्तवान्— is capable of being interpreted in two different ways: it may mean (1) that at the advice of his paternal uncle Śivaratha, who was then the governor at Uccaśṛṅgi, the king Harivarma, who was then at Palāśikā, made a grant in the district of *Suddikundūra* to a Jaina temple, which was presumably built somewhere close by within the precincts of that Uccaśṛṅgi division of the Kadamba kingdom; or (2) that Harivarma while residing (or camping) then at Uccaśṛṅgi made at the advice of Śivaratha, who was the governor of Uccaśṛṅgi, a grant in the district of *Suddikundūra* to a Jaina temple that was built at Palāśikā. In either case, as the grant was made at the advice of Śivaratha, who was then manifestly in charge of the Uccaśṛṅgi division of the kingdom, the land that was given away would necessarily belong to that very division and no other. Now the name *Suddikundūra* seems to be a vulgar variant of the name *Siddhakēdāra*, or the latter is the Sanskritized form of the former vernacular name; and they thus seem to be identical. In that case the names Triparvata and Uccaśṛṅgi must be the names of one and the same Kadamba capital within the limits of which the district of *Siddhakēdāra* or *Suddikundūra* lay. In the Shimoga plates of another Kadamba Mādhātārāja,¹¹ it is said that while residing at his capital or headquarters (*विजय*) at Uccaśṛṅgi, he made a grant in the village of the Kaggi, which has been identified with the village of the same name in the Channagiri tālukā.¹² This village of Kaggi also therefore would lie within the limits of the Kadamba capital at Uccaśṛṅgi. This Uccaśṛṅgi, which is the same as Triparvata, would therefore be that Uccaśṛṅgi, which lies 3 miles to the east of Moḷakālmuru in the Doddēri tālukā of the Chitaldurg district in Mysore. Only some 10 or 12 miles thence there is the rock inscription of Mayūraśarma¹³ in the village of Chandravalli, which stands like a hand-post to indicate the spot where Mayūraśarma

10. I. A., VI, p. 30.

11. Mysore Archaeological Report (M. A. R.) 1911, p. 32.

12. Ibid., p. 35.

13. M. A. R. 1929, p. 50 ff.

had sought shelter, and laid the first foundation of the Kadamba kingdom.

To go on with the story. "Having thus overcome the frontier guards of the Pallavas, Mayūraśarma took up his abode in the inaccessible forest lying within the Triparvata region. Then he levied tribute from the great Bāṇa and other kings, which made the Pallavas frown." (vv. 14-15).

As Mayūraśarma abode in the Triparvata region after overcoming the Pallava frontier guards, the exact situation of that region would evidently be outside the limits of the Pallava kingdom; and as it was thence he overcame the Bāṇa king and levied tribute from him, it must be contiguous to the Bāṇa territory, which included the present Kōlār district, as is evident from the Muḍiyānūr plates¹⁴ of the Bāṇa king Nandivarman, dated Monday the 20th October 340 A.C., which record the grant of the village of Muḍiyānūr and refer to the king's residence at a place called Āvaṇi, both of which places are in Kōlār district. This again proves that Triparvata must be sufficiently close to Kōlār district, and therefore our identification of it with Uccaṅgi in Chitaldurg district cannot be incorrect. Furthermore, as it was from his habitation in the Triparvata region that Mayūraśarma levied tribute from the Bāṇa and other kings, he must have founded a city in that region and established his capital there, and that city therefore was the earliest Kadamba capital.

'When his enemies the kings of Kāñchi (i.e., the Pallavas) marched against him, Mayūraśarma fell upon them like a hawk, and shattered the ocean of their army (vv. 17-18). At last the Pallavas recognising his superior strength, and seeing that their own power and ancestry were of no avail before him, chose him forthwith as their ally (v. 19), and his coronation was performed by the Pallavas themselves (v. 20). He acquired the territory bounded (on the west) by the western ocean (*अपरार्णव*) and extending (northwards) as far as the Prēmāra country, on condition that others should not enter it (?) (v. 21). Thereupon Mayūraśarma, who was ever meditating upon God Skanda, the generalissimo of the gods, was anointed by that God as well as the divine Mothers (v. 22).'

14. E. C., X, Mb. 157.

The coronation of Mayūraśarma was thus performed by the contemporary Pallava king, and if also, as all scholars have held, it was the same Pallava king who bestowed upon him the territory stretching as far as the western ocean and extending to the Prēmāra country, the gift, as is natural, would be made at the time of the coronation or thereafter, and not before. This coronation therefore cannot have been performed in any of the places included in that subsequent gift, whence it follows that naturally enough it must have been celebrated at Mayūraśarma's capital which he had founded in the Triparvata region and which, as we have already seen, lay outside the limits of the Pallava kingdom. Whatever and wherever be the Prēmāra country, the territory lying on the shore of the western ocean is the Banavāsi country and no other. As we shall soon see, the coronation of Mayūraśarma was performed by the Pallava king in the latter half of the 2nd century A.C., when the Banavāsi country was ruled over by the kings of the Chuṭu dynasty, whose kingdom extended in all probability as far as Chandravalli, where coins of those kings have been found.¹⁵ Thus perhaps the Triparvata region formed a part of the Chuṭu kingdom, and it was therefore from the contemporary Chuṭu king, or his feudatory placed in charge of that province, that Mayūraśarma wrested it by conquest and established his capital there. Or it is equally possible that the said region, which was almost contiguous to the territory (in the Kōlār district) of the Bāṇa kings was perhaps conquered from them. At any rate there is no evidence so far of the Pallava kingdom having extended as far as the western ocean and included the Banavāsi country, let alone the far off northern Prēmāra country; nor are the Chuṭus or the Bāṇas known so far to have been the feudatories of the Pallavas. How then could the Pallava king make a free gift of what was never his own, and that too on condition of 'no thoroughfare'? Is it possible that the Pallava king, or any king for that matter, could give away a territory ruled over by others, and to which he had not even the semblance of right or title? It is therefore conclusive that it was not from the Pallava king that Mayūraśarma got the Banavāsi country, but he must have acquired it in one of his many conquests, which have been so graphically, though succinctly, enumerated in his Chandravalli inscription, and which therefore he must have achieved sometime after he was once crowned by the Pallava king. Consequently the verb प्राप,

15. M. A. R. 1909, pp. 29-30.

which is apparently the predicate *understood* in the 21st verse, as it is clearly the predicate expressed in the previous verse, would mean in the latter verse 'he acquired (the territory)', whereas in the former verse it means 'he received (the honour of coronation)'; and the adjectival compound, which, we believe, has been wrongly read as अनन्य सञ्चरण समयस्थितां (भूमिम्), will have to be read as अनन्य सञ्चरण समवस्थितां (भूमिम्), which means '(he acquired the territory) which abided (with him or in his family) without passing (or moving on) to others'; or better still as अनन्य संशरण समवस्थितां (भूमिम्) which means '(he acquired the territory), which remained not dependent on others, i.e., which was quite independent of others,' or in other words it means that he was quite an independent king.

The story then passes on to the son and the subsequent descendants of Mayūraśarma. The first hemstich of the 23rd verse has been read as :

तस्य पुत्रकङ्कवर्मोऽग्र समराध्वर प्रांशुवेष्टितः ।

and translated as 'His son was Kaṅgavarma, etc.' This is quite incorrect, for the word 'Kaṅga' is meaningless, whether as a proper or a common noun. The correct reading undoubtedly is :

तस्य पुत्रस्कन्दवर्मोऽग्र समराध्वर प्रांशुवेष्टितः ।

and the name of the son and successor of Mayūraśarma as given in this line is beyond all doubt *Skandavarma*. In the treasure trove of the early Kadamba coins recently dug out in the Sātārā collectorate, there are four which bear the inscription 'Skanda.'¹⁶ No other Kadamba king of this name is hitherto known to history or tradition. The Prākṛit prose inscription on the Maḷavalli pillar¹⁷ speaks of a grant made by :

वैजयन्ती धम्ममहाराजाधिराजे पतिकत साइझायि चच्चपरो कदम्बाणं राजा शिव (खड्ग) वम्मण मानव्यसगोत्तेन हारितीपुत्तेन

and as the Kadamba family is described here in exactly the same terms as are found in almost all the Kadamba records, it is needless to say that this is unmistakably a Kadamba inscription, and this Śiva-(Khada)-vamma i.e., Śivaskandavarma, could be none

16. Kadambakula, p. 382.

17. E. C., VII, Sk. 264.

else than the above Skandavarma, who was the son and successor of Mayūraśarma. His full name perhaps was Śivaskandavarma, which was abbreviated into Skandavarma to suit the metre in the Tālagunda inscription; or perhaps the name Śiva is only an honorific prefix added on to his real personal name Skandavarma, for we know from the records of that age that the names 'Vijaya,' 'Śiva' and sometimes 'Vijayaśiva' were used alternately as honorific prefixes with hardly any difference of meaning with the personal name of the same king.¹⁸ And we further learn from the Maḷavaḷli pillar inscription of his 4th regnal year that 'this Kadamba king Skandavarma *alias* Śivaskandavarma was also a *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*, which is undoubtedly a paramount title, the bearer of which could never be another's feudatory, but must be an independent sovereign himself. As will be seen later on, from the contemporary history of the Pallavas we learn that it was Kumāravishṇu *alias* Śivaskandavarma, who was the first to assume this paramount title among the Pallavas, who were until then known only as *Mahārājas*, as is apparent from his Hirahaḍagalli plates.¹⁹

Mayūraśarma was thus succeeded on the Kadamba throne by his son Skandavarma (v. 23), who in his turn was succeeded by his son Bhagīratha (v. 24), and a gold coin bearing the two letters **भगी** (Bhagī)²⁰ has been identified as his. He was succeeded by his son Raghu (v. 25), who is said to have conquered his enemies and caused the whole earth to be enjoyed by his own family. Raghu was succeeded by his brother Kākutstha (v. 27), who, by giving his daughters in marriage into the royal families of the Guptas and others, is said to have exalted those families, as the sun rouses up the lotus-beds by means of his rays (v. 31). He caused a large tank to be built at the temple of God Śiva in Tālagunda, where the Sātakarṇi king (or kings) and others had worshipped with reverence (v. 33). Kākutsthavarma's son was Śāntivarma, who was adorned with the acquisition of three crowns or

three thrones (v. 34)²¹; and it was at the command of this Śāntivarma that the Tālagunda pillar inscription, which is as much a *praśasti* as a dedication of the tank constructed by his father, was composed and engraved.

We have seen that in the Maḷavaḷli Prākṛit inscription²² of his 4th regnal year, Mayūraśarma's son Śivaskandavarma calls himself 'वैजयन्ती धम्ममहाराजाधिराज' whence it is self-evident that, as in those ancient days the whole kingdom was called after the name of its central capital, the Banavāsi country must have been already conquered by the Kadambas and the city of Banavāsi had been already made the capital of their kingdom sometime before the date of that inscription. In the Tālagunda inscription it is said (v. 22) that after Mayūraśarma was once crowned by the Pallavas, which coronation, we have seen, must have taken place at the first capital he had founded in the Tripārvata region, he extended his kingdom as far as the western ocean, whereupon he, who was ever devoted to God Skanda, was anointed as king by that God as well as the divine Mothers. Though to be sure it is never possible that God Skanda and the divine Mothers had come down in person and performed the anointment of Mayūraśarma, it is certain that this anointment said to have been performed by those deities was his *second* coronation, and naturally enough it would be performed at quite another place than that in the Tripārvata region where he had been once crowned by the Pallavas. This second anointment is further said to have taken place after he had extended his kingdom as far as the western ocean, or in other words after he had conquered the Banavāsi country, whence it would follow that it must have been performed at Banavāsi, which he must have judiciously selected for his new capital as lying far beyond the sphere of the possible Pallava invasion. If its performance has been ascribed to deities, it is perhaps because Mayūraśarma and his descendants who were zealously devoted to them, believed in good sooth that it was those

18. Kadamba king Mrigēśavarma is called *Vijaya-Śiva* Mrigēśavarma (I. A., VII, p. 37.) and Kṛishṇavarma II as *Vijayaśiva* Kṛishṇavarma in his Bennūr plates (E. C., V, Bl. 245.). Among the Pallavas however these prefixes are very common, as is quite well-known.

19. E. I., I, p. 3.

20. *Kadambakula*, p. 382.

21. पट्टत्रयापण विराजित चारुमूर्तेः । (vi. 34), 'पट्ट' means the royal fillet (or the diadem) as in the 20th verse of this inscription (प्राप पट्टबन्धसम्पूजां करपल्लवः पल्लवैर्दृताम् ॥) and it also means the 'throne': vide Hēmachandra's *Anēkārtha-Saṅgraha* पट्टश्चतुष्पथे पीठे राजादेः शासनान्तरे । (v. 107).

22. E. C., VII, Sk. 264.

deities who inspired him to conquer Banavāsi and conferred upon him the victory. The consummation of this conquest in the form of his anointment to the Banavāsi throne would naturally therefore be, in grateful devotion referred to those gods themselves. Thus the Kadamba kingdom had two capitals in the time of Mayūraśarma himself, one in the Triparvata region which was the earliest one, and the other at Banavāsi, which thenceforth became the principal capital of that dynasty.

Now from the Halsi plates of Kākutsthavarma,²³ which were issued in the 80th dynastic year from his capital (विजय) at Palāśikā while he was yet the crown-prince—

परम श्रीविजय पलाशिकायाम् कदम्बानां युवराज श्रीकाकुस्थ(स्थ)
वर्मा स्वैजयिके अशीतितमे संवत्सरे—

—it is evident that Palāśikā (i.e. Halsi in Belgaum district) also had already become another capital of the Kadamba kingdom a little or a long while since. Seeing that the title 'Yuvarāja' is bestowed only upon the eldest son of the reigning king, or upon the very next brother of that king in case he is issueless, or his son is yet under age,²⁴ it follows that Kākutsthavarma was the crown-prince at Palāśikā, while his elder brother Raghu was ruling as king at Banavāsi (as during the reign of their father Bhagīratha, his eldest son Raghu would necessarily be the crown-prince), and therefore Kākutsthavarma was the very next brother of Raghu. The Tālagunda inscription, which says that Kākutsthavarma succeeded Raghu as king (v. 27), has nothing to say about the issue of Raghu, whence again it follows that Raghu must have died without issue, when Kākutsthavarma succeeded him on the Kadamba throne. In the same inscription Kākutsthavarma's son Śāntivarma claims to have obtained three crowns or three thrones (v. 34), which simply means either that he succeeded to that throne as an heir to three crowns, which is manifestly a metonymy meaning three kings, or that he inherited a kingdom, which had three capi-

23. I. A., VI, p. 23.

24. In his Uruvapalli plates (I. A., V, p. 50.) Vishnugōpa calls himself Yuvarāṣṭra, while his elder brother Simhavarma I was the reigning Pallava king; and from the Udayēndiram (No. 1) plates (E. I., III, p. 42.) we know Simhavarma I had a son called Skandavarma, who also sat on the Pallava throne (in succession to his uncle Vishnugōpa).

tals, i.e., to say it consisted of three large principalities, which were governed from their respective capitals, the chief of which was at Banavāsi. In either case it would necessarily mean that Bhagīratha had three sons, all of whom ruled as kings one after another. This is quite confirmed by the distinctive description given by Mrigēśavarma, the son of this very Śāntivarma of the Tālagunda inscription— काकुत्स्थान्वये श्री शान्तिवरवर्मनयः श्रीमृगेशवरवर्मा i.e., Mrigēśavaravarma (which name is the same as Mrigēśavarma) the son of Śāntivaravarma (which again is the same as Śāntivarma) born in the family of Kākutstha (I. A., VII, p. 35.)—which would hardly have any sense, had there been no other branch than that of Kākutsthavarma; wherefore it is certain that Kākutsthavarma had a younger brother, who had ruled as king and left issue behind. While therefore the eldest of these three brothers Raghu was ruling as king from Banavāsi, and his next brother Kākutstha was the crown-prince at Palāśikā, the youngest of them was at the other capital at Triparvata. This youngest brother of Raghu must have therefore ruled as king between Kākutsthavarma and his son Śāntivarma; and if his name has not been mentioned in the Tālagunda inscription, it is perhaps not only because, belonging as it does to the collateral line, it falls outside the direct line of descent from Kākutsthavarma to Śāntivarma, but also because his reign must have been short and eventless, whereas the specific mention of Raghu's name, though it likewise falls outside the direct line of descent from Bhagīratha to Śāntivarma, must be due to the fact that he was perhaps the greatest of the Kadambas that ruled between Mayūraśarma and Śāntivarma, as is evident from the glowing terms in which he has been described (v. 25) as equal to the great mythological divine emperor Prithu, as a Vedic scholar, a poet, and an expert in many an art, and as a great conqueror, who made the whole earth subject to his family. Whoever would omit the name of such an illustrious ancestor from his genealogy?

Before passing on to the Kadamba genealogy, a few historical facts, which are deducible from the Tālagunda inscription, may be set forth as follows :—

(1) It is manifest from this inscription that it was the Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarma who was the real and historical progenitor of the Kadamba dynasty, and as such it could never have originated from either the solar or the lunar race, both of which were exclusively Kshatriya races. Hence the statement that the Kadamba dynasty sprang from the lunar race, as is said in the Bandalike

stone inscription²⁵ (dated Monday the 20th February 1167 A.C.) may be disposed of as a pure fiction of a far later age.

(2) For the same reason that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty was the Brāhmaṇa Mayūrasarma, he could have no predecessors on the Kadamba throne, which he himself had established and which he was himself the first to occupy. Accordingly the Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba²⁶ or the Trilōchana Kadamba,²⁷ who is said to have been born of a drop of sweat fallen from the forehead of God Śiva, and has been mentioned as the progenitor of the Kadamba dynasty in some much later inscriptions, will have to be relegated to the domain of myth to which he properly belongs; and consequently neither he nor those others that have been inserted between him and the real and historical progenitor Mayūrasarma in the Kadamba genealogy given by the late Mr. Rice²⁸ can have any existence in history. It is interesting to note here that also the Pallava records of the eleventh century speak of a Trilōchana Pallava, also known as Mukkanti Pallava, who is said to be a remote ancestor of the Pallavas.

(3) Had Mayūrasarma performed any horse-sacrifice, that fact would have been certainly mentioned in the Maḷavalli inscription of his son, Śivaskandavarma; and if again he or any of his successors down to Śāntivarma had performed it, that fact would never have been left out in Tālagunda inscription. As however neither of them has even a word to say about it, it is conclusive that none of the Kadamba kings from Mayūrasarma to Śāntivarma ever performed even a single *Aśvamēdha*. Consequently
 मयूरवर्म नृपस्याष्टादशश्वमेधः, i.e., the celebration of 18
 horse-sacrifices attributed to Mayūravarma (and not Mayūra-

25. E. C., VII, Sk. 236.

26. Ibid., Sk. 186. 'अनेक मंडलेश्वरं मुक्कण कडम्बम्'

27. Ibid., Sk. 17—हर चतुर ललाटस्वेदविन्दोः कदम्बक्षितिजतल धर
 प्यामाविरासीत्कदम्बः । सरल भुजचतुष्को भालनेत्रः पुरारिः पर इव
 निरघोदार बिद्यावदातः ॥ समजनि तस्मादेकः सन्न बलाक्रान्त मेदिनी
 चक्रः निजभुजनिर्जितवर्मा मयूरवर्मा धराधीशः ॥ (Note Mayūravarma
 and not Mayūrasarma).

28. 'Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions' (M. C. I.), p. 25.

sarma in another stone inscription at Tālagunda²⁹ (dated Sunday the 24th December 1088 A.C.) is a latter-day story, which can hardly have any roots in history.

(4) Inasmuch as Mukkaṇṇa Kadamba is himself a fictitious king and an invention of a much later age, if he is further said to have brought several thousands of Brāhmaṇas from the Ahicchatra country and established them in Tālagunda,³⁰ it may be dismissed as a conventional fiction of that age. Likewise may be disposed of the other story recorded in the Kargudari stone inscription³¹ of 1108 A.C. according to which the progenitor of the Kadamba dynasty was one Mayūravarma, who came from the Himālayan regions and brought from Ahicchatra 18 Brāhmaṇas whom he established in the Kuntala country. If nevertheless there is any grain of truth in such stories of Brāhmaṇas having been brought down from the Ahicchatra country, it would point to the conclusion that perhaps the Brāhmaṇa Mayūrasarma, who was the historical founder of the Kadamba dynasty, was himself originally an inhabitant of that country, whence he must have repaired to Kāñchi for the further prosecution of his studies. In that case, when once he became king and established his throne at Banavāsi in the Nāgarakhaṇḍa country, swarms of Brāhmaṇas from his native country would as a matter of course follow in his wake and settle in Nāgarakhaṇḍa³²; and it is but natural if their remote descendants in order to distinguish themselves from the original Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Nāgarakhaṇḍa or to evade being reproached by them as the offspring of the whilom homeless immigrants, should boast of having been derived from those purer Brāhmaṇas of a northern country, whom the progenitor himself of the Kadamba dynasty invited thither with all honour from Ahicchatra to make up the entire lack of the Brāhmaṇa element in all South India.³³ If so, this Ahicchatra however would not be the Pāñchāla country, which has

29. E. C., VII, Sk. 178.

30. Ibid., Sk. 186.

31. I. A., X, p. 249; F. K. D., p. 560.

32. A similar instance is found in the history of England, where shoals of Normans of all sorts and conditions are said to have established themselves in England, when William, Duke of Normandy, conquered and crowned himself as the king of England (William I) in 1066 A.C.

33. E. C., VI, Sk. 186—'dakṣiṇāpathadoḷu viprakulamanaṇakeyineḷasi paḍeyade,' i.e., eagerly seeking for Brāhmaṇa families in South India and not finding any.

been identified with the present Rōhilkhand, as it is too far off from Kāñchi for which Mayūraśarma left his native place (as has been said in the Tālagunda inscription), but it would be the other and the much nearer southern Ahicchatra, which has been mentioned by Ptolemy as *Adisatroi*, through which the river Gōdāvari flows,³⁴ and which may be identified with the western portion of the present Hyderābād state in the Dekhan. This fits in exactly with the popular tradition according to which one Mayūravarma is said to have invited a large number of Brāhmaṇa families living on the banks of the Gōdāvari, and settled them in the Nāgarakhanda division of his kingdom. It may be noted here that the mythical Trilōchana Pallava or Mukkanti Pallava is also said to have brought down a number of Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra.

(5) It goes without saying that the Chandravalli rock-inscription, in which perhaps all the conquests or victories of Mayūraśarma are enumerated, must be assigned to about the end of his reign; and from the fact that he calls himself as Mayūraśamma, i.e., Mayūraśarma in that inscription with the significant Brāhmaṇa surname *śarma*, which is exclusively the designation of the Brāhmaṇa class, it readily follows that he did not abandon his Brāhmaṇahood till the end of his life; and therefore the representation of his name as Mayūravarma as is found in several much later inscriptions is nothing short of a distortion of truth. But in the Maḷavalli inscription of the 4th regnal year of his son Śivaskandavarma, he styles himself with the Kshatriya surname *varman*, and it need hardly be said that he must have assumed that style when he ascended the throne. Further, in the Tālagunda inscription it is only one Mayūraśarma, who has been throughout mentioned with that Brāhmanic surname, whereas others are spoken of with the Kshatriya designation '*varman*.' It follows therefore that from Śivaskandavarma onwards all the Kadamba kings gave up the Brāhmaṇahood, which Mayūraśarma however had not relinquished. The reason could be no other than that when he established himself as king, Mayūraśarma must have married a Kshatriya princess in accordance with the law and usage prescribing the practice of the marriages of Brāhmaṇas with Kshatriya damsels,³⁵ in which case from his very son forth his pro-

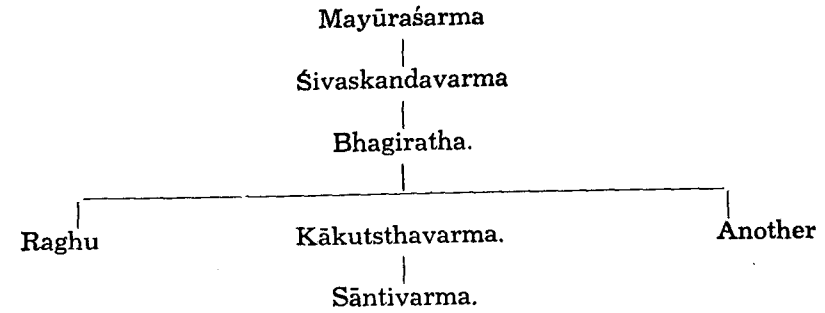
34. Vide Lassen's Map of Ancient India according to Ptolemy in his 'Indischer Alterthumskunde,' Vol. III.

35. *Manusmṛiti*, III, 13; *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, I, 57, 91.

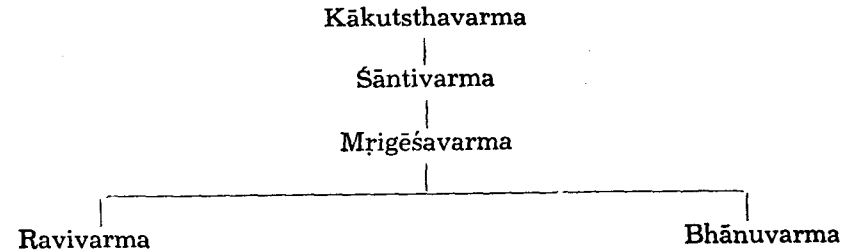
geny could no longer remain Brāhmaṇas, but would perforce become Kshatriyas,³⁶ whose characteristic style is no other than '*varman*.'

Kadamba Genealogy

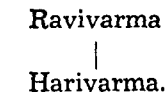
Now then from the Tālagunda inscription we have—



From the Halsi plates of Bhānuvarma³⁷ we have—



From the Halsi plates of Harivarma³⁸—



and from another set of the Halsi plates of the same king Harivarma,³⁹ we get the names of that king and his paternal uncle Śivaratha.

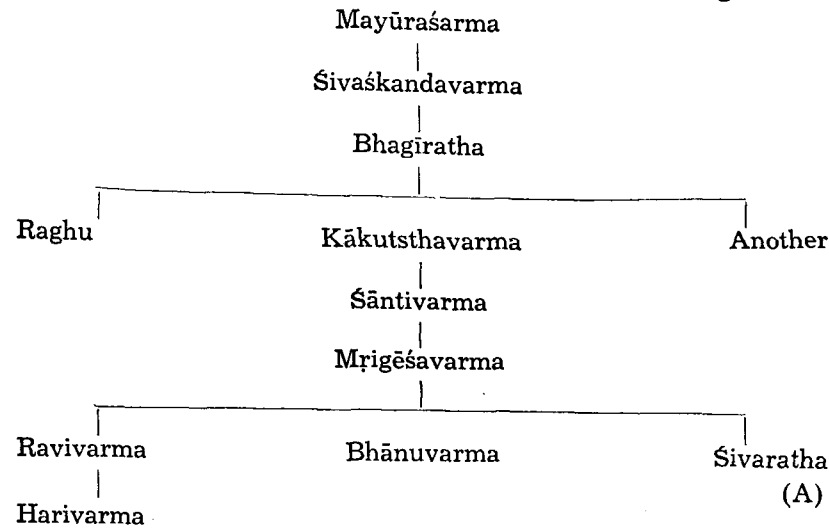
36. *Manu*, IV, 91.

37. I. A., VI, p. 28.

38. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 32.

39. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 30-31.

Consolidating these 4 pedigrees, we have the following table—



It may be noted here that Śāntivarma is also called Śāntivara-varma,⁴⁰ and Mrigēśavarma is also known as Mrigēśavaravarma,⁴¹ Mrigēśvaravarma⁴² and Vijaya-Śiva Mrigēśavarma.⁴³

Next from the Bīrūr plates⁴⁴ as well as the Hebbāṭa plates⁴⁵ we have—

Kṛishṇavarma.
|
Viṣṇuvarma.

and in both the sets we are also told that this Kṛishṇavarma had performed *Aśvamēdha* and Viṣṇuvarma was his *eldest* son.

From the Bannahallī plates⁴⁶ we have—

Kṛishṇavarma (I)
|
Viṣṇuvarma
|
Sinhavarma
|
Kṛishṇavarma (II)

40. Ibid., VI, p. 24.

41. Ibid., VII, p. 35.

42. E. C., VIII, Sb. 33.

43. I. A., VII, p. 37.

44. E. C., VI, K. 162.

45. M. A. R. 1925, p. 98.

46. E. C., V, Bl. 121.

whence it is self-evident that the only two steps given in the Bīrūr and the Hebbāṭa plates are the first two steps of the pedigree given in the Bannahallī plates, inasmuch as in the Bannahallī plates not only is Kṛishṇavarma (I), whose name stands first in all these three sets, said to have celebrated the *Aśvamēdha* as in the Bīrūr and the Hebbāṭa plates, but he as well as his son Viṣṇuvarma are spoken of as *Dharmamahārāja* exactly as in the Bīrūr plates.

From the Tagare plates⁴⁷ of Bhōgivarma, we have—

Kṛishṇavarma
|
Ajavarma
|
Bhōgivarma

Viṣṇuvarma (prince)

Now in these Tagare plates, the last five lines are composed in old Kannaḍa, and it is perhaps for the first time here that Kannaḍa language was employed in the composition of the records of the early Kadambas. Though we have no documents of the time of Kṛishṇavarma (I), we have documents at least of his son Viṣṇuvarma (the Bīrūr and the Hebbāṭa plates) in neither of which do we find Kannaḍa; nor do we find it in any of the three records (the Bannahallī, the Bennūr and the Sirsi plates), hitherto accessible to us, of the time of Kṛishṇavarma (II). Evidently therefore the Tagare plates must be later than the time of Kṛishṇavarma (II), and consequently the Kṛishṇavarma mentioned as the first step here must be the second of that name i.e., Kṛishṇavarma (II). Then the Bannahallī genealogy extended with the addition of the Tagare genealogy, would stand—

Kṛishṇavarma (I)
|
Viṣṇuvarma
|
Sinhavarma
|
Kṛishṇavarma (II)
|
Ajavarma
|
Bhōgivarma
|
Viṣṇuvarma (prince)

47. M. A. R. 1918, p. 35.

It may also be noted here once for all that this Kṛishṇavarma (II), whose name stands first in the Tagare plates has been described there as 'अन्वयास्वर भास्कर' i.e., the sun in the firmament of the family (of the Kadambas), exactly as the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarma is described in the Kodunjeruvu plates⁴⁸ of his sister's son the Gaṅga king Avinīta—अविच्छिन्नाश्वमेधाभिषिक्त श्रीमत्कदम्बकुलगगन गभस्तिमालिनः श्री कृष्णवर्म महाधिराज—

which description is further repeated in his Residency plates⁴⁹ and so many subsequent Gaṅga records. It is therefore quite certain that it is Kṛishṇavarma (II) himself who was the maternal uncle of Avinīta. As moreover in all those Gaṅga records this Kṛishṇavarma (II) is further said to have performed the *Āśvamēdha*, it follows that Kṛishṇavarma (II) also did celebrate it. From the Bīrūr and the Hebbāṭa plates of Viṣṇuvarma, as well as from the Bannahāḷi plates of Kṛishṇavarma (II) we have already seen that Kṛishṇavarma (I) performed *Āśvamēdha*. Evidently therefore both the Kadamba kings of the name of Kṛishṇavarma i.e., Kṛishṇavarma (I) as well as his great grandson Kṛishṇavarma (II) celebrated the horse-sacrifice.

From the Dēvagere plates of the crown-prince Dēvavarma,⁵⁰ we have—

Kṛishṇavarma
|
Yuvarāja Dēvavarma.

Here Dēvavarma, who was the Yuvarāja or crown-prince, calls himself the beloved son (प्रियतनय) of Kṛishṇavarma, who was the Kadamba Dharmamahārāja, and had celebrated the *Āśvamēdha*. As however both the Kadamba kings of the name of Kṛishṇavarma had performed that sacrifice, we have to find out which of the twain was the father of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma. We have already said that Yuvarāja is a title which is borne only by the eldest son of the reigning king, or by the very next brother of that king in case the king is without issue or his son is yet under age. Accordingly Yuvarāja Dēvavarma, who calls himself the beloved son of Kṛishṇavarma, was his eldest son. Now from the Bīrūr as well as the Hebbāṭa plates of Viṣṇuvarma, we have al-

48. Ibid., 1924, p. 67.

49. Ibid. 1911, p. 32.

50. I. A., VII, pp. 33-34.

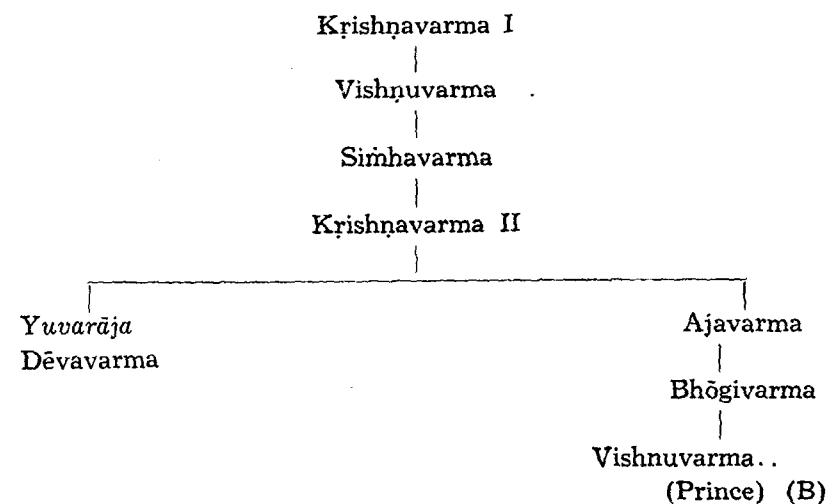
ready seen that the said Viṣṇuvarma was the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma I; wherefore it goes without saying that Yuvarāja Dēvavarma was the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma II, who also, as we have seen, had celebrated the *Āśvamēdha*. Further in the Tagare plates Ajavarma, the father of the donor king Bhōgivarma, is said to be merely a son, and not the eldest son of Kṛishṇavarma II—श्रीमत्कृष्णवर्म (म) हाराजस्य पुत्रस्याजवर्मणः

and thus Ajavarma would be a younger brother of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma. The Dēvagere plates further assert that the donor's father Kṛishṇavarma i.e., Kṛishṇavarma II attacked some chieftains of Nāga descent and enjoyed his heritage—नागजानाक्रस्य दायानुभूतस्य

स्य...धर्ममहाराजस्य श्री कृष्णवर्मणः,

and the Bennūr plates⁵¹ of Kṛishṇavarma II speak of a grant which he made in the Sēndraka country. Now the Sēndrakas were of Nāga descent.⁵²

When the name of Yuvarāja Dēvavarma is added on to the pedigree of Kṛishṇavarma I, it would stand—



(To be continued.)

51. E. C., V, Bl. 245.

52. Vide I. A., VI, p. 106— 'भुजगेन्द्रान्वय सेन्द्रावनीन्द्र सन्ततौ' i.e., in the family of the Sēndra (Sēndraka) kings, who are of the lineage of Bhujagēndras (i.e., the Nāga kings).

Early Career of Allahvardi

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ALLAHVARDI Khan, originally known as Mirza Bandi¹ or Mirza Muhammad Ali,² was the son of Mirza Muhammad, who was a cup-bearer of Azam Shah, the second son of Emperor Aurungzeb.³ His mother belonged to the tribe of Afshas, a class of Turks in Turkistan, and was related to Shujauddin Khan, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Khan and Deputy Governor of Orissa in his time.⁴ After his father's death Allahvardi and his brother Haji Ahmed entered the service of Azam Shah,⁵ the latter being appointed as a cup-bearer and Superintendent of the jewellery stores.⁶

But Azam Shah did not live long. In course of the fratricidal war between Muzzam (afterwards known as Emperor Bahadur Shah) and himself, he was killed at the sanguinary battle of Jajo, near Agra (June 1707).⁷ Owing to the death of their patron, the two brothers, Allahvardi and Haji Ahmed, fell into distress.⁸ But after some time they decided to try their lot elsewhere, and so proceeded to Orissa with the hope that Shujauddin's relationship with their mother⁹ might help them in securing his favour. Historian Orme mentions that they went with strong recommendations from Delhi which made some effect on Shujauddin's mind.¹⁰

On their arrival at Cuttack, they were welcomed by Shujauddin, who appointed them as immediate attendants upon his per-

son; Haji Ahmed was appointed in the capacity of his first 'Kist-mutgar' (or valet), and Allahvardi as his 'chilum purdar' (keeper of the smoking pipe) with the additional denomination and pay of a soldier.¹¹ Orme remarks that they were employed in different posts in proportion to their abilities: "the elder (Haji Ahmed) was calm, supple, wily, provident but void of natural courage; the younger stern, active, intrepid, sagacious, but too high-minded to submit to the compliances necessary in an Asiatic Court."¹²

But they were destined for something higher and were soon promoted from their humble positions. By dint of their tact and ability they soon ingratiated themselves with Shujauddin, and their services to him conduced much to the stability of his government.¹³ They introduced new arrangements in the department of finances, and the revenues of Orissa were augmented by their industry.¹⁴ Western writers like Holwell and Scrafton have referred to certain other means by which they created their influence in the court of Shujauddin. Holwell says that Haji Ahmed "soon found out the great foible of his master; which was an ungovernable appetite for a variety of women (and) by indulging and feeding this passion, quickly gained an ascendant over his master, and had the disposal of all places of small importance; and as he was observed to be the growing favourite, all suits and petitions were preferred through his mediation."¹⁵ Scrafton has gone a step further and has pointed out that he "made a sacrifice of his own daughter to his master's lust."¹⁶ But even Holwell doubts this statement and says that he never heard of it before. It should also be noted that neither historian Orme and nor any of the native authorities make the slightest reference to these facts. Holwell has also noted that Haji acted as an informer to his master on the conduct of all his officers "with whom he secretly planted his own emissaries, so that nothing was transacted in any part of the province of Orissa, that his master had not the most early intelligence."¹⁷ Haji Ahmed concealed his designs even from Allahvardi, but the latter was also

1. Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 293.

2. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 275; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 473.

3. Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 293.

4. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh (Oriental Public Library, Bankipur).

5. Ibid.

6. Ryaz-us-Salatin, p. 293.

7. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 11.

8. Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 294; Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh.

9. Ibid.

10. Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II, p. 27.

11. Holwell's Interesting Historical Events, Part I, p. 60; Orme, Vol. II, p. 27.

12. Ibid. Holwell also uses almost similar expressions.

13. Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh; Stewart, p. 473; Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 294.

14. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 27*.

15. Interesting Hist. Events, Part I, p. 61.

16. Reflections on the Government of Indostan.

17. Int. Hist. Event, pp. 62-63.

promoted from humbler positions to better ones for his own merit and ability.

Thus the abilities and honest services of Allahvardi, combined with the tactful and designing measures of his brother, enhanced their influence day by day, till a favourable turn appeared in the year 1725 when Nawab Murshid Kuli expired.¹⁸ When Shujauddin proceeded to Murshidabad to take possession of the *masnad*, the two brothers accompanied him there, and "partook of the increase of his power, administering the same employments in the general government of the subaship as they had held in the Government of Orissa."¹⁹ Haji Ahmed became his Prime-minister while Allahvardi, being "promoted to a command of horse of the first distinction,"²⁰ became the leading figure in his Council or Cabinet of advisers.²¹ Haji's eldest son Nawazish Muhammad was made the Generalissimo of the Nawab's army, his second son Sayid Ahmed was appointed as the Faujdar of Rungpur, while his youngest son Zainuddin Ahmed was appointed the Faujdar of Akbar-nagar (Rajmahal).²²

Allahvardi rendered faithful services to his master in all administrative matters, and fortune gave him a fair opportunity in the year 1729. In that year Fakruddaulah was transferred by orders

18. Int. Hist. Events, p. 62; Orme, Vol. II, p. 28.

19. Ibid.

20. Int. Hist. Events, p. 63.

21. Two other members of the Council were Rai Rayan Alam Chand (formerly Shujauddin's Dewan in Orissa) and Jagatseth Fatechand, the banker.

22. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 281; Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh. We can compare with this the somewhat different account in the Ryaz-us-salatin, which says, "... whilst Mirza Bandi was invested with the Mansab and title of Alivardi Khan, and appointed Faujdar of the Chaklah of Akbar-nagar. Similarly, the Haji's eldest son, named Muhammad Riza, received the office of Darogah or Superintendent of the Bajutrah of Murshidabad; his second son, Aga Muhammad Said, was appointed Deputy Faujdar of Rungpur; whilst his youngest son, Mirza Muhammad Hashim, was invested with the Mansab and title of Hashim Ali Khan." p. 294. Thus we see that in one point only, that is Sayid Ahmed being appointed as the Faujdar of Rungpur, the author of the Ryaz-us-salatin agrees with the authors of Seir-ul-mutakherin and Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh. But his account is less trustworthy than that of the Seir's author, who had a better knowledge of the affairs at Murshidabad.

of the Emperor from the Subadarship of Azimabad (Patna),²³ which was again annexed to subah Bengal and was conferred on Nawab Shujauddin.²⁴ Shujauddin wanted to send one of his sons as the Deputy Governor of Patna, but his wife Zebunnisa, the daughter of Murshid Kuli, did not consent to part with her son, and herself proposed the name of Allahvardi for that post. Shujauddin was too glad to accept his wife's proposal, as he himself held a very high opinion of Allahvardi's merits and abilities. Allahvardi's appointment being published, Nawab Shujauddin gave him the "office of Panj Hazari (the command of five thousand horse), the title of Mahabat Jang Bahadur and the privilege of keeping the flag (*alam*) and the band (*nakkara*)."²⁵ Zebunnisa sent for Allahvardi to the gate of her apartment, invested him with a rich *Khelyat*.²⁶ After this investiture, the Nawab also presented him the *Khelyat* and the patent for the Deputy Governorship of Patna, along with an elephant, a sabre, and a quantity of jewels.²⁷

Allahvardi then started for Patna taking with him two of his sons-in-law and a few other relatives. On his arrival there he found Behar in a greatly distracted and unsettled state. The Zemindars in different parts of the country had become turbulent and rebellious, and a band of robbers called the 'Banjarahs,' "who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures," had been devastating many parts of Behar.²⁸ But nothing daunted by these difficulties, Allahvardi "commenced his

23. Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 281; Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh; Stewart, p. 477.

24. Ibid; "Fakhruddaula was subadar of Behar from 1140 A. H. for about five years. He was given to ease and pleasures, and ill-treated not only his minister, Shaikh Abdulla, who enjoyed the confidence of the public, but also insulted Khwajah Mutassam (brother of Amir-ul-Umara Samsamuddaulah Khan Dauran Khwajah Asam). The latter in consequence left Patna, went to Delhi, and complained to his brother, who held great influence at the court of the Emperor." Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 295, footnote.

25. Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh; Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 282.

26. It was perhaps this which made Mr. Holwell remark that Haji Ahmed had influenced "the reigning favourite mistress." Int. Hist. Event, p. 67.

27. Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh; Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 282; Waqâ-i Fath Bangala by Md. Wafa (O. P. L., ZS. No. 1776), pp. 5-6 B.

28. Ryaz-us-Salatin, p. 296.

administration by introducing order in the city, augmenting and increasing his forces, gaining the hearts of the subjects, attaching the military to his person, and chastising and bringing to order the Zemindars and other refractory persons and insurgents of the province. Above all, he made it a standing rule to bring into his service as many military men of character as he came to hear of in the neighbouring provinces; by these means he in a little time found himself at the head of an army, well-appointed and furnished with every thing that could ensure success."²⁹ He engaged in his military department a Rohilla Afghan named Abdul Karim Khan, who was the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga and had a large number of Afghan followers.³⁰

Thus, with this powerful equipment, Allahvardi first chastised the Banjarah³¹ tribe, and then proceeded against the refractory Rajahs of Betiah and Bhawarah.³² The two Rajahs were thoroughly subdued; their territories were pillaged; and Allahvardi "carried off a large booty, amounting to several laks, in specie and other effects."³³ He next turned his attention against the Chakwaras. They were a brave Hindu tribe "who possessed a tract of country opposite Mongheer (Monghyr), up the river Samboo; the prince or Rajah of this country had never paid tribute, or acknowledged any subjection to the Soubahs of Bengal, or indeed to the Mogul (Emperor) himself. He laid everything that passed on the river by Mongheer under contribution, and put the European settlements to an annual heavy expense of a large armament to escort their trade to and from Patna. The old brave Rajah of these people (.....) deceased in the year 1730, and was succeeded by his son, a youth of seventeen; this young prince intimidated by the examples made of several of the Behar Rajahs, after a short resistance submitted; acknowledged allegiance to the Emperor, and subjection to the Soubah. An annual tribute was stipulated, and regularly paid for four years—a spot was fixed on, five miles from

the mouth of the Samboo, and thirty from the capital of the Chukwaras, where the prince every year met the Nawab's officer on a certain day, the one to pay, the other to receive the tribute, and it was agreed that they should have only thirty attendants on each side."³⁴ Similarly he turned his arms against the Zemindar of Bhojpur, and Raja Sunder Sing, Zemindar of Ticary and Kamgar Khan Muin, who had not paid the Government dues and had defied the authority of the previous Deputy-Governors. He chastised every one of them, "levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection."³⁵ But Abdul Karim, the Nawab's Afghan Commander, became a very powerful officer in the state, and began to act in an independent manner. This was what Allahvardi could not bear; he soon got him treacherously murdered by a trick.³⁶

Thus he subdued all refractory elements in Behar, and his administration was a success.³⁷ This was the great turning point in his career, because by this successful administration, "he found means both to conserve Shuja Khan's (Shujauddin's) goodwill, and to strengthen his own power and influence."³⁸ The few years from 1735 to 1739 were utilised by him in confirming his own position and influence till he was able to make himself the Nawab of Bengal.

29. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 283.

30. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 283; Ryaz-us-Salatin, p. 296.

31. Banjarah is described as a Zemindari with 100 horse and 1000 foot under Subah Behar in the Ain-i-Akbar; Vol. II, p. 230. Ryaz-us-salatin, p. 296.

32. Bhabrah or Bhawarah is mentioned as a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut, in Subah Behar, Ain, Vol. II, p. 156.

33. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, 283; Ryaz-us-Salatin, p. 296.

34. Int. Hist. Events, pp. 68-70.

35. Ryaz-us-Salatin, p. 297.

36. Ibid; Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 284.

37. Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh.

38. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. I, p. 284.

The Appointment of Lord Lauderdale as Governor-General of India. 1806

By

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EVERYONE knows that the power of the East India Company was curtailed effectively in 1784 by the passing of Pitt's India Act. Under that statute the deliberations of the Court of Directors, the executive of the Company, were placed under the superintendence, direction, and control of a body of Ministers of the Crown, technically called "The Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India," but popularly known as the Board of Control or the India Board.¹ Pitt's India Act was essentially a compromise; it purported to find a *via media* between the sovereign rights claimed and exercised by the Company, and the transcendent and absolute sovereignty of Parliament. It established a "dual government" for India, but did not, as is inevitable with such politics, define clearly or precisely the respective jurisdiction of the Directors and the newly constituted Board. The consequence was frequent conflicts between the two with all that these implied; wordy battles conducted on both sides with considerable heat and passion; references to learned counsel on the right interpretation of the law; Parliamentary intercession; and prayers before the law courts. Delay was inherent in such a system, and it is to be feared that many of the astonishing errors and contradictions which mark the Indian policy at the time are to be attributed to this source. "Had a committee been assembled from the padded chambers of Bedlam," is the caustic comment of Lord Curzon, "they could hardly have devised anything more extravagant in its madness, or more mischievous in its operation."²

The most vicious provision in the Act was the one which, while holding the Board of Control responsible for the good gov-

ernment of India, left the appointment of all officials, high and low, in the hands of the Court of Directors. Patronage was a jealously-guarded privilege with the latter. It is curious to remark that even before the constitution was one year old, it had driven Henry Dundas, the first and most notable of all the Presidents of the India Board, to desperation. Warren Hastings was the Governor-General whom Dundas decided to replace by Lord Macartney, the former being in his opinion unfit to carry into execution those retrenchments which it was the policy of the Board to effect in India. But he was opposed in this project on the one hand by the Court of Directors with whom Hastings had considerable influence, and on the other by Lord Thurlow, his zealous admirer. The following letter of Dundas addressed to a member of the Board of Control gives a most vivid account of his feelings: "We are appointed to control the civil and military affairs of India; at the head of the first *will remain Mr. Hastings*. That you may depend upon. What is still worse, at the head of the second will be General Sloper. . . . Join to this a determined faction at the India House operating against us; and to conclude all the most obstinate part of His Majesty's Ministers respectively countenancing the heads of faction both at home and in India. . . . I wish you in some situation where your talents and integrity may do some good to the public. I wish myself again at the Bar, where, if I can do no good to the public, I will at least escape the disgrace which, if I remain where I now am, I am positive awaits me."³

The recalcitrance of the Directors evinced so early during his term of office acted as a warning for Dundas. Endowed as he was with considerable talents and a tireless capacity for taking pains, he was even more distinguished for his tact and diplomacy. He hit upon a twofold device. On the one hand, he organised a party at the India House which would support him in his encounters with the Directors,⁴ and on the other hand inaugurated what may be truly called "a system of conferences." Once a week, if not oftener, it became the custom for the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Company to meet the President of the Board informally, and to discuss matters concerning the affairs of the East

1. In practice the Board soon became a phantom body, and all real power passed into the hands of the senior member, known since 1793 as the President of the Board.

2. Curzon, *British Government in India*, ii, p. 69.

3. Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission: MSS. Preserved at Dropmore, i, pp. 240-41.

4. Furber, H, *Henry Dundas*, p. 60.

India Company.⁵ It was on these occasions that the question of the appointment of a new Governor-General or Governor was first mooted. Both parties would suggest the names of their candidates, it being usual for the Company to canvass the claims of a loyal and experienced civil servant, and for the Board to back up some politician belonging to their party and may be bound to them by ties of personal affection or esteem. It was, however, the nominee of the Board who almost invariably carried the day. During the period that Dundas was the India Minister, as many as sixteen Governors-General and Governors were appointed, yet out of these only three were Civilians. This policy was consistently followed by Castlereagh also, who on one occasion declared that "as a general principle, it is certainly in many ways desirable that the Supreme Government should not be in the hands of a Company servant."⁶ To sum up, during the regime of Dundas and Castlereagh it was really the Board of Control who selected the Governors and who were later formally declared appointed by a resolution of the Court of Directors.

Castlereagh resigned his office on 11th February, 1806, when the Government of which he was a member fell. But shortly before this, a remarkable event had occurred in India. This was the death of the Marquess of Cornwallis, the veteran soldier and statesman, who had consented at the pressing request of the Prime Minister, and out of purely public consideration, to assume the onerous duties of the Governor-General of India for the third time.⁷ But Cornwallis was stricken in years, and before two months had passed he was dead. His death provides the starting point of one of the most discreditable and bewildering chapters in the history of the relations between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The Board advise the nomination of Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Supreme Council, who is immediately appointed Governor-General. Three weeks later, they ask the Directors to consider the nomination of a new Governor-General.

5. Cf. Farington Diary, VI, p. 205. The Chairman and the Deputy-Chairman of the Company were practically the dictators of the Court of Directors.

6. The MSS. preserved at the India Office Library, London. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 504, p. 138.

7. Ross, Charles, *The Correspondence of Marquess of Cornwallis*, iii, p. 522.

This is resisted by the Court of Directors, until the Board force the issue by the proposal of the name of Lord Lauderdale. To his acceptance the Directors offer the most stout resistance and a deadlock occurs, which is relieved finally by the President of the Board offering himself for the post.

The controversy deserves to be narrated at some length because of the interesting constitutional issues to which it gave rise, and also because it is the only instance in which in a straight fight with the Board of Control the Directors emerge victorious.

Immediately the new Board of Control assumed office, to be precise, on 14th February, 1806, Lord Minto, the President, wrote a letter to the Chairs (as the Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Company were called in their joint capacity) in which he recommended the appointment of Barlow, who had on Cornwallis's death become the Acting Governor-General. But he added: "Sir George Barlow will, I am persuaded, himself be sensible that an arrangement which is prompted by the exigency of a particular moment, in the first days of a new Administration, cannot be adopted on such reflection as is due to a fixed and established measure, and that the future and permanent settlement of the Government in Bengal, in which, however, at the present moment no change is in contemplation, must necessarily be reserved for the more deliberate consideration of His Majesty's servants."⁸

It is thus clear that Barlow's nomination was meant to be temporary, but when three weeks later Minto invited the Chairs to discuss with him the question of a substantive Governor-General, to his surprise, they declared that when the name of Barlow was mentioned neither they nor the Court of Directors understood that any immediate change in the Government was intended. Further, they proceeded to show reasons why Barlow should be continued in office, one of which was, that as the important negotiations begun by Cornwallis with the Indian States were still proceeding, a person with a previous knowledge of affairs was more desirable than a stranger. They remarked that it would be unjust not to confirm Barlow on the present occasion, when once he had already been superseded, and when there was danger of the proposed announcement causing his resignation and depriving the Company of his

8. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, pp. 218-19.

extraordinary talents. And they added naively that his resignation would have the additional disadvantage of raising an inconvenient question of granting him a gratuity, he being "so much of a public man that after a service of twenty six years his fortune is understood to be very trifling, and he has a large family."⁹ As if anticipating a controversy with the Board over the question under discussion, they characteristically entered into a homily over the happy relations which had hitherto subsisted between the Board and the Directors: "It has been usual for the President of the Board of Commissioners and the Chairs to communicate confidentially to each other their sentiments on important matters, especially in relation to the appointments of Indian Governors, which appointments, though by law vested in the Company, and by usage subjected to the recommendation of His Majesty's Ministers, have always, as far as we know, been settled not by insisting on either of these claims separately, but by mutual amicable consideration and agreement."¹⁰

Minto denied that the appointment of Barlow was meant to be anything but temporary, and asserted that he had made his position clear both in the correspondence which took place on the subject and also during the course of conversation. However, he invited the Chairs to meet himself and Grenville, the Prime Minister. As a result of this conference which met on 10th March, 1806, some time was allowed to the Directors to reconsider their decision.

Two months passed, and the attitude of the Directors remained unchanged. Thereupon, the Board forced the issue by requesting the Chairman to bring the question of the appointment of a new Governor-General before the forthcoming meeting of the Court of Directors, and recommended Lord Lauderdale to their "candid consideration and cheerful acceptance."¹¹

As a preliminary measure, it was decided to move a resolution in the Court of Directors for the revocation of the commission of Barlow as Governor-General, and the Court showed its temper by rejecting it by 18 to 4.¹² The Ministers thereupon advised

9. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, p. 233.

10. Ibid, p. 234.

11. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, pp. 261-63.

12. Morris, H, Life of Charles Grant, p. 265.

the King to exercise the power of recall vested in him by law, and on 28th May the King's warrant cancelling Barlow's commission was published.

Among the several reasons assigned for this step by Lord Minto one is of special significance, and deserves to be quoted in full: "His Majesty's Ministers are intimately persuaded both as applicable in times of difficulty and crisis that it is expedient for the due administration of India, that the person entrusted with the extensive powers belonging to that distant Government should be one who possesses the cordial confidence of Government at home; they think also that rank, weight, and consideration in the Metropolitan country must add much to the authority and efficiency of those who administer great and remote provinces."¹³

To this the Directors replied: "Should every succeeding Administration use the same argument, it might hence follow that the Governor-General would be changed with every change of Administration, a practice that might be highly prejudicial to the public interest, for it would be to consider him as so belonging to any party in the State as to be liable either to be attacked or defended on that account, and his administration is likely to be most unexceptionable, when he has to look for support only to the merits of it."¹⁴

It might be added in parenthesis that in recent years it is the principle of the Directors which has found the fullest acceptance.¹⁵

The Directors also took strong exception to the exercise of the power of recall in the above instance. They were of opinion that it was to be exercised only where there had been an abuse of patronage, as when a person had been appointed who was incompetent or when appointed had proved guilty of misconduct. They further twitted the Board by asking whether when a certain recall was combined with the appointment of a particular successor, the nominee of the Ministers, and the choice of the Directors confined to that particular person alone, it would not be contrary to the evident meaning of the Legislature.

13. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, p. 312.

14. Ibid, pp. 343-44.

15. The Vicerealty of Lords Reading and Irwin will occur to anyone.

Though the Ministers had succeeded in revoking Barlow's appointment, they found it impossible to push ahead with the nomination of Lord Lauderdale. Lauderdale had been a warm supporter of Fox's celebrated India Bill, and during the French Revolution had openly avowed his sympathy with the most violent democratic principles. He had styled himself Citizen Maitland, and had had the temerity on one occasion to scandalise the House of Lords by appearing in the rough costume of Jacobinism.¹⁶ It is, therefore, not surprising that his candidature should have been distasteful to a body so highly Conservative as the Directors. He proved tactless also and when recommended by the Ministers took his appointment for granted, thus treating the power of the Directors with unusual levity.¹⁷ "... The name of Lord Lauderdale was mentioned to us. . . . Almost on the same day it was blazed all over the town," plaintively complains a Director.¹⁸ At length a deputation from the Directors distinctly told the Board that if his name was formally proposed, there was a great possibility of its rejection.

The Cabinet was divided as to what methods to pursue. Fox, who was the Foreign Secretary in the Government and whose nominee in fact Lauderdale was, was of opinion that the Government should abandon the right of nomination altogether, rather than make a new offer in deference to the wishes of the Court. Grenville, not daring to range against his Administration such an influential body as the Directors was not willing to be so supercilious. "In the relations between Government and the Company fixed by existing laws," he protested to Fox, "it is undeniable that the Directors ought to have at least a negative on the choice of a Governor-General."¹⁹

An impasse had been reached which was solved happily by the timely withdrawal of his claims by Lord Lauderdale who, knowing that Fox was lying dangerously ill, did not wish to perturb him.²⁰ The name of Minto was now proposed, and by a resolution of the Court of Directors he was appointed Governor-

General on 9th July, 1806.²¹ The propriety of Minto's accepting the place after the prominent share he had taken in the Barlow-Lauderdale controversy would have been questionable were it not known that his motive was completely disinterested. "I accepted . . . the situation," wrote Minto truly, "which so far from seeking, I thought a week ago no human persuasion could have led me to undertake."²²

A day previous to the appointment of Minto, the arena of struggle had been shifted to the floor of the House of Lords.²³ Lord Melville (Henry Dundas), the principal speaker on the Opposition side, stigmatized the conduct of the Ministry as an encroachment on the rights of the Directors. He insinuated that the recall of Barlow were very much the appearance of disgrace, as if within ten days of his appointment, the Ministers had discovered something in his conduct which made a continuance of their confidence in him impossible. He stood up as the champion of the cause of the Civil Servants and with splendid rhetoric argued that it was unjust and absurd that while all the other lucrative situations in the country were open to them, the honours of the highest should be denied them. Yet the remarks of Lord Melville served no other purpose than to illustrate the common maxim that persons in Opposition very often advocate just the reverse of what had been their guiding principles when in power. How shallow his sympathy was with the Civil Servants may be gauged from his appointments.

As has been mentioned, the appointment of Barlow was from the first meant to be temporary only and there is no foundation for the current belief that in this affair the Board of Control showed a sudden change of mind.²⁴ The letter of Minto (already quoted) in which he made the proposal is clear enough on the point, although it may be allowed that the language is rather unfortunate. Minto mentioned that the appointment was to be provisional only, but immediately followed it up by saying that no immediate change in the Government of Bengal was intended. It appears, however, that for this ambiguity the Chairs, who later

16. Dictionary of National Biography, XXXV, pp. 355-57.

17. Farington, op. cit, iii, p. 252.

18. Morris, op. cit, pp. 264-66.

19. The Dropmore MSS, VII, pp. 197-200.

20. Countess of Minto, Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, III, pp. 329-93.

21. The India Office MSS: Court-Book, Vol. 115, p. 437.

22. The Bengal, Past and Present, XXIV, p. 26.

23. Hansard, 1806, pp. 948-67.

24. Cf. P. E. Roberts in his Historical Geography of India, Pt. I, p. 267.

made out that the Board of Control had altered their mind, were themselves to blame. The original words of Minto were: "the future and permanent settlement of the Government in Bengal must necessarily be reserved for the more deliberate consideration of His Majesty's servants." But the Chairs, to whom the letter was confidentially shown before its despatch, suggested that there being rumours about impending changes in the personnel of the Bengal Council occasion might be taken to set them at rest. Thereupon, Minto inserted after the words, "Government in Bengal," the following words: "in which, however, at the present moment no change is in contemplation." It is thus clear that these words referred not to the Governor-General but to the members of the Council.²⁵

A private letter of Minto written to Barlow at exactly the same time as his communication to the Chairs also shows beyond a doubt that the latter's elevation was temporary only. "It would have been still more satisfactory to me," Minto had written, "if I had been empowered to make this recommendation to the Court of Directors more unqualified with doubts respecting the permanency of the present appointment."²⁶ Further, Sir Francis Baring himself a Director, stated in a subsequent letter to the Court of Directors that at the time when Barlow's name was proposed, he had heard that "the appointment was provisional only until the Ministers could make up their mind whom to recommend."²⁷ In fact Baring took the Chairs to task for not acquainting the Court with this important fact. The Annual Register for 1806 also supports the view here presented.²⁸

One question, however, might reasonably arise. If Barlow was already the Acting Governor-General, why appoint him a regular Governor-General, unless it was intended to appoint him permanently? The explanation offered by Minto and which carries conviction with it is that Barlow was at the time engaged in carrying on important negotiations with the Indian rulers for whose validity it was essential that he should be invested with the

25. Cf. the letters of the Chairs to the Court of Directors, dated 11th and 16th June, 1806, the Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, pp. 399-428.

26. The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, pp. 246-47.

27. Ibid, p. 386.

28. On page 256.

formal title of Governor-General. That was a step indeed urged strongly by Lord Wellesley.²⁹

In the light of the preceding discussion, the charge of fickleness levelled against the Board of Control by the Directors appears to be no more than a clever ruse to offer opposition. To what causes this resistance of the Directors is to be attributed is not easy to determine. They may have considered Lord Lauderdale as a personal and political friend of Fox, and seized this opportunity to show that the events of 1783 were still fresh in their memory. They may have feared that the recall of Barlow would be followed by a more militant foreign policy than they were prepared for. Or they may have thought that the commencement of a new, and, as was popularly supposed, a disjointed Administration, was a favourable occasion for pressing those claims, which during the days of Dundas and Castlereagh they had hesitated to bring forward. "Their intention is," wrote Grenville to Fox, "to resume for themselves, and win for the Court of Proprietors that share of the political government of India, which it was the opinion of all parties in 1784 to take from them."³⁰

Colour is lent to this last suggestion by the fact that even before the name of Lord Lauderdale was mentioned, the Directors had thrown down the gauntlet.³¹ The mild letter of Minto of 7th March had done nothing to provoke their gratuitous outburst as to the amicable relations between the Board and the Court, unless it were in the nature of a shadow which coming events cast before.

29. The Dropmore, MSS, VII, p. 7.

30. The Dropmore MSS, VIII, p. 144.

31. Cf. the admission of the Chairs contained in their letter to the Court dated 11th June that in their letter to the President of the Board dated 8th March "we argued solely upon the principle of the *question*, that is to say, the expediency or inexpediency of an immediate change. No person had been mentioned, nor did we in the least know who was intended," The Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 506, pp. 415-16. Cf. also the following extract from a letter of Charles Grant, Chairman of the Company at the time, to Sir George Barlow dated 26th July 1806: "I did not found my opposition to an immediate change upon any personal consideration, respecting the successor who might be given to you; because his name was quite unknown to me, when this controversy was begun, and indeed, until it was brought nearly to a close," Morris, op. cit., pp. 265-66.

An American Adventurer in Central Asia

By

MR. FRANK E. ROSS.

(Research Staff, Dictionary of American Biography).

AMONG adventurers from the western world who operated in the fierce turmoil of Afghanistan and the Punjab in the early nineteenth century the career of Josiah Harlan is indeed unique. Springing from simple Quaker parentage, he became easily and efficiently adept in the dark arts of Oriental intrigue, diplomacy and warfare.

Josiah Harlan, ninth child of Joshua Harlan, Philadelphia "merchant broker," and his wife, Sarah (Hinchman) Harlan, was born in Newlin Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, U. S. A., on June 12, 1799. Both parents were members of the Society of Friends. Michael Harlan, great grandfather of Joshua Harlan, was born near Durham, England. He emigrated to County Down, Ireland, and in 1687 to Pennsylvania, where he finally settled in Chester County (A. H. Harlan, *History and Genealogy of the Harlan Family*, 1914, pp. 139, 335).

In 1823 Josiah Harlan journeyed to the East Indies, entered the service of the East India Company as an officiating assistant surgeon, and was attached to Colonel George Pollock's Bengal Artillery during the first Burmese war (*Asiatic Journal*, London, March 1841, p. 194; *U. S. Gazette*, Philadelphia, January 20, 1842).

Resigning from the British Army in 1826 Harlan proceeded to Loodhiana, in northern India, and attached himself to the shifting fortunes of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, ex-king of Cabul, then sustaining his court on British bounty (Frank E. Ross, "Josiah Harlan," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 1932, p. 272). The Shah gave him the titles of "King's nearest friend" and "Companion of the Imperial Stirrup," and in 1828 generously bestowed upon Harlan a broad commission to revolutionize Afghanistan in the Shah's interest. In the capacity of a secret agent Harlan journeyed into the Afghan sovereign's dominions disguised as a dervish. In Cabul he found Dost Mohammed Khan, Amir of Cabul, too strongly intrenched to be dethroned.

Returning to India Harlan entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, sovereign of the Punjab. Here he remained for seven years, during which time he successively governed the provinces of Jesraota, Noorpore and Guzerath.

The occupation of the town and citadel of Peshawar by the Sikh army (May 1834) precipitated war between Ranjit Singh and the Amir of Cabul, and in the spring of 1835 the Afghan sovereign led an ambitious and pretentious military array through the Khyber Pass. Not wholly prepared to give battle to the invaders, the shrewd Maharajah delegated Harlan to wait upon and bribe the Amir's disgruntled brother, Sultan Mohammed Khan (Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab*, London 1842, III, 35-345). The time was propitious: not long before the Amir had seized and married by force a beautiful princess upon whom Sultan Mohammed Khan had turned a quickened and acquisitive eye. Indeed, when Dost Mohammed Khan seized the lady she was en route to join and marry Sultan. Harlan's venture coming off agreeably, Ranjit sent him and Fakir Aziz-ud-din to the Afghan camp. Seduced by Sikh treasure, judiciously distributed, the Amir's army slowly melted away, while the two honorable envoys of the Maharajah were ostensibly negotiating with the Afghan sovereign (George B. Malleson, *History of Afghanistan*, London 1879, page 358). During this coup the Sikh army quietly ranged itself in a semi-circle around the Afghan camp. Informed of the Sikh movements Dost Mohammed Khan ordered an immediate retreat, after arresting the ambassadors and placing them in the custody of Sultan Mohammed Khan. The latter, wishing to ingratiate himself with Ranjit Singh, escorted the diplomatists to safety (Mohan Lal, *Life of the Amir Dost Mohammed Khan of Kabul*, London 1846, I. 173-182).

Angered at some action of the Maharajah, Harlan left the Court of Lahore. Journeying to Cabul, he urged the mortal enemy of his former master to further hostilities. Becoming aide-de-camp to Dost Mohammed Khan, and general of regular troops, Harlan instructed the Amir's infantry in European military tactics (*Ibid.*, I, 240). So effectively did Harlan do his work, aided by an Englishman named Campbell, that the Afghan troops, in command of the Amir's son, Mohammed Akbar Khan, defeated the Sikh army and killed Hari Singh, Ranjit's renowned commander-in-chief, in the battle of Jamrud (April 1837).

In the winter of 1838-39 the Amir sent troops to chastise Mir Murad Eey, prince of Kunduz. The army was commanded by a

son of the Amir, but his father placed the young commander under the tutelage of Harlan, who was in command of a division of the army. The expedition, including infantry, cavalry and a train of artillery, crossed the Indian Caucasus mountains and followed the route of Alexander the Great to Balkh, in ancient Bactria. "The military topography and resources of the country were practically tested," wrote Harlan. "Impediments which were supposed to present insurmountable obstacles to the passage of an army, proved to be difficulties readily vanquished by labour and perseverance, and the practicability of invading India from the north, no longer doubtful, has become a feasible and demonstrable operation" (Harlan, *post*, p. 80).

The first Afghan war resulting in the restoration of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to the throne of Cabul (August 1839), Harlan turned leisurely homeward. Reaching Philadelphia in August 1841, he published *A Memoir of India and Afghanistan* (Philadelphia, 1842) and an article "On the Fruits of Cabul and Vicinity" (*U. S. Senate Executive Document No. 39, 37 Congress, 2 Session*). His travels he also sketched in interviews with the Philadelphia press: *National Gazette*, August 25, 1841 and *United States Gazette*, January 20, 1842. His principal work, a "Personal Narrative of General Harlan's Eighteen Years' Residence in Asia" remained unpublished (J. S. Futhy & G. Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, 1881, p. 316) and recent efforts toward locating the manuscript have not yet been successful.

After the outbreak of the Civil War Harlan raised the regiment generally known as Harlan's Light Cavalry. As colonel of this regiment he served in the Army of the Potomac from October 5, 1861 to August 20, 1862, when he resigned because of poor health (*History of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry*, 1902).

A few years after the close of internecine hostilities Harlan migrated to San Francisco and presumably engaged in the practice of medicine (H. C. Langley, *San Francisco Directory*, 1871). He died in California, survived by a wife, Elizabeth (Baker) Harlan, and a daughter, in October 1871.

Events Leading to the Ambela Expedition, 1863.

By

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ABOUT the year 1823, there appeared on the Yusafzai frontier, one of those famous saintly adventurers who have at all times managed to beguile the credulous and simple Pathan race for their own ends, and have been the means of creating discord, upheaving society, and fomenting rebellions, which have been checked and crushed with the utmost difficulty. This man was Syed Ahmad Shah of Bareilly. At one period of his life he was the companion-in-arms of the celebrated Amir Khan Pindari, who was himself a Pathan, born in the valley of Buner. Syed Ahmad studied Arabic at Delhi and then proceeded to Mecca by way of Calcutta. It was during this journey that his doctrines obtained the ascendancy over the minds of the Mahomedans of Bengal, which has ever since led them to supply their colony at Sittana with fresh recruits. It was in 1824 that the adventurer arrived by way of Kandahar and Kabul amongst the Yusafzai tribes of the Peshawar border, with about forty Hindustani followers.¹

Syed Ahmad came at a happy moment, for it was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusafzais and other Pathans (which had been lowered by the crushing defeat they and the Peshawar Sardars had received from Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the battle of Nowshera), by religious exhortation. He easily gathered recruits; and meanwhile his own following had been swelled to some nine hundred by malcontents and fanatics from Bengal.²

1. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

2. *Ibid.*

In 1827 he sallied out to lay siege to Attock, but after a slight preliminary success was utterly defeated by the Sikhs; and he then fled with a few companions to Swat, and gradually worked his way back through Buner to Yusafzai. With full faith in his miraculous powers the Pathans again assembled round him, and in a two years' career of conquest he gathered the whole of Yusafzai under his control. Unfortunately the holy man's love of money made his rule so oppressive that the Pathans rose against him and drove him across the Indus, where, after a stubborn battle against the Sikhs, he was overpowered and slain.³

Of his disciples who escaped with their lives, a portion found their way to Sittana, on the Mahaban mountain, some fifty miles above Attock on the right bank of the Indus. There they settled down to the depredation of the lower lands and the kidnapping and murder of peaceful traders on the highways, receiving occasional recruits and even subsidies from lower Bengal.⁴

The first collision of the British with them occurred in 1853, when the fanatics had abetted an offending tribe in hostilities against the former, boasting loudly of their prowess, but had fled precipitately before two Sikh regiments. Being then left alone, they returned to their evil ways and brought upon themselves a second punitive expedition under General Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858.⁵ Cotton attacked Sittana itself, inflicting severe loss on the troublesome Hindustanis, who fought doggedly and well; but it was felt at the time that the penalty exacted from them was insufficient. Two neighbouring tribes (Gadun and Utmanzai) had engaged themselves to prevent the fanatics from re-occupying Sittana; so the latter built themselves a new village at Malka, some eleven

3. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Vide Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes' letter No. B of the 14th May, 1858, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, reporting the result of the operations of the force under Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858 against Panjtar and the Sittana fanatics. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

miles to the north-west of their old settlement and on the northern slope of the Mahaban.⁶

But in 1861 they came down to a place named Siri, just overhanging their old haunt at Sittana, and commenced sending robbers into Hazara to carry off Hindu traders.⁷ The offence of the Gaduns was that, in contravention of their agreement, they allowed free passage to the Hindustanis through their territory when proceed-

6. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546 dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

7. The nature of these outrages is thus described by Lieut.-Colonel R. T. Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, in a dispatch: No. 165, dated September 11, 1863: "A trader loads his mules at one of our chief towns, and starts across country (though there have been extreme cases of the offence taking place on the highroad) to a village he hopes to reach by nightfall. On the road, in some lonely spot, he is seized, gagged, and taken aside into the jungle or some mountain nook, and there kept close under drawn swords till dark, when the whole party starts by well-known, but unfrequented, tracks to the mountainous river-board, where according to one of Major Adams' informants, the victim is inserted into an inflated skin, and a brigand, mounting on it, ferries him over. Whatever the plan adopted, the unfortunate is whisked across the Indus, and when once over is fairly safe till his relations pay up the required ransom. His danger lies in the day dawning, or other obstruction occurring, before the kidnapping party reach the Indus, in which case the encumbrance, in the shape of a gagged idolator, must be got rid of. They would let him go if they could afford it, but his tongue will needs wag and describe locality and route, and, perhaps, recognise individuals; and so he is knocked on the head, and thrown into a mountain crevice."

Of the difficulties of exercising any preventive measures against these acts, the Commissioner observes in the same dispatch that, "From the nature of the country it has been found impossible to deal with these acts merely by protective police arrangements. The actors are bold men, and actuated by a thirst for money for the actual needs of life, sharpened by hostility to us; while it would take the whole of the Hazara force one day to search one mountain, and at the end they would be quite knocked up and useless. What, then, could be hoped from a limited body of police in a tract of country containing a constant succession of such mountains? These are crimes which nothing but pressure on the head and source of the offence can check. The men who send out these brigands, and those who harbour and give them passage through their lands, must be reached and made to suffer, and then, and then alone, will the activity of their emissaries be checked."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

ing on and returning from their kidnapping and marauding expeditions.⁸

In order to bring them to a sense of their responsibilities, the Utmanzais and Gaduns were accordingly placed under blockade, and on October 2, 1861, they came in and made their submission, and consented to enter into fresh engagements to exclude the Syeds and Hindustanis.⁹

In the beginning of 1862, it was reported that the numbers of the Hindustanis had been increased, and several robberies having been committed by robbers dispatched by Syed Mubarik Shah (son of Syed Akbar Shah, the King of Swat) into the Hazara territory, it was recommended by the Panjab authorities that an expedition should be undertaken against Malka.

This recommendation accorded with the opinion of Major James, the Commissioner of Peshawar, then absent in England, and of the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, who in his dispatch No. 18 of April 7, 1862, wrote as follows: "I am disposed to agree with the Commissioner of Peshawar that it will eventually be necessary to expel the offenders by force of arms and that they will be a lasting source of trouble so long as they are permitted to remain in the neighbourhood." The Supreme Government, however, were of opinion at that time that sufficient cause for undertaking an expedition had not been shown.¹⁰

During the autumn of 1862 and ensuing cold season, there was a considerable immunity from these kidnapping practices; but again in the spring of 1863 two murders were committed, which were generally attributed to Syed Mubarik Shah's men, and on July 5, it was reported that the Syeds and Hindustanis had sud-

8. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 127, dated Peshawar, the 9th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

9. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 165, dated the 11th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

10. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

denly re-occupied Sittana¹¹ and had renewed their old nefarious activity of thieving and murder. No attempt to prevent their doing so was made by the Gadun or Utmanzai tribe, and some of their members actually invited them.

These tribes, being called upon for their reasons for having thus broken the engagements they had entered into, only afforded evasive replies; the Gaduns laying the blame on the Utmanzais, and the Utmanzais on Gaduns,¹² and as the Sydes and Hindustanis were sending threatening messages to the Chief of Amb, a feudatory protected by the British Government, military measures were taken for maintaining a blockade against the Gadun and Utmanzai tribes, and militia were entertained for the purpose of protecting the territory of the Amb Chief.¹³

The Syeds and Maulvi Abdulla (the military leader of the Hindustani fanatics) were now acting with their Hindustani followers in the bitterest spirit against the British Government; the leaders of the colony expressly declared that "they were embarked in determined opposition to the infidel," and called upon "all good Mahomedans to quit the friendship of the unbelieving, and join the would-be-martyrs of the faith." A letter to this effect was sent to the Chief of Amb.¹⁴

On the night of September 3, 1863, Maulvi Abdulla, with his Hindustanis, and accompanied it was said, by Malik Esau of the Gadun tribe, attempted to attack the camp of the Guides at Topi. The attacking force had arrived within a short distance of the camp, when they came upon a cavalry patrol of one duffadar and

11. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Service Message No. 69, dated Peshawar, the 5th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

12. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546 dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

13. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

14. Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Demi-official letter dated the 11th September, 1863. From Lieut. R. Sandeman, Assistant Commissioner to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

four sowars, of the Guide Corps. The duffadar had been previously warned of the neighbourhood of a body of men, and on coming on an advanced party he immediately attacked them. Two men were cut down, and the rest, rushing back on the main body, communicated a panic, which ended in a general and disgraceful flight. The Hindustanis then erected a breastwork on the right bank of the Indus, from which they continued to annoy the picquet held by the levies at Naogiran.¹⁵

About the 10th of September, the Hassanzai tribe, instigated, it was supposed by the Maulvi of Sittana, made an unprovoked attack on the hamlets in the little Shunglai valley of the Black Mountain, in which the most advanced outpost of the Amb territory is situated. The fort was not molested, but some six or seven hamlets were destroyed, and one man, who resisted, was killed.¹⁶

The Hassanzais then threatened an attack on Chamberi, and a portion of the Mada Khels crossed the Indus with the intention of assisting them; but the frontier line having been greatly strengthened by the Amb authorities, the gathering broke up, and the Mada Khels recrossed the river. Shortly afterwards, the Hassanzais made an attack on the Amb levies on the Black Mountain border, in which one jamadar and seven men were killed, and several of the levies wounded.¹⁷

It was now considered that the time had arrived when it became absolutely necessary to have recourse to military operations.¹⁸

15. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Diary of H. H. Cox, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, dated the 10th September, 1863.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2320, dated the 5th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

18. Colonel Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, writing to the Secretary to Punjab Government, in a dispatch No. 165, dated September, 11, 1863, remarks: "The Gaduns, contrary to express agreements, which they themselves acknowledge, but try to evade with an excuse of want of power to fulfil, which every peasant in the country knows to be false, have, in defiance or indifference regarding our displeasure, permitted, if not encouraged, the fanatic colony to return from Malka to their former position at Sittana. Unless this flagrant contempt of our power be visited upon them, we must not only lose authority and influence on the border, but it will be very certain to be visited upon us in a tangible form by other instances of open vio-

Hitherto the hostilities and provocations had been offered by detached tribes, but now, for the first time, the majority, if not the whole, of the Hazara border tribes were arrayed against the British Government. In the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, it was perhaps possible, though very doubtful, to avert a campaign by making use of the feuds and factions of the different tribes to sow discord in their councils; but this could only put off the day of reckoning a little further. Delay, which with these tribes is little understood, might encourage other tribes to action, and a favourable opportunity might thus be lost for putting an end to the chronic frontier irritation which then existed. That an expedition against these tribes would be forced on the British Government sooner or later appeared inevitable, and condonation without chastisement would only be an inducement for them to repeat their offences.¹⁹

An expedition was accordingly sanctioned by the Supreme Government, the first object of which was effectually to rid the frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance—the Hindustani fanatics. The mere expulsion of these from the right bank of the Indus upon their old posts at Malka and on the south bank of the Barandu, was not considered enough; nor was it thought advisable that they should find shelter in Swat, and make that powerful tribe the future focus of disturbance on the frontier.²⁰

The Governor-General was of the opinion that the "punishment of the Gaduns was to be a secondary consideration to the primary one of crushing effectually the small, but troublesome, horde of fanatics; and with this purpose in view, the civil officer who accompanies the expedition should make it his object not only

lation of agreements, aggression on our border, and general contempt of our authority, which will force war on us most probably under less advantageous circumstances than those with which it may now be engaged in."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

19. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

20. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

to discriminate carefully between those tribes who have as yet shown no sign of hostility and those who, through fear of the British Government approaching in force, make professions of repentance; but also to hold out to the latter that their sincerity will be measured by the assistance they may render in capturing dispersed fanatics, and that by no other course can they atone for their complicity, and escape retributive measures."²¹

With regard to the plan of operations, Colonel Taylor's proposal was that the force should march to the head of the Gadun country, either direct from Topi via Bisak, etc., or by following the route of the expedition of 1858 to Mangal Thana and from there working across; and that it should be met near Sittana by a column advancing up the right bank of the Indus by crossing it at Rorgush. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab had suggested generally that the force should march in two columns and sweep the country on either side of the Mahaban range by mounting its heights and thence dictating terms to the tribes.²²

The Supreme Government, however, laid down that "whilst occupying the attention of the fanatics and their allies on the line of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Sittana, the aim should be, if there be no serious military objections to this course, to push up a strong column to Mangal Thana and Malka so as to interpose between the fanatics and their line of retreat towards the Barandu, their posts on which might be occupied by a separate light column or by a detachment from the main column. The latter would, from Mangal Thana and Malka, then operate, in conjunction with our troops on the Indus line, against the fanatics; and though their extirpation may, as anticipated by Colonel Taylor, not be possible, yet their dispersion would, under such circumstances, be on the lines and in a direction favourable to their capture, if the co-operation of the well disposed sections of the tribes could be elicited."²³

21. *Ibid.*

22. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

23. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department with the Governor-General to the Secretary to Government, Panjab.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE AMBELA EXPEDITION 401

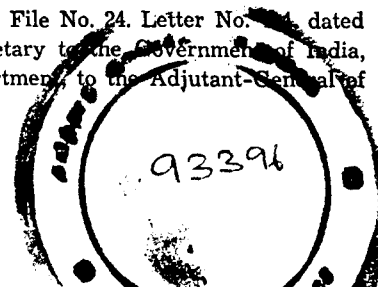
In a dispatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, it was added that "the strength and composition of each column, and the route to be followed, can probably best be fixed by the General Officer commanding the troops, in consultation with the Commissioner accompanying the force."²⁴

Accordingly, on September 27, 1863, Colonel A. Wilde, commanding the Corps of Guides, under whose directions the blockade against the Gaduns had been conducted, submitted a memorandum through Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain who had been appointed to command the expeditionary force. In this document it was stated that the expedition of 1858, although successful, had not been conclusive as to its results. The Gadun tribe had not felt the power of the British Government; and although the Hindustanis had been turned out of Mangal Thana and driven from Sittana, they had retreated on Malka, more from the pressure put upon them by the Gadun tribe than from the defeats they had sustained from the British troops.

For the future peace of the border, Wilde said that the destruction of this colony of priests and fanatics was a necessity, and that they must be removed by death or capture from the hills, and a treaty made with the hill tribes not to allow them to reside in their territories.

He considered that the plan of campaign would have to be totally different in its nature from that pursued in 1858. The force to be employed would have to be a strong one, and it would be necessary to occupy temporarily the country to the north of the Mahaban; the military object in view being to attack the Hindustanis from the north, and force them to fight with their backs to the plains: operating, in fact, on their line of retreat, instead of, as before, advancing from the plains, driving them out of Mangal Thana and Sittana, and allowing them a safe retreat and passage

24. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 4, dated the 25th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.



into the hills.²⁵ To effect this, two columns were to be employed—the base of operations of one column being in the Peshawar valley, and that of the other in Hazara.²⁶

The Peshawar column was to be assembled at Nawakila and Swabi Manairi, with the avowed object, as in 1858, of moving on Mangal Thana (which would be naturally expected); but, when ready to march, the column was to pass through the Ambela defile (or more properly, the Surkhawai pass) and occupy the village of Kogah, in the Chamla valley, thirteen miles by a camel road chiefly over British territory, and stated then to be “easy in the extreme.” The next day the force was to march to Cherorai, sixteen miles, an open plain near the river Barandu, when simultaneously with the occupation of Cherorai, the Hazara column was to drop down the Indus and drive the enemy out of Sittana, occupying that place; the Peshawar column moving on the third day to Malka.²⁷

The advantages of this plan of operations were thus reckoned: That the Gaduns, finding their country commanded by the force in the Chamla valley, would keep quiet, and perhaps assist in capturing the defeated Hindustanis. That the operations would be in an open valley containing several fine villages and admitting of the employment of cavalry; whence also flying columns could be sent up the Mahaban, the northern slopes of which are easier than the southern. It also afforded the alternatives either of withdrawing to the plains through the Ambela pass, or by sending back the cavalry by that route and advancing the rest of the force either to Mangal Thana or Sittana, as might be found feasible.²⁸

25. This proposal, it should be noted, met in some way the suggestion made in the Secretary to the Government of India's letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863.

26. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

27. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

28. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

There remained the question of the attitude of the neighbouring tribes. The Chamla valley is bounded on the north by the Guru mountain, six thousand feet high, which with the district to north of it is the home of the Bunerwals. No trouble was anticipated from them, for they had no sympathy with the fanatics and held different religious opinions. Moreover, they formed part of the flock of the *Akhund* of Swat, rather a remarkable man, who was a kind of pontiff of Islam in those quarters and had denounced the fanatics as actual infidels.

Both the Bunerwals and the Swatis, who lay to north-west of the fanatics, were expected to look with approval on the coming campaign; and the valley of Chamla itself belonged to a mixture of unimportant tribes, some friendly, some hostile, towards the British. It was considered imprudent to sound any of the clans as to their feelings lest the plan of campaign should thereby be revealed, which was likely enough. It was anticipated by Colonel A. Wilde that on the whole the entire affair should be ended in three weeks.²⁹

The Governor-General approved of Colonel Wilde's suggestion and communicated it to Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief. The actual plan of operations was not laid before Sir Hugh, for it was not finally determined upon by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab until the last moment;³⁰ but none the less Rose lost no time in giving his opinion.

29. Panjab Government Records MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

30. Colonel Wilde's proposal was personally submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab by General Chamberlain at Murree. It was discussed at a meeting convened by His Honour at which the following were present:—

Sir Robert Montgomery, General Chamberlain, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Forsyth and Captain Black. The proposal appeared to be sound, and His Honour decided that Colonel Taylor should at once proceed to the spot and in communication with Colonel Wilde, carry out the fullest enquiries regarding it. There was no time for a reference to His Honour who agreed to the adoption of the route into the Chamla Valley, provided that after Colonel Taylor's enquiries, both he and the General continued to think it the best that could be adopted.—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 18, dated the 8th January, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

He pointed out, first, the danger of denuding Peshawar and other stations of troops and transport at the very moment when, by entering the mountains at one point, the British should arouse excitement along the whole line. Next, he remarked that the proper equipment of even five thousand men (as proposed by the Panjab authorities), as regards supplies, ammunition and transport, for so difficult and arduous a duty would need far more time than had been allowed, and that the period allotted for active operations (three weeks) was too short. Finally he urged that hasty flying marches through the mountains had produced no satisfactory results in the past, and were not likely to produce them at present. He therefore advised a strict blockade of the district during the winter and the dispatch of a carefully prepared and equipped expedition in the spring.³¹ This sound common sense was however disregarded.

31. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 7th October, 1863. From the Adjutant-General of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

Some Letters about the First Afghan War 1838-1842

By

MR. D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.,
Curator, Historical Museum, Satara.

(Continued from page 268 of Vol. XII, Pt. II.)

NO. 4

Camp at Attock on the Indus.

27th November, 1839.

My Dear Colonel Egerton,

My last letter to you was from Cabool on the 14th ultimo, the day before we commenced our march to return to India. We have now got over the difficult part of the road, and crossed the Indus today, at this place. It is a most interesting spot, and there is a little more of the appearance of civilization than what we have of late been accustomed to in our march, in so far, that the country is well cultivated. The view of the snow covered mountains (part of the Himalaya) towards Cashmere—the junction of the two large Rivers, the Indus and the Cabool at this place, which of itself is pretty, and strongly fortified on both sides of the river, the substantial bridge of boats thrown across this most formidable (even so high as this) stream running down with great rapidity. The noise, resembling that from a great waterfall, of the rapid where the two Rivers meet, are all objects to be admired. The Bridge is thrown across every year after the floods have subsided. It does the Sikhs infinite credit, from the substantial manner in which it is constructed, over so formidable and rapid a stream, and its great breadth. The 16th Lancers rode across it as if it had been part of the road, or as if they were crossing Waterloo Bridge, so you may suppose how firm it is.

It is impossible to conceive a country of greater strength for defence in a military point of view, or more wild and barren than the whole line we passed through for twenty days after leaving Cabool to the gorge of the Khyber Pass, all excepting Jellalabad

and its immediate neighbourhood (half way between Cabool and Peshawar) which is open and cultivated, and the climate mild, and where His Majesty Shah Shoojah and the bulk of our Troops left in Affghanistan, have come to pass the winter, to avoid the severe frost and snow of Cabool, where only Her Majesty's 13th Light Infantry and a Regt. of Native Infantry stay to enjoy the cold, which will do them no harm, as they will be well housed, clothed and taken care of.

I thought the Bolan Pass in our advance from Sinde, the strongest position for defence, I had ever seen, but the Khyber Pass, with the country between it and Cabool, completely outdoes in strength the first named defile—I have heard, Sir Henry Fane *from the tempting appearance on the map*, gave an opinion to Lord Auckland in favor of marching the Bengal Troops at first starting through Ranjeet Singh's country, and the Khyber Pass, to unseat Dost Mahomed at Cabool, and Sir Alexander Burnes the traveller was also in favor of it. The Government party at Simla however carried the point against them, and marched the Bengal Troops as you are aware by a long detour to meet those of Bombay, that the whole might march through the Bolan Pass to enter Affghanistan, and take Candahar first, the Capital where Shah Shoojah was most likely to be welcomed at, and at all events, the one which had less power to resist our arms. Now that I have seen both the Bolan and Khyber passes, I am bound in truth and to the best of my judgment to say that in this instance the plan of the Governor General and his party was the right one. With the extraordinary natural difficulties which the whole line between Peshawar and Cabool presents, and with an enemy so enterprising and determined as Dost Mahomed to dispute the ground with us, I think it next to an impossibility that our Troops could have made their way to Cabool. The Bolan Pass was not defended. The Khyber Pass was, and a very substantial Fort (Ali Musjed) about ten miles in the Pass from its mouth, built on a most commanding spot, where the Pass narrows, and occupied by Troops under a son of Dost Mahomed, would have been a most formidable obstacle. There is scarcely anything to be met with on this road but mountains, rocks and water courses—very little cultivation, so that even as friends, in now returning the few Cavalry we had were nearly starved. From the country producing no forage, and would have been starved outright, but for the precaution of having brought some forage along with us. How then would it have been in an advance with the whole force, when opposed and kept at bay for days and perhaps weeks at one spot. The good system of turning

a position cannot be had recourse to in that country of stupendous mountains and rocks. It was a constant remark of the Bengal officers on our return "How fortunate that the plan proposed of advancing the army by the Khyber Pass was not followed by Lord Auckland," the officers themselves having been originally anxious for it, little knowing the difficulties to be surmounted, and that if a reverse happened, or that there was even a hesitation or temporary stoppage in the advance, there was a *doubtful friend* in the rear, old Ranjeet Sing the Ruler of the country we are now passing through.¹ He was very jealous of our being on each side of him, and yet he thought it would be running a great risk to complain or openly to oppose us, so he made a treaty of alliance with us at our solicitation just before the Expedition started, and went to Ferozepore to meet the Governor Genl. and Commander in Chief to show that he was cordial, looking forward however to the course of events.

The Affghans and Sikhs hate each other most cordially, yet Runjeet Sing was not afraid or jealous of the Affghans as neighbours, but of us he was both, at the same time that he professed to be our firmest friend. He had singular abilities for an Eastern Prince, and he made much of this country. With the aid of a few French officers in his service, he got up an army that is really respectable. They are drilled to the French Exercise with French words of Command, not a word of which language they understand, any more than our Seapoys understand the meaning of the English words of command by which they are drilled, yet the Seapoy Regiments take their place at a field day with Her Majesty's regular Troops, and perform admirably. In like manner, the Sikh Troops manoeuvre almost as steadily as the French. Those who know the Sikhs however say, that although they can be made to look like soldiers and get through their drill, they will *not fight*, the heart not being in the *right place*.² It is clear, however, that

1. cf. Kaye. Shah Shuja had expressed a desire to go via the Bolan Pass. The Khaibris, he said, were his slaves and would not oppose him. This together with Ranjit's unwillingness to allow the whole British army to pass through the Panjab were responsible for the decision in favour of the Bolan Pass. Only the Shahzada Taimur with his followers was allowed to go through the Panjab and the Sikh contingent of 5,000 Najibs aided him to make a diversion.

2. How wrong this view was, was proved by the opposition which the Sikhs rendered at Firozshah, Sabraon and other actions like Gujrat, etc.

there is no other power in the East, that could make any thing like the show of opposition to us the Sikh State could do. They have a standing army of Thirty Battalions of Infantry, about the same number of Regiments of Cavalry all well appointed—besides about 27,000 Irregular Troops and a contingent of 27,000 more—by a very respectable and numerous Artillery also well appointed, their Gun carriages being little inferior to our own, which is not the case in any other Eastern state.

So long as old Ranjeet Sing their Maha Raja (a title Equal to Emperor in Europe) lived, they had an *Esprit*, which would have carried them through much. He died last June, and was succeeded by his only son, who is, as nearly as possible an idiot. Old Runjeet aware of this, took every precaution against a disputed succession, by making all the men of rank and influence in his Empire, promise most solemnly to support the succession of his son Kurrick Sing, and they did so, but it will not last, and ere long, there will assuredly be internal Divisions in the Empire—a proof has already been given of what may be expected to follow. The friend, companion and adviser³ (so appointed by old Runjeet) of the present Maha Raja from his youth, was the other day in the most cold blooded and tragical manner murdered (a la Rizzio at Holyrood) in the Maha Raja's Palace at Lahore, in open day and without ceremony, the Palace, with His Majesty in it, having been surrounded by an overpowering force, brought at the instance of Dian Sing, a man of great wealth and influence, who had been old Runjeet's Prime Minister to the last, and who has two Brothers also of great influence, one Governor of Cashmere, and the other Governor of a large territory nearer to Lahore.⁴ Dian Sing himself gave the first stab to the unfortunate friend of the Maha Raja, who was, as may well be supposed, mortally offended and chagrined, but he neither has power nor energy to revenge it, and the matter has passed off perfectly quietly—Of course, Dian Sing and his party are the rulers of the Punjaub, and the Maha Raja no body. The Indian Government cannot interfere in their internal concerns so long as they are civil and interfere not with us, but in the event of a civil war, I imagine we should then walk in and in self defence

3. This is Chet Singh.

4. The facts, correct in essentials, are exaggerated in details. Chet Singh was not appointed as an adviser of Kharak Singh by his father. No large army surrounded the Fort but a small party achieved their purpose in the early hours of the morning.

as neighbours, take some party (the Maha Raja's probably) by the hand. At the present moment, matters are not likely to arrive at that, but most assuredly, they will do so ere long, it being the opinion of all those (including the French Officers) best acquainted with the country, that it cannot hold together long. Dian Sing (the murderer) and his party have many and powerful enemies, when therefore, they come to blows themselves, we must in self defence interfere, and I should not at all be surprised if in a few years, this very place I write from was to be one of our frontier Towns, and that the Indus formed our frontier all the way from here to lower Sind where it falls into the sea. This you may conceive startling, and laugh at the idea, but I am nevertheless firm in my opinion that it *must* be the case, and however impolitic at first sight it may appear that we should extend the limits of our already vast Empire in India—*Nous verrons*.

Our friend Shah Shoojah, I am sorry to say, does not take well with his Affghan subjects from which he has been so long estranged, and he will I fear be to the Indian Government a very expensive bird to keep on his perch. We have left three Brigades of Infantry, a large train of Artillery Horse and foot, with Cavalry, in Affghanistan in support of the Sovereign's Power. This was necessary, as we placed him there until his own power is firmly established which I hope it may be in time, but His Majesty is unfortunately not of a conciliatory disposition.

The Lahore Government dislike exceedingly our march through their country in this way, but as they cannot make better of it, they have sent one of their Grandees, a Sirdar of highest rank, with a large retinue, to meet Sir John Keane and the returning force here, and to accompany us all the way to the Bengal frontier on the banks of the Sutlege. We shall I think reach Lahore about the 28th December, when great ceremonies and interchange of civilities must take place between the Sovereign and Sir John Keane. We shall not reach Ferozepore probably before the 7th of January. Sir John Keane will there take leave of the Bengal Troops, and boats are prepared for himself and suite to drop down the Rivers, but it is a tedious process, and we shall certainly not get to Bombay before it is well on in February.

Sir John Keane had a most severe attack of illness just before leaving Cabool, and it is only now, at the end of six weeks, that he is getting over it. He received with great delight from Lord

Hill⁵ the news of his appointment to the 43rd, and having been made a G. C. B. about a month since; with those most flattering and gratifying testimonials however, came what I may mention confidentially to you, an intimation that gave him great pain, namely that his junior officer Sir Jasper Nicholls was ordered to "relieve him in the command of the army of the Indus". Sir Jasper's appointment to the chief command *in India* was a matter resting entirely with the home authorities, and to which he neither could or had the least inclination to object or to murmur at, but to be superseded by the home authorities in the command of an army in the field, and out of India, which the Governor General had done him the honor to confide to his management, was a blow he was unprepared for, and which could not but have appeared to his brother soldiers both here and at home as a reflection upon him, amounting to his not being a fit person to conduct it. Very fortunately for him, he was saved the mortification of giving up the Command in that way, to his junior officer, by having brought the operations in which he was engaged to a successful termination, and in a manner which called from the Governor General, the expression of his approbation and gratitude in language which could not be exceeded in strength, stating, that the moral effects of what he had accomplished, conferred inexpressible benefit in confirming our power in India, and much more than this. Sir John Keane says not a word about his feelings on this score to others, but he tells me, that he has so great a regard and respect for Lord Hill, that he did not even allude to the soreness of his own feelings, when he wrote to thank His Lordship for the honor of the Red Ribbon and the 43d. He says Lord Hill has at all events by these two acts, shown *his* good feeling for him (Sir John Keane) and he would for ever sink his own soreness on the point, rather than for one moment give uneasiness to his Noble Chief, by urging anything in the shape of complaint for his treatment in this instance. He says, there is something within, which tells him, that neither Lord Hill or any other military authority was the cause. Sir John's stay at Bombay will be as short as he can make it. He has not yet decided whether he will go home by the route of Egypt, etc., or by *long sea* round the Cape. By Egypt most probably however.

Sir Willoughby Cotton has got a little in disgrace with the Governor General, but I am in hopes he will get over it, and into

5. Commander-in-chief in England.

His Lordship's good graces again, by what he has now done. When so large a force, (including the whole of his own Division) was ordered to remain in Affghanistan, Sir John Keane and Mr. Macnaghten appointed Sir Willoughby to the Command of it. This at first seemed to please the Major General. The Governor General at first imagined (and so indeed did the two authorities above named) that only Brigadier Sale's Brigade was to be left, and Lord Auckland, in a very kind private letter he wrote to Sir Willoughby mentioned among other things, that when he should reach Bengal, as General Ramsay was by that time likely to be off, he would be the senior officer and temporarily command the Bengal Army. Upon receiving this, Sir Willoughby grounded upon it, an official application to Sir John Keane, requesting to be relieved from the Affghanistan Command, as the Govr. General had expressed a wish that he should return to India to command the Bengal Troops. This letter Sir John forwarded to the Governor General, stating at the same time to the effect that he would not of course stand in the way of Sir Willoughby's prosperity, but on the contrary do him a good turn whenever he could, and that after obtaining Mr. Macnaghten's (who remains there as Minister) sanction to it that he permitted Sir Willoughby to throw up the Command of the Troops in Affghanistan, and to come on towards India with us. The official reply to Sir John's report to Lord Auckland, of the circumstances, is so very *cutting* to Sir Willoughby who is stated by His Lordship to have made use of a private letter, to found an official application upon, in a case where it ought not to have been done that he cannot approve of it. Sir Willoughby, when the letter arrived on the line of March, was so annoyed with himself for his own act, that he wrote to Sir John requesting he would state to the Governor General that he was ready to return to Affghanistan and resume the Command of the Troops there if such should be His Lordship's wish, and that he would stay at Peshawar until he received the Governor General's sentiments on the subject. Lord Auckland's decision upon this, arrived to day, to the Effect, that he wishes Sir Willoughby to return to Affghanistan, and I have just forwarded it to him. He will not like it, but he could not with any degree of propriety decline going back.

Lord Auckland is now travelling, and going back to Calcutta; he writes to Sir John, expressing the greatest anxiety that he should pay him (Lord A) a visit, if the time will possibly admit of, but it cannot be unfortunately. Lord Auckland will be at Agra, he says, on the 15th of this month; he stays there until near

the end of the month, and then goes on to Gwalior, from which place he will go direct to Calcutta, and I suppose will not again move from the "City of Palaces" during the remainder of the time he holds the reins in India. I am happy to say, that Sir John Keane has had it in his power to do something for your nephew, which will benefit him permanently. He has nominated him a Deputy Assistant Adjutant General, to fill a vacancy in the department occasioned by the death of Major Keith, the Deputy Adjt. Genl. who accompanied us on this expedition. He died the other day, between Candahar and the Bolan Pass, returning with the Bombay Troops. I wrote to Warburton a few days since, to acquaint him of it. This good luck will much surprise him, as it will come most unexpectedly upon him. He is very deserving and very fit for the appointment, and I hope he may in time reach the head of the Department, of which I think there is every probability. I am really happy that Sir John has been able to do this for him before giving up his command of the Bombay Army. You may mention to Lord Fitz Roy Somerset,⁶ that Sir John Keane has given your nephew's present appointment to Lieut. Morse, a very nice fellow, recommended by His Lordship to Sir John, as the son of the Surgeon of the 43d. when he (Lord Fitz Roy) was in that Regt. We have very bad accounts of Sir Henry Fane's health from Bombay.⁷ He intended not to give up his command or to embark for England until the 1st January, but from what he himself writes to Sir John and what Churchill writes, after knowing his Doctor's opinion, it is probable he will embark immediately, if he has not already done so. As that party is so much nearer to you than I am, and that they no doubt send their own news, it would be superfluous in me saying anything regarding them.

I am glad to perceive by the Newspapers that Col. Maling has recovered sufficiently to be able to resume his work. I beg my best wishes to all friends at your great building that retains any recollection of me. Believe me to be

My Dear Colonel Egerton
always very sincerely yours

R. MACDONALD

6. Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief in England. Afterwards Lord Raglan, Commander-in-Chief in Crimea.

7. He was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief in India on Dec. 7th, 1839, by Sir J. Nicolls.

We have this day had Genl. Willshire's dispatch after his capture of Khelat in very gallant style,⁸ with the Bombay Troops on their Return homewards. This was a good finish and will delight Lord Auckland. The Chief of Khelat⁹ behaved most treacherously to us and committed great cruelties on our camp followers. He is himself among the slain. The Queen's (2d. Foot) suffered the brunt. One officer killed and 6 wounded and 69 men of that Regt. killed and wounded.

R. M.

Recd. 13th Feby. 1840.]

[Ansd. 4th March, 1840.

NO. 5

On the Indus at Hyderabad
10th Feby 1840

My Dear Colonel Egerton,

I have not heard from you since I was at Candahar last May, and I think your letter was dated in February last year. I flatter myself however, that it will not be displeasing to you to learn something about us, and our progress. I have allowed one month's steamer to depart without writing to you. My last was, I think, from Attock after we crossed the Indus at that place, and had entered the Punjab. Our march through that country with the returning force to Bengal proved very agreeable.¹ Every kind of civility was shown to us by the Seikh authorities and people and a deputation, headed by one of the Royal family, was sent on a long way to meet Sir John Keane, with a letter from the Maharajah inviting himself and his staff to visit him at his Court at Lahore; this was readily assented to by Sir John, and we branched off the road the main force took, the General taking with him as his escort, the 16th Lancers, a Troop of Horse Artillery and a few Companies of Infantry. This was considered a very small escort. It would be impossible to describe the cordiality with which they received us. Whether this arose from their love or their fear of

8. General Willshire, with the 2nd and 17th Queen's Regiments, the 21st Punjab Native Infantry, etc., arrived before Khelat on 13th November, 1839 and stormed and took it with great bravery. See Kay's history of the war, p. 489.

9. Mehrab Khan.

1. This reflects credit on the much maligned Kanwar Nan Nihal Singh, son of Kharak Singh, who was virtually deposed in the autumn of 1839.

us, I know not, but we could not be otherwise than pleased. The man who had conquered Affghanistan they looked upon as a great character indeed, and to touch the hem of his garment was thought an honour. They hate the Affghans (it is natural) beyond belief, but they have always had a great idea of the prowess in arms of their neighbours these men of the mountains, who so constantly make sudden and devastating excursions into their country. Secretly therefore they (the Seikhs) were delighted that we had humbled their proud and troublesome neighbours, although on the other hand they entertain considerable jealousy of our Troops being not only on two sides of them, but also on a flank namely Bengal, Affghanistan and Sinde, so that the flank towards Cashmere is the only one open and free to them. They are most anxious to keep on good terms with us; and it is of great importance to our interests of this moment, to cultivate friendship and alliance with them, whilst our Troops remain in Affghanistan, and that supplies of men, money and every other requisite must be sent to them from the Upper Provinces of Bengal, all of which have to pass through the Punjaub with the permission of the Seikh Government. So long therefore as Affghanistan is unsettled and our friend Shah Shoojah is unable to manage his subjects without the aid of our Troops, and so long as Nepaul and Ava refuse to succumb and be obedient to our power, and that our relations with China continue on their present unsatisfactory footing, I look upon it, to be of great importance to keep on good terms with the Seikhs. I believe Lord Auckland's opinions to be fully in accordance with this view, and I know that he has felt displeased at the loose manner in which some Bengal officers have indulged in talking of an attack on the Punjaub by us. It is natural for soldiers to wish for war, but those who have the responsibility of Govt. must look deep before they plunge into it. That it will come to our having a war with the Seikhs, I have not the least doubt, but this certainly is not the time to break with them. I cannot tell you how astonished I was at seeing their army. One part of the ceremonial during our visit to Lahore was a Review of the Troops given to us. There were 45,000 men and 152 pieces of brass cannon drawn out in one continued line, on a magnificent plain about four miles from the Capital. The men and officers were as well and as uniformly dressed as you could wish to see soldiers. Their arms and appointments appeared also to be good. Their Cavalry and Artillery were well equipped, and it was altogether a sight we were wholly unprepared for. The drill and discipline is French. They have four General Officers of Napoleon's School who have done this, and

they certainly deserve great credit for having made the Seikh Army what it is. The Officers of our Honorable Company Army say, the Seikhs cannot fight, however well dressed and disciplined they appear, and if it be so, all the better for us, when we go to war with them. Without doubt they at present look far more formidable than any other Native Power we have ever had or could now have to contend with in the East. This army was not specially brought together to be shown to us. A force of that strength is kept up and cantoned round the Capital from one end of the year to the other. Kurrick Sing the Sovereign is a poor half-witted creature, worse even than we had pictured him in our minds before we saw him. His son² about twenty three years of age, is, on the contrary, a very smart intelligent young fellow and very popular. The chances are I think, that he will make a dash at wresting from his Father the Supreme Power and set him aside.³ It is evident the young man would have the strongest party in the State on his side, and they think nothing of doing these things which would greatly shock us. In the event of such a thing happening, our Government may take the part of either side, as may suit our book, or remain altogether neutral. There must be great riches at this Court. The appearance of the Palace and Gardens was something far more magnificent than I had pictured in my own mind we were to see—"Cloth of Gold" I had heard of, but never until then saw. We walked upon it as a carpet. The dresses were splendid and in good taste. Lady Londonderry would have envied them for their diamonds and their Pearls, which I believe are the largest in the world. It was wholly different from the Courts in India, where slovenliness and bad taste are alike conspicuous. One might say on beholding this scene the descriptions in Moore's "Lalla Rookh," are not so far removed from reality. We parted with these good people with mutual vow of perpetual friendship. Lord Auckland has expressed great delight that Sir John Keane paid this visit, as its good results are calculated to strengthen his hands. You would be surprised what importance is attached in this Eastern world to a visit of the kind.

From Lahore the first Bengal station Ferozepore, was distant five marches. We reached it on the 2d. January and there Sir

2. Nan Nihal Singh.

3. This had been done already since the murder of Chet Singh above alluded to in the text.

John took leave of his Bengal Amigos. Lord Auckland and my General could not manage to meet, which both regretted. His Lordship had ordered a set of Boats to be very nicely fitted up for us, to carry us down the mouth of the Indus, and we have travelled most comfortably on the River, which has only the draw back of being a somewhat tedious mode. We left Ferozepore on the 7th January, and only reached our great station Sukkur in Upper Sinde, on the 30th, where we found Genl. Willshire and the Bombay Troops. The Governor General had asked Sir John Keane to make every arrangement he thought proper for the security and occupation of Upper and Lower Sinde and to send the remainder of the Troops back to Bombay. This has been done. Her Majesty's 40th Regt. and four Regiments of Native Infantry, with a proportion of Artillery and Cavalry are to remain in Sinde as a Subsidiary force and all the rest are on their way to Bombay. The Ameers are now down to the ground, and all civility to the *Great General* who conquered Affghanistan. They thank their stars at the escape they have made and it seems clear they will not be *rash* in picking a quarrel with us, the consequences of which they now see would be fatal (to) them and to their Power in Sinde.

We arrived here this morning, and Sir John Keane has consented to permit their Highnesses to pay him a visit this afternoon, which we will return tomorrow, and then we continue our voyage down the River as far as Tatta, where we shall disembark from our Boats, and go from there by land to Currachie to embark for Bombay. I fear it will be the end of this month ere we can arrive at the Presidency. The Steamer by which this will go, is advertised to leave Bombay on the last day of this month; and as I did not write to you by the last one, I am unwilling to run the risk of my letter being too late for this one, and therefore sent it from here now by the Post.

And so, our campaign and its finish has met with high approval at home. You may suppose, the surprise and gratification of Sir John Keane, after having been for three weeks without any letters, to find on his arrival at Sukkur, in the heap which had been there accumulating for him, intelligence that he had been *raised to the Peerage*, brought out by the mail which left London on 4th December. He had half a dozen very kind letters from Lord Auckland, beginning "My Dear Lord."⁴ He had most beau-

4. These letters deserve to be traced.

tiful, and to his soldier's pride, most gratifying letters from Lords Hill and Fitz-Roy Somerset, and from the Chairman of the Court of Directors. Sir John Hobhouse⁵ did not write to him, although I believe he intended it, as Sir Richard Jenkins mentions so, in his letter. The praise of the Chief as the head of the Army, for whom he has so great a respect and regard; the approbation and applause of his country, and the favor with which he is about to be honored by the Crown, leave my good General nothing to wish for, and you may suppose that he is very happy. I am truly glad to say, his health is now good, and that he is therefore fully able to enjoy his proud position.

I imagine he will try to get away by the steamer which will leave Bombay the end of March, and in that case, he may reach London in June.

I beg my best wishes to my friends at the Horse Guards, and always Believe me

My Dear Colonel Egerton
Yours very Sincerely
R. MACDONALD

[Recd. 18th April 1840.]

NO. 6

Cabool Aug. 20, 40

My dear Bayley

I cannot allow a steamer to leave Bombay without conveying to you a few lines expressive of my grateful thanks for your kindness in selecting me to fill provisionally the high office of Member of Council.¹ I trust you will never have occasion to repent of your selection to which I shall spare no pains to do every credit.

We are getting on here as prosperously I think as could reasonably have been expected.² Herat on the one side and the Sikhs

5. President of the Board of Control.

1. On August 4th, 1841, the Court of Directors appointed him Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir J. R. Carnac. The latter appointment apparently cancelled that referred to in the letter.

2. See *Life of Henry Durand*, p. 58.

on the other are terrible thorns—and I do not anticipate that we shall ever have fair play from either until we find ground and opportunity for coercing them into good behaviour.³ No force is contemplated across the Hindoo Koosh this year. Indeed the only motive at present for incurring the hazard of such an enterprize would be the liberation of our countryman Col. Stoddart, who has been so unwarrantedly detained at Bokhara and this object I trust may be effected by more convenient means. The temporary loss of Kelat⁴ has been an unfortunate affair. The place should not have been left without a small detachment of our troops; but as we had no one there our arms have sustained no disgrace. Indeed the popular opinion is that the resolution has been brought about with our sanction. I have no doubt the place will be ours again before the anniversary of its original capture.⁵ Dost Mahomed Khan is arrived at Khortoom the petty chief of which place is giving him encouragement to hold out and his adherent and the disaffected in this country are doing their little utmost to distrust the general tranquillity; but we shall please God be more than a match for all foes secret or declared. We have the Dost's family going in Ghiznie and this may induce him to come in.

I hear occasionally from Thoby⁶ and from your son who by all accounts is likely to turn out a great ornament to our service. Mackenzie is on his way to join me and I have written to him to come quickly in order that he may get charge of the Shah's family who are coming over from Lodhiana after the

I am my dear Mayley
most sincerely yours

W. H. MACNAGHTEN

3. The Government of India did not agree with him in adopting any coercive measures with the Sikhs for reasons given by Macdonald in the above letter.

4. Lord Auckland himself writes thus about the mistake in an unpublished letter of his preserved in the Satara Museum and dated Calcutta 17 Jany., 1841—Lt. Loveday had nothing more than a mere personal escort with him at Khelat. The great mistake was in the large withdrawal of troops from Quetta and Candahar, but it was done at a time when there were uncertainty and insecurity in many quarters.

5. See the postscript of the letter No. 4 published above.

6. Henry Thoby Prinsep, member of G. G. J. Council, 1835; Director, E. I. C., 1854-1858; Council of India, 1858-1875.

SOME LETTERS ABOUT THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR 419

P.S. I received the letter you were good enough to write to me by Cap. Milner. He is I am glad to find provided for in the Adj. Gen's office at Calcutta. Govt. will not supply us with any more officers for service in this country either from Bengal or Bombay.

To via Marseilles.⁷
W. B. Bayley Esq
East India House
London

NO. 7

Poona 17th June 1842

My Dear Colonel Egerton,

Sir Thomas McMahon¹ moved his Head quarters from Bombay up to this place on the 1st Instant, before the setting in of the periodical rains, and if not called away by unforeseen events, we shall enjoy the delightful climate of Poona for the next five months. By the time you receive this, so many authentic papers relative to the mishaps which occasioned the loss of our Cabool force, will have reached the Home Government from Lord Ellenborough, and of which you will doubtless get a peep, that I can send you nothing of interest from here this time and being away from the Presidency, I have not the same means of gaining correct information. The "Times" summary which I have ordered to be sent to you, will contain two papers of interest one is Sir Robert Sale's account of the siege of Jellalabad, and the other the Journal of the Sergeant Major² of the 37th Native Infantry, containing his account,

7. Two stamps on the outside of the letter with the letters—"12 No. 12" and 1840 "India".

1. He had succeeded Sir John Keane as Commander-in-Chief, Bombay on Feb. 14th, 1840.

2. His name was Lissant. His Journal in original is preserved in the Records of the Panjab Government, along with the statement of Dr. Brydon and is published by Lt.-Col. H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., Keeper of the Records of the Panjab Government in the Army Quarterly of October 1928. It is a very graphic but pathetic account of the retreat from Kabul on 6th January, 1842, and final destruction within a week of the whole army except the narrator, under the command of Major-General Elphinstone, and reminds one of the narrative of Nana Phadnavis of his escape from the Panipat disaster in 1761. I record here my sincere thanks to Lt.-Col. H. L. O. Garrett for generously making many valuable suggestions in this article.

as an eye witness, of the occurrences from the date of Genl. Elphinstone's force quitting Cabool, until its final destruction, and his (the narrator's) making his escape to Jellalabad. It is a far better account than Doctor Brydon's who seems scarcely yet to have recovered his reason, which in his fright he certainly lost for the time. There has been no fighting, nor any events of much interest, that has met the Public eye since the dispatch of the last mail. General Pollock and his force have remained ever since inactive at Jellalabad. I imagined the Governor General would have ordered his advance upon Cabool, if his means of carriage admitted of such a movement, but the scarcity of Camels is a sad drawback. In truth, I am not in the secret sufficiently to know whether it be the intention of Lord Ellenborough that our Troops should advance to re-occupy Cabool, even if they had carriage and every other requisite. The difficulty is about the Prisoners that still remain in the hands of Ukhbar Khan. Major General England took his convoy of treasure, medicines and various other stores, to Candahar in great safety at length and joined General Nott there. I have seen Genl. England's report after his arrival at Candahar. General Nott was to advance with 5000 men upon Khilat-i-Ghilzie in which fort part of our Native Troops have been shut up all this time, but the relief of that place effected, I am not aware what ulterior objects were in view—whether he was to advance on Ghuznee or again retire on Candahar. The season is rapidly advancing, and although I am sure, the Governor General has long since resolved on the Policy to be pursued, it must very soon be known generally whether our Troops are to be withdrawn or to push on to Cabool and Ghuznee, so that as I cannot give you any thing as a certainty on the subject now I may as well let speculation alone.

Our new Governor Sir George Arthur³ and family landed on the 8th but as we had come up here, we have not seen them. I understand they wish much to come to Dapooree,⁴ the Government residence up here and I fancy will do so ere another month is over. It will be pleasant to have them near us, although I have no idea what sort of people they are, never having seen any of them ex-

3. Assumed office, June 9th, 1842.

4. Dapodi is still a small village on the confluence of the rivers Pavna and Mula to the south of Kirkee near Poona. When the Governor's Benglow on the Sangam near Poona was burnt he used to stay in Dapodi. In 1869 the present Government house in the Ganesha Khind close to the village Dapodi was built.

cept Sir George and him only once—I cannot for the life of me recollect whether I was introduced to him by *you* at your office Horse Guards, or whether it was Sir James Kempt⁵ (who) introduced me to him at his house. I know not what Lord Tweeddale's plans are about coming out. Whether he is to come by the Egypt route or round the Cape. I should think none of the ladies of his family would accompany him—Lady Tweeddale has four children under ten years of age, and as she has had all the grown up daughters educated at home, I imagine she will be anxious to do the same by the young ones. Lady Charlotte is the only unmarried grown up daughter, and although she is very fond of her Father, I scarcely think she would come out with him alone.

I find the six splendid Regiments coming out are to be equally divided among the three Presidencies, and that we are to get the 78th and 86th here. The 78th was the first to sail, and we may look for the ships in the early part of September. Lord Fitz Roy's arrangements have pleased the McMahon family much. The Captain is removed to a Troop in the 9th Lancers, and the lover of the young lady (Mr. Wedderburn) is appointed a Lieut. of the same Regiment, so that she will now get him back from China, and the marriage which was to have been last February, will probably take place soon after next Christmas.

I see Warburton's hand writing occasionally in officials. He is all right, but I have not heard from him since I last wrote to you. I have no letter from *your honor* by this mail, but I have a charming one from a lady at Chistu which I call the neighbourhood of Eaton Banks, Lady Gomm,⁶ who was just getting established there. I have no doubt Mrs. Egerton and yourself will meet them occasionally, and like them, I am sure you will. They are a different style of personages from our friend *Fagan* and his people. I hope my most kind and much valued friend Mrs. Egerton has enjoyed her visit to Town this year, tho' comfort she could have none equal to what her own dear Eaton Banks affords. From Genl. Clem. Hill I hear constantly. He told me you had informed him of the death of his brother Sir Francis. He asked my *opinion* about

5. A Waterloo veteran. One of Wellington's Brigadiers.

6. Wife of Lt.-General Sir W. Gomm, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, India, 1850-1856.

a rumour in circulation at Madras, that Lord Tweeddale⁷ had been appointed Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor, and in the event of its being true, how Sir Hugh Gough⁸ and Sir Robert Dick are to be disposed of? In my reply, I stated that I disbelieved the rumour. However the news by this Steamer has set the matter at rest, and it is true, sure enough.

All accounts agree in stating that Lord Hill's health is improving, which you may believe gives me sincere satisfaction. My poor old friend the Dowager of Richmond is gone at last I see—She was game to the last. Not only at Whist, but in attending all gay parties. Now remember me in the kindest manner to Mrs. Egerton, and with my respectful compliments to Lord Hill and Lord Fitz Roy. Believe me Ever obliged and

Sincerely yours

R. R. MACDONALD

P.S. Tomorrow Waterloo day. God prosper the Duke and success to you all at the glorious dinner.

R. R. M.

Recd. 4th Augt. 1842]

[Ansd. 2nd Sept. 1842

7. Lt.-Gen. the most Hon'ble the Marquis of Tweeddale, K.T. and C.B., was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras from 24th Sept. 1842 to 23rd Feb. 1848.

8. Sir H. Gough, Oct. 5th, 1839—Temporary.

Lt.-General Sir S. F. Whiltingham, K.C.B., K.C.H., Aug. 1st, 1840. (Died Jan. 19th, 1841).

Major-General Sir R. H. Dick, K.C.B., K.C.H., Feb. 14th, 1841: Sept. 24th, 1842.

Editorial

MOHENJO-DARO AND THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

(Concluding article of the Review.)

CLOSELY connected with the subject of religion is the disposal of the dead by the Indus people. This is usually connected with religion and has a considerable significance in regard to the ideas of religion prevailing among the people. But in the excavations carried out, the material relating to this that has so far turned up is comparatively meagre, and does not give us an adequate idea of the subject. It may be that cremation was practised, and in consequence we have not come upon much that may relate to the remains of the dead. Meagre as the evidence is, there seems to have been three ways of the disposal of the dead. We have some few cases of complete burials, burials such as we are familiar with. There are others which may conveniently be called fractional burials, burials in which it is just a few fragments that are buried along with much grave furniture and other accompaniments, such as food, drink, jewels, etc. Then thirdly there is what is called post cremation burials, that is, burials, in which the remains that are buried are mere ashes, or burnt bones, in comparatively small quantity with the other accompaniments as in the previous cases. In regard to the first of these, there are 21 skeletons recovered from the Mohenjo-Daro sites falling into three groups. The first is found to comprise 14 of these, thirteen adults, men and women, with one child. This is found in house V. H. R. area, section (B). A variety of personal ornaments, such as shell and copper bracelets, copper finger rings, copper and faience beads and one seal have been discovered. Some of these ornaments were found encircling the bones. The bones are found in various postures leading to the conclusion that death was due to some accident, and all the fourteen were dead as a result of it. One of the bodies however was lying partly over the south wall of the chamber. This would indicate that the death of that individual took place some time after the building had fallen to ruin. It would be difficult to say how long after.

The next group is a group of six skeletons including that of a child. These are found in lane No. 4 of the V. S. area. Over two of these skeletons were found the bones of an animal. A shell ball and three pieces of shell inlay were all the objects that were found with these. In the third group is found only one skele-

ton in what is called Dead Man Lane in the H. R. area. From the fact that seven of these were lying in the streets, and that all of them alike show no evidence of orderly burial, the conclusion seems natural that death was brought about suddenly either by accident or by disease. The inference was also drawn that at the time that this kind of a death took place, the buildings had already been deserted and in ruins, and that probably these were the remains of people belonging to a wandering jungle tribe. This latter conclusion however becomes untenable because all the bones are there intact, and there is no evidence of their having suffered by exposure for any length of time among the ruins of the city. Further an anthropological examination of the skeletons is found to show three distinct racial types, namely, proto-Austroloids, Mediterraneans and Alpines. It is not likely that three such types could be found in one jungle tribe, or that three different types met with an accident simultaneously and in such an intimate grouping. There is still further the fact that, in regard to the single skeleton in Dead Man Lane, the building was completely built over in the late period. It is evident therefore that the body was interred during the period, either late I or late II, when the body was interred under the floor of one of the houses. The case in regard to the other six in the V. S. area seems to be quite similar, though this kind of evidence in regard to the first group has been removed by prolonged denudation. It seems therefore clear that these burials date from the declining days of Mohenjo-Daro when the city after having been in ruins for sometime, had again been built over. On this assumption, it would be easy to explain the racial elements as these various elements might have composed the population of a vast city like that. So far as Mohenjo-Daro is concerned, these constitute the only examples of pre-historic complete inhumation.

At Harappa, several such examples have been found thereby indicating that that method of burial was orthodox. It is likely also that more of them come into view as excavation advances. Two of the skeletons have been discovered to be entire, but lying in different postures and directions. In some cases, there is no grave furniture. In others were found earthenware vessels, offering dishes of the squat type, a water jar with splayed neck, sometimes closed with a small flask, flat covers and dishes, and deep bowls. In two cases animal bones were also discovered along with these. Some of the pottery are painted, and from the resemblances of the designs on these pottery found on the uppermost



Remains of Complete Burial Mohenjo-Daro.

squat carinated vessel adorned with deer, branching foliage and other devices. The skull has been pronounced to belong to the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock, and the carinated vessel is of the same form as some of those found at Nal, Jemdet Nasr and on Proto-Elamite sites, suggesting, if not actually due to importing, at least western influence in their manufacture. There are a few other examples, but they contain no human remains, and this may simply be due to the fact that after exposure, little of the remains was left to be buried. Three or four other groups in the Mohenjo-Daro locality have come to notice, while at Harappa more than a hundred examples of fractional burials were exposed. Of these latter, it is only one that is contemporary with the Indus remains of Mohenjo-Daro. This single instance is assignable to about the late III period, and consists of two skulls, one lower jaw and a few other bones. There were also a broken offerings-dish and a terra-cotta-bead. All this was found in the column of a ruined house, and had a brick edging added on two sides so as to make a sort of a grave. The skulls were found brachycephalic, with high pitched nose, and are referred to the Alpine type. Almost all the other fractional burials are of a later date and are deposited in earthenware jars. These are not ordinarily accompanied by the smaller vessels for food or drink, etc. The human remains consist generally of a single skull, but sometimes two or more in a jar. In some cases nothing more than a few bones were found, and in others no bones at all. The jars are of various types, round, ellipsoid, and carinated, and are invariably covered with lids or potsherds. Their decoration takes the form of horizontal bands, with a broad frieze round the shoulder adorned with birds, animals, stars, and other devices, treated in a fantastic manner. This pottery is quite unlike any other ware of the time known to us. In the Nal burials where fractional burials are the majority, the bones were laid in the earth itself or in earthenware pots, more usually the former. In both cases, there were vessels for food and drink offerings, as also other ornaments and utensils, intended for the service of the departed. Of these latter, copper tools, grind stone, weight, ring-stones and a piece of red ochre were found. While we are not quite sure of either the origin or the age of Nal culture, it seems fairly settled that it is intrusive in Eastern Baluchistan and connected more closely with the Eastern Persian than with the Indus culture.

In regard to post-cremation burials, evidence has been forthcoming from both Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. These are generally

found in the form of large wide-mouthed urns containing a number smaller vases, bands of small quadrupeds, birds or fish, and frequently a variety of other small objects, such as beads, bangles, terra-cotta figurines and chert flakes. These are sometimes mingled with ashes and charcoal. These urns are found at both sites and in buildings of all periods. They are usually found underneath the floor of a house or a street. The smaller vessels contained in the urns are of various forms, such as bowls, saucers, pointed goblets, beakers and sometimes miniature vases, which may have been used for unguents or cosmetics. Of these a number had been found in Mohenjo-Daro in the V. S. area, and one of them to the north of the Great Bath. In Harappa similar offerings vessels were found in much larger abundance, as many as 126 of these turning up during three seasons of work. In this form of burial where we find charred human bones and ashes, we could be certain of post-cremation burial. But in the far larger number of cases, no human bones are found. The bones that are found are of animals, like lambs, goats, chicken, etc. In fact it is only one of the 126 urns that contained a human bone. These objects, it may be taken, serve a purpose similar to those found accompanying fractional burials already described. It may be that some form of disposal of the remains may have been current, as the modern practice in the Punjab of grinding these bone remains to dust and throwing them into the river. The Buddhist practice of interring a small quantity of some of these remains with various other small objects seems reminiscent of this. We may therefore take it that the contents of these urns were offerings to the dead. This is confirmed by similar finds in Baluchistan, where there is little room for doubt that they were funerary offerings. These were found only in the sites where the Indus influence prevailed. Whether these sites be in northern or southern Baluchistan, these are found usually buried near houses and contain in addition to the usual small vessels, etc., also human bones and ashes mixed in several cases. This leaves no room for doubt that the urns were funerary urns. It seems to be thus clear that in the most flourishing period of the Indus Civilization in both the sites the usual method of disposal of the dead was by cremation.

The practice of burying the bones of the dead after exposure seems to have been rare up to the close of the Indus period so far as Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are concerned, there being five such in the former and only two in the latter. A big group of fractional jar burials has come to light at Harappa, but clearly belonging to

Some skulls excavated at Mohenjo-Daro.



strata of mound F at Harappa, the inference is probable that the burial here was somewhat later than the Indus period as represented at Mohenjo-Daro. In one case, the skeletal remains were found to be fragmentary, and makes it doubtful whether here the burials were entire or fractional. The same method of complete burial has been found in Baluchistan on two distant sites, namely at Nal in the Jhalawan district, and at Shahitump near Turbat. At Nal, the burial had taken place in definite graves. In other cases, they were buried in bare earth, but in no case was any pottery or other sepulchral furniture found. In this locality, the complete burials were found to be simultaneous with fractional burials, in which the human remains were accompanied by vessels containing food and drink and other objects for the use of the dead. This view of the excavator, Mr. Hargreaves, may be correct, and if so, they must belong to the later Chalcolithic age relatively. Nal pottery associated with these burials are found to make their appearance comparatively late, according to Sir Aurel Stein. At Musyan in Western Persia, we find a similar state of burial. Only there fractional burials seem occasional and complete burials the rule. The burials of Shahhi-tump occurring in the latest strata and on the top of the mounds are believed to be somewhat earlier than those of Nal. The bodies are generally laid in the earth either on their backs or on their left sides facing the north. A variety of articles were found with them, such as stone beads, copper celts, spear heads and the like. In another part of the burial ground were found two large funerary jars containing earth, ashes and fragments of animal bones. There were however no human remains whatsoever.

Coming to fractional burials, the practice seems to have been after the dead body had been exposed to beasts and birds for some time, some of the remains of the bones were collected and buried, a typical example of which had been found at Mohenjo-Daro in the H. R. area. The skull was found in a broken earthenware pot. Near it were found some fragmentary pieces of bone accompanied by a large number of other earthenware vessels and a variety of small objects including balls, beads, chert flakes, a shell spoon, bits of ivory and some miniature vessels. The houses in which these are found belong to the intermediate period, and they had apparently been in ruins when the internment took place, though we cannot say how long before. The objects found with these belong to the Chalcolithic age, but they are not distinct enough to admit of a determination of the date. Among them worth noticing is a

a later age. These jars contain excarnated bones and are not accompanied by any offering vessels or other articles. Complete burials are very nearly as rare. If the instances already given of the series of skeletons be set aside, we have very few instances of full burial, as all the examples that have come to notice in Harappa could, on evidence, be ascribed to a later period. Although it can hardly be regarded that we have evidence enough for a definite conclusion, the trend of the evidence seems clearly to indicate that post-cremation burials were probably the fashion where the Indus culture prevailed. Fractional and complete burials on the other hand are associated with remnants of Persian culture, thus indicating that these may be due to Persian influence.

From all that we have said above, it seems clear that the culture revealed at the two sites, though divided by as great a distance as four hundred miles, is still so similar. The general features of the finds are quite similar notwithstanding the fact that there are important items to which no counterparts have been discovered in the one or the other, the most remarkable of such instances being the great bath at Mohenjo-Daro, and the corridor hall at Harappa. The structural character of the buildings, the fabric and the design of the antiquities are so similar that we cannot mark off the finds at one site from those at the other, and such a uniformity in all the appurtenances of daily life would not have been possible but for the general and deep rooted character of the civilization through Sind and the Punjab. So far our investigations have been limited to what may particularly be called the Indus Valley. The civilization actually may have extended eastwards across Rajaputana and down the valleys of the Jumna; but so far we have not come upon evidence from, as in fact no work has been done on, these sites. Till positive evidence comes from this side, we might well call this the Indus Civilization instead of Indian. But within the region thus marked out, it is not only these two sites that have furnished the evidence. There are other sites belonging to the same Chalcolithic age both in Lower and Upper Sind; but all along the Indus Valley there have been finds of painted pottery, chert flakes and coarse copper implements, shell bangles and the like. At one site however in the midst of these, various neolithic implements were found without either the painted pottery or other objects typical of the Chalcolithic age, thereby clearly indicating that that site was occupied during the neolithic age, but was not in the succeeding Chalcolithic age. These neolithic artefacts abound in Sind. Even kerns, burrows and other

rough stone structures of the stone age are found in considerable number. Our information in regard to these has been too vague to draw definite conclusions from. Notwithstanding this, there are enough truly neolithic finds to justify human occupation of Sind in neolithic times. In fact long before these excavations, it was known to geologists that the fine flakes found on the hill tops and those found at the bed of the Indus belong to two separate periods, those found in the river beds being later. The excavations have shown that the later flakes found at the bed of the river were flakes produced in the Chalcolithic period. Therefore then neolithic man was in occupation of the Indus Valley before the Chalcolithic period. At one site namely Jhukar near Larkhana, the excavations so far made indicate three distinct layers. The earliest of these is contemporary with Mohenjo-Daro, the latest belongs to the Kushan age. The middle one is therefore intermediate between the two; but the painted pottery found in the middle layer shows itself to be distinctly later than the uppermost settlements laid bare at Mohenjo-Daro or Harappa. The evidence from the Punjab is more meagre, but appears to have extended as far to the north-east as Rupar in the Sutlej valley below the Simla hills. Experimental trenches here have yielded bricks and earthenware vessels identical with those found at Harappa. To the west of the Indus traces of this civilization have been found through Loralai, the Derajat, Zhob, and northwards as far as Bannu. Harappa in the heart of the Punjab seems to have been under occupation much longer than Mohenjo-Daro, and probably it was even a larger settlement than the latter. We may therefore presume that this Indus culture prevailed over the whole valley. It became clear at the outset, and it has since been borne in upon us, that this Chalcolithic civilization extended westwards to occupy the whole of the broad Afrasian belt, and that the civilizations of Western Persia and Mesopotamia were intimately related to the Indus Civilization.

This civilization was undoubtedly the offspring of the great rivers on the banks of which it flourished. In fact but for these rivers the great development to which Chalcolithic civilization attained would have been impossible, the more so in the early age to which this civilization actually belonged. We had knowledge of the Nile Civilization in Egypt, the civilization of the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia, and the Karun and Karkheh in Western Persia, and even to some extent the civilization of the river region of Helmand. It therefore is nothing strange that the valley of the Indus, the broadest and the richest of the river valleys of southern

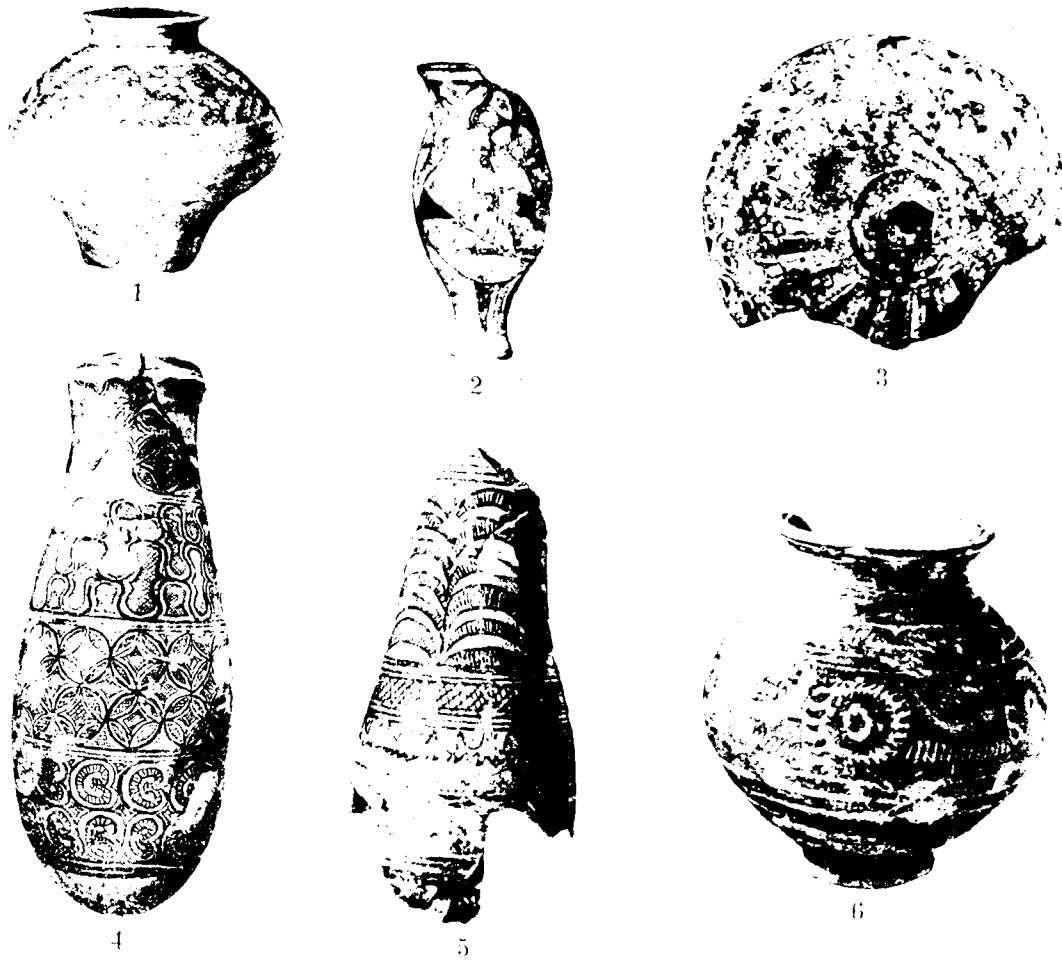
Asia, should have had a similar development. It would be no surprise if the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges, and the valley of the Oxus show themselves to be centres of human activity and progress in the Chalcolithic age as well. As a matter of fact the ramifications of this Chalcolithic civilization could be traced from Thessaly and Southern Italy eastwards to the distant Chinese provinces of Honan and Chih-li. It is hardly possible to expect such a farflung civilization to be homogeneous in character. A careful study of this civilization will nevertheless indicate that while there are differences and distinction readily noticeable, there is considerable correspondence in the underlying basis of their material cultures. There was undoubtedly a fundamental unity in the ideas which could not all be wholly accounted for by mere commercial intercourse. Take an obvious example like that of the scripts. The scripts of these various sections vary, but the underlying idea of using pictured signs first to represent objects, then concepts and lastly merely sounds could not have been but common property. While everybody seems to have been acquainted with weaving, the materials used for purposes of weaving and manufacturing clothes was modified by the locality and the material produced in abundance there. While therefore the processes of spinning and weaving we find to be common, it is cotton that is found woven in Sind, but flax in the Nile Valley. So it will be found with respect to pottery. While therefore on the one side we are impressed with the individual character of these distinct regions in regard to their civilization, there is still a community in the thoughts underlying it. The following may be noted as features peculiar to the Indus Civilization, the domestic houses as well as the great public baths, etc. Public baths are not heard of elsewhere down to Roman times. The Indus art is remarkable in quality, and quite unlike the art of Elam, Sumer or Egypt. The red and black pottery of the Indus shows itself quite distinct in its decoration from other similar pottery of the neighbouring regions, and is obviously more distinct from the paler wares of both Persia and of Mesopotamia. Cotton as the staple of clothing makes it distinct from Egypt where flax takes the place of cotton. The script of the Indus Valley shows a highly evolved type of writing, very much more highly so than perhaps elsewhere. This peculiarity may be explained partly by independence of origin, but much more readily perhaps by the genius for adaptation.

In regard to the extent of the Indus Civilization, we have some little evidence of its extension to Kathiawar. It may have gone

Painted pottery from other sites.



Specimens of Painted Pottery.



as far out as the Gulf of Cambay. While the finds have not a sufficiently distinct character to be assimilated to those of Mohenjodaro or Harappa, they may not justify our regarding them as too distinct to be separated. While it may be admitted in our present stage of knowledge that it did not extend beyond the region watered by the great Indus and the great Mihran, it would be difficult to believe that it did not extend to the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges or of the Narmada and the Tapti in its immediate neighbourhood. We know too little of the pre-historic culture of the people in these localities to be positive one way or the other. But what we knew of the Pre-Aryan inhabitants of these regions from the Vedas seem to make them possessed of a culture similar to that in the Indus Valley. Investigation on sites westward of the Indus Valley has gone on to some considerable extent. While these establish the prevalence of a Chalcolithic culture in these regions, namely, the whole area of Baluchistan and at least the eastern half of Afghanistan, their dependence both upon the Indus culture in the east and of the Persian culture in the west is equally brought home to us by these excavations. The finds of pottery are the most important in this connection, but these finds have not yet been classified and studied to admit of definite conclusions being drawn from them. But Sir John Marshall makes a rough classification of these into three varieties (1) red and black ware; (2) hybrid ware; and (3) the buff ware. The first variety shows red ground with designs in black, brown or purplish brown. This ware which is characteristic of the Indus Valley predominates in Eastern Baluchistan, Loralai, Zhob and the Derajat, west of the Indus, thus linking it up with the characteristic red and black pottery of the Indus region. Similarly the buff ware have their designs in black, grey, brown or red, but on ground which is either buff, cream, grey or greenish. This kind predominates in the region of Western Baluchistan and Seistan, and is connected undoubtedly with the light coloured wares of Persia and Mesopotamia, but in the districts midway between these two, the pottery is evenly divided between the red and black and the buff ware. As is to be expected naturally, there is also a variety which is hybrid between the two. The distribution of these is not always uniform nor exactly confined to the whole region. These sometimes intrude but the intrusive character of these is capable of being clearly marked out. One class of wares generally known as the Nal ware is of importance. These generally belong to the western group of pale pottery, and have little in common with the red and black variety of even Eastern Baluchistan. Even where they are found

actually to be red and black, it is clear that it is due to contamination. The bulk of the Nal ware is either pale or dark buff, straw coloured or of greenish hue. The designs are applied in brown, or sepia or black and filled in after firing with blue, green, red, yellow or white; but its minor decorations show marked resemblance to the pottery of Susa of the First period. These wares are intended both for household use and for funerary purposes. They are considered to be of a relatively later period according to Sir Aurel Stein than the period of the red and black variety of the immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Mackay assigns these Nal wares to about 3,000 B.C., and, if this should be correct, the red and black ware would have to be referred to an earlier period. We cannot however be definite in respect of this till we can get a little more stratigraphical evidence from representative sites both in Sind and Baluchistan. What is certain so far as the Nal wares are concerned is that they are distinct from the prevalent character of the pottery of the region and cannot be regarded as either a later development or as an earlier variety giving rise to the red and black ware. None of the other Indus artefacts of a peculiar character have been forthcoming from Nal, nor bronze, which is common in the Indus as well as of the neighbouring sites in Baluchistan. Therefore the Nal culture will have to be regarded as quite intrusive. We may therefore generally take it that the Indus culture prevailed at one time over the eastern districts of Baluchistan, eastern Waziristan, the Derajat, west of the Indus. Here also the active forces in the river valleys of Southern Baluchistan were at work. At the same time, Western Baluchistan and Seistan were under Persian influence, which sometimes extended further eastwards advancing as far east as the middle of Baluchistan. Probably the Nal wares are due particularly to this influence. This evidence from pottery is confirmed by other antiquities such as the terracotta figurines of humped bulls and of the Mother Goddess. These are intimately connected with the Pre-Aryan religion of India, and seems to have been derived more from the east rather than from the west, though the cult of the Mother Goddess was known in Western Asia at this period.

Coming down to the question of the age of this civilization and of the people who originated it, we have already noted that the culture laid bare in the Indus Valley by these excavations are of the Chalcolithic age; that considerable similarities are noticeable between this culture and those of Western Asia generally; and that while it has an individuality of its own, it is still funda-

mentally of the same origin as the Afrasian culture of the river valleys. The features of the Indus Civilization which are in a way assimilated to that of Western Asia are the following:—The city organization of the Indus people; the continued use of stone, though in small quantity, along with copper and bronze, in the manufacture of weapons, tools and vessels; the invention and use of the potter's wheel, and the production of improved kinds of pottery in consequence; the invention of wheeled vehicles superseding the more primitive sleds; the use of burnt and sun-dried bricks in the buildings and their being erected generally on platforms as a protection against floods; the use of picture signs for writing; the use of maces as weapons of offence along with the other more usual spears, daggers, bows, etc; the high degree of artistic development attained in the work of the gold and silver smiths. Each one of these features by itself may not constitute very much of an evidence to connect the one with the other, but taken together the cumulative result is at least that they were contemporary cultures, contemporary with what is classified as the "Second Pre-Deluvian Culture" of Elam and Mesopotamia on the one hand, and of the "Pre-Historic Culture of Sumer" on the other. By way of further evidence we have recovered some objects in all three of these sites which would go to establish a lively intercourse between these localities at the commencement of the fourth millennium B.C., the period when the Indus culture, as revealed by Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, was at its height of prosperity. How long did this culture, that of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, persist in the Indus Valley? It was already noticed that seven layers have been discovered at Mohenjo-Daro of which three belonged to the late period, three more to the intermediate period, and one to the early. It is almost certain that there are other layers below, though the excavation work has had to stop there. Seven cities one above the other would ordinarily admit of a period of one thousand years judged on the analogy of other sites, such as those of Troy, Knossos, Athens or Rome. But in regard to Mohenjo-Daro, conditions are rather peculiar in the fact that the city was perpetually exposed to inundation, and consequently the destruction comes perhaps quicker, and consequently again the rebuilding of the city after its destruction. The period of the occupation therefore of the seven cities will have to be shorter than in the other localities comparatively. This inference is confirmed by the surprisingly uniform character of the antiquities found in the various layers of the excavation here. The bricks are of the same size except that, in regard to the uppermost layer, which is more poorly built and the

bricks themselves are of a comparatively meaner character. The seals are alike in style, material, form and technique in all the different layers. The bulk of the pottery is also more or less of a similar character. Having regard to this uniformity of the cultural objects, and the imminent danger from floods of the locality, perhaps 500 years would be adequate for the seven cities laid bare. This short period is not intended to cover the whole period of the Indus Civilization, but only the period of the seven layers that have been excavated at Mohenjo-Daro. But what has been laid bare exhibits a complexity of life in the city with its elaborate lay out, great size and the character of the buildings; the whole of it could not have come into existence all at once. There must have been a long anterior period of growth. The developed character of the pottery, the beauty of some of the seals, and the highly developed form of jewellery work, as also the conventionalized and monumental forms and signs of the Indus script, would all alike argue a long previous course of development. Some of these might have been imported from elsewhere in a more perfect form; but taken together, they would warrant a long anterior course in the development of the Indus Civilization as a whole. We may have to allow at least a period of about a thousand years for this anterior growth. Similarly at the other end of it, the excavations at Harappa prove clearly that this civilization persisted even after the destruction of Mohenjo-Daro. There is evidence of this persistence on the Mohenjo-Daro site itself. While therefore the Indus Civilization generally may be regarded as an ancient civilization reaching back well into the fifth millennium, the culture as exhibited by Mohenjo-Daro itself may be taken to have covered the period comprising 250 years on either side of 3000 B.C.

In regard to intercourse between the Indus Valley, Elam and Mesopotamia, we have evidence of objects, the most important of which are five seals of the Indus pattern discovered on different sites both in Elam and in Mesopotamia. In two cases, these are assignable, on other archaeological grounds, to the pre-Sargonic period, and none of them are assignable to a later date than the 3rd millennium B.C. Two specimens found at Ur and Kish, competent authorities ascribe to an age before 2,800 B.C. The seals at Mohenjo-Daro are of about the same character, and we cannot mark exactly to what particular period of Mohenjo-Daro these seals belong. Since therefore we cannot fix the period with more precision, the period thus fixed, namely, 3,250 B.C. to 2750 B.C. may be accepted as approximately correct. One of these five seals happens

to be a bone cylinder seal of what is called generally the bull and the manger type. This was found in association with Proto-Elamite tablets in a deposit of what is described as Susa II period, and is ascribed to the time of Sargon of Agade. The design and the technique of this particular seal are found to be however unusually crude as compared with Indus seals generally. Judged by the crude character, the Indus seals must be regarded as later, and since we know the crude seal is of the age of Sargon, the other Indus seals will have to be regarded as of a later period. This, however, is hardly a necessary conclusion as the style and the cylindrical form of the seal makes it an Elamite product, and not Indian, which means it is a product of an Elamite craftsman's work on the model of an Indian seal. The crudeness of the working therefore may be due to an unpractised craftsman rather than to its primitive character. The similarity noticed in respect of the Indus script with the archaic Sumerian by Prof. Langdon may perhaps be also explained as due rather to a common origin rather than to borrowings from the one site or the other. This chronology is confirmed in many ways by the similarity noticeable in objects and motifs that establish an intimate relation between the Indus, early Sumerian and the two Pre-Deluvian cultures. All these of the Indus Valley could be matched, according to Mr. Mackay with objects from Mesopotamia definitely referable to the fourth or the first half of the third millennium B.C. They imply active intercourse between the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia in Pre-Sargonic or at least early Sargonic times, and afford a strong confirmation of this chronological conclusion. But this chronology is not without its defects. On the Indus pottery is found a comb motif, which is found on the Indus red and black pottery as well as the Susa pottery of the First period. This design does not occur in the pottery of the Susa Second period, nor with the corresponding Musyan or Jemedet-nasr pottery. Since it is so peculiar a feature, it is not likely to have originated in two places simultaneously and must be assumed to have been borrowed from the Indus pottery. Granting that the chronology proposed is correct, there is again a difficulty to meet. This motif disappeared from Western Persia after the First Pre-Deluvian period, but appears on the Indus a thousand years later. This may however be explained on the assumption that the cultures of the Indus Valley, Baluchistan and Persia were closely related and mutually influenced during the First Pre-Deluvian period; and that this influence stopped for some reason which we do not know in Persia after the First Pre-Deluvian period,

while it continued in the East. This conclusion finds support in the fact that this comb motif survives in the local Mehi ware of Baluchistan in the Second Pre-Deluvian pottery as well as in the Indus ware.

Another difficulty in the way of acceptance of this chronology is to be found in the primitive character of some of the copper and bronze weapons and implements found in the Indus Valley. The flimsy, leaf-shaped spear heads and daggers are too primitive for suggesting a late period. During the same period, superior types of socketed spear heads and daggers with strengthening mid-ribs have been evolved in Sumer, while the primitive types of the Indus Valley appertain to the late period. That is considerably later than 3,000 B.C. to which the Sumerian weapons refer. The blade axe that is found in the Indus Valley has its parallel in early finds belonging to Susa I culture. Similarly the bronze saw finds its parallel among the most primitive saws of Egypt. That the primitive character of these weapons is not in reality an indication of age is in proof in the fact that, in the same period, we find in the Indus Valley bronze being in familiar use and the production of highly finished vessels and statuettes in bronze as well as in copper. A socketed axe-adze unearthed by Mr. Mackay in a deposit of the late period is in further proof of this, though it might have been imported. Whatever that be, there is no doubt that metal workers at the time that these primitive weapons were produced had attained to a high degree of skill and were capable of producing very superior types of implements. We may therefore take it that so far there is no reason to make Mohenjo-Daro Civilization go back beyond 3250 B.C. What is really more important is that the culture represented at this period has had a long anterior history of growth, taking us to an ancient past, which we can but guess.

Whether this civilization could be brought down lower in point of time than 2750 B.C. may be suggested by the surprisingly developed character of the domestic architecture of Mohenjo-Daro and the social condition that it indicates. In this matter we have really nothing to compare with, which would enable us to fix a date. The houses unearthed recently at Ur which are the only ones resembling those at Mohenjo-Daro are referred to the third dynasty of Ur, 2278-2170 B.C., and of the succeeding dynasties of the locality. Though the resemblance is unmistakable, it is with the poorly built houses of the latest period in the Indus Valley, and cannot be brought into comparison with the better built houses of the earlier periods. It is possible that these houses at Ur and the neighbourhood may have been copied from the Indus Valley, we

have nothing to lead us to the belief that there were houses at Ur, nor that such houses generally survived long after the passing away of the Mohenjo-Daro Civilization. So long as there is the possibility that Mesopotamia might have borrowed from the Indus Valley at a later date, no useful conclusion can be drawn from the comparison. Even if the later buildings of Mohenjo-Daro should be regarded as much later in point of time, the evidence of the seals does not admit of any other conclusion than that the better types of buildings in Mohenjo-Daro belonging to the intermediate and early periods are referable to the Pre-Sargonic age. It seems therefore clear that Indian domestic architecture is so far ahead of the domestic architecture of other countries that it can hardly serve as indicative of age. There have been finds of copper and bronze weapons elsewhere in India, at Gungeria in the Central Provinces and a number of sites in the Jumna-Gangetic basin. The objects unearthed all belong to one period and comprise short celts of various kinds, long bar celts, chisels, harpoon heads and swords. A number of silver plates also were discovered at Gungeria in the form of conventionalized bulls, heads and ordinary circular discs. Some of the short celts discovered in these localities resemble those found at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. But the type is too common for any inference from the similarity. Among the other objects, the long bar celts, swords and barbed harpoon heads are found to be peculiar to the Jumna Gangetic basin, and nothing similar has been found in the Indus Valley. It is possible that these objects are the earliest known products of the Indo-Aryan culture in the Gangetic Valley. It may however be that these objects represent some other culture as yet unknown to us, either of Dravidian or of Proto-Austroloid origin, and therefore distinct from both the Indus and the Indo-Aryan cultures. The discovery of swords with developed mid-ribs among these, and the fact that all of these belong to the copper and the bronze age alike lead to the inference that they belong to a period of time considerably later than the best days of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, and may even be held to suggest a long interval between the Indus culture of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and the iron age.

Coming now to the authors of the Indus Civilization, and whether that civilization was indigenous to the valley or immigrant, various theories have been propounded. Some have come to the conclusion hastily that this is the culture of the Vedic Aryans. Others hold that it is Sumerian culture, and identify the Indus people with the Sumerian. As yet no evidence of a definite cha-

racter has come to light, anthropological or other, to support either of these conclusions. The human remains so far discovered at Mohenjo-Daro and belonging to the Chalcolithic period fall into four types. (1) Proto-Austroloid represented by three markedly dolicho-cranial skulls exhibiting a close affinity with certain skulls found in Mesopotamia on the one hand and with the skulls found in Adichanallur in the Tinnevely District on the other, as well as the characteristic skull of the Vedas of Ceylon. (2) The Mediterranean type represented by six specimens. This is also dolicho-cranial with much less brain capacity than the previous type. The Nal skull is also referred to this type as well as two from Anau in Turkestan and the Sialkot and Biana skulls. (3) The third is Mongolo-Alpine type, of which only one specimen is known. The skull is Mesati-cranial, typically Mongolian, and comparable to the peculiar Naga skull in the Calcutta collection. (4) The fourth of these is the Alpine type, of which there is only one specimen that of a child. This is without a doubt brachy-cranial. Three other specimens are also ascribable to this group, of which one is the skull of a woman and is taken to be that of the mother of the child. The conclusion from the examination of skulls that it was a varied population that occupied the Indus Valley agrees very well with the inference that could be drawn from the situation of Sind. Being placed on the western border, with easy land and sea communications with the southern coasts of Western Asia, with the great mountain zones on the north close upon it, it must have been, even in that early age, the meeting ground of divergent types of humanity, as Mesopotamia itself was. It must therefore have served as the meeting ground of Proto-Austroloids from the Indian sub-continent, of the Mediterraneans along the southern shores of Asia, and of the Alpines and of the Mongolo-Alpines from the mountain zones of Western Asia respectively. The sculptured heads in a way confirm this conclusion, although we are hardly warranted in accepting the evidence of the artist for anthropological purposes. Even so, these specimens are but few to warrant a general inference.

That is so far as Mohenjo-Daro is concerned. A similar inference can be drawn in respect of Harappa as well, as, in spite of the large number of skulls and other remains available, they await examination. Among the three skulls examined, two are from the later period of Indus culture, and the third is distinctly posterior to the Indus culture of Mohenjo-Daro. The former two are brachycephalic in character, and are referred to the Alpine race and to the Armenoid subdivision of it. The other is said to be Mesati-

cephalic with a low cranial wall, medium nose and orbits, and marked alveolar prognathism. This is quite different from the other skulls so far examined both at Mohenjo-Daro and at Harappa, and is regarded as belonging to an entirely different race. This is confirmed by the strange mode of jar-burial found at Harappa and the picture decoration of the jars themselves. These lead to the conclusion that a new race of people had established themselves in the Indus Valley and eclipsed the Indus Civilization. The conclusion therefore seems clear that in the late period, the population of the Indus Valley included at least four types that we have mentioned above; but which of these people was really the author of the Indus Civilization we have nothing to indicate. It is probable that this civilization was not due to any one race, but grew out of the soil as it were, each race contributing its own quota, because, as far as history can go back, the population of the Punjab and Sind does not appear to have been of one character, and remained always heterogeneous.

Coming back to the question whether they were Dravidians or Sumerians, the suggestion to locate the Sumerians to the east of Mesopotamia was made long before Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were known; and they were identified with the Dravidians, who, on linguistic and ethnological grounds, were believed to have inhabited the whole of the Peninsula of India including the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan. The Dravidian speech still continues as the language of the Brahuis in Baluchistan. On this basis, the resemblances between the Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley finds were held as additional proof as confirming this conclusion. According to recognised ethnological authority, the Sumerians were dolicocephalic with large brain capacity like the present-day Mesopotamians, and one section of pre-dynastic Egyptians. They are held to resemble the Caucasian or European type and their cradleland is taken to be south-western Asia. In fact they are regarded as rather similar to the Arab of modern times. The very opposite opinion is also held that the Sumerians were brachycephalic and that by equally competent authority. Our knowledge of the Dravidians is no more definite than that. The modern Dravidian type is well known, as short, very dark, almost black, with plentiful hair showing an occasional tendency to curl, dark eyes, long head, broad nose depressed at the root. These are the Dravidians of to-day; but the Dravidians five thousand years ago need hardly be exactly the same. We see that the Brahui speaking people of Baluchistan have turned out to be completely Iranian in character, although

they still speak the Dravidian language. The Dravidian type of South India has also been transformed by admixture with the Proto-Australoids. The distinction between the Dravidians and many of the aboriginals has become so little that at least in regard to the Munda speaking people, authorities are inclined to doubt if any distinction can be drawn between them at all. Any attempt therefore to equate the Sumerians with the Dravidians would be premature and unsupported by definite evidence as yet.

Were they Aryans? Similar ethnological difficulties confront us here as well. The Aryan type of Northern India, as described by ethnologists, would agree substantially with the description that we find of them in the Vedas. But even so, we have no reason to assume that the type had not undergone considerable modification. We cannot therefore be positive as to what race or races they were physically connected with. Leaving anthropology aside a comparison of the Indus and Vedic cultures seems to justify our regarding them as unrelated. The Aryans were partly pastoral, partly agricultural, but generally rural in their habits. The Indus Valley people we find to be people long accustomed to town life and all that it involves. The metals known to the Indo-Aryans were gold, copper or bronze in the Rig Veda, silver and iron appearing in the following age, that of the Yajur and the Atharva Vedas. But among the Indus people, silver is commoner than gold. Utensils and vessels happen to be made of stone, as well as copper and bronze, the former reminiscent as yet of the neolithic age. Iron is utterly absent. Other offensive weapons, the bow and the arrow, spear, dagger and the axe are common. But the Aryans wore the defensive armour, both helmet and the coat of mail. The Indus people had the mace for an offensive weapon, not found among the Aryans. This is sometimes made of stone, sometimes of metal, and defensive armour was unknown among them. The Aryans were meat eaters and fish does not appear prominently as an article of diet among them. With the Indus people, fish and other aquatic creatures seem to be the common article of diet. Horses play an important part in Aryan life. It is unknown among the Indus people. The Vedic Aryans prized the cow; but the cow does not figure among the Indus people at all as of any importance, the buffalo taking its place in popularity. The Vedas have no mention of the tiger, and but little of the elephant. Both these seem to be among the familiar animals of the Indus people. In religion the Vedic people were uniconic. Iconism played a prominent part among the people of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. The prominence

given to the female element among the Indus Valley people has no corresponding part in Vedic religion. Śiva and the Mother Goddess predominate among the Indus people, and there is nothing to answer to the importance that fire played among the Aryans, none of the houses showing the fire-pit so characteristic of Aryan houses. Phallic worship was abhorrent to the Aryans, but seems to have been common practice among the Indus people. It seems therefore clear that the Vedic and Indus civilizations were unrelated. The difficulties are equally real whether we regard the Vedic civilization as the precursor of the Indus civilization or as following from it by way of evolution. The fact that there are elements in the Indus Civilization pertaining to the neolithic age would tell in favour of the Indus Civilization being the older. We cannot regard the Vedic culture as anterior in the face of the peculiarities, such as the prominent part played by the horse and of the defensive armour in use among the Aryans. We may therefore take it that, as far as our knowledge of it goes at present, we have nothing to justify our regarding that the two civilizations had a common source. All the evidence available goes to show that the Vedic civilization had an origin quite independent of the Indus Valley Civilization. But in regard to the question of the order of the two civilizations, the Indus Civilization and the Vedic, there seems to be some evidence that the Vedic civilization followed the Indus Civilization after an interval although the contrary view is held by Professor Langdon. According to Professor Langdon the Aryans in India are far more ancient than has hitherto been admitted, and that they are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race. On a study of the Indus script, he would derive the Brahmi script from the former, and would therefore take it that the Aryans came close after the Indus people long before the middle of the second millennium B.C. The question of the script requires much further study as to its own nature and the possibility of the derivation of the one or the other. The continued existence of the Indus Civilization, as shown by the remains of Jhukar would negative this according to Sir John Marshall. But the study of the script has not advanced sufficiently for any definite conclusion one way or the other. So far the comparison of the Indus script has been made only with the Sumerian and other west Asiatic scripts. As we are writing this, the suggestion comes to us from a paper by a French scholar, which seems to show that there is a closer resemblance between the Indus script and the east-Asiatic Island script, of which certain examples have been examined by him. It would therefore be safe for the present to

hold the view that the Indus Civilization as represented by Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa has had its day and was subverted perhaps by the intervention of another people, and that the Aryans followed afterwards, without committing ourselves to the middle of the second millennium as the actual period of Aryan advent into India, and without accepting the general position of the Aryan migration in all its detail as expounded by historians at present.

AJANTA

By

G. YAZDANI,

Published under the special authority of His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

The caves of Ajanta are a well-known feature of India, attractive alike to the tourist and to the serious student of Indian art and culture. It had its attractions to a serious-minded tourist like Hiuen T'sang and to holiday-seekers like Allau-d-din's troops. The caves in the living rock happen to be the result of pious charity, which caused these to be made or adapted generally for the residence of hermits during the rainy season when they are expected to remain at one place and spend the four months of the rains, in reading and contemplation. The caves are the result therefore of the disinterested charity of the well-to-do, and have been brought into existence during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. Apart from the ordinary attractive features of a holy centre like this, it was known for a long time that the caves did contain paintings of value, generally described as the Ajanta frescos. These naturally received the attention of those inclined towards the fine arts even from the first half of the nineteenth century. Reproductions of these have been made from time to time, the best known of which are copies executed by Griffiths and Lady Herringham. While these give a very good general idea of the paintings a faithful reproduction of these, from the point of view of art, has remained a desideratum. His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government have shown an anxiety, ever since the organization of the Archaeological Department in 1915, to reproduce these frescos more faithfully than ever before, and the beginning that they

made then of appointing an artist, Mr. Syed Ahmed, for the purpose proved but to be the earnest of a serious undertaking to produce copies of the frescos as faithfully as the scientific processes of photography made it possible. Italian experts were procured for the purpose of cleaning the frescos and making them capable of yielding good photographs. That done, technical experts in colour photography were put into requisition and were set to work to photograph these under the direction of Sir John Marshall and Sir Aurel Stein of the Government of India Archaeological Department. These photographs are arranged to be published in four albums each with an introductory monograph, the funds for which were provided by the liberality of the Government of His Exalted Highness and by the special interest taken by their very capable Finance Minister, Nawab Hydar Nawas Jhung Bahadur (Sir Akbar Hydari). Mr. Yazdani, the Director of Archaeology, naturally had charge of the work of reproduction of the pictures and of writing the monographs with such advice as he could obtain from experts in different branches of study. The printing of the reproductions and the plates are the work of the Oxford University Press, who have carried out their work in the most satisfactory manner possible.

The two parts already published concern the paintings in Cave I and Cave II respectively. The first contains 41 plates, of which a certain number are colour-plates, faithful reproductions of the actuals. The second contains 49 done in similar style, there being more colour reproductions to meet the expressed desire of serious students of art. On the whole the reproductions are as near perfect as modern advances in scientific photography could take us, and the gratitude of the public is due to the liberal policy of the Government of His Exalted Highness and the whole-hearted devotion of those concerned in the work of reproduction. The price of it puts the work beyond the reach of the general reader. Though it is inevitable, let us hope that in time arrangements will be made for cheaper reproductions, so that as many people as cherish the desire may have the chance of studying these unique paintings even though it could be but a few among these that would have the chance of studying the originals.

Coming to the matter of the introductory volumes, we have an excellent introduction by Mr. Laurence Binyon, the greatest authority on the subject. Strangely enough, this great authority on Asiatic art had not had the occasion to visit Ajanta personally and study the paintings. But the reproductions

are so good that this does not prove to be a bar to his study of these paintings. According to him and M. Ivan Stchoukine the paintings provide a very good illustration of the dictum that real art consists in concealing art. They are able to see a learned design controlling the groupings of the numerous photographs. The artists have managed to produce their pictures full of "natural effect" by taking care "to avoid all methods of composing where the governing idea is too obvious, such as those which exhibit primitive devices of strangely marked symmetry or else immobilize design by depriving it of movement and life." They find these compositions are generally "based on complex arrangements, where the variety of the attitudes and of the groupings appear inexhaustible." Notwithstanding this complexity of form, they find these to be "well-planned compositions, the unity of which is not impaired by the fact that it is made up of heterogeneous elements." Speaking of the whole, the learned artist says "Man is seen in the midst of nature, but not using her as something vanquished and subservient to his needs and pleasures, but emerging among those kindred forms of life as the most eloquent form she has created." According to him, "the Ajanta painters were conscious artists, obviously; they were not working at random or covering a surface bit by bit without plan or pre-conception; but they gave easy play, as they went, to the natural animation of forms; they felt no compelling need to enforce cohesion by gestures and attitudes dictated by pictorial effect rather than inspired by the subtle relationships of living beings in company." This judgment naturally brings home to the mind what perhaps is studied in literature in a mere simile that the beautiful form of a pretty young woman presented the appearance to the onlooker of a form just conceived by the artist for being translated into colour for seeing; in other words, the conception of the whole is a general mental pre-requisite for the actual work of the artist. Here is the considered judgment of the artist in regard to the Ajanta paintings:—"How this great school of Indian painting grew up we do not know. Probably like all vigorous schools, it would be willing and eager to borrow from art outside itself what it could readily absorb and assimilate. But in these days we tease ourselves overmuch over the question of origins. The art of Ajanta is thoroughly Indian, whatever stimulus it may have got from without. This is what is really interesting, its special contribution to the art of the world."

Coming to the meaning of the pictures themselves, the caves, many of them at least, being Buddhist actually inhabited by Bud-

dhist monks, the reproductions in paintings are taken to be naturally paintings of Buddhist saints taken from the Buddhist Jatakas and works of that kind, and painted with a view to edification. It is but natural therefore to look for Buddhist sources for all of these. While in cases, it is deliberately meant, as in the number of pictures in cave II relative to the story of the Buddhist saint Kshāntivādin, where the text of the story happens to be quoted at least in stray verses and the texts prove to be taken from the story of that saint as narrated in the Jātakamāla of Ārya Śūra, perhaps it was not always the case that the subject was taken from Buddhist literature exclusively. The story of the Śibi Jātaka given in the first part as explaining the pictures on that topic seems to be much more directly related to the story of Śibi as related in the Mahābhārata. This perhaps tells its own tale that the Buddhists found edification even perhaps in Brahmanical tales. As a matter of fact, the episode of Śibi as found in the Mahābhārata and the painting here, is actually under reference in a work, generally considered Buddhist, in the Śilappadhikāram allusively, the part of the story designed for the occasion being Śibi weighing himself against the dove. The paintings themselves would bear study in this new light, as for instance in the number of pictures of the Mahājānaka Jātaka, the original for which could be found perhaps as much in the Mahābhārata as in the Buddhist Jatakas. In any case, this opens a new line of study, which may throw unlooked for light upon the relation between Buddhism and Brahminism, and may ultimately contribute to a change of current views in regard to their interrelation. We close the review with feelings of gratitude to the enlightened Muhammadan State which has exhibited such unalloyed interest and care in the conservation of the professedly Brahmanical and Buddhist works of art.

INDIAN SCULPTURE

By

STELLA KRAMRISCH,

Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta.

This is one of the well-known Heritage of India Series, a very useful series providing short and simple manuals on important subjects of study relating to Indian culture and religion. The

volumes so far published did not include the subject of Indian Sculpture, a subject admittedly difficult of treatment in a popular way. An object of sculpture seen by an individual, cultured or uncultured, would readily be set down as Indian perhaps even without hesitation. But to explain how it is so distinguished is not exactly so simple, nor even be quite so clear. The technical way of representation would be the relation of the various component elements constituting the object, such as line, surface, volume and other elements essential to the process of visualisation. There are permanent qualities that make a sculpture Indian, and these will have to be expounded first of all; but these qualities are not always manifest. There are other conditions that determine their visible quality. The reactions of these upon one another produce the variations which obscure the permanent quality. It is this development that the book undertakes to explain without professing to be an outline history of Indian Sculpture. There is the initial difficulty that has to be overcome. The Western terminology is hardly suitable. Indian terms have become archaic and too technical to serve the purpose. Therefore the talented author aims at producing a hand-book, which, by describing some of the outstanding qualities not readily understandable by the Indian terminology, enables the reader to understand the character of Indian Sculpture. She finds the same system here that is found in Indian thought. Indian Sculpture was essentially intended to convey to the vision ideas that could not be conveyed with equal facility by language, so that the visible form is the result, and the quality which gives rise to it is necessarily a little more recondite. Artistic work therefore in this branch must be based upon the experience of seeing. The hand-book before us therefore surveys Indian Sculpture from the point of view of expounding the underlying essential qualities which persist throughout. The outward expression of these qualities conditioned both by geography and chronology lead to problems connected with the peoples involved, and the modification that the processes in consequence undergo.

The work is divided into three periods, ancient, classical and mediaeval. These are described in their general nature, and a number of special examples are given in illustration and explained. One separate chapter is devoted to the essential qualities of Indian plastic art. Mrs. Stella Kramrisch exhibits a degree of sympathy and understanding, which may be regarded as unique. The nature of the work itself, and the sympathetic understanding of the inwardness of the art by her, makes it sometimes

difficult to follow her. But she has succeeded on the whole in producing a book which would give a correct indication of the ideas underlying works of art coming within the purview of Indian Sculpture. The book is well provided with fifty plates in illustration containing as many as 116 different illustrations. These plates are individually explained in about sixty pages of matter. This is followed by notes to the text containing as many as 245 notes giving references to illustrations and explaining recondite points that occur in the course of the work. The illustrations are very well chosen and the work produces on the whole a good impression on the reader and enables him to appreciate Indian Sculpture. "She has learning and ideas," says the reviewer in the 'Times' Literary Supplement, "and more important still, as is clear from her plates and the admirable notes to these, a rare sensibility to form." We say "Amen."

RIG-VEDA SAMHITA WITH THE BHĀṢYA OF SĀYANĀCHĀRYA—PART I

Vaidika Samshodan Maṇḍal, Poona.

We referred already in our last issue to two separate bodies, one in Calcutta and one in Poona, arranging to bring out an edition of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sāyanāchārya. Since thence the second fascicule of the Calcutta edition has appeared carrying the work to 153 pages. As was stated already, this is meant to issue in parts with the commentary of Sāyanāchārya and translations in English, Hindi and Bengalee. We hope this will go on and the work will be completed in course of time.

In the meanwhile, we are pleased indeed to welcome the magnificent volume of 1,115 pages of the first volume of the five, projected by the Vaidic Samshodan Maṇḍal of Poona. This society is devoting itself to the prosecution of Vedic study and research, and among a number of works projected in various departments of this vast study, the publication of a good edition of the Rig-Veda with the commentary of Sāyanāchārya would certainly be regarded as the first necessary stage. This work has been undertaken by the society, and it need hardly be added that no better memorial could be thought of for Tilak whose preoccupation in life was Vedic study. Apart from the appropriateness of this publication,

there is the essential need, among serious students of Indian culture, of a good edition of this vast work. It is not a day too soon that the work is made available to students. The foreword is written on the last Vijayadaśami day, that is, the 28th September, and the big volume is out now. At this rate of work, we can hope to have the complete Veda Bhāṣya in a comparatively short time, perhaps a couple of years or three. The production of this work shows very creditable enterprise and capacity for organised work among those concerned, and the small editorial board contains names which give a guarantee for sound scholarship in the bringing out of the edition. The work is carefully planned and published as accurately as, in the circumstances, is possible. Having regard to the character of the work and its cultivation it is rather surprising that the number of different copies of the complete work obtained is small. Notwithstanding this fact, all possible care is taken, as far as the available material would admit of it, to produce a really good edition. Everybody concerned deserves congratulation from the public upon the enterprise and the satisfactory turn-out of the work. The work deserves well of every student of Sanskrit, who has any love for India and the enterprise itself deserves the utmost public support not merely to bring the great work to completion rapidly, but to encourage further work in the direction in the various branches projected, as all of them have for their object nothing other than sound Vedic scholarship, which is at the very foundation of Indian culture. We draw public attention to this work with pleasure and commend it for as full a public support as is possible.

Reviews

THE SĀMKHYA KĀRIKĀ

A STUDY FROM THE CHINESE VERSION

BY

MR. S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI,
Reader in Indian Philosophy, University of Madras.

This is the first bulletin of the Department of Indian Philosophy, and is a translation of the Chinese text of the Sāmkhya Kārikā. The well-known Sāmkhya Kārikā was taken over to China by Paramārtha in the sixth century A.D., and was put into Chinese, and this was recently translated into French by Professor Takakusu. What the actual original of the Chinese text was remained a matter for discussion, though the translator was inclined to take it that it was taken from Gauḍpāda's Bhāṣya. But later when the Māṭharavṛtti was discovered and published by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the resemblance between this text and Paramārtha's translation was found to be closer. Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri himself pointed out important differences of doctrine in an article he contributed to the J.R.A.S. for 1931. It was in the course of that work that he felt the need to attempt a fresh English translation, and this bulletin is the result. The translation is a literal rendering of the French, but what is of real importance to the main point at issue, namely, the original text of the Sāmkhya Kārikā of Īśwara Krishna, is the recovery of the Sanskrit work from which Paramārtha actually made the Chinese translation. It has been found in respect of several works of translation both in Tibetan and in Chinese, that a literal re-translation into Sanskrit brings us closer to the original for purposes of research, textual and other. There is a proposal to render this into Sanskrit again with a view to that purpose. We wish the enterprise all success, although perhaps for the purpose in hand a translation into Sanskrit directly from the Chinese would perhaps be more desirable. Anyhow the attempt is worth making even if it should take us but a step nearer to the original. Otherwise, Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri's work is a valuable addition to the literature bearing on the subject and is a useful contribution to the original and its place in Sanskrit literature.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF MUHAMMADAN
AND CHRISTIAN DATES

By

SIR WOLSLEY HAIG,
(Messrs. Luzac & Co., London.)

This is a little book of three tables, which cover the period Hijira year 1 to the Hijira year 1421, or the equivalent A.D. 622 to A.D. 2,000. The purpose of these tables is to enable readers of Muhammadan history from their sources, either in original or in translations, to find out the equivalent Christian dates. The three tables are necessary to achieve this end. For any given date in the Hijira, he consults the first table to find the Christian date on which the actual Hijira year began, setting down the number of days of the Christian year already passed. He has to go to the third table to find out the number of days that have elapsed on the date in the Hijira date he is looking for. Carrying that number, he has to look into table 2 to find the equivalent day of the Christian year. That finishes the process if the year is a normal year. If it is a leap year, an extra allowance of a day has to be made suitably in the number of days elapsed. Instructions are also given to correct the equivalent after the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in 1582. It is a very useful handbook and will serve the purpose of a ready reference to those who make a reading of Muhammadan historians at first hand, or even in their translations, as serious students of Indian History have often to do. It is therefore quite welcome as a useful aid.

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA

By

E. A. H. BLUNT, C.I.E., O.B.E.,
Oxford University Press.

We have reviewed the general account of the Caste System by O'Malley in the last issue of the journal and pointed out that it serves the useful purpose of giving a general idea of the caste system as it obtains in India, a system very much misunderstood, at any rate inadequately understood both by Indians and by Euro-

peans, by social reformers as well as by conservatives. Of course the vast mass of information collected on occasions of census operations in which the author was directly engaged supplies the material, on the basis of which the author projected his general account. In this work, the author makes a similar attempt based on similar experience. The object here is to give a complete and thorough-going account of the caste system as it prevails in India. The author describes the object of the work in the following words, referring to the publication of Crooke's Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh published long ago:—"But there was not then and, so far as I am aware, is not yet, any book which gives a full and connected account of caste as a system, which describes the factors which brought caste into existence, the evolution of the present system, the nature of the customs common to all castes, the principles which underlie those customs, and the reasons for similarity or difference between caste and caste. And my object in writing this book is, to the best of my ability, to supply that want." We may say, without fear of contradiction, that the author has done his work very well indeed.

In fifteen chapters he deals with various aspects of the caste system, dealing with its nature, evolution and topics like that in eleven chapters. In the next following four chapters he deals with caste in relation to occupation, economics, religion and law; and in the last he gives a general summary of the caste system past, present and future. It will be clear from this recital that it is a thorough-going study of the system and quite in keeping with its systematic character. It professes to deal with the system as it prevails in Northern India from information collected chiefly, or mainly at any rate, from the U. P. In the last chapter he gives a summary account of the caste system as it obtained in the past in various periods of Indian History. He points out how the Aryan invaders coming into the country without the full complement of women had necessarily to find wives for the men folk from among the people they conquered. This however was gradually given up after various degrees of mixture had given rise to differences of colour, justifying the four *varnas*. But the Vedic social system could not remain for long in its purity. While the tendency to endogamy weakened in course of time, since the Aryans had settled in the midst of other people, the growth of trade and industry gave rise to a new group on the basis of occupation. This developed into the hereditary division by profession. Simultaneously with this, the position of the Brahmans became more and more

defined as the sole custodian of learning, which gave him an assured position of influence not only as the leading community of the land, but as influencing even the administration of the king. In the next stage, according to him, this superior influence brought about rivalry between the two influential communities, even hostility culminating even in different points of view in religion. This led to efforts to get rid of the Kshatriya, though it must be said to the credit of the critical acumen of the author, he is not prepared to found the theory on the Paraśurāma tradition. The weakening of the Kshatriya was due, according to him, to the exhausting wars which were a constant feature of Indian History from the days of Alexander down to the establishment of Harsha's empire; nor can it be asserted on evidence that the rivalry between Buddhism and Brahmanism ever developed into that kind of activity. But by the time that the wars were over, the Brahman's position in society had become so well established that the ruling communities could hardly get on without their assistance.

Fresh accretions to the population at various stages, such as during this long period, added to the establishment of the caste system, and merely reinforced the tendency to hardening inherent in the system itself. The endogamous restriction became stricter, and occupational divisions became more and more the rule. Strangely enough, this author comes to the conclusion that the system of castes as described in Manu, whose date, according to him, was A.D. 400, is substantially the system as we find it to-day.

In the next stage, that is, the period between Harsha and the Muslim conquest, the tendencies to division of the country into a large number of smaller kingdoms became a little more advanced. The great distances and the more or less imperfect communication alike had the influence of dividing the people into still larger sections. We therefore get to the condition of a large number of communities, each with a separate law of its own, and a distinct organisation for each caste, became the rule of the day. The process has been going on all this while and still continues. The process of segmentation has been a continuous process and has taken place within the system of caste and in obedience to caste law. It is only during the last half century or less that opposition to the caste system has arisen with anything like strength. While the strictness in regard to inter-dining and other minor items of excrescences show a tendency to drop off rapidly, the essential feature of endogamy still persists undiminished, notwithstanding the number

of social reform movements and the teaching of influential reformers.

At the end of his investigations, the author cautions the reader from concluding that the caste system has lost its vitality. He points out that the customs that are attacked are most of them excrescences only. While changes are taking place in these rapidly, the fundamental principle of caste still retains its hold, and this lies in the principle of endogamy, according to this author. He is able to assert, on the basis of facts and figures, that notwithstanding reforms and reformers, and even reforming legislation, the mass of the people are feeling far from convinced as to the desirability of relaxing their marriage rules.

He next touches upon the question of untouchability and points out that the principle lies in the fact of securing the services of an officiating Brahman. He feels that there is an anxiety in these classes to secure this Brahman ministrations, and points out that there lay the line of reform. If this is granted, the author has no doubt that in process of time, the untouchables will be raised to a respectable position in society. He takes care to point out, however, that the "process will take time—two or three generations: the mental, moral, and even physical characteristics which are the result of many centuries of depression are not so easily put away. But though the process may be slow, it will be sure."

He considers next the criticism of the caste system by those within and those without. The essential point of the criticism is that caste is essentially anti-democratic and separatist in its tendencies. But the historical view of the system throws into relief two principles that make for union, community of descent and community of interest. The first of these principles unites people into tribes while the second makes for occupational groups. These are necessary bonds of union; to unite these small groups into the larger nation, other influences have to operate, such as a common language, government political interests and even historical traditions. While some of these have been wanting in India till recent times, it can hardly be asserted that there has not been any larger unity than that of these comparatively small groups. It is extraneous circumstances that actually brought about the consolidation of these small groups. But notwithstanding this process, there has always been a thread of unity running through Hindu society. One of these, the author finds in the Brahman hegemony. There has always been a Hindu people; there has always been a Hindu

civilization according to him, and this is due entirely to the existence of the caste system, and to the leadership of the Brahman. While internally separating, the caste system had been equally powerful in making for external unity. The author has every hope that what is true of the past will equally be true of the future. "Every nation," according to him, "must have its social system; surely it is advisable that it should maintain a system that is suited to its people." He quotes the authority of Sir Herbert Risley that caste is more than 'a mere mode of grouping the loose atoms of humanity'; 'it is a congenital instinct'. This the author considers is not peculiar to the caste system of India. Not only that. This tendency for division will not have as much force as the leaders of the nation must come from the leaders of the caste. He is optimistic that in this nationalising movement much will depend upon the Brahman. The following are the remarks in his own words:—"It is the fashion of the people to jeer at him in proverbs, of critics to decry him as a parasite on society. But it is as unfair to judge of a caste by the conduct of its least important members, as it is to judge of the doctrines of a religion by the practice of the mass of its adherents. And, meantime, there are in Benares and Allahabad, Brahman scholars whose names are a household word, in East and West, wherever two or three Sanskritists are gathered together; and at the present time every single Hindu political leader of first class importance in this province is a Brahman. In the days that are coming, the Brahman will have the greatest change that he has had for two thousand years. And he will take it."

Nonetheless, the author still hopes that in course of time the nation will swallow up the caste and the restrictions would get gradually modified till the system becomes one of classes rather than castes as in Vedic times. He is, however, certain "that any attempt to hasten the process of evolution would be fraught with danger." He quotes again with approval Sir Herbert Risley that "to remove the caste system would be more than a revolution; it would resemble the removal of some elemental forces like gravitation or molecular attraction." He therefore concludes that what is wanted is to remove the excrescences, and the weapon to be used is the pruning knife, not the axe. The work presents a thoughtful study of a complicated human phenomenon, and deserves to be carefully studied and pondered over as much by the self-satisfied conservative as by the enthusiastic and impulsive reformer.

SAHITYARATNAKARA

EDITED BY

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.,

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This is a historical work in Sanskrit and one among half a dozen of such that had been brought to notice by us so long ago as fifteen years, and the salient extracts of a historical character from this work, as well as the Ragunathabyudhayam and other works, in the Sources of Vijayanagar History compiled by Mr. A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and edited by us for the University. The work constitutes the first volume of the Madras University Historical Series. Mr. Chintamani has brought out in this edition sixteen cantoes of it that seems to be all the work. He has made it available in a handy form for students of history. The work is provided with an introduction in English and a short prefatory note; otherwise it is a reprint of what was published in the Journal of the Madras University. It is based on two manuscripts, one of which contains all the sixteen chapters and the other only ten. Mr. Chintamani notes that he found little difference between the two manuscripts in regard to the text matter. In the introduction, he deals with a certain number of works in Sanskrit bearing upon the history of the Nāyaks of Tanjore, who were great patrons of literature, Sanskrit as well as the vernacular languages of the country, particularly Telugu. Several of these Nayaks themselves were authors, and some of their works have come down to us. The most important figure, in this period of history, is Govinda Dikshitar, the friend and minister of the first Nāyaka Śevvappa. He was an eminent minister, who conducted the administration entirely during the reigns of Śevvappa and Achyuta, father and son, and was tutor and administrator for Raghunātha Nāyaka himself in the early years of his reign. Govinda Dikshita was a man eminent in learning, and was at the same time a benevolent administrator, large numbers of whose public works still bear his name. Mr. Chintamani mentions several of these works of importance, but omits unfortunately some that ought to find mention, such as the Ayyan channel, the irrigation canal which fertilises a considerable part of the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts, and the Ayyan Street in Kumbakonam, which, to-day, has its own importance. He gives a short account otherwise also of the lite-

rary works of the author himself, his brother Venkateswara and of prince Raghunātha Nāyaka himself. To Mr. Chintamani belongs the credit of having discovered an alternative name for the Sāhitya Ratnākara, which seems to have been otherwise called Raghunātha Bhūpa Vijaya, which describes more correctly the contents of the work. Then Mr. Chintamani proceeds to give an abstract of the salient points of historical information canto by canto, which certainly will be helpful to students of history, particularly those that could not read Sanskrit for themselves.

It is matter for regret, however, that he falls into some serious blunders, which he could have avoided if he had only looked through the Sources of Vijayanagar History, which he must have had before him. We pass over the minor blemishes, but must point out that Achyuta, the second of the Nāyaks, did not defeat the Muhammadans at Negapatam, but one of the European companies, either the Portuguese or the Dutch. Of course, these works call them Pārasikās, but Pārasikās and Muhammadans are spoken of separately in another part of the work. But the most serious error of it all is on page XVI of the introduction where speaking of Jagga, he has the following sentence:—"One Jaggarāja put an end to the king of Karnāṭa and the members of his family, and with the remaining son of that Karnāṭa king, has joined hands with the Pāṇḍya to attack Achyuta." Apart from the English of the extract, he is confounding between two incidents; Jaggarāja, the murderer of the royal family joined the Pāṇḍyas, and another general hostile to Jaggarāja, Yāchama, not Yāchamma, as Mr. Chintamani calls him, managed to get possession of one of the young sons of the ruler and marched in all haste to seek the assistance of the Nāyak of Tanjore. This blunder of his must be due to careless reading of śloka 56, and the sentence next following in the introduction should have given him indication that there is something wrong. As a matter of fact he is aware of the prince being carried to Tanjore by Yāchama, as he mentions it correctly enough on page XVIII of the introduction. An error like this ought to have been avoided in an introduction intended for the benefit, particularly of those who may not be able to verify the statement with the original. Notwithstanding this and a few other minor blemishes, students of history would be grateful to Mr. Chintamani, and would welcome the publication as a valuable aid to the study of the History of the Nāyaks of Tanjore.

MAURYAN POLITY

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR,

(*Madras University Historical Series, No. VIII,*
1932, pp. viii, 394.)

It is both natural and necessary that the history, ideals and administration of the Mauryan emperors should continue to have a growing attraction for historical students, and that every year substantial additions should be made to the literature of the subject. Among such works, Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar's recently published "Mauryan Polity" will rank high. Delivered three years ago in the form of lectures before the University of Madras, the material of these academic discourses has been worked up into a book of substantial proportions. Future students will not have to garner their knowledge of Mauryan institutions from a number of scattered papers as they can find within the covers of Mr. Dikshitar's "Mauryan Polity" an adequate critical review of the available literature and evidence. Mr. Dikshitar's book is the product of a decade of specialised reading and reflection.

In "Hindu Administrative Institutions," published in 1929, Mr. Dikshitar had made *inter alia* a preliminary survey of the matter of the book now under review. By narrowing his field Mr. Dikshitar has been able to deal with Mauryan government more thoroughly than it was possible for him to do in the earlier work, which covered a wider range.

The times are propitious for the appearance of a treatise on Mauryan Polity. While, in a sense, it may be permissible to contend that European interest in Mauryan India began as early as the eighteenth century when Vincent, Robertson and Jones wrote, it will not be correct to carry the beginning of a sustained interest in the subject farther back than two generations from ours. The discoveries of the edicts of Asoka, the publication of George Turnour's "Mahawanso" (1837), the reports and monographs of Sir Alexander Cunningham, including his collection of the Inscriptions of Asoka (1871), the annotated translation of Schwanbeck's Megasthenes, with which J. W. Macrindle began a series of publications, bringing together with the surviving material in Graeco-

Latin literature relating to India, the intensive study of Asoka's inscriptions by Senart (1881-6) Bühler and Kielhorn, the collection of the Indian traditions regarding Chandragupta contained in Sanskrit literature, and the exploration of the Ceylonese chronicles and of Buddhist literature generally, have steadily added both to the information available and for the interest in Mauryan India. But, the turning point in these studies is marked by Dr. Shama Sastri's publication in 1909 of the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭīliya*, a manuscript of which had been acquired by the Mysore Darbar some years before. The revival of interest in the politics and culture of the Mauryan epoch has been due as much to the new material furnished by the *Arthaśāstra*, as to the general renaissance of Indian Historical Studies, following a national revival. The *Arthaśāstra* itself is now available in three standard editions. To the two incomplete commentaries on the *Arthaśāstra*, both of which have been published, we can now add the valuable *bhāṣhya* of the late Mahāmahopādya Dr. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri. A word index has been compiled, English and German translations of it are available. The connected *Nīti* literature has been explored. There are now three editions of the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaki, two of the *Nītivākyaṃrita* of Somadeva and three of the puzzling *Śukranīti*. An alleged *Arthasūtra* of Bṛhaspati has been edited and translated by Dr. F. W. Thomas. Sententious works attributed to *Kauṭīliya* (as Chāṇakya) have been collected and edited. The additions to ancillary material have been equally voluminous and valuable. Of Asoka's inscriptions alone we have now several editions. The work and personality of the great emperor have been dealt with elaborately by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar and Professor R. Mukerjee. The exhumation of the historical material in the Puranas begun by Pargiter is being continued by others. The additions to the literature dealing with the closely allied *Dharmaśāstra* have been as numerous and important. Its present stupendous dimensions may be seen from the elaborate "*History of Dharmaśāstra*" (1930) which we owe to Mr. P. V. Kane. A comparative study of the material in *Kauṭīliya* with that in Megasthenes on the one hand and in the *Dharmaśāstras* on the other has furnished the necessary scope for special monographs by Stein, Jacobi, Jolly, Hildebrandt and Meyer.

In such a maze of new and old material, it is not easy for an unaided student to find his way. The requisite guidance is now available in Mr. Dikshitar's book, in which the accessible litera-

ture of the subject in four languages has been analysed, digested and critically reviewed. Its utility is thus beyond question.

A short description of Mr. Dikshitar's work will show in what direction he follows the tracks blazed by his predecessors and in what others he prefers to cut a way for himself.

Mr. Dikshitar starts with a careful review of the original sources for the history of Mauryan India and has specially dealt with their authenticity and evidential value. In regard to the *Kauṭīliya* he first states the case against its authenticity with considerable fulness, and then follows it up with an elaborate examination tending to establish its authenticity and reliability. The subject is continued in a long appendix covering 28 pages (pp. 301-329). The same procedure is followed in regard to Megasthenes, for whom modern scholars of the west have usually exhibited a predilection, in spite of the notoriety he enjoyed in classical times as a liar. Strabo had remarked with some exasperation: "Generally speaking the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India are a set of liars; Deimachos holds the first place on the list, Megasthenes comes next, while Onesikritos and Nearchos with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words of truth." In spite of this ancient distrust in his veracity, the testimony of Megasthenes has, in recent monographs, been accepted unhesitatingly wherever it stood in conflict with the *Arthaśāstra* and it has been readily used to discredit the latter. Mr. Dikshitar has done a service to Indian students, who do not know German, by detailing criticisms of this type and then subjecting them, to careful examination. It will not be easy to resist Mr. Dikshitar's arguments, and arrive, as regards the *Kauṭīliya*, at different conclusions from his; while, as regards Megasthenes, instead of regarding him as generally unreliable, as Mr. Dikshitar appears to do, it may perhaps be fairer to discriminate between statements made by the Greek from possible personal knowledge and from hearsay, and to attach varying values to the different statements made by him.

As regards the epigraphical material, Mr. Dikshitar's chief service consists in his destructive criticisms of two long-established dicta in regard to the inscriptions of Asoka, namely, (1) that they are the *edicts* of a great *Buddhist* emperor, and (2) that in aims and character they are primarily religious and not secular. To the weighty arguments by which the criticisms are enforced the

reader must turn to the book itself. Mr. Dikshitar denies that Asoka was in any sense a declared Buddhist, and that the inscriptions denote any special non-Brahmanical or purely Buddhist bias. A further conclusion of Mr. Dikshitar is that a comparison of Asoka's inscription with the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭīliya shows that the former follows the latter. Mr. Dikshitar is inclined to assume that the *Arthasāstra* was a manual of Statecraft, which the Mauryan emperors tried to follow closely. It is difficult to accept this view. An *Arthasāstra* treatise deals with its matter realistically. It is concerned with what is, rather than what, in an ethico-religious view, ought to be. The latter point of view is that of the *Dharmaśāstra*. Just as a coincidence of view and precept between *Arthasāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra* indicated that they both relate to what actually was, so also the correspondence between the inscriptions of Asoka and the *Kauṭīliya* may well indicate only the realistic and practical character of the latter. To go further and to claim for the *Arthasāstra* the authority of an accepted manual of Statecraft is to strain evidence and probability.

The detailed examination of the technical terms, phraseology, form and substance of the inscriptions of Asoka with those of the *Kauṭīliya*, such as K. P. Jayaswal began over 15 years ago (*Indian Antiquary*, 1918, pp. 50-56.) and Mr. Dikshitar has successfully continued, would itself help to secure recognition for the *Arthasāstra* as a work of realistic and not merely hypothetical politics. The singular correspondence of views between the two sources will also be an additional evidence of their contemporaneity.

Mr. Dikshitar's second chapter contains an informing discussion of the problems connected with the extent and character of the Mauryan empire. He asserts (what is now generally conceded) that the Nandas had established a wide empire, to which Chandragupta merely succeeded. This has still to be stressed, since there are even now scholars who regard Chandragupta as the first *Samrāt* in Indian history. But, it is difficult to justify Mr. Dikshitar's acquiescence in the view that the western Dakhan and Mysore were within the dominions of the Nandas. Mr. Dikshitar regards these areas as conquests of that dynasty. He bases his conclusion apparently upon Lewis Rice's assertion, (*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 1909, p. 3.) that the area formed a province of the Nandas and upon the statement of Mr. Moraes (*Kadambakula*, p. 9) that the Kadambas of this area claimed descent from one Nanda. His further line of argument runs thus :

"We know now that Nanda I conquered Kalinga, and that its acquisition therefore by Asoka was only a re-conquest. If the Nanda empire included Kalinga, why should it not have extended even more naturally over the Dakhan? There is nothing to show that Chandragupta Maurya conquered this area. There is the old Jain tradition that Chandragupta became a Jain ascetic and spent his last years at Sravana Belgola. It is natural to presume that he went into retreat in his own former dominions rather than that he sought shelter outside his old jurisdiction." This cold recital of the grounds will show how weak the supports to the conclusion of Mr. Dikshitar are. The Jain tradition belongs to an epoch far removed from the great Mauryan's, and is not by any means authenticated. Nanda is not an uncommon name and by no means the monopoly of a pre-Mauryan dynasty. In the same way, Mr. Dikshitar's caution is less conspicuous than usual in his acceptance of the Tamil tradition of the incursion of the *Moriyar* (identified with the Mauryas) into the Dakhan, clearing a road over the intervening mountain barrier for their "Golden chariots." Such poetic imagery is perilous to strain for purposes of obtaining historical facts. A further instance perhaps of the need for caution is in Mr. Dikshitar's acceptance (with Mr. K. P. Jayaswal) of Tārānātha's story that Chāṇakya (*Kauṭīliya*) continued to be Minister under Bindusara, the successor of Chandragupta. This is in conflict with Brahmanical evidence, and there are inherent improbabilities in the statement, which make it difficult to accept.

Mr. Jayaswal and others have demonstrated in occasional papers the great value of a comparative study of the *Arthasāstra* and the inscriptions of Asoka. Mr. Dikshitar is, if not the first to make use of such a comparison, the first to make an exhaustive comparison, and his results are striking. Not only has he been able to throw new light on the meaning of obscure terms in both, but he has been led to valuable conclusions on topics of moment like the character of the Mauryan dominion over distant provinces, the form and aim of Maurya conquests, and the exact relation between the Emperor and the provinces. Using modern terminology, Mr. Dikshitar treats the Mauryan empire as a federal and not a unitary State. Even on the basis of Mr. Dikshitar's own assumptions, such a nomenclature lacks exactness, but it may well pass as indicative of a substantial difference in nature, which marks the Mauryan State as not unitary. Mr. Dikshitar's contention that though ultimately based on irresistible military power, the Mauryan Government was not military rule can be hardly reconciled

with the evidence, even better than the accepted view of oriental empires.

It is well, in view of widely current misconceptions, that Mr. Dikshitar has laboured certain questions. He has demonstrated that an Indian king like Asoka is not to be regarded as a law-maker and that as such a king is subject to administrative and social restrictions to which he habitually yielded, it is incorrect to style him an autocrat. Applying again a modern term, Mr. Dikshitar describes the Mauryan monarchy as a 'constitutional kingship.' The implications of political terms, as Cornwall Lewis was fond of showing, are usually historical, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Dikshitar's term, which suggests only a valuable analogy, will not be pressed into service in current politics as a proof of the antiquity of "Constitutional" government in India. Mr. Dikshitar is careful to point out that, while regarded as a person, there were many restrictions on the power of the King, as representing the State he enjoyed, and habitually exercised, a power of interfering with the lives of the subjects, which would now-a-days be regarded as a serious invasion of the rights of subjects. But, this power was derived from social codes embodying ideals, such as the duty to maintain Varnas and Āśramas, which were accepted equally by the rulers and the ruled.

Mr. Dikshitar has made a catalogue of prerogative rights, as disclosed by epigraphical evidence and the *Arthasāstra*. A comparison of these with a similar list made by Jolly, on the basis of *Dharmaśāstra* alone, will be instructive (*vide* Jolly—*Hindu Law and Custom*, English Trn. pp. 225-226.).

A description of the machinery of the central and local government occupies three consecutive chapters. The chapter on "Central Administration" is prefaced by a pointed reference to the *Mantri-parishad* of the *Arthasāstras*, to show firstly that the council of ministers was pre-Mauryan and a normal part of the traditional machine of government, and secondly that though ostensibly only an advisory body, it exercised wide executive power. The available evidence can hardly support the second finding.

One of the most valuable contributions of Mr. Dikshitar is his new interpretation of the term *Dharmavijaya*, which occurs in Asoka's inscriptions. By relating it to the different kinds of *Vijayas* in the *Arthasāstra*, and to the known facts of Asoka's

history, Mr. Dikshitar concludes that *Dharmavijaya* does not mean the "victory of Dharma" (whatever Dharma might denote), and that it only denotes the kind of conquest or hegemony, which may be regarded as righteous (*Dharmavijaya*), as contrasted with crude military conquest (*Asuravijaya*). The addition of dominions to an empire by negotiation, by the display rather than by the use of force, and by consent of the neighbour to come within the empire are the implications of *Dharmavijaya*, to which the emperor makes a claim for this political device. Mr. Dikshitar scouts the old view that Asoka's declarations are merely those of a pious priest-led monarch whose pacific disposition inclined him more to the victories of the sacred law than to material conquests. The ambiguous character of the term *Dharmavijaya* combined with ready-made pre-possession derived from Buddhist literature for regarding Asoka as a "Buddhist Constantine," proclaiming his faith in the victory of the Righteousness in and through which alone he had conquered, is responsible for the current view. It would be premature to affirm that Mr. Dikshitar's case is fully established. But, as he puts it, it is a strong case, and fits in with the rest of his interpretation of Mauryan history.

As one theory leads to another, the reversal of a basic opinion results in the abandonment of its corollaries. And the theories of the "Brahmanical" reaction following, if not causing, the downfall of the Mauryan dynasty, will need to be considerably modified, if not given up, when Mr. Dikshitar's challenging views are established, after further scrutiny of the evidence. Such expressions of poignant sorrow for the horrors and misery caused by the carnage of war, as we find in Asoka's Kalinga edicts, will then read naturally as the natural regret of a wise king, who found himself forced to depart from the practice of *Dharmavijaya*, to adopt *Asuravijaya* in conquering a particularly recalcitrant and troublesome tract which had formerly owned allegiance to his empire.

Perhaps the most original chapter in the book is that which discusses the attitude of the Mauryan State to Dharma. It makes fascinating reading, and is indeed a notable contribution. Mr. Dikshitar prefates his treatment of Asoka's conception of *Dharma* by an analysis of the concept and its doctrinal and practical implications. He ridicules the idea that there is anything essentially and exclusively Buddhist in the concept or in the period which he passes as "Buddhist." Nor should one, he urges, believe that Asoka condemned Brahmanical ceremony and ritual, merely be-

cause the emperors stressed the moral responsibility lying heavily on kings and subjects, the transitoriness of life and ethical values generally. Such sentiments are common in Brahmanical literature in exhortations on regal duty and responsibility. Mr. Dikshitar contends that there is nothing in Asoka's records which is either antagonistic to the views of orthodox Brahmanism or is characteristically Buddhist. An able discussion is closed with the endorsement of the view of Professor H. Kern of Leyden—"nothing of Buddhist spirit can be discovered in Asoka's state policy." (p. 259.).

A consideration of the personal religion of the Mauryan emperors is involved in the above discussion. After a careful examination, Mr. Dikshitar rejects the old theories of Chandragupta's conversion to Jainism (popularised by L. Rice), and of Asoka's early faith being Jainism (upheld by Thomas) as well as the generally accepted opinion that Asoka was a professed Buddhist. By comparing the testimony of authentic records like the edicts with the dubious legends contained in the Ceylon Buddhist Chronicles Mr. Dikshitar endeavours to show that Asoka, like other members of his dynasty, was only a Hindu of eclectic views and wide tolerance, who made it his duty and pleasure to show reverence to all earnest religious endeavour, whether Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, or Anti-Buddhist. Mr. Dikshitar does not overlook the apparent difficulty in explaining such edicts as those relating to Asoka's visit to the Lumbini garden, the Bairat edict, and the Bhabra edict containing the famous admonition to the Magadhan Buddhist clergy. Will not any organised Church, it may be asked, resent citations from its own scriptures in public admonitions addressed to it by an emperor, who stands outside its pale? How has, for instance, the emperor Julian been viewed by the Church which has styled him an "apostate"? Such doubts Mr. Dikshitar would perhaps resolve by referring to the deference to regal views, which is characteristic of India, the absence of that wide breach between Brahmanism and Buddhism which separated Christian and heathen in the Roman Empire, the recognition of the Buddha himself as a great Hindu and of Buddhism as a Hindu sect, and the selection of ethical passages from the Buddhist cetera as contrasted with purely doctrinal quotations, in the Bhabra edict, showing clearly the ethical and unreligious trend. Mr. Dikshitar treads on easier ground when he marshals the objections, raised from time to time, against the historicity of the Buddhist councils, and the alleged convocation in Asoka's reign.

There are many intelligent and novel interpretations of technical terms, in Mr. Dikshitar's book. The meaning which he assigns to *Anusamyānam* (p. 227), which he takes to be "transfer" of officers periodically, rather than "tours," is an instance in point.

In a large book, it is not difficult to come across statements which can be assailed, and even slips. On p. 318, Mr. Dikshitar evidently following the lead of Rajendralal Mitra (J. A. S. B., 52, p. 268.), attributes to the drama *Mudrārākshasa* the story that Chāṇakya derived his name from *Chāṇaka* (gram) because when imprisoned by the Nanda, he lived on that grain. This story is not in the play, but in the *pūrvapīṭika* supplied to it later on. Lexicographers refer to Chāṇakya not as the consumer of gram (Chāṇaka) but as the son of the sage Chāṇaka. Mr. Dikshitar follows Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 55, and *Hindu Polity*, p. 214) in equating "Narēndra" and "Chandragupta." The point is by no means established by the evidence adduced by Mr. Jayaswal. The title "Gajapati" belonged to the kings of mediaeval Kalinga, and it has not been traced to Mauryan times (p. 185). The reference in the *Arthaśāstra* to the high quality of the elephants found in Kalinga cannot be pressed into service for justifying the attribution of the title to the ancient kings of Kalinga. Anga is the country whose king is renowned in classical Hindu literature as "Elephant-lord" (*Raghuvamśa*, canto VI.).

Minor slips like the above will in no way reduce the solid worth of Mr. Dikshitar's able treatise. Mr. Dikshitar has considerably added a good bibliography (modestly labelled "books consulted") and a useful index. More than one University in India, which specialises on Ancient Indian History and Culture has, it is understood, already prescribed "the Mauryan Polity" of Mr. Dikshitar as a text-book on the subject. Its scholarship, sanity and thoroughness will enable it, in its present form and in future editions, to maintain this position as a convenient and reliable treatise on a fascinating but difficult subject.

K. V. R.

RENASCENT INDIA FROM RAM MOHAN ROY
TO MOHANDAS GANDHI

By

H. C. E. ZACHARIAS, PH.D.,

London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1933, pp. 304.

The author, who has been attached for about a decade to the Servants of India Society, Poona, and dedicates his book to the memory of its founder, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, endeavours to stress not so much on the external stimuli which have produced the marvellous Indian Renaissance, as an account of the reaction of Hindu society to those forces and their assimilation by it. He would place above others the influences of the missionary movement and the British Government, but for which the movement "would have obviously been impossible." With his bias as a Catholic and as a person of Jewish descent, he claims to possess all those qualities that would enable the production of a balanced and impartial account which should at the same time be sympathetic and understanding.

Tracing first the growth of the Hindu Reform movement, he finds in Ram Mohan Roy, the herald of a new age and the first Indian Anglicist culturally and politically. He would oppose Mr. Parekh's summing up of the Brahmo Samaj as "a poor reflection of European Rationalism" and term it the germ-cell of all the various reform movements. The Ramakrishna Mission has read into the *Karma Yoga* selfless service in the most human sense of the term. Animananda who founded the Boys' Own Home in Calcutta, Mrs. Besant whose Theosophical Society "has already become a thing with only a past and without a future," Dayanand Sarasvati whose Arya Samaj followers have been foremost in reclaiming "lost" Hindus and making Hinduism aggressive—are all judged from the strict standards of their rational basis and national service. Two results of the Arya Samaj activity have been the famous Gurukul institution of Mahatma Munshi Ram and the political Nationalist impetus created by Lala Lajpat Rai. Ranade and the Social Conferences he instituted, the Deccan Education Society and the contrast between Tilak and Gokhale are well described. But objection may well be taken to the statement (p. 51) that Tilak was really at heart an Agnostic who considered "religion as a means of firing the masses with enthusiasm for his

own cause which was, first and last, political." Naturally enough, our author finds in Gokhale's character the axiomatic primacy of the spiritual element and the complete subordination of politics to ethics. Institutions of service started within the present century are perhaps difficult to analyse in all their repercussions and consequences; but Dr. Zacharias sees in Mahatma Gandhi a combination of all modern Indian reform movements and "at once the principal product and chief actor" of India's political evolution.

In the treatment of the growth of the political movement, Dr. Zacharias clearly points to England's change of feeling towards India after the Mutiny tending to the disappearance of political liberalism in the administration. Like Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, he sees the growing social and racial estrangement between European and Indian and the "outrageous" lack of proportion between the abject poverty of the ryot and the costliness of the administration. The growth of the political movement is traced in its different aspects and stages down to 1914; and the conclusion of the endeavours of Government to become the embodiment of bureaucratic and impersonal efficiency is neatly and aptly summed up in the sentence:—"In their pursuit of a mechanical efficiency, the foreign administrators have only ended in being inefficient." (p. 135.). Extremism, the Congress split and the Partition of Bengal have combined to produce the conception of *Swarajya* as "the fulfilment of national life" and not to be interpreted as the mere attainment of Dominion Status and to create a double-edged form of Leftism, one edge fed by poetic charm, imagination and an element of hysteria, and the other dominated by deliberatism, commonsense and a too ready resort to coarseness—the two forms mirroring faithfully the characteristics of the people of Bengal and of Maharashtra respectively. The recent intrusion of the Gandhian type of extremism into Indian politics has produced a new ideal of a perfectly peaceful and non-violent national intransigence. Dr. Zacharias inclines to the obvious, but not very penetrating, conclusion that neither Gandhi's non-coercive revolution nor the Government's avowedly grim and efficient repression of violence can effect a permanent cure. He believes, as a matter of conviction, that true Indian patriotism demands the swift, but ordered, progress of the Motherland from the self-government as promised by Britain to the national sovereignty within the British Commonwealth of Nations which the 1931 Statute of Westminster has already secured to the Dominions.

C. S. S.

INDO-EUROPEAN FOLK-TALES AND GREEK LEGENDS

THE GRAY LECTURES, 1932.

BY

W. R. HALLIDAY,

Cambridge University Press, 1933, pp. 158, 7/6 net.

The book is an enlargement with some re-arrangement of the Gray Foundation Lectures, 1932. It examines the literary tradition of Greek mythology which has been so often and so long interpreted as possessing some hidden esoteric meaning and stresses on the importance of approaching folk-tales as stories and not as allegories. In the first place the three categories of myths, fairy-tales and legends are described and interpreted to be, respectively, the proto-types of science, imaginative literature and history of a primitive kind. Thus the legend of Theseus and the Minotaur is deemed to be founded upon an historical contact between Athica and Crete in the Bronze Age as has been proved by recent archaeological discovery. The investigations of Tylor, Frazer and others explain the similarity of folk-tales in different parts of the world as the products of the independent reactions of the human mind to similar stimuli. But if a definite sequence of incidents is found in different variants in a defined area, then it is certain that the sequence must have been invented in one place and spread to others by diffusion. Folk-tales are literally rather intelligently followed, in the process of their diffusion; and fragments and details became atrophied or distorted. Professional story-tellers put a premium upon conservatism, but are occasionally inclined to modify by deliberate invention or artifice. It is always safe to assume that the process of disintegration of folk-tales is more rapid, where society is, on the whole, more advanced. Details of fairy-tales are not always sound evidence for the primitive habits and customs of the forefathers of the people who tell them.

Mr. Halliday says that the case for an Indian origin of all Indo-European fairy tales is *a priori* unlikely; this view that the original reservoir of stories was India was first held by Benfey and later developed by Cosquin and others. Perhaps it may be held that *Aesop's Fables* were an importation into European Greece, and some of them have very early counterparts in the Far East; and there is the possibility that much of the common matter was derived both by India and Greece from a common source in the

Middle East. Stories common to the Indo-European area tend to take on a local colour and a national or racial ethos in the different countries where they take root. With these modifications held in mind, our author examines Greek legends and concludes that a hero is, in nine cases out of ten, a genuine person who once lived and bore the name ascribed to him or a similar one. Foundation legends are apt to be more artificial; but a good many of them are apt to contain some elements of real fact. The main cycles of Greek legend were formed in the Mycæmian period and were given shape by professional minstrels. The wandering bard did much to unify local traditions and legends; and Homer and Hesiod emerged to fix a pan-Hellenic canon; and they represent, historically, the unification of the historical traditions of the tribes which made up the Greeks, into a systematized history of the Greek race. The hesiodic poets, the epic and the Attic drama all worked with a centri-petal aim, in the direction of a pan-Hellenic canon. After the 4th century B.C., there was a centrifugal reaction, as manifested in local histories and in local and peculiar legends. These were gathered together into compendia by the learning of Alexandrian scholars, either as systematic mythographies arranged in genealogical sequence or as more miscellaneous and less encyclopaedic collections.

Finally Dr. Halliday examines the stages and changes in the development of the story of Procne and Philomela of which Sophocle's *Tereus* is the canonical form and the alternations of the later mythographers are interesting. The tale of Perseus, the Gorgon-Slayer, is held to be a local legend which eventually attained a pan-Hellenic currency and which Euphemerists rationalised. The historical facts embedded in the tradition are attempted to be sifted. Lastly, the author discovers the original of the Aesopic fable of the goat and the vine in the *Book of Ahikar* which was current among the Jewish mercenaries of the Pharaohs in the 5th century. The book furnishes very interesting and curious matter for thought; but it does not take sufficiently into consideration the great antiquity of the *Jataka* tales and other elements of *Indian folklore*.

C. S. S.

LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1600—1919)

By

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH,

Professor of Political Science, Benares Hindu University.

The Indian Bookshop, Benares City, pp. xxx and 711.

Professor G. N. Singh of Benares brought out, a couple of years back, a book dealing with the future relations of Indian States and British India. He has now followed it up with an elaborate survey of the constitutional history of British Rule in India intertwined with the study of the different stages of the growth of the nationalistic spirit and its manifestation in the country. The publication of such a work is very welcome at the present day when intensive attention is being paid to the study of the government and politics of India and the political renaissance in the land is rapidly tending to be transformed into a really popular and national movement. Apart from the historical interest that always ought to attach to the beginnings and growth of British rule, and to the close inter-relation between Leadenhall Street and Whitehall on the other, there is the attraction of the expanding national consciousness of Indians and of the working out of the policy of combined reforms and repression by Government. Rightly enough, Professor Singh deems the epoch of the Company's rule but an introduction and prefatory note to the larger, more detailed and more gripping account of India under the Crown. The beginnings of representative institutions of the Parliamentary type are found in the Indian Councils Act of 1861; and its importance is felt to lie in the impetus that it gave of a certain measure of independence in legislative matters of the authorities in England, as well as in the foundations that it laid of the policy of legislative devolution and the consequential fruit of internal autonomy to the Provinces. He also gives pointed attention to the passing of the Royal Titles Act of 1876 and maintains that one effect of the passing of the Act was "to bring the Indian States inside the boundary of the Indian Empire and to change the legal position of the Indian Rulers from Allies of the Paramount Power to subordinate Princes within the Empire." Whether the real root of this new policy does not definitely go back to the earlier days is a matter of some doubt and discussion.

Mr. Singh points out the constitutional and political importance and effects of such measures as the Press Act of 1878, the Ilbert Bill and the Cotton Duties. He demonstrates how the Secretary of State's strict control over the Governor-General—established as an axiom from the time of Lords Northbrook and Salisbury—was later expanded to mean and create, during the Secretaryship of Sir Henry Fowler, the idea that the principle of the united and indivisible responsibility of the British Cabinet applied to the Indian Executive Councils, in spite of the different natures of the tie which held their members together. (p. 153.).

The portions devoted to the survey of the cultural and religious awakening of the people, comprehend a notice of the leaven of western education, the influence of the press and the dawning of a sense of pride in the national heritage. With the sobriety of a Congressman of the generation of Gokhale and Mehta, Mr. Singh warns the reader against the prevailing tendency to criticise the elder Congressmen for their display of caution and moderation "bordering on timidity." The reforms attempted by Lord Curzon in the general machinery of the bureaucratic government and in the administration of police and railways, the counterblast of the Partition agitation, the growth of extremism and the emergence of a new force, that of religious nationalism,—all these are shown to have contributed towards the creation of a new life in the country, which gave its first fruits, *swadeshi*, boycott and national education and has served as the foundation of the ideals and programme of the neo-Indians of the present day. Perhaps Mr. Singh surveys, the growth and progress of the revolutionary movement which is, after all, only a minor phase of the nationalistic activity of the land. The rise of Muslim communalism and the consequential fruits of separate electorates, weighted representation and clamorous division of offices and governmental patronage of all kinds are vigorously treated. The history of the decade intervening between the Morley-Minto Reforms Act of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 is the last and the most elaborately treated section of the book which can be safely commended to all young Indians as a sound, clear and fairly impartial and exhaustive account of the forces, historical, political, national and cultural, that have made India what it is in the present generation. The narrative ends with the tragedy of Amritsar; the bibliography is perhaps a bit thin; but the preparation and general tone of the get-up of the book are highly commendable.

C. S. S.

JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY
ENGLAND'S QUEST OF EASTERN TRADE

(THE PIONEER HISTORIES.)

By

SIR WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.,

H. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1933, pp. xiv and 354.

The Pioneer Histories are intended by their General Editors to provide broad surveys of the great migrations of European peoples into the non-European continent for purposes of trade, conquest and settlement. The westward expansion of British trade and colonisation has attracted wider attention than the quest of Eastern trade which, nevertheless, has served as the germ of British sea-power and empire to a considerable extent. Sir William Foster, than whom, no better hand can be found for drawing the map of British achievement in India and the East in its earlier phase traces the origins of eastern enterprise in the desire to find fresh markets for English manufactures, especially for woollen goods and not exclusively in the demand for pepper and spices and has been commonly asserted and accepted. The feasibility of a north-eastern passage attempted by Chancellor and Willoughby, not being demonstrated, an attempt was made to reach the Caspian Sea across the Volga and thence Central Asia and Bukhara with a view to participate in the trade of Persia. Sir William Foster describes the journey of Jenkinson who opened up commercial relations between England and Persia for the first time and was followed up by several expeditions. Efforts to discover a north-eastern passage to Cathay persisted and were supplemented by the endeavours of explorers like Frobisher. We read that while popular imagination dwelt on Drake's seizure of Spanish treasure, more sober opinion regarded his opening up of trade with the Moluccas as "a still more solid achievement."

The fortunes of the Levant Company are portrayed; and attention is directed to its importance in the direction of English trade in the East and in the making of England an important Mediterranean power. The footing obtained in the Sultan's dominions by this Company served as a useful base for the subsequent eastward expeditions. Newbery's journey to Ormuz and beyond is regarded as a great achievement and our author deplores that such a traveller has not even been thought worthy of inclusion in

the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His jottings of his travel-notes came into the hands of Purchas who wove them into a narrative, "employing his own knowledge of subsequent events by inserting the references to Stropene (his betrayer), etc., which have so completely puzzled later writers." It is likely that Newbery presented Queen Elizabeth's letter to the Emperor Akbar at Fathpur Sikri in August or September 1584, and even obtained from him a reply and a safe-conduct throughout the Empire. Ralph Fitch's travels in India and Pegu have been termed "wonderful" by Hakluyt; and he later drew up an account of his Indian travels, largely on the lines of the *Viaggio* of Cesare Frederici whose experiences had run parallel to his own; and Purchas printed the account, with one small omission in his *Pilgrimes*. Sir William Foster gives a short sketch concerning the later life of Fitch and his connection with the Leathersellers' Company of London.

The voyages of Davis and of Cavendish, who was the second Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, were followed by Lancaster's penetration to the East Indies and by the attempt of Wood to reach China. The account of the genesis of the East India Company and of its early voyages is full. The part played by John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, Keeling and Middleton leads us to the extension of the trade of the Company to the Bandas, to the Persian Gulf and to the Coromandel Coast. The establishment of trade relations with Siam and Japan, unfortunately not productive of any large fruit, the foundation of the Surat factory, and of other factories in the Archipelago stretching as far east as Macassar in the Celebes, the events leading to Amboyna which put an end to all hope of Anglo-Dutch co-operation in the East, the mission of Sir Thomas Roe and the consolidation of trade with Persia—all these lead up to the stabilisation of the British position in the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea to the China coast and from the prelude to the great triumph of the 18th century and to the triumph of the Indian calico and Chinese tea in the European market.

The narrative, though necessarily disjointed, as it proceeds from chapter to chapter, is generally interesting and not overburdened with small details.

C. S. S.

HARVARD HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS, II.

The Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship—The Correspondence of Sir John Shore, Governor-General, with Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control, 1793-1798.

Edited with an Introduction and Notes

By

HOLDEN FURBER,

Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1933 and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 7 net., pp. ix and 206.

The documents published in this book are the private and secret letters of the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, covering the entire period of his tenure of office, is very welcome as an addition to the author's *Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville*, and the published material on the period, including the *Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of Lord Teignmouth*, published in 1843. The last work contains excerpts from eight of Shore's letters to Dundas which can well be cited as "an instructive object-lesson in the methods of Anglo-Indian Government a century and a half ago." Sir John Shore was an honest servant of the Company who earned the undeserved enmity of Burke because of his connection with Warren Hastings and became the right-hand man of Cornwallis whose ideas of rectitude and morality were at one with his own. Of the topics on which this *Record* throws light, the first to claim attention is his neutrality in the war between the Nizam and the Marathas. Herein we read that he was sceptical of Sir Robert Abercromby's abilities as the Commander-in-Chief, in the conduct of a war with the Marathas or Tipu Sultan (p. 60) and that he would have seen the removal of the British battalions with the Nizam "with satisfaction, if I were not obliged to attribute it to the influence of the Marathas." (p. 69). While he cannot be exonerated from all blame, his actions were not so short-sighted as they have seemed to many historians.

The mutinous discontent of the Bengal Army has been almost entirely ignored in most histories, but comes in for a considerable share in this collection. Shore was well aware of and strongly reprehended the habit of speculation among the European officers attached to the native regiments and the prevailing insubordina-

tion; and Mr. Furber would attach the blame for the weakness and vacillation of Government in this matter more to the Court of Directors and Mr. Dundas who ought to have been prompter in grappling with the remonstrances of the officers and less to Shore who suffered under the weaknesses of the dual system of the Indian Government and who had "to insure order and subordination by temperate measures."

In the matter of Oudh, we have got as an appendix (C) Shore's narrative of the revolution at Lucknow, which tells us that he practised no treachery, nor made any promises that he did not fulfil (p. 181) and effected the enthronement of Sadat Ali in spite of the prevailing impression as to the powerlessness of the English and the power of Vizier Ali to resist them; and another Governor-General might well have pursued "a policy of *laissez faire* at the price of extorting great concessions from Vizier Ali." The *Letters* give us an insight into his attitude towards Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras, on the latter's high-handed relations with the Nawab of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore. The following extract from his letter dated 5th July, 1796, will be a more than ample vindication of his integrity:—"The difference between Lord Hobart and this Government, both in the case of the Nabob and the Rajah of Tanjore is upon principles. It might be a sufficient condemnation of those professed by his Lordship to say that they are maintained by the same arguments to which the most iniquitous Governments would appeal in support of their most iniquitous measures." He condemned all deviations from the strict obligations of treaties and the pursuit of an object in total disregard of the means employed to attain it. In the same spirit he disapproved of Sir Charles Malet's interference in the question of the succession to the Peishwaship in 1795. On the whole, Mr. Furber is well justified in estimating that Shore, in spite of his mistakes, "kept the ship of state on an even keel until he could hand it over to an abler pilot." A word should be added with regard to the value of Shore's *Political Reflections on the State of Hindustan*, written in March, 1793, which is printed as an appendix (A) and in which he declares it to be the interest of the English Government to hold the balance of power as steady as possible "without risking an implication in the consequences, if their efforts to preserve it should prove ineffectual."

C. S. S.

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M. B. Emeneau—Kshēmendra as kavi.

C. H. Hamilton—K'uei Chi's Commentary on Wei-shih-er-shih-lun. (Vasubandhu's Vijñāptimātratāsiddhi, Vimśatikā).

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D. B. Diskalkar—Bogle's Embassy to Tibet.

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P. C. Lahiri—The Theory of Riti and Guṇa in the Agnipurana.

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D. C. Chatterji—Sources of Buddhist Logic.

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- B. N. Krishnamurthi Sarma—Bhaskara, A forgotten Commentator on the Gita.
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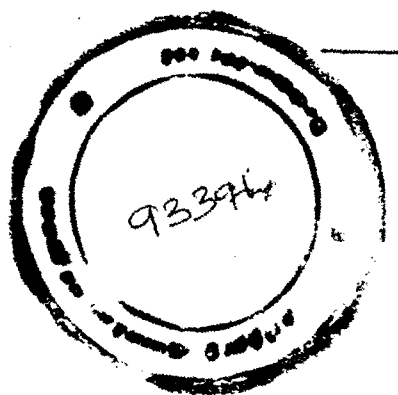
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