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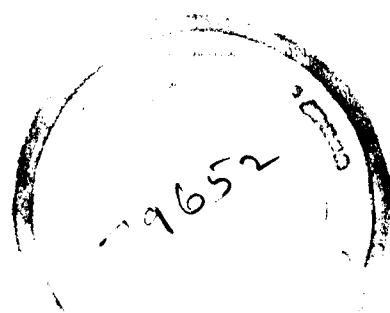
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## Journal of Indian History

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### The Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras, (1801—1862)

By

G. S. WHITE,

*Registrar of the High Court, Madras, (Retired).*

*(Continued from page 178 of Vol. XVIII, Part 2.)*

*Sir Charles Edward Grey (1821-1825). Sworn in  
19th September 1821.*

Sir Charles Edward Grey was the younger son of R. W. Grey of Backworth, Northumberland sometime Sheriff. He was educated at University College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1806 and in 1808, after obtaining the English prize essay, was elected a Fellow of Oriel College. In 1811 he was called to the Bar and in 1817 appointed a Commissioner in Bankruptcy. In 1820 he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Madras, being knighted on his appointment. He only stayed a few years in Madras as he was transferred to Bengal on 18th August 1824 as a puisne Judge to succeed Sir Francis MacNaughten, but he continued in Madras until his transfer in 1825 as Chief Justice.

In Madras he was President of the Madras Literary Society and prior to his departure he was on 16th June 1825, entertained at dinner by the members of that Society in testimony of their sincere respect and regard for his virtues and talents and the regret they were about to sustain by his departure for Calcutta. The dinner was given "in the garden of the late Mr. White" and almost all the members of the Society including Sir Ralph Palmer, the Honourable Mr. Graeme, Lady Grey, Lady Munroe were present.

A Special Court was held on the 7th June 1825 for the purpose of administering the usual oaths of office to the new Chief Justice Sir Ralph Palmer, when there were also present the retiring Chief Justice Sir Edmund Stanley, and Sir Charles Grey, and the Advocate General was requested by the members of the Bar to convey to Sir Charles the esteem and regard with which he was held by the Bar and stating that wherever he might go he would carry with him the respect of the Bar. Sir Charles suitably replied.

Sir Charles Grey died at the Oaks, Surrey, on 1st June, 1865.

*Sir Willingham Franklin, (1822-1825). Sworn in 22nd October 1822.*

On the West end of the Church at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire there are three marble tablets in the memory of three brothers who attained great eminence in their professions. One is erected to the memory of Sir Willingham Franklin, a Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras; the second is to Major James Franklin, a distinguished officer of the Indian Army; and the third is to Sir John Franklin, the famous Arctic Explorer, who first discovered the North West Passage.

The family was descended from a line of freeholders or franklins from whom some centuries earlier they derived their surname.

Sir Willingham Franklin was born in November 1779 and was John's senior by 7 years. He was educated at Westminster where he was a king's scholar and was a scholar of Corpus Christi College and a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford and was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1807. He was appointed a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras on 12th April, 1822. According to Drewitt he was a man of great energy and honour and did what was possible to promote the efficiency of the Court.

His diary in the possession of his grandson contains very interesting notes on the Company's Charters. The following extracts are from those notes:—

#### APPENDIX.

##### *Notes from the Company's Charters.*

I find the Charters of Incorporation to be of ye following date—according to ye "Collection of Charters and Statutes relating to ye East India Company."

#### THE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT AT MADRAS 265

31st December 1600. First Charter. Title "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to ye East Indies."

31st May 1609. Second Charter.

3rd April 1661. Third Charter. In this ye Governors and Council are authorised to exercise Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction in the sd Factories according to ye laws of England. May seize and send home Englishmen sailing in Indian or English vessels in East Indies, or residing there without ye Company's licence.

27th March 1669. Grants the Port and Island of Bombay to the East India Company to be held by them as ye Manor of Greenwich in Perpetuity at a Fee Farm Rent of £ 10 per Ann. The General Court of Proprietors, or the Governor and Committee may make Laws for ye Good Government of ye Island, and its inhabitants, and impose punishments to taking away Life and Member, so that they be consonant to Reason, and not repugnant but as near as may be agreeable to the Laws of England. The Governor and Company shall have ye same Powers in ye Island as in ye other Plantations of ye Company.

16th December 1674. St. Helena given in Perpetuity to ye Company.

5th October 1677. Fourth General Charter. Authorised to coin money, not to be named after coin current in ye King's Dominions.

9th August 1683. Power of declaring Peace and War with ye Heathen Nations—Sovereign Power still reserved to ye King when he shall think fit to interpose—Power is given to the Company to appoint Judges who are to determine according to Equity and good Conscience and the Laws and Customs of Merchants.

12th April 1686. Sixth Charter. Powers to appoint Admirals and Captains and raise Seamen and Soldiers to make war on any Indian Prince, and exercise martial law on ye other side of the Cape of Good Hope—Reserving to the King ye power of revoking ye Grant. Power also given to ye Company to coin money usually coined by ye Princes of India, agreeable to ye standards of those Princes in Weight and Fineness.

7th October 1693. Seventh Charter. Ye former Charter having in strictness of Law been forfeited, a new Charter is granted on ye Conditions to adhere to Regulations promulgated under ye Great Seal.

5th September 1698. Charter granted to Second East India Company. "English Company trading to ye East Indies" to establish Courts of Justice consisting of a Person skilled in Civil Law and two Merchants.

22nd July 1702. The union of the Queen Anne Old Company and the New Company. To be completed at the End of 7 years.

29th September 1708. The Consolidated Company to be called "The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

24th September 1726. Charter of George I, erects Court of Mayor and Aldermen at Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, for 10 miles round—Courts of Record. Mayors Court had nothing to do with Criminal prosecutions. Governor and Council to hold Quarter Sessions for punishment of Persons accused of Crimes in ye same manner as in England.

37 George III c. 142. A New Charter gives Power to His Majesty to establish a Recorder's Court at Madras and Bombay in place of ye Mayor's Court. All ye Stat. Law does not extend to ye East Indies. It is difficult to ascertain what Statutes do apply.

8th January 1753. Charter Recites Surrender of Charters 1726 and 1727.

17th September 1757. Charter states ye Commencement of Hostilities agt ye Nabob of Bengal. A Moiety of ye plunder to be given to ye Captors, and ye other Moiety reserved for ye King, who gives it to ye Company.

14th January 1758. Booty is given to ye East India Company when their Troops or Seamen alone obtain it. If it be got by ye conjoint efforts of ye Company's and His Majesty's Forces, the distribution shall be as His Majesty shall direct.

26th March 1774. Charter. Recites an Act passed in ye 13th of George III, empowering ye King to create in Bengal a Court of Civil, Criminal, Ecclesiastical, and Admiralty Jurisdiction with 4 Judges. May admit advocates, attorneys without licence. Persons employed directly or indirectly in ye Company made amenable to Court. Natives also when they have agreed to submit their Contracts to the Supreme Court. Persons complained against are to be summoned by the Sheriff. I believe an attachment issues if they do not. Afterwards ye Charter says if the Party so summoned shall not appear, the Court may issue a writ and arrest.

## THE JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT AT MADRAS 267

24 George III. c. 25. (The Act which establishes ye Board of Control) declares all British subjects answerable to all Courts of Justice of Competent Jurisdiction to try offences committed in India. Receiving presents to be deemed Extortion, and to be punished as such.

33 George III. c. 52, sec. 151. Governor-General in Council may appoint Justices of the Peace for ye Presidencies. sec. 153. Proceedings of Justices of ye Peace may be removed into ye Supreme Courts of ye Presidencies, under ye same conditions as in England.

37 George III. c. 142. May erect a Recorder's Court at Madras and Bombay. Recorder to be ye President, and 3 Aldermen to sit with him. Court to be a Civil, Criminal, Ecclesiastical, and Admiralty one. Jurisdiction of these Courts not to extend to Revenue matters. In civil matters between natives to determine as a native Court would do. No action to be brought agt ye Judges of ye Provincial Courts for Judicial Acts. May proceed by information after notice. Appeals may be made from the Regulations of the Governor and Councils of Madras and Bombay.

39 and 40 George III. King may erect a Supreme Court, and ye powers of the Recorder's Court to be transferred to it. Transportation to be made to New South Wales in cases of Persons not natives of India.

Sir Willingham Franklin died of cholera at Madras on the 31st May 1824, aged 44 years and his widow died 5 days later after giving birth to a child; and their remains are deposited in St. George's Cathedral Cemetary, Madras.

*Sir Ralph Palmer, (1824-1835). Sworn in 7th June 1825.*

Sir Ralph Palmer, who succeeded Sir Edmund Stanley as Chief Justice was the son of William Palmer of Devonshire Square, London and was educated at Christchurch, and from the Gentlemen's Magazine of March, 1838, it appears that he died at Willey House near Farnham in January, 1838 aged 54, leaving a widow and young family. He was called to the Bar (middle temple) on the 25th November, 1808.

His name first appears in his Letters Patent dated 18th August, 1824 (and which is still preserved in the High Court) in which he is appointed as a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court. There is also preserved a letter addressed to the Town Major, Fort St. George dated Monday 6th June 1825 by the Registrar.

Sir,

"I have the honour to inform you that the Honourable Sir Ralph Palmer will take the oaths as Chief Justice of His Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras at 12 o'clock to-morrow when the usual honours of a salute are expected."

Although there is very little information about Sir Ralph Palmer's early life or of his life in Madras, the Madras newspapers of the day give some account of cases which came on for hearing during his period of Chief Justice. Thus the Madras Gazette of the 12th September 1829 contains an article complaining that a man charged with murder, and against whom the Coroner's warrant had been out for a considerable time had been suffered to go about unmolested, although the man is repeatedly seen—is well known, and might with vigilance be easily apprehended; and says that neglect does exist somewhere and calls loudly for investigation. Then at the Criminal Sessions on 8th October, 1829 the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Palmer, addressed the Grand Jury in a short speech, when he referred to the case of Annaswami (the individual referred to above) against whom a Coroner's warrant for murder had been issued, but who had hitherto escaped, and, it is stated could not be taken into custody either by the Coroner or by the Superintendent of Police. His Lordship stated that invidious statements had been made that the accused was permitted to go at large more from connivance than from any want of means and knowledge of the haunts of the accused, or from any other cause; and his Lordship read a paragraph in the newspaper referred to which stated that the alleged delinquent went abroad constantly, only changing his place of abode every 2 or 3 days to places which were well known. His Lordship observed that if the party who inserted it possessed all the information he affected, nothing was easier than for him, if he wished Annaswami to be apprehended, to have given the Police notice of his haunts; for as it was, the only effect of the paragraph would be to make the individual change his places of abode or abscond altogether—At this stage an officer of the Court stated that the man had just come in and made a voluntary surrender.

Then there is a reference to a case in which one Soobaney was put on trial for attempting to burn one of the East India Company's ships—the *Ernad*—by throwing burning rags and live fire through the cable hole in the lower hold. As there was no evidence against him except his own confession—which was given under a promise that it would not be divulged, and on the assur-

ance that it would be better for him to confess—it could not be received and he was acquitted.

Then there was the case of Buddra Doulah, the Mufty of the Nabob of the Carnatic who was brought up for sentence upon an indictment for assault and false imprisonment and upon which he had been tried and found guilty at the previous Sessions. He was fined Rs. 700 which was immediately paid; whereupon the Advocate General asked that the Mufty might be excused from appearing in person at the Bar; but the Judges refused the application remarking that the Court could not act differently to the Courts in England, where noblemen of the highest rank had no privilege on such occasions.

Then on the 9th October 1829 Annaswami Moodelly was tried for the murder of Yacob Khan, a Moorman, on the 28th August. The defence was that although the deceased had been stabbed by the accused the immediate cause of death was the course of cure pursued by a native doctor, the wounds not being mortal in the first instance. The mode of treatment was stated to be as follows:—"The practitioner applied alum and another country medicine called 'ugillum' something like alum in powder, to the lips of the wound, which he bound up and repeated every day." Sir Ralph Palmer the Chief Justice left it to the Jury to say, first, if they thought the wound had been in the first instance mortal; since it appeared that the deceased had died from improper treatment. The Jury after a few minutes consultation found the accused not guilty. The Madras Courier—the rival newspaper—thereupon remarked that the publicity of this trial would counteract the calumny which had been industriously propagated against the Superintendent of Police. From the proceedings at the trial it appeared that before the death of the person stated to have been murdered, a long and patient investigation of the case, of two days continuance, took place at the Police office, and that no evidence having been given to affect the prisoner, he was discharged, and, in our judgment rightly discharged, for what Magistrate can justify committing a prisoner without evidence?"

It was the practice in the days of the Supreme Court to divide the legal year into terms; and at the 4th term in the year 1831 Sir Ralph Palmer and Sir Robert Comyn were principally occupied in the hearing of a case which raised the question whether a Hindu of Southern India could make a will, to the prejudice of his immediate heirs. The case had been heard and decided in favour of the will some months previously when the son was an infant. On his

coming of age he petitioned for a re-hearing which was granted to him. Unfortunately the decision is not given, the report saying that the Judges have taken time to consider their Judgment.

Amongst the names of certain gentlemen of the Grand Jury of October 1831, who were fined Rs. 100 each—for non-appearance is the name of Mr. J. Moorat after whom the house "Moorats Gardens" Nungumbaukum is named. In addressing the Grand Jury on this occasion Sir Ralph Palmer dealing with a charge of murder against two officers of the 48th Regiment referred to the evil practice of duelling which he said was fortunately not now of frequent occurrence in Madras.

The Romance of Sir Ralph Palmer's marriage is described in "Madrasiana" as follows:—

"The public will remember still the burning of the *Kent*, East Indiaman, on which Colonel Fearon, and his two daughters were passengers'. When the Forecastle was on fire, the rescue had not yet come, Miss Fearon sat on the Poop of the ship, reading the Bible to her sister, and exhorting her to fortitude. Sir Ralph saw that account in the Madras Papers; and, it is said, he resolved that this lady should become his wife. As Lady Palmer she graced her rank; and as her father was soon made Major-General the match was not an unequal one."

Before he left Madras Sir Ralph Palmer was entertained at dinner by the Literary Society. In replying to a toast of his health Sir Ralph expressed his great regret at parting with a Society from which he had received so much kindness; but could not deny that this regret was Counter-balanced by the hope and pleasure of returning to the land of his birth, where he might superintend in retirement the education of his children. He had always looked to the bright side of life's picture, and his experience had borne him out in so doing. "He had for many years enjoyed happiness in Madras, and was now returning with every prospect of happiness to his own family in whose circle death had not made a single vacancy since his departure from England." Presumably, therefore, he spent the ten years of service on the Supreme Court Bench, without home leave. He did not however realise to any great extent the period of happiness he had looked forward to as he resigned on 28th January, 1835, "and bought an estate in England and some time later, after a morning's shooting, took a nap, a *Siesta* in the afternoon, and quietly expired" in January, 1838. (*Madrasiana*). In replying to an address at a Court specially constituted

to say farewell to him he concluded his speech by saying that the maxim which he had endeavoured to lay down to himself, upon taking his seat on the bench was "*Damus hanc veniam petimusque vicissim*" (We shall pardon and in turn seek pardon), and that if he had, as from the terms in which the Advocate General had expressed himself, "I may hope has been the case at all acted up to the maxim on my part, I am sure that there has been many and many a time when I have had occasion to seek yours, and I am equally sure that I have never sought it in vain."

*Sir George William Ricketts, (1825-1831). Sworn in 8th November, 1825.*

Sir George William Ricketts, puisne Judge of the Supreme Court (7th May 1825 to 14th July, 1832) came from the Isle of Jamaica, West Indies, and was the second son of George Crawford Ricketts, of Asford Hall, near Ludlow, Shropshire. He was educated at Christchurch, passed His Matric at the age of 19—apparently unusual in those days—and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1818.

He has the distinction of having received two Letters Patent: both are preserved in the High Court and are in good condition. The first is dated the 18th day of March in the 6th year of His Majesty King George IV (and is framed in the Registrar's room) and the second is dated the 20th day of September in the first year of His Majesty King William IV. It was apparently the custom in those days to issue a fresh Letters Patent on the succession of a new Sovereign—not a very welcome compliment to a Judge, considering that there was a stamp of £ 200 on each of them, which presumably, the Judge had to pay! Not only were fresh Letters Patent issued, but the Judges took fresh Oaths of allegiance to the new Sovereign. Thus there is a letter amongst the Supreme Court correspondence dated 11th November 1830, from the Registrar Supreme Court to the Town Major informing him that the Honourable the Judges will to-morrow at 12 o'clock take the Oath of allegiance to His Majesty King William the Fourth upon which occasion the customary Honours of the usual salute are to be paid as at the accession of His late Majesty. The officers of the Court the Barristers, and Solicitors were also asked to attend and take the Oath of allegiance at the same time. Sir George Ricketts took his first Oath of office on the 8th November, 1825 and was on the bench for about six years. From a letter of Sir Ralph Palmer dated 15th July, 1831 it appears that Sir George Ricketts had been labour-

ing for some time past under the effect of a bad fever, which he had caught two or three years after his arrival and that during the late dreadfully hot months had become so debilitated as to be obliged to proceed to sea without loss of time for the recovery of his health.

He embarked at the end of June on a small ship (the *Francis Charlotte*) bound for Mauritius and from thence to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope. He died at sea on board the same ship on the 15th July 1831.

Sir Ralph Palmer in a reference to his death at a Special Court said.

"I can truly averr that in him the public have lost a most zealous, upright and excellent Judge, and my remaining colleague and myself an invaluable friend and fellow labourer. The high opinion entertained by the suitors in the Supreme Court of his talents, his probity and general conduct in the discharge of his official duties bears witness to the former. The uninterrupted harmony and good feeling which during the 6 years we have sat together on the bench have subsisted between us in Court and out of Court are the best test of the latter."

Minute guns corresponding with the age of the deceased were fired from Fort St. George at sun-rise on Sunday morning and the flag-staff was half struck until sun-set; and the *Madras Courier* said (13th September 1831) that "he was always found an advocate on the side of human nature and human virtue: recommending that line of conduct which springs from disinterestedness and a liberal feeling and maintaining its practicability. In defence of the widow and fatherless, and him that has none to help, his exertions were zealous and animated. In a word, no one ever passed a more useful, and few a more blameless life as his whole time was employed in doing or meditating to do good."

His original holograph will is amongst the Supreme Court records.

The Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India determined not to fill the vacancy on the bench for the time being.

*Sir Robert Buckley Comyn. (1825-1842), Sworn in as Puisne Judge 19th August, 1825, and as Chief Justice 3rd December, 1835.*

As will be seen from the previous pages, many of the Judges originally appointed to Madras went subsequently to Calcutta.

Sir Robert Buckley Comyn was appointed to Calcutta and came to Madras from there. He has also the distinction of having been the only bachelor Judge in the Supreme Court!

Sir Robert Buckley Comyn was the third son of the Rev. Thomas Comyn, Vicar of Tottenham, Middlesex, by his wife Harriet Charlotte Stables and was born at Tottenham on the 26th October, 1792. He was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and became a Commener of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1809 where he graduated as B.A. on the 10th April, 1813 and M.A. on the 27th May, 1815. He decided to adopt the profession of his grandfather, Mr. Stephen Comyn, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn on the 24th November 1814. After some years of practice, he was, on the 28th January, 1825—at the early age of 33 years—appointed a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and knighted on the 9th February, and on the 31st December, 1835, was appointed Chief Justice of Madras. On the 17th January, 1842, he resigned and returned to England and on the 8th June, 1842 received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford and in 1844 was elected a Bencher of the Middle Temple. He died at his house in New Street, Spring Gardens, on the 23rd May, 1853.

When Sir Robert Comyn came to Madras, the chief recreation in the afternoons apparently was to drive up the Mount Road to the Marquis of Cornwallis Cenotaph, 'the ladies in furs, the officers in uniform and civilians in thick broad cloth and endlessly convoluted cravates.' Sir Robert and some others including the Honourable Mr. C. Harris. C. Oliver, Sir J. Doveton, conceived the idea of forming the Madras Club, the formation of which was decided in the year 1830. He presided over the first meeting on 24th April, when donations to the extent of Rs. 70,000 were subscribed. The *Madras Gazette* of the 25th February 1830 says "We are happy to find that the complete success which has attended the United Service Club established in Calcutta in 1828, has given rise to the intention of instituting a similar Club in Madras. The plan of the establishment is, we understand, more commodious than that of the Calcutta Club. Considerable funds will therefore be required to commence upon it and set it going; but after the expense of the first outlay, the terms of living will be quite as economical as those of the Bengal institution."

An interesting question of jurisdiction arose during the tenure of office of Sir Robert Comyn. The 22nd clause of the Charter of the Supreme Court directed that the Supreme Court should have

full power to hear and determine all suits and actions that might be brought against *inhabitants* of Madras. In the case *Syed Cassim v. Ulley Khan and Mossah Khan Jemadar*, the defendants were Jemadars in the Company's service, and were attached to the 32nd Regiment of the Madras Native Infantry; they were natives of Madura, at which place their families resided. They claimed that they were never inhabitants of Madras, although they occasionally came to Madras with their Corps on duty and at other times on leave for a day or two. After a visit to Madras, having settled their affairs they "prepared to join their regiment at Trichinopoly, and that for that purpose they set out from Madras on the 17th September, and proceeded as far as Sydapettah, and on the following day they reached a place called Cuddapah Choultry, distant from Pallavaram about 5 miles and beyond the local limits of the Supreme Court" where they were arrested by the Sheriff's bailiffs for an alleged debt of Rs. 1,400. The question was whether in the circumstances the Supreme Court had jurisdiction, and the Court (Sir Robert Comyn) held that the defendants were not subject to the jurisdiction.

Practitioners in the High Court who experience a lack of legal work may receive some consolation in the fact that their brothers in the Supreme Court went through a similar period of depression just over 100 years ago as appears from an article in the Madras Gazette of the 24th February, 1833, under the title "Hard Times in the Supreme Court." "The dearth of business is as sadly complained of as the dearth of grain. There were about 20 cases entered for trial, only 6 of which were defended. Members of the law must find these hard times, and what is more than all, there is no great possibility of their being bettered. The litigants begin to discover the madness of litigation, and this coupled with the scarcity of money, presents no alluring prospect for the members of the profession."

There was a 'breeze' in Court during the period when Sir Robert Comyn was Chief Justice and Sir Edward Gambier a puisne Judge. It arose over the appointment of a successor to Mr. Peter Cator, the Registrar. The Chief Justice appointed a Mr. Acworth, a Solicitor, greatly to the annoyance of Sir Edward Gambier who wished the usual practice of appointing a barrister to be followed. The appointment was apparently made in open Court and Sir Edward strongly protested against the appointment of Mr. Acworth, and proposed to the Chief Justice that Mr. Minchin, a barrister should be appointed. The Chief Justice said

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"Mr. Acworth, the Court appoints you, provisionally, to be Registrar, upon entering into the usual security."

A local newspaper comment says "We think that the appointment of Mr. Acworth by the Chief Justice *alone*, without paying Sir E. Gambier the compliment of asking his opinion, is ill-calculated to preserve the harmony on the Bench, the want of which would be so much deplored on public grounds. That Sir R. Comyn has doubts of the wisdom of his proceeding, we have good grounds for believing, for we hear he attracted much observation at the Commander-in-Chief's house on Monday evening, by making his nomination of Mr. Acworth the subject of conversation, and in a manner canvassing for approbation—a procedure as undignified in itself, as it is foreign from his general habits."

It is no wonder that there were some heart-burnings over the matter for the post of Registrar was worth well over Rs. 5,000 a month (more than the Chief Justice) as appears from some of the books of fees still preserved! And Mr. Peter Cator, Registrar of the Supreme Court, was able to subscribe the munificent donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in Foreign Parts (Madras Gazette 23rd August, 1834).

There is mention of another officer of the Court at the opening of the Criminal Sessions of the Supreme Court by Sir Robert Comyn in April, 1837, when one James Snell, an Assistant Apothecary was charged with the manslaughter of George Lys, Esquire, late Coroner of Madras, by having by great negligence and inattention, supplied in the "dispence department" of the Honourable Company's Public Dispensary at Madras, the extract of *belladonna* instead of the extract of *sarasaparilla*. The accused pleaded Guilty, but in consequence of the recommendation of the Jury he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

Nor were the arrangements for the comfort of the Jurors neglected; for in a local newspaper of the year 1836 the following surprising announcement appears:—

"The new arrangements of the Supreme Court are finished. Each jurymen has a rattan back to his chair, and one arm. Instead of a long seat, as before, in which all Judges sat, there are now richly carved, high-backed chairs, with arms."

It looks as if they had one-armed jurors in those days; but at least the Judges had arms!

Things were beginning to look up in Madras in 1839 for the "Quick Overland Despatch" began about this time, and "the mail arrived in Madras on Monday morning, being exactly 54 days from the date of its departure from London—the unheard of rapidity has, naturally enough, excited the astonishment of everybody—more especially as the passage from Suez to Bombay was made by sailing vessel." The Bank of Madras was also started in 1839—Capital 30 lakhs divided into shares of Rs. 1,000 each.

It was during Sir Robert Comyn's term of office that a barrister—Mr. Simeon John Boileau—applied to be enrolled but found that he had forgotten to bring with him from England his certificate of call to the Bar. He was fortunate, however, in having a solicitor friend in Madras who was able to depose that "he had frequently seen Mr. Boileau in the Court of Chancery in London amongst the barristers of that Court, arrayed in the usual wig and robes worn by barristers of that Court." Sir Robert was satisfied with this evidence of call and permitted him to be enrolled.

There is an account of a farewell entertainment "offered" by the members of the Madras Literary Society, of which Sir Robert Comyn was President, on the occasion of his departure. The entertainment took place at the Banqueting Room. The chair was filled by Lord Elphinstone, and Sir Robert Dick, Archdeacon Harper, Messrs. A. D. Campbell, Dent, Arbuthnot, &c., were present. An Address was presented by the Advocates, officers, and Solicitors of the Court, from which there was one dissentient—very likely the disgruntled Barrister who was annoyed by the appointment of a Solicitor instead of a Barrister to the post of Registrar, Supreme Court.

*Sir Edward John Gambier, (1842-1850), Sworn in as Puisne Judge 28th November, 1836, and as Chief Justice 22nd May, 1842.*

The name of Sir Edward John Gambier, Chief Justice, is associated in Madras with the house next to the Adyar Club known as Gambier's Gardens; in England he is still remembered as Counsel for the "Tolpuddle Martyrs." In the year 1834 a group of labourers in Dorsetshire, who refused to work on the ground that their wages had been reduced, were prosecuted for conspiracy. Mr. Gambier, their Counsel, was unsuccessful in defending them and his clients were sent to prison for long periods of transportation overseas. They were subsequently after some agitation pardoned and were known and referred to as the Tolpuddle Martyrs; and in the year 1934 the Tolpuddle Centenary

was celebrated. The history of the case is as follows. Prior to the year 1824 trade unionism was illegal in Great Britain. In that year an Act was passed which gave the workers the right to combine in associations for their mutual benefit. Unions in various trades then came into existence, but there was no trade union for farm labourers. In that year also, farmers had given a promise to their labourers in Dorsetshire to raise the labourers' pay to ten shillings a week, but owing to hard times they were unable to fulfill their promise. There was, therefore, great discontent amongst the labourers, who were getting only 6 shillings a week in wages. A labourer named George Loveless who lived at Tolpuddle—who as well as being a labourer was a Methodist preacher—decided to form a union of farm labourers in the district. Five other men named James Loveless, John Stanfield, James Hamnett, Thomas Stanfield, and James Byrne assisted him, and they held secret meetings by night and also took oaths of secrecy. The authorities decided to have them arrested and on the 24th February 1834 they were taken to the Bridewell at Dorchester, and they were subsequently charged under the Sedition Act of 1797 with breaking an Act of Parliament by administering an unlawful oath. This Act had really been designed to suppress a mutiny in the fleet at the Nore. Although the charge was a thin one, there was undoubtedly a grave miscarriage of justice; and the accused were sentenced to 7 years transportation and some were sent to New South Wales and George Loveless to Tasmania.

Thereafter a great public agitation arose; the trades unions took up the matter, demonstrations were organised and questions were asked in Parliament and eventually Government admitted its mistake and the men were granted a free pardon. This miscarriage of justice made them figures of importance in industrial history and they are commemorated by martyr trees on the village green at Tolpuddle, an arch outside the Methodist chapel, a stone in the churchyard and a row of cottages for the use of aged agricultural labourers who have been trade union members.

Sir Edward Gambier was the 3rd son of Samuel Gambier, First Commissioner of the Navy (1752-1813) by Jane, the youngest daughter of Daniel Mathew of Felix Hall, Essex; and nephew of Admiral James, Baron Gambier. He was born in 1794 and went to Eton in 1808. He afterwards went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1817 and his M.A. in 1820 and became a Fellow of the College. He was called to the

Bar at Lincoln's Inn on 7th February 1822 and acted as one of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners in 1833.

In 1834 he was appointed Recorder of Prince of Wales Island and was knighted by William IV at St. James Palace on the 6th August in the same year. He was appointed to succeed Sir Robert Comyn and took his oath of office as a puisne Judge on 29th November 1836. The *Madras Courier* of that date says "His Majesty's Ministers have elected a gentleman of distinguished abilities and high character to fill this most important station."

He was raised to the Chief Justiceship in March, 1842. For some time—until 29th August 1844 when Sir W. W. Burton was appointed—he was the only Judge of the Supreme Court. It is stated that we owe to him the genesis of the legislation for safeguards for the administration of the estates of persons who have died intestate in India.

He discharged the duties of his high post with ability and efficiency until his retirement in June 1848, when he received from the Hindu community of Madras a testimonial consisting of a silver centre piece weighing 550 ounces, and Lady Gambier was at the same time presented with a handsome silver tripod centre piece by the European ladies of Madras.

He published in 1828 a "Treatise on Parochial Settlement" which went into a second edition.

He died at 22 Hyde Park, Kensington, on 31st May 1879 in his 86th year.

There was at one time a portrait of Sir Edward Gambier at Gambiers Gardens; and a firm of Wiele & Klien, Photographers, Mount Road, used to have a copy.

The Letters Patent of his appointment dated the 8th day of March in the 6th year of the reign of William IV are framed and hung in the Registrar's room in the High Court.

*Sir John David Norton, Sworn in 5th April, 1842.*

On the retirement of Sir R. Comyn and the elevation of Sir Edward Gambier as Chief Justice a vacancy as puisne Judge arose and it was filled by the appointment of Sir John David Norton—Eardley Norton's grandfather. Sir John is rather overshadowed by the other distinguished members of the Norton family. The outstanding features of his life in Madras are:—

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- (1) That he came out to Madras as a Supreme Court Judge at the advanced age of 54; and,
- (2) The original method adopted by him of raising an overdraft from Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.

John David Norton was born in 1787, and was originally intended for the Army and entered the Royal Artillery, but changed his Army career for the law and became a member of the Chancery Bar. He was Private Secretary to Edward Sugden (Lord St. Leonards—Lord Chancellor) and was appointed to the Madras Supreme Court in 1841 and was knighted in 1842. He arrived at the "Madras Roads" under a salute of guns from Fort St. George on 5th April, 1842 and immediately proceeded to the Supreme Court where he took the Oaths of allegiance, &c. He died while on a voyage to Malacca and was buried at sea on 20th September 1843. He was, therefore, a Judge of the Supreme Court for only about one year and five months. He is stated to have won universal respect and esteem during his brief tenor of office and to have been a man exemplary in every relation of life, a lover of all that is good, beautiful and true. His last words bear witness to the purity of his whole life. "God's will be done. I have nothing to fear."

Sir John Norton died in possession of his office as a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court and, on his death a very nice question arose. Under the Act of Parliament, 6, Geo. IV cap. 85, it was enacted that, if a Judge of the Supreme Court should depart this life while in possession of such office, the Directors of the East India Company should pay to the legal representatives of such Judge a sum equal to six months salary. The Directors paid this amount (£2,500) to his son and executor, John Bruce Norton.

Sir John Norton had, however, previous to leaving Madras, executed in favour of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., an assignment of this sum of £2,500 to secure payment of an overdraft. At the time of his death there was a balance due to Arbuthnot & Co., and they claimed to be entitled to receive this sum which had been paid by the East India Company to the executor, John Bruce Norton. Arbuthnot & Co., filed a suit against John Bruce Norton who in defence raised two points (1) that the letter of assignment was not valid and effectual and (2) that the sum of £2,500 was not assignable or disposable as part of his estate. The suit came on for hearing before Sir Edward Gambier, Chief Justice, on the 29th, and 30th July, 1844 and on the 12th Sep-

tember, 1844, judgment was delivered and the Bill of Complaint dismissed with costs. However, Arbuthnot & Co., appealed to the Privy Council and the decision of the Supreme Court was reversed. The case is reported in *Moore's Indian Appeals, Volume III, page 435—Arbuthnot v. Norton.*

One decision to which Sir John Norton was a party is reported in a Madras newspaper of his time. The question before the Court was whether the appointment by the Master of the Supreme Court, of a Christian Missionary as guardian to the illegitimate children of a European Christian testator by a Gentue woman, brought up as Hindus by the mother was valid. The Court consisted of Sir Edward Gambier and Sir John Norton. Sir John concurred in the opinion of the Chief Justice in holding that the appointment was valid and observed "The religion of the father who gives the fortune is that which the children should be brought up in; and the father did not intend that the children should be left with the Hindu mother." The report is an unauthorised one. However worthy the ruling might be from a missionary point of view it would not, according to modern ideas, be regarded as sound law.

The years immediately succeeding the death of Sir John Norton were eventful in Madras. The first P. & O. steamer the *Hindustan*, arrived in Madras. The Bank of Madras opened in 1843. The Maternity Hospital was established in the same year. In 1844 the Light House, the remains of which still stand in the High Court Compound, was completed, and withstood the hurricane which visited Madras on 20th October, 1846. This hurricane resulted in the loss of several lives. There was also a hurricane in the Supreme Court for Sir Edward Gambier reduced the fees of the Supreme Court Officers! The matter will be referred to later.

*Sir William Westbrooke Burton. Sworn in 27th August, 1842.*

Sir William Westbrooke Burton has the distinction of having exercised judicial functions in England, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Madras.

He was the son of Edmund Burton Esq., of Churchill House, near Daventry, Northampton, by Elizabeth, only daughter of Rev. John Mather of Chorley, Lancashire. He was born in 1794 and married in 1827 Margret, daughter of L. Smith Esq., and on her death married Maria Alphonsine, daughter of John Beattie West

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Esq., M.P. He served in the Navy (1810-1823), and was present at the attack of New Orleans in 1814, and was called to the Bar in 1825 and went on the Midland Circuit. He was for some years Recorder of Daventry. He was knighted in 1844 and was appointed a puisne Judge of the Supreme Court at Madras on the 29th August 1844 and continued as such until he resigned on the 15th March, 1857. He was therefore a colleague of Sir Edward Gambier and of Sir Christopher Rawlinson, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Davison. After his resignation he was appointed a Judge at the Cape of Good Hope and later a Judge in New South Wales, and the last heard of him was that he was President of the Legislative Assembly in Sydney. He was educated at Winchester, where he was a contemporary of Roundell Palmer, and a Latin scholar.

In Madras he, like a number of other Madras residents, had a house at Ennore where he entertained lavishly.

It was during the period of office of Sir William Burton that Mr. Minchin, the Master of the Court, was dismissed for alleged misconduct. Mr. Minchin was appointed to his office on the 2nd February 1841. His remuneration consisted of the fees, which he was entitled to charge and receive and it was one of his duties to tax the bills of costs of Solicitors.

The table of fees to be allowed to the Master had been fixed in the year 1802, but it became the practice to allow some fees which were not distinctly specified in the table. Mr. Minchin claimed to be entitled to those fees and said that this procedure was confirmed by a communication which he received from the Chief Justice, Sir Robert Comyn, in 1842, who had said that the retrenchment must fall on Mr. Minchin's successor. On his dismissal Mr. Minchin appealed to the Privy Council, and the Board held that the order of the Supreme Court dismissing him was not an appealable grievance within the Madras Supreme Court Charter of December 1800. They, however, thought it a fit case for the allowance of a special Appeal, and having heard the case upon the merits, directed a petition for Special Leave to appeal to be presented to Her Majesty. The Privy Council considered that although it is the duty of those who preside over the Courts and offices of justice to use their utmost vigilance and endeavours to prevent any extortion upon the suitors, and to take care that every fee or sum of money which is sought to be received by the officers and solicitors, has a legal sanction for its receipt, and that

no more than the sum legally sanctioned should be received; but in almost every Court it has happened that, in the progress of time, and unnoticed by the Court, the practice of receiving sums not legally sanctioned, but which in themselves are reasonable, and would have been sanctioned if duly noticed, has grown up, together with the practice of receiving sums which are both illegal and unreasonable, and which would have been forbidden if duly noticed. Such practice having been followed by one officer after another, who succeeded his immediate predecessor, becomes at length, in the absence of any reference to a duly established title, a sort of evidence of right, or supposed right, and the office is innocently accepted upon the notion, and the reliance that the right was established by the usage which has been acquiesced in, and prevailed under the allocatur of the Judges. Where a practice of this sort comes under observation, it is the duty of the Court to exercise or procure the exercise of a legal authority to retrench fees, if not legal and reasonable, and to establish fees which may be legal and just though not legal until duly sanctioned. But in consideration of the circumstances, it ought to be carefully observed that an officer following the steps of his predecessor, may have received fees, which ought not to have been allowed, or continued, may, nevertheless, not be justly chargeable with corruption or moral guilt.

If Mr. Minchin had been guilty of wilful corruption, or fraud, or grave misconduct, it would have been right to dismiss him, but in the absence of such evidence, Mr. Minchin ought not to have been dismissed.

Lord Brougham finally said that it must be distinctly understood that "Mr. Minchin leaves the Court with his moral character perfectly untouched."

Mr. Minchin is, it is thought, the only officer of the Supreme Court who has had the distinction of being a reported case. His case is reported in 6 *Moore's Privy Council Cases* at page 43. The case is still an authority on the question of the right of legal practitioners to appeal to the Privy Council in cases where they have been charged with professional misconduct. Although such orders are not appealable 'as of right,' Special Leave is often granted in the case of suspension or an order striking the practitioner off the rolls. They have in other words 'an appealable grievance.'

The 'single' or 'double' agency controversy would also appear to have started at that time for we find that in July, 1853,

Mr. J. W. Branson, then an Attorney of the Supreme Court, applied before Rawlinson C. J. and Burton J. to be admitted as an Advocate, submitting that it was evidently the spirit of the Charter that the offices of both Advocate and Attorney should be performed by the same person, and that it was not competent to the Court to separate what the Charter had so clearly united; but the Court refused the application on the ground that they could not set aside what had been held to be the proper construction of the Charter for half a century.

Sir William Burton was the author of a book on State Religion and Education in Australia.

*Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Sworn in 15th April, 1850.*

Sir Christopher Rawlinson was born in London on the 10th July 1806, and was the 2nd son of John Rawlinson (died 1847) of Combe and Alresford, Hampshire. He was educated at Charter House and at Trinity College, Cambridge, (B.A. 1828 M.A. 1831). He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1831 and joined the Western Circuit in 1832. He published a work on "The Municipal Practices Act." He was Recorder of Portsmouth from 1840 to 1847, when he was appointed Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca. In 1847 he was knighted and in 1849 was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Madras in succession to Sir Edward Gambier, and held that position until his retirement in 1859.

In his charge to the Grand Jury on the 5th January 1859 he expressed the belief that great benefits would accrue from the recent transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, and refuted the assertion then commonly made by English officials in India that no materials for self-government existed in the country. He was on the 9th February 1859 presented with a farewell address by the native community of Madras at an entertainment at which the Governor, Lord Harris, was present. He died at No. 33, Eaton Square, London, on the 28th March, 1888.

Like Sir Francis Macnaughten, Sir Christopher Rawlinson was the founder of a distinguished legal family. He had three sons, Christopher Rawlinson, born 1850, Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister Inner Temple, 1874; Albemarle Alexander Rawlinson, (born in 1835 in Harrington Road, in the house at present occupied by the Madras Seva Sadan—on which occasion Sir Christopher imported the first English cow), educated at Win-

chester and Trinity College Cambridge was a Major in the 8th Hussars and had two children. His daughter, is now the Countess of Annesley, and his son who served with commissioned rank in H.M.'s forces overseas 1917-1919 was called to Grays Inn in 1924. His second son, the Right Honourable John Frederick Peel Rawlinson LL.D., of the Inner Temple, Q.C., and K.C., M.P., Cambridge University, 1905-1926, was Recorder of the Borough of Cambridge and a Privy Counsellor and died in 1926.

*Sir Henry Davison, Sworn in as Puisne Judge, 16th March, 1857 and As Chief Justice 11th March, 1859.*

Sir Christopher Rawlinson was succeeded as Chief Justice by Sir Henry Davison, who was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple on 6th May, 1834, and was a member of the Oxford Circuit, and who had been appointed a puisne Judge on the 16th March 1857. He had, in the meantime been Chief Justice of Bombay and continued there until 11th March 1859, when he was appointed to Madras as Chief Justice, which office he held until his death on the 5th November 1860. He died at Ootacamund in the 55th year of his age, deeply and deservedly regretted by a large circle of friends in England and in India, who have erected a monument and also a tablet in St. Stephen's Church, Ootacamund, to his memory. He was a friend of Thackeray. The dedication of Thackeray's 'Virginians' runs as follows:—To Sir Henry Davison, Chief Justice of Madras, this book is inscribed by an affectionate old friend. London, September 7th 1859."

*Sir Adam Bittlestone, Sworn in 26th July, 1858.*

The next puisne Judge to come to Madras was Sir Adam Bittlestone, who was son of Thomas Bittlestone of London, Gentleman, and was born in 1817. He was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1841 and went on the Midland Circuit. He became a revising Barrister in 1850 and was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court in 1858, and of the High Court in 1862. He continued in the High Court until 1870. His son, also Adam Bittlestone, and also of the Midland Circuit, was Editor of the Law Times in the Court of Appeal and author of Reports of New Magistrates Cases, Reports in Chambers, &c.

*Sir Colley Harman Scotland, Sworn in 24th May, 1861.*

The first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court came from Scotland; the last was, a Scotland and came from Antigua, in the

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West Indies. He had however the good sense to be brought up and educated in Ireland!

Sir Colley Harman Scotland was the eldest son of Thomas Scotland, by Sarah, youngest daughter of James Haversham of Antigua, and was born in 1819 and educated at the Royal College of Raphoe, Ireland. It looks as if he was intended for the Church, as the name Raphoe has an ecclesiastical term about it. He was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1843 and went on the Oxford Circuit. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1860, but does not appear to have arrived until 24th May 1861. He has the distinction of being the last Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the first Chief Justice of the High Court. Perhaps it was this distinction that induced him to drive to the Court daily with two Chobdars in uniform and with their maces perched behind his carriage! He continued as Chief Justice of the Madras High Court until the year 1872.

As all Madras lawyers are aware, there was, during the period of existence of the Supreme Court, another Court in Madras. It was the Court of Sudder Adawlut; and in the years 1858 to 1862 there was a great controversy as to which of these Courts should survive. The Court of Sudder Adawlut was known as the East India Company's Court, and the Supreme Court was known as the King's Court. As a result of a Commission held to inquire into judicial reform it was decided that the Company's Court and the Supreme Court should be abolished and that a High Court with jurisdiction over all the proceedings of the abolished Courts at the time of abolition, should be established. At the time of the establishment of the High Court the Judges of the Supreme Court were Sir Colley Scotland, and Sir Adam Bittlestone, and the Judges of the Sudder Adawlut were William Ambrose Morehead, Thomas Lumisden Strange (son of Sir Thomas Strange, and severe critic of the Supreme Court), Henry Dominic Phillips (grandfather of Sir W. W. Phillips), and Hatley Frere, and the above Judges were the first Judges of the Madras High Court. The critics of the Sudder Court were of opinion that those Judges lacked the essential legal training, and the critics of the Supreme Court considered that experience of local conditions was essential; but experience has shown that the combined team has done better than its critics expected, and to quote the words of Sir Arthur Collins at the opening ceremony of the present High Court building "So long as this High Court is an independent Court, with

Judges who fear no man and who administer the law according to the rules of law, equity, and good conscience with the jurisdiction it has exercised for so many years intact, I believe it will continue to have and to deserve the confidence of the public."

May the High Court, the successor of the Supreme Court and of the Sudder Court long survive.

## Buddha's Life in Art

By

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

### *Introduction*

BUDDHISM has directly or indirectly been greatly responsible for the best that we find in Indian art or literature. The Buddha, as the originator of this religion, naturally occupies the most central position and his life and activities have come to play a great part in Buddhist Art. Already within four to five hundred years after the Buddha's death the Buddhalogy seems to have been fully developed.

The five major events of the Master's life are well-known. They are his birth, the great renunciation (*mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*), his meditation at the foot of the Bodhi tree in Buddha-Gayā, the Great enlightenment at Sārnāth and his death (*Mahāparinirvāṇa*). Artists have always delighted themselves in portraying these events in some form or other. The iconographic details have differed from age to age but there has been no variation in the essential elements of the events themselves. Besides these five major incidents which are more or less items of sober history, there have been portrayed many other minor incidents of his life, which belong more to the domain of legends. Such are the scenes of Queen Māyā's dream, of Māra's attack and dream of preaching of the religion in Tushita heaven, Indra's visit to the Indrasāla cave, etc.

Buddhalogy composed of historical facts and legends must have been a thing of gradual growth but already by the beginning of the Christian Era the main outline had been fully developed; most of these events and incidents we find already portrayed on the railings of the Bharhut Stūpa. True stories were embellished with the progress of time but Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Bodh-Gayā and the Hellenistic School of Gandhara had already given to the Buddha Saga a definite shape and form, which is also noticeable in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddha-Charita* and also in the Buddhist canonical literature especially in the *Suttapiṭaka*. At Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Goli, Jagayyapeta, and other places in the Krishna valley the faithful artists took up these outlines and worked them up according to their own imagination and artistic

necessities. In the glorious period of Buddha supremacy, artists at Muttra and Sarnath excelled in the depiction of the stories connected with the life of the Master, always giving prominence to the five major incidents not unoften adding one or two minor incidents or miracles of his life. The tradition was handed down to the artists of later periods. In modern India, in the provinces of Bihar and Bengal from the 9th to about the 12th century A.D., we find a deluge of sculptured relics depicting these events and incidents round the figure of the Buddha either standing or seated in Dhyānamudrā or Bhūmisparshamudrā or in an attitude of preaching or giving protection. With the spread of Buddhism outside India, Buddhalogy also travelled to the Indianised colonies of Burma, Java and other places as well as to Central Asia and China. In Burma, on the sculptured relics of the Ananda Pagoda and other temples, one can find the entire life story of the Buddha in its minutest details expressed in plastic terms according to the Nidāna Kathā; so also on the relics of Barabudur where the artists followed the text of the Lalitavistara.

#### 1. Barhut

The railings of the stūpa at Barhut erected in the time of the Suṅgas represent in sculptured reliefs scenes of the Bodhi trees in inculcation of the Mahāpadāna doctrine of Buddhyotpāda-dharmatā, scenes from Buddha Śākyamuni's life in illustration of the Mahāpadāna doctrine from the *Avidurenidāna* (not far remote section) as well as some intermediate scenes from *Santikenidāna*, from the *Durenidāna* (remote section). Apart from the general scheme there can be noticed a symbolical outline of Buddha Śākyamuni's life on the ornamental arch of the Eastern gateway. The stūpa and the railings of Barhut were erected in about the second century B.C. and the stories represented seem to prove that already by that time not only the Jātaka stories but also stories of the life of the Buddha came to be well-known and understood amongst the people of Northern India and so far as Buddha Śākyamuni's life is concerned hardly any important episode is left out from the sculptor's list of contents. It begins with the supplications of the gods Rūpa-Brahmās and Kāmāvacaras who assembled in the Tushita heaven to exhort the Bodhisattva to be born for the salvation of the suffering world. The story is well-known not only from the Dīghanikāya but also from the Lalitavistara, and all the scenes of the life of the Master are equally well-known from important Buddhist sources both Pali and Sanskrit, namely, the Mahāvastu, the Nidānakathā, the Lalitavistara, the Divyāvadāna,

Avadāna Kalpalatā and the Pali canon with their commentaries and sub-commentaries. The scene of the supplication of the gods is represented on the outer face of the Prasenajit pillar on the same face of which there is another scene depicting a joyous scene in which Apsaras take part in a musical party. The subject of the scene is undoubtedly that of the gods' exaltation for their success in having the consent of the Bodhisattva to be born as requested by them. The mysterious presence of a little boy in the scene indicates that the Bodhisattva could be induced to give his consent thus giving us a forecast of his birth. A small medalion represents the next scene in the life of the Master. There we see Queen Mahāmāyā sleeping quietly on a couch leaving her right side exposed, a lamp burns at the foot of the bed, three women are seated in attendance by the side of the bed, one with joined hands in an attitude of devotion, an elephant is shown above the couch. This certainly represents the scene of the dream of Māyādevī and the beginning of her maternity. We have no clear scene in the railings of Barhut of the birth of the Buddha but there is one small broken fragment which may be interpreted as such. The fragment shows the hand of a female grasping flower and leaf of a Sāla tree, a portion of the fruit being also visible in its upper part. The Sanskrit version of the story has a Plakṣha tree instead; but Pali sources insist that the tree was a Sāla and not Plakṣha and if the fragment can be interpreted as representing the birth of the Buddha it certainly follows strictly the Pali text. The scene of the announcement of the inception of Buddha's law by the angel named Arhadgupta is not also forgotten. A bas-relief bearing the inscription "in the great assembly of the gods the angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the divine beings' system" represents the footprints of Buddha placed on a throne which is canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands while a Royal personage is kneeling before the altar and reverentially touching the footprints with his hands. Another scene may be interpreted as representing the well-known story of the flight of five Rishis during the Śākyan plough festival. The story of the Bodhisattva's great renunciation with his Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa is depicted in details in three stages, one below the other. It gives an elaborate picture of the great event. In the first stage the Bodhisattva is stepping out by the main doorway of the royal palace of king Suddhodana; in the second passing out on horse-back through the city gate of Kapilavastu and in the third, riding on ahead. The upper bas-relief on the left side of the Ajātasatru pillar, represents the festival in honour of the divine beings' dressed hairlock in the council hall of

the gods in the palace of victory. Still another scene depicts the festive decorations on Bodhisattva's way towards the Bodhi tree. The important scene of the conquest of Māra and the consequent congratulation by the Rūpa-Brahmā deities on the eve of Buddha's attainment of the Bodhi have been executed in two square panels of a corner pillar. Another small bas-relief represents the famous Ratanachāṅkama or the jewel-walk where the Buddha is said to have spent the second week following his attainment of Buddhahood, while another scene connected with the same relief shows the five spots around the sacred Bodhi tree where the Buddha spent the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th weeks at Uruvillā on the bank of the Nairāñjanā. There is another carving on a rail-medallion containing the representation of a massive wheel set in the mortice of an octagonal pillar with a bell-capital bar at its top. There is also the scene of the Bodhisattva presenting the symbol of the Wheel of Law.

The well-known story of the purchasing of Jetavana at Śrāvastī by Anāthapiṇḍika and the eventual dedication of the Jetavana monastery to the Buddha are portrayed in a medallion where in the fore-ground one can see a bullock-cart with unyoked bullocks sitting beside it, and with the yoke tilted up in the air to show that the cart has been unloaded. In front are two men, each holding a very small object between his thumb and fore-finger. These two are no other than Anāthapiṇḍika himself and his treasurer counting the gold pieces brought in the cart. Above them are two or three figures seated and busily engaged in covering the surface of the garden with the gold coins; to the left are six other figures who seem to be Prince Jeta and his friends while in the very centre stands Anāthapiṇḍika carrying a vessel in both hands for the purpose of pouring water over the Buddha's hands. The next important scene in the career of Buddha namely that of his performing of the twin miracle in Śrāvastī at the foot of the mango-tree is portrayed on one of the panels on the right side of the Ajātaśatru pillar while on the same face of the pillar is also portrayed the scene of the Master's ascent to the world of the gods of the Thirty-three and the preaching of the Abhidhamma there. On the same face of the pillar is also portrayed the scene of the Master's descent by a triple-ladder at Saṅkassa from the world of the thirty-three gods and proclamation of Śāriputra's great power of the comprehension of the Law. The scene of Buddha's spending a rainy season in a forest not far from Kauśāmbī and being waited upon by the Pārileyya elephant as well as that of king Ajatasatru's entrance to Jivaka's mango-grove to wait upon the Buddha find their pro-

per place in the narration of the Master's life at Barhut. On the inner face of a railing pillar at the south gate is portrayed a fine piece of sculpture representing the scene of the visit of king Prasenajit of Kośala to Buddha. The sequel to the story also follows in another relief of the same story. This is that of Viḍūḍabha's march on Kapilavastu. Viḍūḍabha tried to usurp the throne of Kośala taking advantage of Prasenajita's mental worries and absence from the capital. Thrice he made his attempt but returned on account of the Buddha's intervention. The fourth time he set out but the Master did not intervene seeing that it was impossible to save the Śākya who sinned against each other. The level of the Barhut scene refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākyas. It also represents the first episode where the Master's timely intervention compels Viḍūḍabha to go back to his capital. The scene of the Mahāparinirvāṇa or the Great Decease of the Master is portrayed twice at Barhut; once on the Prasenajit pillar where exists a bare symbolical outline of the important Buddhist legend referring to such facts as the Buddha's passing away between the twin Sala trees, building of the memorial ground mound, the erection of the stone pillar by Asoka, and the worship by gods and men. The other relief sets forth all the details noticed in the preceding bas-relief omitting the fact of erection of the stone pillar by King Asoka.

## 2. Bodh-Gayā

The famous railing at Bodh-Gayā contains a Chaṅkrama or promenade where the Buddha is said to have walked after the attainment of the Great Enlightenment beneath the Bodhi tree, and also a few important events in Buddha's life. A small relief represents the scene of the purchase of Jetavana and two represent that of the approach to the Bodhi tree. One of the latter is indeed of particular interest as it represents in the figure approaching the tree a personage who can be no other than Bodhisattva Siddhārtha.

## 3. Sāñchī

The gates, architectures and railings of the Sāñchī group of stūpas reveal a marvellous ability of decorative story-telling composition and give a vivid picture of contemporary civilisation. The principal themes are drawn from the life of the Buddha as well as from the Jātakas. Unlike the reliefs of Barhut always provided with explanatory labels, those at Sāñchī do not say a word of the scenes and figures delineated on the railings of the stūpas. But

like Bārhut nowhere in Sāñchī is the Buddha portrayed in bodily form; but his presence is indicated merely by some symbols such as his footprints or the throne on which he sat or the sacred tree associated with his enlightenment. Most of the scenes depicted in the reliefs are more or less elaborate compositions differing considerably from one another. The four great events in the life of the Master find prominent place amongst these reliefs: his birth, his enlightenment, his first sermon and his death. This scene occurs several times on the Sāñchī reliefs and is represented by the traditional Indian symbol of all miraculous births, namely the lotus. In some of the panels Queen Māyā is seen flanked by two elephants who according to the Buddhist sculptures bathed the new-born babe, but here they are shown pouring water over Māyā herself. Though this scene has often been interpreted as showing the birth of the Master, yet there are scholars who think that it represents nothing but Lakshmi, the Goddess of luck. In other panels Māyā is shown in a standing posture ready for the birth and this is more in conformity with the Buddhist texts. It was not before the artists of the Gandhara school practised their hands in Buddhist iconography that an infant Buddha is shown issuing from the right side of Māyā. The scene of the Sambodhi or the Perfect Enlightenment is represented by a throne under the Bodhi tree with one or more umbrellas and streamers. In some panels more developed than the rest, worshippers are seen bringing offerings or in an attitude of adoration. In some more elaborate reliefs Māra and his hosts of demons or crowds of worshipping animals and Nāgas are represented. The scene of the first sermon in the Deer Park near Benares is represented by a wheel set either on a throne or on a column; in the more developed reliefs the Deer Park is indicated by two gazels seated face to face. The Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa scene is represented by a stūpa with attending worshippers, both human and divine. In the last panel of the inner face of the South Gateway of the Great Stūpa is represented the scene of the worship of the Bodhisattva's hair in the Trayas-trimsa heaven while in the central section of the middle architrave of the North Gateway is represented the scene of the temptation of the Buddha. The Vajrāsana of the Buddha covered with an umbrella occupies the left end of the panel while a bit more to the left is shown the figure of Sujātā bringing the meal of rice and milk; near the middle of the panel is Māra seated on a throne with attendants around and advancing from him towards the throne are his daughters, on his other side are the hosts of Māra's demons. The third panel of the front face of the right pillar depicts the scene in conjunction with the correspond-

ing panel adjoining it, on the inner face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the miracle at Śrāvastī while the second panel of the inner face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the offering of a bowl of honey to the Blessed one by a monkey. The second panel on the front face of the left pillar of the same gateway depicts the scene of the Jetavana at Śrāvastī while the top panel of the inner face of the same pillar shows the scene of the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indrasāla cave near Rājagriha. The middle architrave of the Eastern Gateway represents an important scene from the life of the Master namely, that of his Great Departure from Kapilavastu, stage by stage, while the scene of the *Sambodhi* is depicted on the middle architrave of the back side of the same gateway. The right and left pillars of the same gateway have on them some of the important episodes from the life of the Master. In the top panel of the inner face of the right pillar is shown the scene of the homage of king Suddhodana who is shown standing immediately in front of the throne of the Master. The episode represented is the homage paid by the king to his son after his return to Kapilavastu. The second panel on the same face of the same pillar depicts the scene of the dream of Māyā otherwise called the conception of the Bodhisattva. Māyā the Queen is seen lying in a pavilion of the palace and on her is descending the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant; below is seen a royal procession which must have been that of King Suddhodana when he went to meet his son on his return to Kapilavastu. At the bottom of the panel is portrayed the miracle which the Buddha is said to have performed on this occasion by walking in mid-air, and in the extreme left-hand bottom corner is a banyan tree to signify the Park of Banyans which Suddhodana presented to his son. The back of the right pillar as well as the first and second panels of the front face of the left pillar of the Eastern Gateway represent the scene of the illumination of the Buddha. Just below this is the scene of the miracle of the Master walking on the waters on the Nairanjanā river with Kāśyapa and a disciple Soma hastening in a boat to the rescue of the Master and later on doing homage to him. The lowermost panel shows Bimbisāra with his royal retinue issuing from the city of Rājagriha on a visit to the Buddha. The inner face of the left pillar of the same gateway represents the scenes of the three miracles by which the Buddha converted the Brāhmana Kāśyapa and his disciples namely, the visit of Indra and Brahmā to the Buddha in the town of Uruvilva, the victory of the Buddha over the serpent in the fire chapel at Uruvilva, and the miracles of the wood and the fire. The middle architrave of the

front face of the Western Gateway depicts the scene of the first sermon at Sārnāth while the back of the last architrave represents the scene of the temptation of the Buddha. The second panel of the front face of the right pillar of the same Gateway represents the Bodhisattva preaching in the Tushita heaven while the first panel on the inner face shows the scene of Enlightenment. The scene of the gods entreating Buddha to preach is shown on the second panel of the inner face of the same pillar while the back represents the scene of the *Parinirvāṇa*. The second panel of the inner face of the left pillar depicts the scene of the *Sambodhi*.

#### 4. Ajantā

The paintings on the walls of the caves at Ajantā represent quite a good number of scenes from the life of the Master. On one of the walls of Cave No. 2 is seen represented the episode of Bodhisattva's resolve to be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa in the country of Magadha and of Māya, the queen of Suddhodana, the head of the Śākya, for the good of afflicted humanity. The scenes of Queen Māya's dream and conception are represented twice at Ajantā, once in Cave No. 2 and another in cave No. 16. Cave No. 2 depicts two other interesting scenes: those of the going to the Lumbinī garden and Nativity showing the usual sāla tree, Mahāprajāpati, the divine child, Brahmā and Indra. The story of the Bodhisattva's taking his first seven steps is also represented in the same cave which further contains one scene representing the story of the great miracle at Śrāvastī and another story from the *Purṇa Avadāna*. The Śrāvastī miracle is represented again in cave No. 1 and has the usual elements of the story. The story of the *Purṇa Avadāna* is to be found in *Divyāvadāna* which states that the ship of a merchant named Babbhila was in danger of being wrecked by evil spirits. At the last moment his half-brother *Purṇa*, a monk, appeared and the disaster was averted. The rescuer advised Babbhila to build a sanctuary of sandal wood which he had brought with him on his voyage for the Master. The merchant acted accordingly, and ultimately in response to the invitation of *Purṇa* and Babbhila the Buddha and his company appeared miraculously; but the largest number of representations from the life of the Master is to be found in cave No. 16, which has on its walls the story of the reading of the horoscope by Rishi Asita, the scene in the school representing Siddhārtha taking lessons from his Guru Viśvāmitra. One of the interesting scenes not usually found elsewhere is that of the first meditation. Once the Prince Siddhārtha was taken by his father to see a ploughing

match. There seeing the tired oxen bleeding from their necks and the men toiling in the mid-day sun, the Bodhisattva became filled with grief and retiring under a Jambu tree became rapt in a state of unconsciousness. When the Prince was missed and a search made he was found still lost in meditation. Other scenes depicted on the walls of the same cave are those of the four drives in the city of Kapilavastu which ultimately led him to choose the path of renunciation, his first visit to Rājagriha and meeting with Bimbisāra, the offering of food by Sujātā, the temptation, the host of Māra trying to tempt the Buddha, the offering of Trapusa and Bhalika, the scene of the questions of Sāriputra and conversion of Nanda. The scene of the questions to Sāriputra is not usually met with elsewhere either in sculpture or in painting. After the Buddha's descent from the Trayastrimsa heaven he stood at the foot of the staircase by which he descended. Cave No. 17 depicts the scene of the subjugation of the furious elephant Nalagiri as well as another scene from the *Sinhala Avadāna*. This scene was formally identified with the landing of Bijaya in Ceylon but closer study proves that the artist had simply in view the famous *Avadāna* of *Sinhala*.

In early mediaeval sculptured reliefs recovered from Ceylon one detects here and there a few scenes from the life of the Master but they are more or less of usual interest and follow in the main the Indian tradition. In paintings as well we have here and there representations of Jataka stories.

In Tibet, China, Central Asia and Japan we have numerous examples in the bas-reliefs and still more in paintings of representation of Buddhist subjects depicting the Buddha himself always occupying the most important position of the Bodhisattvas. We hardly meet in them with representations of any scene from the life of the Master.

#### 5. Gandhara

The principal theme of the Graeco-Buddhist artists of Gandhara was the story of Buddha's life and there is hardly any incident of the life of the Master that was not portrayed by the Gandhara artists. In fact, not only did they evolve the iconic Buddha type but also they were the first to popularise Buddha and his creed in art. Remains of Gandhara sculpture have come down to us in very large numbers which are deposited mainly in the Indian Museum, the Taxila Museum and the Lahore Museum. The reliefs portraying the life of the Master are of varying size and in the

three collections just noted one can see almost every episode represented several times with more or less variations of details. All taken together form an interesting string of narratives amplifying very often the accounts given in the various texts dealing with the Buddha's life. First of all very naturally comes the legend of the dream of Māyā of which we find several representations. The sequel to that legend, that is, the story of the interpretation of Māyā Devī's dream is also depicted in a number of reliefs. There is at least one relief in the Indian Museum which portrays the departure of Queen Māyā from Kapilavastu. In this relief Queen Māyā is carried on a litter escorted by a horseman. It was in the course of this journey that she visited the garden at Lumbini where she was delivered of the divine child. The story of the birth of the Bodhisattva is depicted in a large number of reliefs with occasional variations. Mahāprajāpati and the god Śakra are invariably there. In certain reliefs, however, the child is seen first emerging from the body of Queen Māyā and next as standing on the ground with the right hand raised in the attitude of offering protection. Side by side with the representation of the birth story the Gandharan artists also loved to depict the legends of the birth of Chandaka, and Kaṇṭhaka, his horse. The delineation of these two legends can be found in more than one Gandharan reliefs. According to legends both of them were born simultaneously at the time of the Buddha's nativity. The next legend of the Bodhisattva's taking the seven steps in every direction soon after his birth finds adequate representation in Gandhara reliefs. In certain cases the child is seen standing under an umbrella. The scene of the first bath is also represented several times where the newborn child stands on a stool and water is poured on his head from two jars held by Śakra and Brahmā. Sometimes the legend of the bath and return to Kapilavastu are represented in the self-same panel in two or three sections. At least one such relief shows first the bath, next the return of Queen Māyā from Lumbinī in a bullock-cart with the child in her arms and lastly a group of musicians before the city-gate of Kapilavastu welcoming the mother and the child. Sometimes this legend of return from Lumbinī to Kapilavastu is represented otherwise and the Queen is shown in a litter seated with the child resting in her lap. The protection of the sage Asita which follows immediately after the episode just mentioned is shown in several reliefs. In some the new-born child is represented in the left of the sage Asita but in certain reliefs the legend is represented on a bigger scale in a compartment; behind the seated figure of Asita stands his nephew Naradatta who accompanied him to Kapilavastu to see the Bodhisattva. Naradatta

carries a bowl in his hand which shows that he has already become a monk. This is quite in agreement with the account given in the Nidānakathā. Several reliefs depict the legend of Bodhisattva in school where Bodhisattva is shown engaged in writing on a board or tablet placed on his knees. Sometimes he is represented as playing on a harp, the teacher Viśvāmitra is also invariably shown. Sometimes the Bodhisattva is also shown as practising archery or giving demonstration of wrestling. Generally speaking, the marriage of Bodhisattva is hardly represented in Indian art but here in Gandhara at least for once we have such a representation. The relief shows the Prince Gautama and the Princess Yaśodharā standing opposite to each other around a fire over which they joined their hands. Behind the bride probably stands the train-bearer and near the bridegroom a musician blows a pipe. The figure seated on a stool is either the priest or king Śuddhodana. The scene at the palace at Kapilavastu in the night just before the renunciation finds representation in several reliefs and is more or less in the usual manner. In certain reliefs, however, is shown Chandaka, his groom, who stands with folded hands in a corner to receive the orders of his master to bring his horse. We also find in some of the reliefs armed female guards engaged by the king to keep watch on the Bodhisattva so that he might not escape from the palace. In at least one relief in the Indian museum we find Bodhisattva leaving the palace and his wife trying to hold him back. It represents the version somewhat different from that of the texts. The scene of the renunciation and farewell is more or less elaborately represented in a number of reliefs divided in certain cases in sections. Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka are invariably present and also the Yakṣas who lift up Kaṇṭhaka by the hoof. In certain reliefs we also find Māra standing in front and urging the prince to abandon his intention. Māra's army and also Vajrapāṇi carrying a thunder-bolt are also present in certain reliefs as well as the city-goddess or Nagaradevatā of the palace. According to legends Bodhisattava Gautama came to the town of Rājagriha where king Bimbisāra visited him and would be taken in as a disciple after the Bodhisattva's Enlightenment. This story is represented in certain reliefs from Gandhara. The legend of the acceptance by the Bodhisattva of the cloth of a huntsman as well as the Bodhisattva's austerities at Gayā for a period of six years are also shown in a number of reliefs. Unusually, however, the Bodhisattva is shown in an emaciated form seated in meditation under a tree. Seeing the futility of the mortification of the body Bodhisattva crossed the river Nairāṇjanā and

proceeded towards the Bodhi tree. On the way he was worshipped by the Nāga king Kālīka and his wife. This scene is represented in certain reliefs where the Bodhisattva is seen standing, offering protection; to his left emerges the Nāga couple from their watery abode. Before taking his seat at the foot of the tree where he was to attain the Bodhi the Bodhisattva spread a bundle of soft green grass on his seat. This scene is also represented in at least one relief now in the Indian Museum. The Bodhisattva is shown standing, his right hand placed on a bundle of grass which is kept on a high seat. The grass-cutter Śaṣṭhika stands to his right, behind him is the mischievous Māra holding a club and to the left of the Bodhisattva is Vajrapāṇi. In some panels Gautama is shown approaching the seat under the Bodhi tree and we can find just below the seat the bust of the Earth goddess who was asked by Gautama to bear witness to his having reached the stage preceding Enlightenment. As usual, here too Māra is present carrying a sword. In the Gandhara school the scenes of the assault of Māra and Enlightenment of the Buddha are a common occurrence and are usually dealt with in two parts. First, the attack of Māra followed by his army and next his defeat along with the scene of the Enlightenment and invariably the sinister-looking Māra and his hosts in rows and in challenging attitude are shown in all possible details. In certain reliefs we can see one of the sons of Māra trying to dissuade him from the campaign. We can also find gods hurrying towards the Bodhi tree. The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in meditation, his right hand pointing downwards calling the Earth-goddess as witness just before the Enlightenment. In the scene of the defeat Māra is shown as shrinking back and about to retreat. Sometimes below the throne his soldiers are shown as having dropped down. The scene of the offering of food by Tapusa and Vallika and its sequel of the offering of bowls by four guardian deities of the four quarters is also represented in several reliefs while a good number of other reliefs portray the scene of the request by the gods to the Buddha to preach the law for the benefit of humanity. The scene of the first sermon, known as the turning of the Wheel of Law at Sārnāth, finds elaborate representation in a number of reliefs. A wheel often surmounting a pillar indicates this scene. In some reliefs the wheel appears between two deer seated back to back. In the Gandhara representations the right hand of the Buddha is usually shown in the Abhaya mudrā. In certain reliefs the Buddha is seated under a tree surrounded by a number of devotees among whom his first five disciples can be recognised from their shaven heads. The miracle of Uruvillā per-

formed to convert an ascetic named Kasyapa is represented in several reliefs in different versions. In some Kasyapa is shown seated in front of his hut where he is visited by the Buddha; in others the serpent which was subdued by the Buddha is shown resting inside an alms-bowl in front of the temple and the hermits are seen pouring water to extinguish the fire which they supposed had overtaken the temple. Still in others the Buddha stands in the centre of the panel with a bowl containing the serpent which he is showing to Kāsyapa. The scene of the Buddha's visit to Kapilavastu and the ordination of Rāhula is represented in Gandhara reliefs in different sections of the story. Sometimes the Buddha is shown as taking his promenade in the air which is witnessed by a group of persons. This is one of the miracles that he performed to convince the Śākya of his spiritual superiority. In another phase of the story he is shown taking his seat under a tree while a monk is pouring water over his feet which a princely-looking person is engaged in washing. In one particular panel four different phases of the story are shown. First, the invitation of the Buddha by the Śākya, next, his performance of the miracle in the air in the presence of the Śākya, next, we find the Buddha seated, attended by a number of persons. The lady seated to his right is probably his wife Yasodharā. Before the Buddha is a little child who should be recognised as Rāhula, who appears once again but this time in monkish garb behind Yasodharā. Lastly, at the very end of the panel the Buddha appears standing and by his side is a monk who may be Sāriputra. This portion of the sculpture illustrates the reception of Rāhula into the order. Minor incidents from the life of the Master such as the episode of Nanda and Sundarī, Devadatta's hirelings attacking the Buddha, subduing the elephant Nālagiri, the story of Jyotika and the conversion of Yaksha Aṭavika, all find elaborate representation in Gandhara reliefs and each scene is shown several times and in more or less detailed treatment. The attack and the submission of the assassins hired by Devadatta, the trials of the unfortunate Nanda and his final ordination and toilet scene of Sundarī, the subjugation of the infuriated elephant Nālagiri, the scene of the rising of the infant Jyotika born of Subhadra from the burning pyre of his mother and his being received by king Bimbisāra and the menacing attitude towards the Buddha of Yaksha Aṭavika, are all shown in their fullest details.

The well-known legend of the descent of the Buddha from the Trayatrimśa heaven is shown. The three usual ladders, Brahmā, Śakra and the Buddha, shown descending by the middle one are all there in the reliefs not even excluding the nun Utpalavarṇā who

appears at the foot of the middle ladder welcoming the Buddha. The little known story of two friends Śrī Gupta, a lay disciple of Buddha and Grahadatta, an ascetic of the Jaina order, both of Śrāvastī, is also depicted in some reliefs from Gandhara. In one such relief we find Buddha standing in the centre, to his right his disciples and to the left Śrī Gupta and his attendants. Śrī Gupta is seen twice, first, as offering food out of a vessel held by a servant and next as kneeling before the Master evidently confessing his guilt. In another relief the Buddha is seen standing with his whole retinue including Vajrapāṇi. In this relief Buddha and his disciples are represented as taking part of the miraculous feast served on a table. Minor anecdotes from the life of the Buddha such as offering of handful of dust by two boys at Rajagriha, the barking at Buddha of a white dog belonging to Suka, a citizen of Śrāvastī, the submission of Nāga king, the offering of consolation by the Buddha to Ānanda at Mara's frightening of Ānanda in the form of a vulture at the Gridhrakūṭa cave, all such anecdotes did not fail to inspire the artists of Gandhara and they are all depicted in several reliefs from Gandhara. The great miracle of Śrāvastī is also represented in Gandhara sculptures. Finally we find reliefs portraying the scene of the Mahāparinirvāṇa. In one of the most elaborate representations one can find in the centre of the panel the Buddha's body resting between the two sāla trees at Kusinārā. The uppermost row consists of flying deities. In the next two rows appear a number of princely figures who may be the Malla chieftains throwing flowers over the Buddha's body while others are making demonstrations of grief. Two female figures are shown as emerging from the sāla trees; they are no doubt the sylvan deities. A monk nearest to the Buddha's head holds a fly-whisk. He should be his disciple Ānanda while the nude figure standing second from the left in the same line is probably that of an Ājīvika ascetic. The monk standing next to the nude figure, who carries a staff, is probably the Buddha's favourite disciple, Mahākāśyapa who arrived on the spot just after the decease. There are a few other grief-stricken monks near the feet of the Master and by the side of the cot is Vajrapāṇi represented as falling down. Next to Vajrapāṇi one can find a person seated in meditation whose identity is not clear. In some of the reliefs from Gandhara one can find a coffin in which the dead body of the Buddha was placed immediately after his death. In such reliefs one also notices two sāla trees flanking the coffin which is attended by five persons namely Vajrapāṇi, three monks of whom one carries a staff over his shoulders and the princely figure which may represent one of the

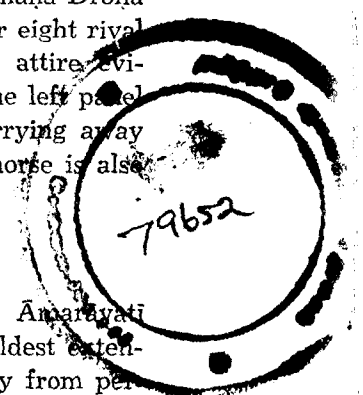
Malla chiefs. In certain reliefs one can meet with the actual cremation even. In such reliefs by the side of the funeral pyre are seen two Malla chieftains extinguishing the fire by pouring out milk from vessels tied to the ends of long sticks.

The division and transport of the corporeal relics on the arbitration of a Brahmana named Droṇa also find adequate representation in certain reliefs. In at least three reliefs in the Indian museum one can find this story depicted. In one of these the Brāhmaṇa Droṇa is shown seated before a table on which eight lumps for eight rival claimants are placed. Two persons dressed in royal attire, evidently the Malla chieftains stand near the relics. In the left panel is shown the transport of the relics. A person is carrying away one of the shares on horseback, the trace of another horse is also visible.

#### 6. Amarāvati.

The rails and coping scenes round the stūpa at Amarāvati present a profusion of sculptures. It is probably the oldest extensively sculptured stupa in South India dating originally from perhaps 200 B.C. In Amaravati one can easily discern four periods of construction. There are a few slabs bearing inscriptions or carvings or both which are closely related to those of the Barhut stupa. The sculptures on the inner and the outer sides of the rails probably belong to the 3rd period, that is to about the latter part of the 2nd century A.D. The casing slabs of the 4th period, though only about 6 ft. high, were more richly and elaborately carved than the rail. The date assigned to the sculptures on these casing slabs on grounds of their style and the form of their inscriptions is the 3rd century A.D. In the sculptures of first and second periods the Buddha does never appear in person and always his representations follow the line of those belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period. It is evident that the indication of Kuṣāṇa influence on Buddhist sculptures was making itself felt in South India already from the second century A.D. and reached the Krishna region about the period of the construction of the Amaravati rails.

Among the profusion of sculptures at Amaravati one can easily notice the more important events of the life of the Master depicted more than once, in certain cases three or four times. The scene of the descent of the Buddha from the Tushita heaven to be born of Maya is represented at least twice, in all its details. The Bodhi-sattva is shown being carried in a chariot by dwarfs. Delighted Devas carrying parasols, a party of musicians leading the proces-



sion and other divinities are all shown in their full splendour. The scene of the dream of Maya Devī also appears more than once. In such scenes Maya Devī is shown gracefully half-laid on a cot attended by female servants and musicians. She is not shown sleeping but in wakeful attitude and having conversations with her attendants. A small sized white elephant is shown at the top of the panel outside the composition as descending to enter the womb of the Queen. One of the preludes to Gautama's resolve to become an ascetic can be seen on an outer rail angle pillar where the Bodhisattva is shown riding out of the palace with his retinue of royal soldiers and attendants and encounters on the road an emaciated figure about to prostrate himself before him, evidently for the purpose of begging. The sequel to the story can be found in a number of reliefs depicting the scene of the Great Renunciation. In such scenes a young chief is shown riding on horseback attended by five divine dwarfs or Yakshas, three of whom are perhaps intended to bear up his horse's feet, the other two flying above to do him honour. In at least one such scene one can find an empty chair or throne which is surmounted by Buddha's *tr̥sūla* and behind it a tree and flanked by two women. It is to be noted that the young rider turns round to salute with respect these symbols of religion. The scene of the temptation of Mara is repeated more than twice in Amaravati. In the earliest ones Buddha is not shown in human representation but the elements of the story are more or less the same on each relief. In some Mara is seated on the ground or standing by the side of the Buddha or riding an elephant. Mara's daughters stand on either side, dwarfs and goblins are invariably present. In at least one relief Mara is shown riding a horse. The anecdote of Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva appears at least thrice on Amaravati reliefs belonging to the 4th period and is depicted in the usual manner, Sujātā offering the bowl and women standing on either side of the Buddha. The first sermon in the Deer Park is represented on the reliefs in the usual manner. In early reliefs Buddha does not appear but is represented by a seat on which are shown two deer. The miracle of Śrāvastī including the subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri also appears several times, always in the usual manner. In certain reliefs, however, the elephant appears more than once, first doing havoc in the streets and next falling at the foot of the Buddha. Among other scenes that we meet with one easily notices the story of the worship of Buddha's bowl in the Tushita heaven and innumerable representations of the story of the Buddha preaching to his disciples.

### 7. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa

Nāgārjunikoṇḍa or Nagarjuna's Hill stands on the right bank of the Krishnā river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur district. Archaeological excavations at this site have led to the discovery of a number of ruined monasteries; apsidal temples, stupas, inscriptions, coins, statues etc. and over 400 magnificent bas-reliefs in the Amaravati style and belonging to the same period. Epigraphic evidence proves that the site belonged to the Southern Ikshvāku dynasty which was ruling in the Andhra country in the second and third centuries A.D. Most of the scenes depicted in the panels and reliefs recovered from this site illustrate stories from the Jātaka. It is noteworthy that not all these stories from the life of the Master agree in all their details with the known Pali sources, at least some of them must have been derived from Sanskrit sources. The scene of the Bodhisattva agreeing to be born in his last existence as the saviour of mankind appears on one of the panels where gods are represented as entreating the potential Buddha who is seated in the middle with his right hand raised and with a halo round his head. Another scene depicts the prelude to the story of the dream of Maya where the Bodhisattva is represented in the form of an elephant carried by dwarfs on a chariot. The scene of casting the horoscope in the court of Śuddhodana is shown on another panel where king Śuddhodana and his Queen Māyā are shown seated, the queen occupying a lower seat. The four seated figures on the right apparently represent the four celestial beings who are watching over Māyā while an old Rishi or a soothsayer is depicted below; the central standing figure holding an ornamental water-pot is meant for Indra. The scene of the Nativity in the seventh step finds elaborate representation in another bas-relief where queen Māyā stands under the sāla tree with two female attendants. The Bodhisattva is represented by a royal umbrella flanked by two fly-whisks; below is the water-pot denoting the child's first birth, while on the right holding the long cloth on which the child made the seven steps are the four Dikpālas, the seven steps are represented by seven tiny foot-prints on the cloth. The scene of Asita's visit to see the new-born babe in another relief depicts Asita as an old man and the child by a pair of little foot-prints on the long cloth held by an attendant. Immediately on the left of this panel occurs a scene which is detailed by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. This scene occurred in the town of Kapilavastu at a Brahmanical temple where king Śuddhodana took his new born babe for wishing and offering worship to the deity of the temple. In the relief is

shown the nurse carrying the child who is represented only by his foot-prints on the cloth. Immediately the stone image of the deity came to life, raised itself and bowed to the Prince but as soon as the Prince had left, the image again assumed its original form and position. The scene of the Great Renunciation or Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa is represented in another panel where we see Gautama giving his ornaments to Chhanda and bidding him return with the horse to Kapilavastu; standing behind the Bodhisattva is the hunter with whom he exchanges garments; three of the gods awaiting the hair-cutting episode which unfortunately is missing on the lost upper panel. However, we find it fully depicted in another panel, where the crowned hair is being carried on a big bowl to the heavens surrounded by worshipping and admiring Devas. The important scene of the temptation of Mara and his subsequent defeat finds adequate representation in a panel where Buddha is represented as seated under the Bodhi-druma on a throne; to his right is shown not only Mara's daughters trying to tempt the Master but also his retinue attacking the Master. On an elephant to his left follows the sequel of the story where Mara's retinue is shown defeated. The scene of the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind is depicted in another panel while the scene of his first preaching to the chosen five is shown in another panel where the Buddha is seated on a throne flanked by two deer and on both sides are represented his disciples. The scene of the death or Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa of the Buddha is represented by his stūpa with attending worshippers, both human and divine. The former are depicted bringing offerings to the shrine and are grouped near the gateways of the stūpa while the celestial beings are shown carrying banners and garlands and flying around the summit of the stūpa. Some of the Cornice stones also depict the chief events in the life of the Buddha. Five beautiful panels from these stones portray the chief events in the life of the Master. The scenes depict the Nativity and seven steps, the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa, assault by Mara, the first sermon in the Deer-Park which is represented by a big wheel placed on the top of a stūpa and by worshipful devotees and finally the scene of the Parinirvana which is represented by a stūpa. Two of them represent the well-known story of the Buddha protected by the serpent-king Mucalinda at Gaya while another represents the scene of the conversion of the Yaksha Ālavaka and still another the scene of the subjugation of the elephant Naḷagiri. Some other minor scenes also find elaborate representations on some of the carved reliefs. The scene of the Naga king being subdued by the Buddha is twice

represented. The other scenes represented are:— 1. The Buddha Dipankara's prediction regarding Gautama Buddha, 2. The admission of the six Śākya Princes and the barber Upāli to the Order, 3. The Buddha and his disciple Nanda on a visit to heaven for the gift of earth, 4. Prince Siddhartha enjoying himself in the pleasure-garden at Kapilavastu, 5. The Devas congratulating the Buddha after the Enlightenment, 6. The transportation of the relics of the Master after his Parinirvāṇa, 7. The Buddha preaching the four monks, 8. Offering of food to the Buddha after his Enlightenment by Sujātā accompanied by her female friends, etc. is an interesting slab, recovered from stūpa No. 2, containing three panels that depict three episodes in the career of the Master. The scene illustrated in the lowest panel is undoubtedly that of the Naga-king Mucalinda sheltering the Buddha from a great storm while the little panel depicts two scenes of the episode in which two merchants gave to the Buddha his first meal after the fast of seven weeks subsequent to the Enlightenment: along with the scene of the gift of four bowl of food by the four great kings, the rulers of the lowest heaven, the scene illustrated in the topmost panel is that of the first sermon by the Buddha in the Deer-Park.

#### 8. Goli

The village of Goli is situated on the river Gollēru, a tributary of the river Krishṇā, in the Paland Taluk of the Guntur district. This village contains ruins of a stūpa and its railings having many sculptures illustrating among other things stories from the Jatakas as well as from the life of the Master himself. Of Jataka stories the important are the Chaddanta, the Vessantara, and the Sasa Jatakas. The sculptures are done more or less in the style of those of Amaravati and on paleographic grounds may be dated about the third century A.D. One of the slabs of Goli probably depicts the figure of Prince Siddhārtha attended by Yakshas. The important scene of the temptation of Buddha by Mara is depicted in another sculpture where Buddha is distinguished by a halo round his head and seated on a platform under the Bodhi tree, two of Mara's daughters stand on the right with a third on the left. Further to the right warriors and goblins sent by Mara to attack the Buddha and divert his attention are depicted as departing from the spot being defeated. Mara himself is seen mounted on an elephant turning back as he departs and worshipping the Buddha thereby indicating that he accepts defeat. Another slab apparently describes the scene of the sermon in the Deer Park; an empty seat or throne with cushions behind and below indicates the pre-

sence of the Buddha. The two deer in front indicate that the place is Migadāva, the deer park near Sarnath where the Buddha is said to have preached his doctrine for the first time and thereby set the Wheel of the Law in motion. Still another slab seems to represent the Buddha preaching. It shows the Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne with his left hand placed on his lap and right hand raised in the Abhayamudrā. Below the throne and in front of the Buddha are seated three disciples or worshippers. All these scenes appear also in Amaravati sculptures more than once. On the same frieze that depicts the temptation of Mara follows the scene of Sujātā feeding the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva who is seated on a stone is served with food by Sujātā, the daughter of the village headman of Uruvelā. He is washing his hands with water poured out from a vessel held by one lady while another holds another vessel with a handle containing perhaps food. Another lady prostrates herself before the Bodhisattva while three more stand in reverent attitude behind the lady with the water vessel. The presence of so many women besides Sujātā is puzzling, as most of the Buddhist texts speak of Sujātā alone carrying rice boiled with milk to the Bodhisattva just before his Enlightenment; but there are other texts, namely, the Nidānakathā, the Tibetan accounts of the life of the Buddha derived from such sources as the Lalitavistara that mention more than once several girls accompanying Sujātā. Two other panels represent scenes respectively of Buddha's visit to Yasodharā and the Master's subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri. In the former Buddha is seen in the act of entering a woman's apartment. A man in jester's cap with a staff in his hands is looking at the Buddha with reverence. The attendant women are doing obeisance to the Buddha while a boy is inviting him and another holds water in a vessel for the Buddha to wash his feet. On the extreme right of the apartment a lady evidently Yasodharā, his wife while he was Prince Siddhartha, has risen up from her seat on seeing or being told by a boy in front of her that the Buddha is coming and is indicating the seat with her right hand for the Buddha to occupy. The boy in front of her is evidently Rāhula, her son. In the latter a ferocious elephant is seen creating a havoc in the street by goring people, catching hold of them in its trunk and trampling on them. The left side of the panel shows the Buddha coming along the street with his mendicant disciples following him. He is standing with perfect self-possession. The elephant seeing the Buddha in front at once bends down and worships at the Master's feet while the people around are amazed at the miracle. This scene is elaborately depicted also in Amaravati as we have seen.

## 9. Mathurā

By the time the artists of Mathurā came to practise their chisels on Buddhist subjects, the Buddha iconography had already become more or less settled. Interest of Buddhist artists in Jataka stories was gradually on the wane and as the Master had already become more or less deified he had consequently come to be endowed with certain iconographic features which, if not created by the artists of the Gandhara school, were at least brought into vogue by constant practise by them. Already at Mathurā we find the scenes of Buddha's life gradually becoming properties of more or less standardised forms which found consummation at Sarnath during the Gupta period and later on by the artists of the modern school. On one of the bas-reliefs we find five scenes of Gautama Buddha's life. In the scene of his birth in the Lumbini garden near Kapilavastu his mother Māyā is shown standing under the sala tree a branch of which she clasps with her right hand. She is supported by her sister Prajāpati standing to her left, on the other side is Indra who receives the child on a cloth, just below is shown the scene of the first birth where the Bodhisattva stands in the centre and two Naga kings, Nanda and Upananda are shown issuing from wells with folded hands. It is to be noted that in both the scenes the Bodhisattva is represented in bodily form. In the scene of his Enlightenment he is shown seated under the Bodhi tree in the traditional pose of Bhūmisparśhamudrā. The female figure to his right is evidently one of Mara's daughters and Mara himself is shown as shooting the arrow at the Master. The next shows the scene of descent from the Trayastriṃśa heaven where Buddha is shown accompanied by the gods Indra and Brahmā, all descending by a triple ladder at the foot of which is shown the kneeling figure of the nun Utpalavarṇā. In the scene of the first sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath Buddha instead of being shown in the attitude of turning the Wheel of the Law is represented with his right hand raised towards his shoulder, that is, in Abhayamudrā. In the scene of his Great Decease he is shown lying under the twin sala trees at Kusinārā; three mourning figures are shown standing behind his couch and three are seated in front. Another bas-relief depicts the scene of the first birth of the Bodhisattva who is represented as a nude male child standing on a platform with his right hand raised towards his shoulder and his left resting on his hip, on each side of him a snake god with nine heads issues from a round masonry well. Another fragment of a bas-relief contains a series of scenes placed one above the other. The only scene almost completely preserved represents the Bodhisattva in

the act of leaving his royal abode in order to become a recluse. There Prince Siddhartha is shown as rising from the couch on which his wife Yasodhara is sleeping; in front of the couch are the figures of three female musicians who have fallen asleep over their instruments. This scene is also represented in a more elaborate manner in another fragment where Mara is also depicted as holding a bow accompanied by another figure holding a thunder-bolt in his left hand. Another fragment shows the scene of the attack of Mara on the Buddha who is seated cross-legged on a platform under the Bodhi tree. The scene of Buddha's Parinirvana is represented more than once in Mathurā. In this scene Buddha is shown lying between the twin sala trees of Kusinārā. In front of his couch are shown three figures, the central one in monk's dress is that of Subhadrā, the Master's last convert; the other two are laymen and possibly the Malla chieftains who witnessed the Master's death. In some of the fragments behind the couch are represented three figures standing with arms outstretched in the attitude of grief. In one fragment at least is shown Vijrapāṇi who dropped his Vajra on the occasion. In the same fragment that represents Vajrapāṇi is shown a monk presumably Mahākāśyapa who hastens to pay reverence to the Master's feet. One of the bas-reliefs represents the favourite scene of Indra's visit to the Buddha in the Indrasāla cave near Rājagriha while another fragment represents the Master receiving in his alms-bowl a handful of dust from the children Jaya and Bijaya, a subject which is often pictured in the Graeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhara. In the lower panel of the same fragment is shown the Buddha standing and a small figure to his right offering flowers. The scene is perhaps an abridged rendering of the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka as represented in Gandhara reliefs. Another fragment of a slab represented the figure of the Master seated cross-legged with his right hand raised to the shoulder on a throne supported by a pair of lions. He is surmounted by four figures of which two stand to the right and two to his left, each holding a cup. Presumably it refers to the story of the presentation of the four bowls by the four guardian gods.

#### 10. Sarnath

We have already noticed that the Gandhara sculptures really contain a Buddha story in stone and that there is no episode of any importance whether real or legendary which is not depicted. In Mathura and in Amaravati there is a marked falling off in such representations. At Sarnath they are restricted to the depiction

of eight main events from the life of the Master. The only Jataka scene so far identified with certainty is the Kshāntivādi Jātaka. The bas-reliefs that depict the life-story of the Buddha belong more or less to the Gupta Period (Cir. 350-650 A.D.). These sculptures depict one or other of the four or eight principal events of the life of the Buddha. The former set of four is depicted in several Steles. One of such Steles is divided into four sections which from the bottom upwards represent the birth of Prince Siddhartha, the temptation of the Bodhisattva Gautama by Mara before his attainment of the Bodhi at Gaya, the first sermon at the Deer-Park and lastly the Mahāparinirvāṇa or the Great Decease. In the scene of the birth of Prince Siddhartha we see Mahāmāyā standing under a sala tree with her sister Prajāpatī on her left; to her right is the god Indra who receives the child on his back. At the right end of the panel is the new-born babe with two serpent deities Nanda and Upananda giving him a bath. In the temptation scene one sees the Bodhisatta seated in the earth-touching attitude under a pipal tree; Mara with his bow and arrow and attended by his standard-bearers stands to the right of the Master and two of his daughters are to his left. The third daughter is seen in front of the throne and two of Mara's devils at the upper corners, one of whom brandishes his sword with his right hand and holds a snake in his left; the other raises his left finger in a threatening attitude. The figure seated in front of the standard-bearer supporting his head upon his left hand is the Mara foiled in his attempt. In the scene of the first sermon we observe the usual wheel, the pair of deer, the five first disciples and the donor of the sculpture in front of the base. One also sees Maitreya and Padmapāṇi to the right and left of the Master. In the Mahāparinirvāṇa scene Buddha is seen lying on his right side facing the spectator with four mourners in front of his couch. The fifth figure with its back turned towards the spectator is that of Subhadrā, the last convert of the Buddha. The figure at the foot of the Buddha represents Mahākāśhyapa who adored the Master's feet immediately before the cremation. In the figure near the Buddha's head holding a fan one recognises the Thera Upavana. The four figures with their hands raised in grief are celestial mourners and the female figures issuing from the trees are the tree spirits engaged in showering flowers. The other four events depicted in the bas-reliefs of Sarnath relate themselves to the scene of the descent of the Buddha at Sāṅkassa, the scene of the miracle of Śrāvastī, the scene of the dream of Māyā Devī and that of the Great Renunciation. In the descent scene the ladder is not represented but

Brahma holding his *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hand and Indra holding an umbrella over the head of the Buddha are easily recognised. The miracle of Śrāvastī consisted in the Buddha being seen preaching at the same time in different places emitting fire and water simultaneously from his body. Thus suspended in the air, the Master preached and defeated his Jaina opponent. In the scene of the dream of the Māyā Devī as well as in that of the Great Renunciation one can easily notice the well-known elements of the story. In one of the scenes depicting the story of the temptation one can easily observe the half-bodied Earth-goddess emerging from the earth with a treasure vase between her hands. Some other minor stories from the life of the Master can also be seen depicted in certain panels. Thus one panel illustrates the presentation of honey to Buddha by a monkey in the Pārileyyaka forest near Kauśāmbī. Another panel depicts the subjugation of the infuriated elephant Nāḷagiri.

#### 11. Eastern School

We have already seen on the reliefs from Sarnath that the episodes of the life of the Buddha had been reduced to a minimum; in fact, already towards the latter part of the Gupta period they had been reduced to the few selected scenes from the life of the Master. Shorn of the narrative character they had become more or less iconographic types. The Eastern School followed the Sarnath tradition and further limited the scope of Buddhology so that in the numerous sculptured reliefs from Bihar and Bengal and belonging to four centuries from about the 8th to about the 12th we find only the more well-known scenes and those even in their smallest of details. One finds, therefore, (1) the birth of the Bodhisattva (2) the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa or the Great Renunciation (3) his attainment of the Bodhi (4) his first sermon at the Deer-Park at Sarnath (5) the miracle of Śrāvastī (6) the subjugation of the elephant Nāḷagiri and finally (7) his Parinirvana. Even these seven episodes are sometimes reduced to five, Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa and the Śrāvastī miracle scenes being dropped out. Hardly do we find any of these episodes being represented on an independent sculpture. It is only on rare occasions that one finds the Śrāvastī miracle or the scene of the attainment of the Bodhi at Bodhi-Gaya or that of the first preaching at Sarnath occupying an entire relief; but in the majority of cases Buddha is shown seated in the Bhūmisparśhamudrā on the Vajrāsana under the Bodhi tree or he is shown in Dhyānamudrā seated at the same place or

else he is shown seated on a throne flanked by two deer making his first sermon at the Deer-Park at Sarnath. In all reliefs he occupies the central and the major portion of the relief and on the three sides of him are arranged in a regular order the other five or seven scenes from the life of the Master. This technique of representation of the Buddha became very popular with the artists of the Eastern School and was transferred to the Indian colonies as well.

#### 12. Burma

Stray sculptured reliefs and terra-cotta plaques illustrating scenes from the life of the Master have been unearthed from one of the earliest archaeological sites in Burma, namely Hmawza but most of them owe their inspiration to Indian motives and were perhaps the work of Indian artists imported for the purpose. There had been recovered at least two stone reliefs illustrating the major incidents of Buddha's life but both of them are definitely in the tradition of the Eastern School of art and iconography. The illustration of Buddha's life is, however, seen in Pagan around the walls and corridors of the Ananda temple which stands unique in the whole of Burma for the crowd of terra-cotta bas-reliefs and stone sculptures that adorned the monument. The basement as well as the terraces of this temple are ornamented with glazed terra-cotta tiles. The plaques of the basement represent the two principal phases of the Buddha's attainment of supreme knowledge. The plaques on the west represent the hosts of Mara assailing the Buddha and those on the south his glorification by the gods after his victory, each plaque being explained by a short legend in Talaing. The tiles around the next illustrate 537 shorter Jatakas each of which is numbered and the title in Pali is given but the most interesting and unique feature is the splendid series of nearly 400 bas-reliefs illustrating the last ten great Jātakas, there being an average of 38 to 40 plaques to each Jātaka story; each scene is explained by a legend in Talaing of about the 11th century. Stone sculptures illustrating principal events in the Buddha's career until the attainment of the Bodhi are, however, to be seen in the first corridor, the one formed by the outer and the inner walls. The succession of scenes follows the Pradakṣhiṇā; the series begins with the request of the gods in the Tushita heaven asking the Bodhisattva to be re-born in his very last existence and to become the Buddha. But these are not the only sculptures for the walls of both corridors are honey-combed with numerous small niches containing Buddha figures either seated or standing in various

poses and attitudes. Besides these in each of the four porticos are sixteen other sculptures mostly repeating themselves but among which are a few interesting scenes such as the Pārileyya incident, the descent from the Traya-trimśa heaven, the subjugation of the Nalagiri elephant etc. All these properly belong to the last mortal existence of the Master. There are a few other stone sculptures in the bolted passages facing the windows but these belong mostly to the Durenidāna cycle and illustrate some of the interior lives of the Buddha, that is, the Jātakas. There are also a few scenes illustrating events that took place after the attainment of the Bodhi but they are to be found within the porticos. The order of the events proceeds as follows, each episode occupying one bas-relief :—

1. The request of the gods in the Tushita heaven.
2. The dream of Māyādevī.
3. The four Mahārājas carry the queen to the Himalayas.
4. Māyādevī is adorned with celestial garments and flowers.
5. Māyādevī is anointed with celestial perfumes.
6. The Conception.
7. Māyā relates her dream to the King.
8. The four Mahārājas guard Māyādevī.
9. Māyādevī begs leave to visit her parents.
10. Māyādevī sets out on her journey.
11. Missing.
12. The Birth of the Bodhisattva.
13. The four Mahābrahmās receive the child.
14. The child stands and faces the east.
15. The first seven steps.
16. The child at Kapilavastu.
17. The visit of Kālādēvala.
18. The Horoscope.
19. Siddhārtha's infancy.
- 20 & 21. The Ploughing Festival.
22. The adolescence of Prince Siddhārtha.
23. Siddhārtha is prepared for the athletic match.
24. The Athletic contest.
25. & 26. The Four Omens.
27. Siddhārtha in his pleasance.
28. Viśvakarman arranges the Bodhisattva's turban.
29. The women play and sing to the prince.
30. The slumber of the women.
31. The prince calls his charioteer.
32. Prince Siddhārtha wishes to see his child.

33. The Bodhisattva leaves Kapilavastu.
34. Mara tempts the Bodhisattva.
35. The Bodhisattva arrives at the river Anomā.
36. The Bodhisattva makes over his jewels to Channa.
37. The Bodhisattva cuts off his hair.
38. The Bodhisattva throws up his hair.
39. The Bodhisattva changes his dress.
40. The Farewell.
41. The Bodhisattva enters Rājagriha.
42. King Bimbisāra visits the Śramaṇa Gotama.
43. The Bodhisattva with Ālāra Kālāma.
44. Gotama and the five mendicants.
45. The fast of Gotama.
46. Gotama falls in a swoon.
47. Sujātā offers a meal to the future Buddha.
48. The Bodhisattva proceeds towards the Bodhi tree.
49. The Bodhisattva meets with the grass cutter.
50. The Bodhisattva sits under the Tree of Wisdom.
51. The Contest with Māra.
52. The temptation.
53. The Descent from the Trayatrimśa heaven.
54. The sojourn at Pārileyyaka.
55. The yaksha Aṭavika.
56. Submission of the elephant Nalagiri.

### 13. Barabudur

The majestic stūpa of Barabudur came into existence under the aegis of the Sailendras, a Mahayanist dynasty of kings who had their seat of Government in Palembang in Sumatra but who had gradually come into occupation of East and Middle Java. The stūpa stands on the plane of Kedu right in the centre of Java. It was erected on a hill found in the landscape. For the purpose of the stūpa the sides of the hill were cut into terraces and enclosed in four square galleries and three circular platforms, one above the other. On the top of the highest platform rises the central stūpa. The galleries are richly decorated but the platforms have been left unadorned. The reliefs represented texts that were intended to impress lessons of wisdom on the believer's mind as he ascended the stūpa. One of the sacred texts was the Lalitavistara. It contains the life story of the historic Buddha who preached the creed of salvation to humanity. The reliefs follow the story given in the text very closely and as the Sanskrit text of the Lalitavistara is still extant, it makes the identification of the reliefs simpler and

easier. The story begins with the visit of the gods to the Tushita heaven to request the Bodhisattva to be reborn in his very last existence and to become the Buddha, just as we find in Burma. But in Burma we have seen that the series stops with the episodes of the attainment of the Buddha at Bodh-Gaya while in Barabudur the story is brought a step farther to the episode of the first preaching where also ends the Lalitavistara. Nothing more of the Buddha's further life nor the mahāparinirvāṇa appears on the monument. The events of the life of the Master follow one after the other on the monument in the order given below :—

1. The Bodhisatta in the Tusita-heaven.
2. The Bodhisatta announced his approaching human birth.
3. The sons of the gods, as brahmans, give instruction in the vedas.
4. The disappearance of the Pratyekabuddhas.
5. The Bodhisatta instructs the Tusita-gods in the introduction to the perception of the Law.
6. The Bodhisatta gives his tiara to his successor Maitreya.
7. The Bodhisatta consults with the gods about the form he will assume.
8. Maya's conversation with Suddhodana.
9. Maya in her chamber.
10. The Gods decide to accompany the Bodhisatta.
11. The other Bodhisattvas render homage to the Bodhisatta Siddhartha.
12. Descent of the Bodhisatta.
13. The conception.
14. The gods do homage to the Bodhisatta.
15. Maya retires to the Asoka-wood.
16. The king comes to the queen.
17. The queen relates her dream and asks for its interpretation.
18. The interpretation of the dream.
19. The reward of the brahmanas.
20. The gods offer their palaces to Suddhodana.
21. Maya shows herself in the various palaces.
22. The queen heals the sick.
23. Distribution of alms.
24. The king as brahmacarin (?)
25. The miracles at Kapilavastu.
26. The preparation for the journey to Lumbini.
27. Maya betakes herself to the Lumbini-park.
28. The birth of the Bodhisattva.
29. The congratulations and feasting of rishis and Brahmanas.

30. Gautami undertakes the care of the Bodhisatta.
31. The visit of Asita.
32. Maheśvara and other gods' sons do homage to the Bodhisatta.
33. The Sakya's request that the prince may be brought to the temple.
34. The procession to the temple.
35. The gods of the temple do honour to the Bodhisatta.
36. The offering of jewels and their loss of brilliance.
37. The arrival at school.
38. The teaching in the school.
39. The journey to the village.
40. The Bodhisatta under the Jambu-tree ; homage by sages.
41. The Sakya's request made to the Bodhisatta to marry.
42. The Bodhisatta offers the ring to Gopā.
43. The Bodhisatta proclaims himself willing to shew his proficiency in learning and sport.
44. Devadatta kills the elephant.
45. The Bodhisatta hurls the elephant away.
46. The arithmetic competition.
47. Continuation of the contests.
48. Continuation of above.
49. The archery-tournament.
50. Gopā defends herself against the reproach of going unveiled.
51. Gopā as spouse-in-chief.
52. The gods visit the Bodhisattva in the apartments of women.
53. Harideva rouses the Bodhisattva to fulfil his destiny.
54. The Bodhisatta's three palaces.
55. The Bodhisatta is guarded in his palace.
56. First Encounter : The Bodhisatta sees an old man.
57. Second Encounter : The Bodhisatta sees a sick man.
58. Third Encounter : The Bodhisatta sees a dead man.
59. Fourth Encounter : The Bodhisatta sees a monk.
60. The Bodhisattva in the apartments of women. Gopā comforted after an evil dream.
61. The Bodhisatta asks his father's permission to depart.
62. The Bodhisatta is guarded in his harem.
63. The sleeping women.
64. The Bodhisatta's horse is brought to him.
65. The Great Departure.
66. The Bodhisatta takes leave of his escort of gods.
67. The Bodhisatta takes leave of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, and cuts off his hair.
68. The Bodhisatta receives the russet monks' frock.

69. The gods express their approval.
70. The Bodhisattva at the hermitage of a brāhmaṇi.
71. The Bodhisatta comes to Raivataka or Arāḍa Kālāma.
72. The Bodhisatta with Arāḍa Kālāma.
73. The Bodhisatta at Rājagṛha.
74. King Bimbisāra visits the Bodhisatta.
75. The Bodhisatta with Rudraka.
76. The Bodhisatta with his first disciples on the Gayā-mountain.
77. The Bodhisatta by the Nairāṇjanā.
78. Māyā, as goddess, visits the Bodhisatta.
79. The gods honour the Bodhisatta.
80. The gods request the Bodhisatta to absorb nourishment through his pores.
81. The Bodhisatta receives food from the maidens of Uruvilva.
82. The Bodhisatta washes the hempen-garment.
83. The Bodhisatta receives the russet monk's dress.
84. Sujātā entertains the Bodhisatta.
85. The Bodhisatta goes to the Nairāṇjanā.
86. The Bodhisatta takes a bath.
87. The Bodhisatta accepts a seat from a nāga-maiden.
88. The Bodhisatta partakes of the rest of the milk-food.
89. The food-bowl is carried away by Sāgara and then by Cakra.
90. The Bodhisatta, on the way to Bodhimaṇḍa, receives grass from Svastika.
91. The Bodhisatta honoured by Brahmā and Kālīka.
92. Decoration of the Bodhi-trees.
93. The Bodhisatta seated under the Bodhi-tree.
94. Māra's unsuccessful attack.
95. The daughters of Māra attempt to seduce the Bodhisatta.
96. The Bodhisatta attains the highest Wisdom.
97. The Buddha honoured by the apsarās.
98. The gods bathe the Buddha with perfumed water.
99. The Buddha replies to Samantakuṣuma.
100. The Buddha takes a walk and then returns to Bodhimaṇḍa.
101. The nāga-king Mucalinda pays homage to the Buddha.
102. The Buddha meets with other ascetics.
103. The merchants Trapusa and Bhallika approach the Buddha.
104. The four guardians of the world offer a bowl.
105. The Buddha receives milk food from the merchants.
106. The gods request the Buddha to reveal the Law.
107. The Buddha agrees to reveal the Law.
108. The Buddha ponders as to whom he should reveal the Law.

109. The Buddha on the way to Benares.
110. The meeting with an ājīvika-monk.
111. Sudarsana.
- 112-114. The Buddha is received in various cities.
115. The Buddha crosses the Ganges.
116. The Buddha at Benares.
117. The Buddha approaches his five former pupils.
118. The five pupils do homage to the Buddha as bhikkhus.
119. The pupils bathe the Buddha.
120. The first preaching.

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## The Educational Activities and Progress Before the Mutiny

By

RAM NIHORE CHATURVEDI, M.A.

### I. Before 1813 the Co's repugnance to educate the Natives.

WITH the opening of the Nineteenth Century the British Empire in India was transformed into the British Empire of India. The Britishers found the indigenous education—both primary and secondary—in a very rudimentary form, which they characterised as 'very worthless, very frivolous and greatly worse'. The village schools of the Hindus were in general of a secular character, whilst the Mohammedan schools were primarily devoted to religious instructions. The then prevalent native education could not pull the Indian society out of the miry depth of social decadence and religious superstitions. Even then till the end of the first decade of the last century the British did nothing for the intellectual or moral improvement of the natives. There was no sign that the British accomplished more than the Romans did in Britain.<sup>1</sup> It was still true that if they departed or were driven out they would leave behind them, as the Romans did in Britain, many useless buildings and a memory which in a century of new events would be extinct. Before 1813 the Proprietors and Directors of the East India Company had an invincible repugnance, indifference and apathy for the spread of any knowledge in India. When the Charter Act of 1793 was on the anvil an honest attempt was made to insert a clause therein that "it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the Legislature to promote by all just and prudent means the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge and their religious and moral improvement."<sup>2</sup> "The measure was passed by the Committee of the House and by the House itself on May 14, 1793. Three days later another clause was accepted empowering the E. I. Co., to send out school masters to impart religious and

moral instructions to the natives. But in their special meeting the Court of Directors passed resolutions opposing the measure; and in the third reading of the Bill these clauses were struck out as 'the most wild, extravagant, expensive and unjustifiable project that was ever proposed.' One of the Directors made his maiden speech that they had then lost America due to their folly, in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges; and that it would not do well for them to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India. Although the measure was lost, its spirit did not die out, and the resolutions did remain on the Statute Book, which bore fruit twenty years later.

Mr. J. C. Marshman points out<sup>3</sup> that the English people 'deliberately' resolved to keep the Indians in ignorance so that there might be less trouble in governing them. He adds that there is not in the history of our national prejudices 'a more flagrant and contemptible act' than the determination of the House of Commons to exclude the light of knowledge from India in 1793.

But, in addition to this imperious design, certain historical factors, too, were responsible for the unwillingness of the British to educate our countrymen. The nightmare of Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was looming large in the west, and had placed England in a very critical situation. She was compelled not to undertake any measure of reform either at home or abroad (India). Even in India it was "an age of bold adventures, arduous struggles, and final wars" which would always stand in the way of any reform. Certain admitted evils—"sloth, indolence, low debauchery, and vulgarity"—had crept in the servants of the Company who knew nothing but to make money for personal gain. It was, therefore, neither expedient nor wise to entrust them with such an important task as that of education. Besides, there was nothing like state education in England, and ignorance was considered as a blessing.<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding, out of administrative and political considerations, something officially was done in that direction in the Presidency of Bengal. At the request of the Mohammedan population of Calcutta Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassa or Mohammedan College in 1781; and Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, founded the Benares Sanskrit College in 1791. The former institution was founded to promote the study of the

1. Townsend Meredith's *Asia and Europe*, p. 27.

2. Walker's *Life of Dr. Carey*, p. 141; Henry Morris' *Life of Sir Charles Grant*, p. 182; Select Committee Report (1853), p. 112.

3. J. C. Marshman's *Life of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, p. 45.

4. N. N. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India*, Introduction.

Arabic and Persian languages, and of the Mohammedan law, specially with a view to the production of well qualified officers for the court of Justice, who were to interpret and explain the Mohammedan laws and customs to the European judges of the Supreme Court and other lower Courts. The object of the latter institution was 'the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and Religion of the Hindus and more particularly their laws.' The qualified Pundits from the Benares Sanskrit College were employed to advise and assist the European Judges in interpreting the laws of the Hindus.

Warren Hastings himself was an Orientalist, and the foundation of the Madrisa was the fulfilment of his own desires. There must have been yet another consideration before him in establishing the Madrisa. By the year 1781 'the fortunes of the English in India had fallen to their lowest watermark' and to set the public opinion at that juncture at naught and thereby to estrange them would have been a leap into the dark—an act of blunder. To win over and conciliate the Mohammedans, therefore, the Calcutta Madrisa might have been founded. In founding this College the Governor-general had not the least consideration of introducing an improved literature and science and thereby improve the character of the Mahomedan population. He, on the other hand, 'actuated merely by views of secular or political expediency, hoped, by gratifying their national tastes and predilections, to conciliate the haughty and obdurate followers of the prophet—mitigate their prejudices against those who had supplanted them in the sovereignty of these Indian realms—and contribute to the more successful administration of public affairs, by training up a superiorly qualified class of native officers, more specially for the courts of Justice.'<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Duncan considered that two important advantages would be derived from the establishment of the Benares Sanskrit College. "The first to the British name and nation, in its tendency towards endearing our government to the native Hindus, by our exceeding in our attention towards them and their systems the care ever shown by their own native princes..... The second principal advantage will be felt in its effects, more immediately by the natives, . . . by preserving and disseminating a knowledge of the Hindu Law, and proving a nursery of the future doctors and expounders thereof to assist European Judges in the due, regular and

5. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III (1840), p. 213.

uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people."<sup>6</sup>

Lord Cornwallis misapprehended the character, competence, ability and honesty of the natives and his illiberal policy of the Europeanisation of the services gave a great set back to the promotion of oriental learning. Sir John Shore was but a glorified clerk of his masters and did nothing for the cause of education. Lord Wellesley's contribution to the cause of native education was very little. As the time rolled on mismanagement, disorder and inefficiency crept in the institutions mentioned above.

On his arrival in India Lord Minto found the 'science and literature in a progressive stage of decay among the natives of India.' On March 6, 1811 his Lordship recorded his celebrated educational Minute<sup>7</sup> in which he pointed out, 'it is to be apprehended that unless government interpose with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless.' He continued that the want of encouragement from the government was the principal cause of the decay of learning. 'It is seriously to be lamented that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the Empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindus.' Lord Minto pointed out that simultaneously with the decay of learning, the native character had also deteriorated. With a view, therefore, to the promotion and 'restoration of learning and more general diffusion of knowledge among the great body of people,' his lordship recommended that the Benares Sanskrit College should be remodelled and reformed; colleges should be established at Nuddea and Tirhoot and the government should incur 'additional' expenses. The minute exclusively dealt with the restoration of Hindu science and literature. But in the conclusion his lordship, for the revival of letters among the Mohammedans, added that Mohammedan colleges might be beneficially established at Bhagalpur and Jaunpur, and that the Mohammedan College at Calcutta might be reformed. But the proposed colleges were never established. This famous minute has been called by Lord Minto's critics<sup>8</sup> as 'an elegy' or 'funeral dirge' over the progressive de-

6. George Nicholls' *Sketch of the Benares Sanskrit College*, pp. 1-2.

7. Appendix "I," Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the E.I. Co., 1832, Vol. II (Public), pp. 484-486.

8. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. iii (1845); p. 259.

cline and fall of science and literature among the natives of India; and its date has been regarded as the 'culminating point of the ascendant star of pure, unmixed orientalism.' Lord Minto, however, extended his helping hand for editing and compiling the best Sanskrit dictionaries and grammars. A number of the most important and learned works of Hindu, Persian and Arabic poets and authors were published during the years 1808 and 1810. But Lord Minto's support for orientalism, too, was guided by the motive of administrative facility.

Before 1813 practically nothing was done officially in the educational field in the two southern presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Christian missionaries, with whom we will deal presently, were doing a lot for the education of the natives.

## II. (1813-1823) *The Educational policy germinates and the Company supports Orientalism.*

On the arrival of Lord Hastings in India the Charter Act of 1813 was passed. The important educational clause, included in it, ran: 'it shall be lawful for the Governor-general-in-Council to direct that out of any surplus which may remain of the rents, revenues and profits.....after defraying the expenses of the military, civil and commercial establishments.....a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the renewal and improvement of the learned natives of India, and for the *introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences* among the inhabitants of the British territories in India'.

The Act was a great landmark in the educational development of India. Here lay the germ of the Company's educational policy. It marked the commencement of a new era and the triumph of the liberal ideas and principles over the old prescriptive system of withholding knowledge. Several factors were responsible for the passage of it. Firstly, the nightmare of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars being over, a more liberal and enlightened era had dawned in the west. Secondly, there was comparative peace in India, too, since the sudden recall of Lord Wellesley in 1805. The change of circumstances both at home and in India necessitated a change of policy—namely a policy of reform. Thirdly, which is the general belief, the surplus in the Company's income must have gone up (and the Directors allowed only the surplus to meet the educational expenses). Fourthly, Lord Minto's minute, we have already alluded to, must have played an important part for

the passage of the Act. Fifthly, the speech<sup>8a</sup> of Lord Granville, his lordship delivered in the House on the occasion the education clause was moved, was to a large extent responsible for the carrying out of the Bill. His speech exhibited the broadest and most enlightened views and propounded original and important principles. His whole speech centred round the great question, by what means and arrangements could the British Parliament best provide for the happiness of the people of India? But the most important factor was the missionary endeavour. The activities of the missionaries are intimately and inseparably connected with the progress of education in India. It will, therefore, not be out of place to give a brief account of their activities in India.

Before 1813 the immigration of the Christian missionaries to India was illegal. Even then a large number of them had already appeared in India. The Danish missionaries in the south and the Baptist ones in the north had opened Free and Charity schools for the propagation of the gospel, instillation of Christian doctrine and introduction of the western learning among the natives through their vernaculars. In this connection the names of Dr. Carey, Ward and Marshman, who had settled at Serampore, must be remembered. The *trio* laboured indefatigably, unremittingly and in complete cohesion for the service of Christianity in India and thereby the spread of light amongst the natives. They were brought together by unforeseen circumstances; and their unity of object produced an unanimity of sentiment. They merged and suppressed their private feelings and individual predilections for the fulfilment of the great public undertaking. They had established a printing press and started schools to teach the natives. Before 1813 they had established twenty schools in Bengal which were financed from the missionary funds.

It was the missionaries who had introduced the important educational clause in 1793; but all in vain and premature. Meanwhile, they did not lose heart and were ceaselessly carrying on the propaganda for the consolidation of the Ecclesiastical establishment in India. Buchanan had been writing on the same subject. In the spring of 1812 he published the treatise entitled, *Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishments*. Inside the Parliament swift canvassing was carried on by Wilberforce, Grant, Thornton, Stephen and Babington, who had 'constituted a kind of cabinet council of which Wilberforce was the Prime Minister.' At that time the Parliament itself began to take active interest in the

8a. Marshman's Life of Carey, Marshman and Ward, Vol. ii, pp. 81-82.

Indian affairs.<sup>9</sup> It ordered Grant to publish his treatise, "Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals, and on the Measures of improving it," as a state-paper, which exercised considerable influence in Parliament. Grant drew the attention of the Parliament towards the advantages that would accrue from the introduction of the knowledge of English literature and European science amongst the natives of India. He emphasised that to reconcile the natives to a foreign domination, it was but essential that the British and the natives 'ought to have some strong common principles and ought to unite in interests and sentiments.' He added that religion and civilization were the common principles, 'the only just and durable one,' which would be of immense value to the British. The natives would help the British against any foreign aggression and would side and support them against any internal menacing power or insurrection.

It was out of administrative, political and humanitarian considerations that the educational clause was incorporated in the Act of 1813. The Cornwallis-system of the Europeanization of the services was producing unsatisfactory results. A further need of the greater employment of the Indians was felt. But the second half of the educational clause—'the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences' remained a dead-letter and was not given any effect to in the next decade. The two successive despatches<sup>10</sup> following the Act of 1813 from the Court of Directors to the Governor-general-in-Council clearly showed that they were still unwilling and apathetic to impart to the natives any knowledge of the sciences and literature of the west. The Directors' letter of September 6, 1813 once more reiterated their policy. The 7th para read: 'You will not fail to notice the 43rd section of the Act, by which our Governor-general is empowered to direct that a sum of not less than one lac of rupees shall be annually applied "to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India."' This letter is silent on the question of imparting instructions in the western science and literature. Their next letter of June 3, 1814 further crystallised their policy. In this letter they conveyed to the Governor-general their sentiments as regards the 'mode' and 'measures' to be adopted to give effect to the above section. They added that 'the peculiar circumstances of our political relation with India.....

9. *Grant's Life*, p. 322.

10. Appendix "I," Select Committee Report, 1832, Vol. ii (Public), p. 486.

have rendered it incumbent upon us, from motives of policy as well as from a principle of justice, to consult the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices of the natives, whenever it can be done with safety to our dominions'. The despatch ran, 'the clause presents two distinct propositions for consideration; first, the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country. Neither of these objects is, we apprehend, to be obtained through the medium of public colleges.....because the natives of caste and of reputation will not submit to the subordination and discipline of a college.' Out of political considerations, therefore, the Directors thought it best to leave the natives to their long established usages and habits. It was pointed out that the natives attached a notion of sanctity to the soil and particularly to that at Benares—'the great repository of their learning'. It was emphatically remarked that 'the possession of this city has placed in the hands of the British government a powerful instrument of connection and conciliation, especially with the Marathas, who are more strongly attached than any other to the sanctity of Benares.' The Directors, therefore, did desire that the Governor-general's attention might be directed 'in an especial manner to Benares' and to inquire and report as to 'what ancient establishments are still existing for the diffusion of knowledge in that city; what branches of sciences and literature are taught there.'

Although the tide had not yet turned in the Leadenhall Street, it had begun to turn in India. Lord Hastings was a man of liberal views and enlightened sentiments. He had certain inherent qualities to effect reforms. In the words of Charles Grant "the improvement of the intellectual and moral state of the natives found in him a real friend". Lord Hastings heeded not the instructions of the Court of Directors; and, in spite of being engaged in wars, he, on his own initiative did his best to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives. In his celebrated minute<sup>11</sup> "On the Administration of Justice in Bengal" dated on the Ganges, the 11th of October, 1815, he enunciated his enlightened sentiments: "In looking for a remedy to the evils which afflict the country, the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives will necessarily form a prominent feature . . . .', and I have therefore not failed to turn my most solicitous attention to the important object of public education". On the 30th

11. Marshman, Vol. ii, p. 117.

of July, 1817. Lord Hastings wrote, "the government would never be influenced by the erroneous position that to spread information among men is to render them less tractable and less submissive to authority. It would be treason against British sentiments to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude. . . . It is humane, it is generous, to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured; but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into man".<sup>12</sup> Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Lord Moira's policy.

During the regime of Lord Hastings considerable educational progress was made. Schools and colleges were established both by the Missionaries as well as by the government. The Charter Act of 1813 legalised the missionary settlements in India; and the Christian missionaries evinced greater enthusiasm, zeal and sincerity to propagate Christianity and impart education. Dr. Marshman drew up a scheme<sup>13</sup> for the establishment of an efficient system of schools. According to him there were three requisities—books, superintendence and funds. The required books were to impart both secular and divine knowledge. The question of superintendence was considered the most important branch of the system. The Christian missionaries were to superintend a circle of schools by visiting them at least once a month. As regards funds Dr. Marshman pointed out that each school of forty boys could be maintained at an expense of ten rupees a month. Dr. Marshman also wrote his memorable pamphlet—"*Hints* relative to native education, together with the outline of an institution for their extension and management"—which was published at Serampore in 1816. The "*Hints*" incorporated the views of the Serampore Missionaries who emphasised the need of educating the ignorant and illiterate millions through their own vernaculars. Mr. R. May, a Missionary, opened the Chinsura Schools, which by the end of June 1816 were augmented to thirty. In these schools the instruction of the Three R's was imparted through the native vernaculars. The Benares Charity School was established by Jai Narain Ghoshal in July 1818 wherein English, Per-

12. Grant's Life, p. 349; Select Committee Report, 1853, p. 113; Dr. Alexander Duff's Life, Vol. ii, pp. 99-100; Marshman, Vol. ii p. 156.

13. Marshman, Vol. ii, pp. 82-84.

sian, Hindustanee and Bengali languages were taught. The Serampore College was founded by Dr. Marshman on July 15, 1818 and the prospectus was issued for the instruction in "Eastern literature and European science". The College was open to all natives of whatsoever caste or creed. The medium of instruction was to be the vernacular of the natives. The Bishop College was founded by Bishop Middleton in 1821. Miss Cook, a Church Missionary and the wife of Mr. Wilson, opened a Girls' School in 1822.

The government of Lord Hastings, besides opening a number of schools and colleges, gave every support and encouragement to the missionary institutions. The amount of aid afforded to the Chinsura Schools, by the Bengal Government from July 1, 1815 to June 30, 1816, at 600 rupees per month was Rs. 72,000; and from July 1, 1816 to December 31, 1824, at Rs. 800 per month, was Rs. 76,800. The amount of the Company's contributions towards the expenses of the Benares Charity School, from March 1, 1819 to December 31, 1822, was Rs. 11,624-4-0. Lord Hastings, in order to pacify and morally elevate the people of Rajputana established the Ajmer or Rajputana Schools. The amount of aid granted by the government to these schools till 1823 was Rs. 17,859. The Calcutta Hindu College was founded in August 1821. Colleges at Agra, Delhi and Bhagalpur were also established.

The Calcutta School Book Society was originated in 1817 with a view to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives by the diffusion among them of useful elementary knowledge. One of the important aims of the Society was not to excite religious controversy but to circulate useful books.

The Calcutta School Society was formed in 1819 to establish native schools, first in Calcutta and its vicinity, and then throughout the country. It also contemplated the improvement of the indigenous schools by the introduction into them of the useful publications of the School Book Society; and by the preparation of teachers, who were to look after the future management of schools.

On July 17, 1823, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, the Secretary to the government in their territorial department, submitted a memorandum on the subject of education. In pursuance of his suggestions the Bengal government resolved to form a General Committee of Public Instruction at the Presidency for 'considering, and from time to time submitting to government the suggestion of such measures as might appear expedient to adopt

with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge including the sciences and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character.' But due to Lord Hastings' retirement the credit of finally sanctioning the formation of the above committee went to Mr. Adam. The annual sum of one lac of rupees was placed at the disposal of the Committee. The subsidy to the Hindu and Mohammedan Colleges was not disturbed, but the remainder of the grant was to be devoted to the promotion of useful knowledge. The Committee could not exercise any authority over private schools, but it could encourage persons engaged in managing and supporting private institutions.

Mr. J. C. Marshman has applauded the educational policy of Lord Hastings and made certain sympathetic observations.<sup>14</sup> The administration of Lord Hastings forms one of the great landmarks in the progress of British India. It was the period at which the old policy, which regarded the spread of knowledge fatal to the British rule, expired; and the new policy of educating the people, at all hazards, commenced. Before his time no effort had been made by government to give instruction to the natives, except in the doctrines of the Koran and Shashtra. It was he who adopted a new course of action, and first gave the patronage of the state to sound and liberal education.

### III. (1824-1835) *The Pendulum Swings to the Other Side* *Demand for English Education.*

By 1824, however, gradual changes, became manifest in the outlook of the Directors and henceforth their successive despatches breathed the air of occidentalism. Replying to the letters of Lord Hastings, his Lordship had written (July 30, 1819 and March 16, 1821) proposing certain measures of reforms and improvements in the Hindu and Mohammedan Colleges, the Court of Directors wrote<sup>15</sup> on February 18, 1824: 'The ends proposed in the institution of the Hindu College, and the same may be affirmed of the Mohammedan, were two; the first, to make a favourable impression, by our encouragement of their literature, upon the minds of the natives; and the second, to promote useful learning . . . . . If the plan has had any effect of the former kind, it has had none of the latter'. The Directors, therefore, apprehended that 'the plan of the institutions . . . . . was

originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning, but useful learning. No doubt, in teaching useful learning to the Hindus, or Mohammedans, Hindu media, or Mohammedan media, so far as they were found the most effectual, would have been proper to be employed . . . . . nor would there have been any insuperable difficulty in introducing . . . . . a system of instruction, from which great advantage might have been derived. In professing to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu, or mere Mohammedan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous'.

It was for the first time that the Directors unequivocally undervalued and discredited oriental learning. They began to find loopholes in the policy they themselves had pursued and enunciated. This revolution, as it were, in the outlook of the Directors was due to many causes. The eminent personality of James Stuart Mill, champion of liberalism and utilitarianism was there, who could exert a considerable influence upon the Directors. For Mill the education of the natives was 'an object of paramount importance'. Although entertaining the view that no 'considerable advantage' would be derived from the introduction of the English language among the natives, Mill on the other hand had emphasised the importance of the western learning and literature to be diffused amongst the natives through their own vernaculars. As we have seen before the tide had already turned in India; and the liberality shown by Lord Hastings had prepared the most congenial soil for the cultivation of useful learning. Enlightened public opinion, too, was in favour of useful western learning. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his friends were harping on their string for the introduction of western literature and science. Conceiving it his 'solemn duty' the Raja wrote<sup>16</sup> "On English Education" and invited the attention of the government that the encouragement of the 'imaginary learning' of the orient was not the policy of the British Legislature. The then darkened conditions of India required 'the dawn of modern European arts and sciences . . . . . which had raised the Europeans above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. Besides, Lord Hastings had successfully established the British paramountcy in India. Now "the peculiar circumstances of their political relation with India" did not render it incumbent upon the British to consult

14. Marshman, Vol. ii, p. 269.

15. Appendix "I", Select Committee Report, 1832 (Public), p. 488.

16. English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy.

the feelings, and even to yield to the prejudices, of the natives. They could pursue any policy in India, their existence now being safer, firmer and more secure.

In their annual report for the year 1825 the General Committee of Public Instruction pointed out most impressively the want of adequate instruction in the higher branches, of European science and literature and the difficulty of attempting to do so by translation into the native languages. The Committee, therefore, proposed and the government of Lord Amherst, sanctioned the establishment of a distinct and separate "English College", for the admission of a certain number of the more advanced pupils from the Hindu and Mohammedan colleges, for gratuitous instruction in literature and science, by means of the English language. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the writer in the *Rulers of India* series points out that the state system of Education may be said to have originated in Lord Amherst's day. Although his Lordship had sanctioned the establishment of the College, he forwarded the Committee's report and their proposals, together with his recommendations, on January 27, 1826 for the Directors' 'approbation and countenance'.

The Directors were greatly satisfied and in their despatch<sup>17</sup> of September 5, 1827 they wrote that the measures were 'not only good in themselves', but were 'tempered by prudence and discretion and were called for by the circumstances of the times'. The Directors, therefore, were 'well disposed to co-operate in carrying them into effect'. They concluded that in view of the daily increasing demand for the employment of the natives in various offices and departments of the government, 'the first object of improved education should be to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties' with habits of veracity, fidelity and moral courage.

In the following year . . . . . i.e., 1828 feeder English classes were opened in the Calcutta Madrassa, Calcutta Sanskrit College, and in the Delhi and Agra Colleges as well. Higher branches of learning were also introduced. Medical classes were established in the Calcutta Madrassa and in the Calcutta Sanskrit College. But the studies in the Benares Sanskrit College were not extended beyond the native languages, literature and laws. The Vidyalaya, originally established by the natives themselves for the study of the English language and for education through the medium of

17. *Op. Cit.*, 1832 (Public), Appendix "I," pp. 489-492.

that very language exclusively, had more decided success than any of the Calcutta Colleges. The names of David Hare and Dr. Alexander Duff, a Scotch missionary, are connected with the spread of English education in India. Both of them received the entire support and countenance of Raja Rammohan Roy. David Hare established a number of schools, known as "Hare Schools," which he visited daily, and encouraged the students by his personal presence, instruction and demonstrations. Dr. Duff opened a school near Calcutta on July 13, 1830, wherein from the very beginning every variety of useful knowledge—history, philosophy, civics, science and vernaculars—was imparted.

The Governor-General's letter<sup>18</sup> to the Court of Directors in the Persian department, contained excerpts from the reports of the General Committee of Public Instruction and the Local Committee of the Delhi College, in the years 1828-1829; and indicated 'the rapidly increasing efficiency and popularity' of the institutions placed under their superintendence. It conveyed to them the 'gratifying assurance' that the higher classes of Hindus and Mohammedans were ripe for a 'still further extension' among them of European education, science and literature. Both the Committees, therefore, gave a decided preference to the plan of establishing separate colleges for the study of English, and for the cultivation of European knowledge through the medium of the English language. They concluded that the native languages and literature might be adequately pursued as a subordinate branch of education in an English college.

The above letter of the Governor-General gave 'the highest satisfaction' to the Directors. Although attaching much more importance than was done by the two Committees to the amount of useful instruction, communicated to the natives through their own languages, the Directors 'fully concurred in thinking it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of the natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English; being convinced that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature could produce their full effect only on those who became familiar with them in the original languages'.<sup>19</sup> They thought it desirable that the English course of education should be kept separate from the course of oriental study at the native colleges, and should be attended for the most part by a different set of students.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 492-93.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 493-98. (September 29, 1830).

Holding this view the Directors were at the same time alive to the fact that more complete education, which was to commence by a thorough study of the English language, could be placed within the reach of a very small proportion of the natives of India. They, therefore, wrote<sup>20</sup> to the Governor-General on October 24, 1832 that no benefit would be derived 'until you shall have succeeded in obtaining by judicious encouragement' suitable translations and adaptations of European medical books in the native languages. They further emphasised the importance of procuring an ample supply of school books of all descriptions in the native languages, because European knowledge and ideas could never become 'widely diffused, even among the more opulent classes in India, while accessible only through the medium of a foreign language'. This letter displayed a benevolent and broader outlook of the Court of Directors.

Before proceeding further let us have a bird's-eye-view of the progress of educational activities since 1813 in the two southern presidencies of Madras and Bombay, where the educational grant was not extended, for a long time. To begin with the former: In 1814 the attention of the Board of Revenue was called to the numerous instances of embezzlement in which most of the native servants were involved. An inquiry was made to find out the causes for the prevalence of such crimes; and a circular letter was issued to several of the Collectors to give their best suggestions 'to excite the natives to a faithful discharge of their public duties.' Having received the numerous reports, the Revenue Board recommended the government to provide 'proper education and moral instruction' to the native youths. Mr. Ross, the Collector of Cuddapah was, however, authorised to establish such experimental schools. But he died prematurely and there is no trace of his proceedings on record. It is to be noted that in this Presidency, too, the government took up the cause of education primarily for administrative efficiency.

Two Free Schools were opened at Palamcotah and Tinnevely in 1817 and 1818 respectively by Rev. Mr. Hough, a church missionary. But soon they fell in to pecuniary embarrassments and due to the lack of any financial aid from the Madras government they were stopped.

The real credit of inaugurating and pioneering the great educational activities in the Madras Presidency goes to Sir Thomas

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 499-500.

Munro, then the Governor of Madras. On the Revenue proceedings of July 2, 1822 he recorded a minute recommending that the best information should be obtained of the actual state of education in its various branches among the native inhabitants under the Madras Government. A circular<sup>21</sup> letter was addressed to the several Collectors calling upon them to furnish the government with a detailed report of the state of education within their several Collectorates. But the Governor clearly expressed that it was not his intention to recommend 'any interference whatsoever in the native schools.' He was in favour of giving educational autonomy, as it were to the natives; and wrote that 'people should be left to manage their schools in their own way.' All that he wanted was 'to facilitate the operations of native schools by restoring any funds that may have been diverted from them, and granting additional ones where advisable.'

In their letter in the Revenue department dated May 18, 1825 the Directors gave great credit to Thomas Munro 'for having originated the idea of this Inquiry.' In this letter, too, we find the changed outlook of the Directors which was then gradually becoming pro-occidental. They pointed out that 'it would be wrong to do anything to fortify them (natives) in the absurd opinion that their own rude institutions of education are so perfect as not to admit of improvement.'

The above reports were received by the Madras government through the Revenue Board. The Board's observation was that out of a total population of 12,850,941 only 188,650 persons were receiving education i.e., 1 in 67. But according to Sir Thomas Munro's calculations<sup>22</sup> there were in all 12,498 schools and 'colleges' in the Presidency; and thus there was one school for every 1,000 of the population. But as only a very few females were taught in schools, Thomas Munro's final computation was that there was one school for every 500 of the population. The causes he ascribed for the 'low state of education' were the want of encouragement, poverty of the people, lack of able teachers and the shifting of the population due to wars. As a remedy he suggested the endowment of schools throughout the country by the government and give encouragement to render good education 'more easy and general.' As a preliminary measure he, firstly, proposed the establishment of a Training School at Madras for educating

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 500-501.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 506-507. (Minute of March 10, 1825).

teachers; and recommended that the government should allow Rs. 700 per month for it. Secondly, two principal schools were to be established in each collectorate—one for Hindus and the other for Mohammedans. The number of schools for Hindus was later on to be augmented to 15 so that one might exist in each Tehsildary. He pointed out that 'whatever expense the government may incur in the education of the people, will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country.' In the third place Sir Thomas Munro proposed the establishment of a Committee of Public Instruction to look after the public schools. The Committee was appointed on June 1, 1826. It transmitted a circular letter dated Fort St. George, June 26, 1826, to the several officers wherein it remarked 'the Committee wish it invariably to be kept in mind, that no measures can be pursued, whatever other advantages they may offer, which are at variance with the customs and prejudices of the people.' That is to say the Committee was opposed to any innovation. It contemplated to establish two 'Superior' or 'Collectorate' schools in each of the Collectorates and fifteen 'Subordinate' or 'Tehsildary' schools in each of the Tehsildaries. To prepare 'a body of efficient teachers' the Committee contemplated establishing a Central School at Madras for the education of the Superior teachers, who, eventually were to instruct those for the Tehsildary schools. The Committee concluded that the chief object contemplated by these measures was to impart to the natives 'an improved and cheaper' education, and 'to make the schools free for all classes, the master to pay no more attention to the Brahmin than to the Sudra boy.' Thus the Committee, which was nothing but Sir Thomas Munro's own child, acted upon the lines envisaged by him in his minute of March 10, 1825. As regards the courses of study at schools for the instruction of teachers, the Madras School Book Society (organised on the same lines as the Calcutta one) had recommended the reading and writing in the English, Tamil, and Telugu languages, together with grammar, arithmetic, geography and history. In addition to the above three languages, it was proposed by the Committee of Public Instruction that Sanskrit and Arabic should also be studied—the former by Hindus and the latter by Mohammedans.

In November 1826 the Committee of Public Instruction was incorporated with the College Board and the Court of Directors in a letter of September 3, 1828 appreciated the step as 'judicious and wise.' To facilitate the spread of education the Board adopted a mode of conveying instruction in the different vernacular

languages from which they anticipated a most favourable result; and a number of Tehsildary schools were established within the Madras district.

In their memorable despatch<sup>23</sup> of September 29, 1830 the Court of Directors criticised the educational policy of Madras government and made certain suggestions for their (Madras government) 'deliberate consideration.' The Directors pointed out that the originally contemplated measures of the Madras government had no provision, for instructing the natives in the higher branches of knowledge. What was aimed at was only a further extension and improvement of the elementary education by the multiplication and diffusion of useful books in the native languages. No doubt a Central School was established at Madras to educate the teachers, but there too, the teachers were to be instructed 'only in those elementary acquirements which they were afterwards to teach. It was further added that the improvements in education which most effectually contributed 'to elevate the moral and intellectual condition' of a people, were those which concerned 'the education of the higher classes; of the persons possessing..... influence over the minds of their countrymen.' It was therefore suggested that 'by raising the standard of instruction among these (higher) classes you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you could hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class.' The directors expressed their 'anxious desire to have at their disposal a body of natives, qualified by their habits and acquirements, to take a larger share and occupy higher situations in the civil administration of their country.' But the measures for native education adopted and planned by the Madras government till then had no tendency to produce such persons. The Court of Directors, therefore, advised the Madras government to educate the natives in the English language and in European literature and science. They thought it expedient to enlarge the plan of the Central School and render it a 'seminary for the instruction of the natives generally in the higher branches of knowledge'; and wished that an English teacher should be appointed in the Central School who should be capable of teaching both English language and European science.

To deal with the educational activities in the Bombay Presidency: The real credit of undertaking the educational enterprise

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 510-511.

in this presidency goes to the two tried bestmen of the time, namely Rt. Hon. Mounstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay and Sir John Malcolm, the President of the Bombay School Society. The Bombay Education Society was formed on January 29, 1815 to promote education amongst the poor. It established several schools within the Presidency and received liberal financial aid from the Bombay Government. The Bombay Native School-book and School Society was formed in 1823 for the promotion of education among the natives by establishing schools, and by patronizing and encouraging the compilation of elementary books in the native languages. This Society, too, received handsome annual grant of Rs. 12,720 from the Bombay government.

But towards the end of 1823 Mr. Elphinstone found that 'the great body of the people was quite illiterate.' He was perfectly convinced that no educational progress could be made in India without 'great assistance' from government. In his minute<sup>24</sup> of December 13, 1823 he, therefore, suggested two ways of affording it. Firstly, the government might entirely shoulder the responsibility direct for promoting education; secondly, it might 'increase the means and stimulate the exertion' of the Education Society, and thereby look after the educational progress from without. But Mr. Elphinstone was of opinion that 'the best result would probably be produced by a combination of these two modes of proceeding.' He made a number of suggestions for the diffusion of knowledge among the natives: First, to improve the mode of teaching at the schools, and to augment their number; second, to supply them with school books; third, to hold out some encouragement to the lower order of natives to avail themselves of the means of instruction thus afforded; fourth, to establish schools for teaching the European sciences and improvements in the higher branches of education; fifth, to provide for the preparation and publication of books of moral and physical science in native language; sixth; to establish schools for the purpose of teaching English to those disposed to pursue it; seventh, to hold forth encouragement to the natives in the pursuit of European knowledge and discoveries. Elphinstone was opposed to the educational activities of the missionaries. He wrote, 'to the mixture of religion, even in the slightest degree, with our plans of education, I must strongly object.' The obvious reason was that the British had succeeded to a Brahmin Government, the most conservative element in the Indian

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 511-519

society. The immediate duty of the British, therefore, was to pacify and conciliate the people. Had Elphinstone attempted to impart to the people a pure occidental learning mainly through the English language, had he given a free-hand to the missionaries and had he overlooked and ignored the native feelings and sentiments undervaluing the importance of the native vernaculars, most probably, there would have spread disorder and disaffection in that part of the country. The British would have faced greater difficulties in consolidating and strengthening their hold over Maharashtra. This reflection becomes more well-founded when one finds the Court of Directors giving their unmodified approval and acquiescence to Elphinstone's views.

However, there was one Mr. Francis Warden, Member of the Council at Bombay, who although giving his countenance to the Governor's plans, differed in two respects. Firstly, he opined that the government 'should not be too forward in taking the education of the natives on itself.' Secondly, he gave every encouragement to missionary activities. He recorded these views in a minute of December 29, 1823. In another minute of March 24, 1828 he pleaded for and supported the cause of English language. He urged that the 'chief effort' of the British should be directed to the diffusion of a knowledge of the English language, 'as best calculated to facilitate the intellectual and moral improvement of India.' He emphasised that the study of English should be of primary and not secondary object. He, therefore, concluded that 'in any plan for the public education of the natives, the complete knowledge of our language ought to form so prominent an object as to lay ground for its gradually becoming at least the established vehicle of legal and official business.'

In the capacity of the President of the Bombay School Society, Sir John Malcolm recorded a number of educational minutes.<sup>25</sup> He was of opinion that the education of the natives should be based on 'liberal and wise' principles; and that 'their education and the manner in which youths are brought up, should be suited to those occupations which the government have the power of enabling them to pursue, and to the character and construction of the community among whom they are expected through their better education to obtain a respectable livelihood.' Malcolm expressed his full sentiments about the 'inexpediency and impracticability of conveying general instruction to the natives through the medium of

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 531-546.

the English language. He, therefore, suggested that the general education of the natives in the useful western science and literature should be imparted through the medium of their vernacular dialect. In his minute of April 11, 1828 he pointed out 'I certainly think it is only by knowledge being accessible through the vernacular medium that it ever can be propagated to any general or beneficial purpose.' Sir John Malcolm was in favour of educating a certain portion of natives, commanding influence and respect, in the English language and literature. He, therefore, suggested the extension of English institution at Surat and Poona; and recommended the establishment of the "Elphinstone Professors" whose duty was 'to teach the few who were to teach the many.' In his minute of November 30, 1830 Sir John Malcolm remarked 'we must add to the knowledge acquired the power of applying it, or it is useless.' He, therefore, desired 'an increased association' of the educated natives in every part of the administration; and this he deemed essential 'on grounds of economy, of improvement and of security.'

One finds the views of Malcolm in complete unison with those of Elphinstone; and the Court of Directors, too, approved of them. In their despatch of December 12, 1832 the Directors suggested that the scientific and medical books adapted for the natives should be one and the same and should be prepared once for all the three Presidencies; and that for the general diffusion of useful knowledge they should be translated into various native dialects. However, the natives of Bombay had developed so keen a desire for English that they submitted a petition<sup>26</sup> to the British Parliament on January 25, 1831 wherein they suggested that "it is highly politic to introduce the English language into India, and with that intention, for Parliament to enact that no native, after the period of twelve years, shall be admissible into any office in the judicial, territorial or financial department, unless his competency in reading, writing and speaking the English language has been certified by a Committee appointed for his examination."

The passage of the Charter Act of 1833 synchronised with the great Reform Movement in England. The Act being on the anvil, it was pointed out that the great aim of the British government was to enlighten the natives and better their lot. Its eighty-seventh clause ran: "that no Native nor natural-born subject of His

26. Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the E.I. Co., (1831), p. 539.

Majesty shall, by reason only of his Religion, Place or Birth, Descent, Colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any Place, Office or Employment under the Company."

The new bright hope of employment in the government offices gave fresh and additional impetus to native youth. There was a huge rush for admission to schools and colleges. At that very time the government of Lord Bentinck served a circular calling upon the Committee of Public Instruction to prepare a plan of instruction to be imparted in the Agra College. No plan, however, was suggested, the Committee being equally divided in two halves—Orientalists and Occidentalists. It is difficult to trace the origin of these two schools of thought. Suffice it to know that they existed even in the days of Warren Hastings, he himself being an orientalist. Other orientalists of his time were Sir William Jones, H. H. Wilson and Jonathan Duncan. The eminent occidentalist of that time was Sir Charles Grant. When the Charter Act of 1813 was passed and Lord Hastings was extending his helping hand to support liberal education the Oriento-Occidental controversy came to the forefront. The Orientalists contended that the patronage of the state should be given primarily to the encouragement of oriental literature; that the parliamentary grant was designed to promote that object, and should be exclusively appropriated to it. The orientalists maintained that the support of the indigenous literature of India would serve to conciliate the natives to the foreign rule. The same view was upheld by the Court of Directors as well. Thus the Orientalists were in a majority. The Occidentalists considered that the intellectual progress of India would be most effectually promoted by a liberal western education through the exclusive medium of the English language. They maintained that it was more advisable to give a complete education to a few than an imperfect education to the multitude. The Occidentalists were defeated, being in a minority. The controversy, however, continued and in the time of Lord Bentinck it developed into a great crisis, culminating into a dead-lock.

Lord Bentinck was an out and out liberal. He was bent upon introducing an improved and comprehensive system of education in India. He prepared a lengthy questionnaire and submitted it to both the Occidentalists and Orientalists; and appointed Lord Macaulay, the newly appointed Law Member, as the President of the Committee of Public Instruction to decide, whether the Governor-general could legally apply the parliamentary grant of 1813 for the cause of English education? Lord Macaulay was an Occidentalist and the minute he recorded on this occasion (Febru-

ary 2, 1835) was full of the occidental fragrance. He decried and undervalued oriental learning and languages as decadent, poor, rude and devoid of all literary and scientific information. He claimed the 'intrinsic superiority' for western literature and remarked that 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.' It was pointed out that the eastern literature was more imaginary and the western one more real. Claiming the pre-eminence and superiority of the English language over the other languages of the west, Macaulay added that 'whoever knows English language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth had created and hoarded.' Lord Macaulay, therefore, recommended that English, being the language of the ruling class, and spoken by the higher and influential classes of the native society 'would be the most useful for them.'

On the basis of the above recommendation Lord Bentinck issued his famous Resolution of March 7, 1835 that 'the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone; that it is not the intention of the government to abolish any college or school of native learning; that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be expended on the printing of oriental works; that all the funds should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.'

How far was his lordship justified in arriving at the above Resolution? There was an increasing demand in the country for the spread of western learning; and the natives showed a very keen desire to learn English. Feeder English classed had already been ingrafted to some of the institutions which were commendably imparting instructions in European science and literature. Long before any official recognition was accorded to English, it was learnt by some of the natives who were in constant touch with Europeans for commercial and other professional intercourse. The Parsees in Bombay and the Bengalees in Calcutta had a working knowledge of the English language. Some of the native newspapers were harping on the same string to create the public opinion in favour of English. A contemporary vernacular newspaper exclaimed, "The night of desolation and ignorance is beginning to change its black aspect, and the sky, big with fate, is about to bring forth a

storm of knowledge which will sweep those airy battlements away that had so long imprisoned the tide of thought.<sup>27</sup>" The Resolution was in tune with the changed outlook of the Directors who were since 1824 constantly sounding the Indian government to disseminate among the natives the knowledge of the west. The new move was taken to make the Reforms of 1833—the increased and greater employment of Indians under the Company—a real success. Bentinck was guided by some of the contemporary leading and representative officials, having considerable and mature experience of Indian life and sentiments. Sir Charles Metcalfe recorded his minute<sup>28</sup> on the "USE of the English language in Courts of Justice" on August 12, 1832. He remarked that 'the English language seems to me to be the channel through which we are most likely to convey improvement to the Natives of India.' Sir Charles Trevelyan pointed out: "To revive the systems would be perpetually reminding the Mohammedans that we are infidel usurpers of some of the fairest realms of the faithful and the Hindus that we are unclean beasts, with whom it is a sin and a shame to have any friendly intercourse. Our bitterest enemies could not desire more than that we should propagate systems of learning which excite the strongest feelings of human nature towards ourselves. The spirit of English literature, on the other hand, cannot but be favourable to the English connection. Familiarly acquainted with us by means of English literature, the Indian youth would almost cease to regard us as foreigners."<sup>29</sup> Besides, the works, translated from English into vernaculars, were expensive and tragically inadequate to meet the increasing demand. Last, but not least, some oversweeping resolution was essential to end the long continued conflict and dead-lock.

#### IV. (1835-1854) *The new English Education.*

The new educational policy worked from 1835 to 1854 and was followed in all the three Presidencies, though not with uniform success. Lord Auckland trod on the foot-steps of his predecessor and sanctioned many government scholarships for the encouragement of English education. But the new policy created great heart-burning in India. The Muslims regarded it as an "illegal interference" and considered the new scheme "levelled

27. Alexander Duff's Life, p. 151.

28. Kaye's Papers and Correspondence of Metcalfe, pp. 293-294.

29. Indian Encyclopaedia, pp. 369-370.

at their religion." The Hindus of the Upper Provinces were greatly dissatisfied and "thought of cutting the throats of the English." Four different petitions against the new policy were submitted to the Parliament. It was pointed out that the already existing "universal alarm and discontent", caused by "unsparing taxation, long continued and augmenting exhaustion of the resources of the country, resumption of rent-free lands, schemes of conversion under the mask of education,"<sup>30</sup> was cemented and given a finishing touch by the new system of education. The War (First Afghan) clouds were hovering over the north-west and collision from without was visibly approaching. It was argued to be ill-prepared and ill-fated to meet it with "deep and dangerous disaffection" within. The government was requested to reconsider the policy. To pacify and conciliate the people Lord Auckland wrote his education minute in November 1839 wherein he, to place the oriental learning on 'a footing of efficiency' and stimulate researches, announced to grant government scholarship to oriental scholars.

Lord Hardinge spurred the ambition of the natives to learn English. On October 10, 1847 he announced that the Governor-general "has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the English institutions; and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment." But the announcement was "doubly unfortunate".<sup>31</sup> In the first place successful youngmen were registered as eligible for government offices. But eligibility and appointment were two different things, which caused great heart-burning. In the second place, little was done to promote the efficiency of indigenous vernacular schools.

Lord Dalhousie was an enthusiastic supporter of English education. He took up the work of Bethune, a member of the Governor-general's Council and the President of the Council of Education, and spent a good deal of money from his own pocket for the sake of education. He was in continuous correspondence with Sir Charles Wood about the education of the natives. Lord Dalhousie's name is associated with the memorable Wood's Despatch of July 19, 1854; and Lee-Warner, offering his felicitations to him, says that the whole credit of putting the comprehensive plan of educating the Indians into practical shape rests with Dalhousie.

Before we deal with Wood's Despatch, let us point out some of the merits and demerits of the new educational policy, inaugurated by Bentinck. Dr. Alexander Duff's conviction was that the system 'far from being impolitic, was wise and magnanimous' and would result in a 'great ultimate revolution' effecting a universal change in the national mind of India. The new educational movement infused a new life in the country and marked the beginning of Modern Indian Renaissance. It began to instill into our countrymen the principles of Equality, Liberty, Fraternity and Democracy. It brought a change in our outlook and philosophy of life. The deep rooted and wide-based conservatism yielded before liberalism, so essential for the evolution and improvement of a country.

But the new system had some inherent defects. Most of the contemporaries, opposed to the policy, stigmatised it as 'destructive, unjust, unpopular and impolitic.' It was 'deficient in definiteness, vigour and discipline.' Being essentially literary the new movement did not provide any corrective for the prevalent faults in the society. Lord Macaulay had essentially a literary bent of mind and the new education, which was nothing but his own creation, stressed the mind and memory of a student and did not develop his moral character. Prof. Dodwell has rightly remarked that the system lacked correlation between the student's actual life and his studies in school. It laid much emphasis upon the intellectual instruction only. It omitted the vigorous system of training the character and morals. It did not provide any scope for the social and moral training of the student. He became 'wild and extravagant and lost his Indian Individuality'. A sort of cultural and national degeneration set in. The few English educated gentlemen expressed their repugnance for Indian culture and civilization. They became, although Indian in blood and colour, alien "in taste, opinion, morals and intellect." The policy was too limited. There was nothing like mass or popular education. The muslim population could not avail themselves of the new system. The women were excluded from the schools. The "filtration theory"—the few to teach the many—remained ineffective and the microscopic minority of the few educated could not exert any influence on their brethren. As the Wood's Despatch of July 1854 pointed out the system provided "the means of acquiring a very high degree of education for a small number of the natives, drawn for the most part from what we should here call the higher classes." The system led to a further deterioration of the native vernaculars and the government miserably failed to communicate instruction to the natives through their own vernaculars. The Committee of

30. *Asiatic Journal*, 1838, Vol. XXVI, pp. 322-323.

31. *Cambridge Shorter History*, p. 718.

Public Instruction did not consider the question of vernacular education in the same light of importance as that of the English. The vernacular schools were placed under the superintendence of the Collector (and hence under the Board of Revenue) an officer of multifarious activities, who could hardly get any time to look after those schools. As English had become the pass-port for higher government posts, social honour and distinction, the natives themselves viewed their own vernaculars with indifference.

But Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant Governor of the Agra Province had done some thing for the promotion of vernacular education in his Province. He wrote a number of despatches on the *Scheme of Village Schools in the Agra Province*. But two of them are very important and deserve a careful analysis. In the despatch<sup>32</sup> of November 18, 1846 Mr. Thomason pointed out that the existing rights in the land were of many different kinds in the Province of Agra. For their protection the government devised a system for their complete Registration. Even then there was the possibility of 'falsifying the Records.' Therefore, 'for the protection of right and prevention of wrong', it was essential that the people must have simple elementary knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic. He suggested the plan of founding village schools throughout the Province. The scheme contemplated the 'endowment of a school in every village of a certain size, the government giving up its revenue from the land which constitutes the endowment, on assurance that the Zemindars have appropriated the land for the purpose of maintaining a schoolmaster.' The Zemindars and the majority of the respectable inhabitants of any Mouzah, willing to establish a school in their village, had to submit a written representation to the Collector. The nomination of the school-master rested with the Zemindars. The requisite qualification for the school-master, recognised as 'servant of the village', was to impart instruction in Urdu and Hindi. The Collector, or his Deputy, or Assistant, or any other person appointed by the Government was to visit these schools and ascertain that the endowment was faithfully appropriated to the support of the schoolmaster. Mr. Thomason was not in favour of regularly paying the schoolmaster from the government treasury. He added that the scheme was 'in conformity with the habits and feelings of the people, and it involved no payment from, the public treasury, and was therefore simple in its operation and required comparatively little check and supervision.'

32. Thomason's Despatches, Vol. I, pp. 329-336.

Implementing his scheme as visualised in the above despatch the Lieutenant Governor wrote another<sup>33</sup> in April 1848, wherein he recommended the establishment of one Government School, as model, in each Tehsildary. This Government institution was to be 'a powerful agency for visiting all the indigenous schools, for furnishing the people and the teachers with advice, assistance, and encouragement.' Mr. Thomason's scheme of promoting vernacular education incorporated the appointment of a Zillah visitor, Pergunnah visitor and Village Schoolmaster each conversant with the Hindi and Urdu languages—the Zillah visitor acquainted with Persian or Sanskrit, in addition. In order to insure proper care he suggested the appointment of a separate supervising officer—Visitor General; and recommended that that officer must, at least, be 'a civilian of talent and experience.' Thomason's scheme later on came to be known as the *halaabundi* (circle) school system whereby villages were grouped in circles of five—there being one school for each circle.

The Court of Directors in their despatch of August 25, 1847 admitted the advantages of the scheme and recognised 'the necessity for giving some powerful impulse to elementary education in the N. W. Provinces', and were prepared 'to sanction the adoption of some more comprehensive plan of extending and improving the means of popular instruction throughout the country.'

Seven years later was received the memorable Wood's despatch of July 19, 1854 which did not leave any part of the question of education in India untouched; and dealt with every branch of the subject 'judiciously and effectually.' The despatch was lengthy and comprehensive and breathed the air of humanitarianism and altruism. It declared the need of 'a properly articulated scheme of education from the primary schools to the University' and asserted boldly 'to combat the ignorance of the people which may be considered the greatest curse of the country.' The despatch emphasised the importance of the vernacular schools and preferred the scheme, worked out in the Agra Province. It declared the need of encouraging female education, secondary schools and supporting every private and missionary institution with grants-in-aid. The despatch further ran: 'the rapid spread of a liberal education among the natives of India... has led us to the conclusion that the time is now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal

33. Ibid., pp. 397-404.

course of education by conferring academical degrees as evidence of attainments in the different branches of art and science, and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction.'

Lord Dalhousie's supporters would give him the entire credit of originating the ideas included in the above despatch. Sir Charles Wood's friends, on the other hand, would say that his audacious brain alone thought of it. But truly speaking the real credit for giving origin to the ideas visualised in the Wood's despatch goes to neither. The plan of encouraging vernacular primary schools and establishing universities was already there. The Wood's despatch was a further crystallisation of the same. It honestly attempted to prepare a more congenial soil for the fructification of the scheme already in the air. As regards the vernacular primary schools, they had already been working in the Azra Province. Before any official recognition of the value of the vernacular education, the Serampore Missionaries had already emphasised the need of educating the Indians through their vernaculars and had given vent to these ideas in the "*Hints*" published in 1816. Giving his evidence<sup>34</sup> before the Select Committee of 1853 Mr. J. C. Marshman made certain suggestions for the improvement of vernacular education. He recommended that, in addition to the amount then devoted to the encouragement of English, an adequate sum should be appropriated to the purposes of vernacular education; that the administration of these funds should be entrusted to another Committee distinct from the Board of English Education; that the above Committee should select different branches of knowledge to be imparted in the vernacular schools and requisite books should be translated and published under the supervision of the said Committee; that normal schools for the training of schoolmasters should be established; that an Inspector of vernacular schools should be appointed; that the system of vernacular instruction should be connected with the public services and the most meritorious students should be employed in the subordinate offices of the government. Besides, the natives themselves began to realize the value of vernacular education. The Madras Native Association and other Native Inhabitants of the Madras Presidency presented a petition<sup>35</sup> to the House of Lords on December 10, 1852 wherein they invited the attention of the august House to the question of

34. Select Committee Report (1853), p. 129.

35. Third Report, 1853, Appendix, "D", p. 218.

'national education.' The Petitioners added that the English language was then very little known to them. They, therefore, desired that 'the teaching of vernaculars, instead of being neglected, shall meet with the attention they so greatly need; and to that end provision be made for the translation of useful and scientific works from English.' The members of the British Indian Association and other Native Inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency presented another petition<sup>36</sup> to the Lords: 'The education of the mass of the people has as yet been completely neglected... Your Petitioners, therefore, submit that the diffusion of education in the country, which can only be successfully attained through the medium of the vernacular languages should no longer be neglected.'

As regards the inauguration of Universities: In the year 1845 the Bengal Council of Education<sup>37</sup> submitted a proposal for the establishment of a University at Calcutta on the model of the University of London. The government of India supported the proposal, but the Court of Directors considered it premature. Seven years later Charles Hay Cameron a late Fourth Member of the Council of India: President of the Indian Law Commission, and of the Council of Education for Bengal submitted an humble Petition<sup>38</sup> to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament on May 13, 1852, praying for the establishment of one or more universities in British India. The Petition<sup>39</sup> of the British and other Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta invited the attention of the Lords to the 'want of collegiate institutions for the higher branches of education, and a university to grant diplomas of qualification.' The member of the British Indian Association and other Native Inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency submitted that the university plan proposed by Mr. Cameron should be established in each Presidency.

Thus the Wood's despatch, instead of containing anything new, was an official recognition, in unmistakably clear-cut language, of the educational ideals already harped upon. Both Sir Charles Wood and Lord Dalhousie deserve our equal felicitations for giving a practical shape to what their predecessors had thought premature. Moreover since the departure of Lord Hastings in 1823, there had been comparative internal peace in the country for thirty

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 259-260.

37. The Committee of the Public Instruction was merged into Council of Education in 1843.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

years. The Burmese and Afghan Wars had no repercussion on the problem of education. Besides, the parsimonious attitude of the Directors, adopted since the time of Bentinck, had added to the resources of the government. Lord Dalhousie's government, therefore, was bound to give due consideration to the cause of education and urge the Home government to promote the same. Sir Charles Wood, being at the helm of the latter, had to respond readily with commendable promptness to his friend and colleague.

The Governor-general forwarded the despatch to the three Local governments accompanied by his instructions,<sup>40</sup> which were meant to give practical shape to the proposals. The Governor-general analysed the despatch into three heads: Machinery for managing the department; Establishment of universities; Grants-in-aid. The various governments organised anew the department of the Public Instruction headed by the Director, who was assisted and helped by a number of Inspectors of Schools. But the Presidency governments were instructed to seek the approval and sanction of the Central government in every matter of appointment, grant-in-aid and the establishment of universities. Here was a specimen of the strict Centralization from which the government of India was suffering since 1833. This slackened the speed of educational progress in India and hardly had the new scheme been launched when the Mutiny broke out.

How far was the educational progress responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny? *Prima facie* the open, avowed and leading object of the British government in India up to March 7, 1835 was the promotion of oriental literature, and so long as the British government stuck to this policy, whatsoever the ulterior motive behind it, it enjoyed the confidence of the natives. The moment it pursued a diametrically opposite course and supported occidentalism, it ignored and disregarded the feelings and sentiments of the conservative elements of the native society; and thereby lost their confidence and faith. The few educated individuals began to suffer from the superiority complex and began to look down upon their own brethren as pariahs. They found fault with their own culture and civilization; and showed the greatest aversion for it. Thus the new education began to gnaw at the very root of Indian society, culture and civilization. The people, therefore, hurried to rescue their society from the poisonous and vitiating influence of the Bri-

tish and their civilization. Our countrymen were promised to be associated with the administration of the country; and with this end in view the new education was imparted to them. But the majority of them was given no chance of employment; hence there existed great heart-burning and disaffection with the British. No doubt the western education instilled into the natives the benign principles of Liberty and Democracy. But if one thinks that the Mutiny was the nearest approach to the attainment of those ideals, he is mistaken, for during those days Liberty and Democracy were only catchwords for a native. He did not then understand the real significance and imbibe the true spirit of these words. If one says that the Mutiny was a mass movement for recovering their rights, he, too, is wrong; for during those days there was nothing like mass-awakening—their education being neglected for a long time. No doubt some thing was done for mass education in the N.W. Provinces, the storm centre of the Mutiny. But there, too, the education was limited only to the instruction of the Three R's. No awakening was possible unless there was a radically progressive change in the educational outlook. When an honest attempt was made to bring about a change in 1854, the Mutiny broke out soon after. Thus the Mutiny was only the reaction of the new educational development and not its offshoot or by-product.

40. Correspondence relating to the Education Despatch of 19, July, 1854. (N. W. Provinces and Bengal).

# The Bengal Revolution of 1757 and Raja Ramnarain

By

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THE post-Plassey career of Raja Ramnarain is crowded with events which show that he was a man of his age. The times he lived in were out of joint, and the atmosphere he breathed was vitiated by native weaknesses and native vices. Pride and patriotism, public spirit and public virtue, were almost non-existent. Hindostan then produced, for the most part, a set of cowards and self-seekers who thought only of their personal interests, safety and prosperity, and scrupled not to use all weapons of cunning and trickery double-dealing in order to attain their selfish ends. Pressure of circumstances, and instinct of self-preservation, forced Raja Ramnarain also to develop a habit of political intrigue and show a readiness to fraternize with the planters of those with whom he was previously bound by ties of gratitude and sentiments of allegiance and loyalty. The course of events, in all probability, would have been somewhat different, if he had used his undoubted talent—not for diplomatic duplicity, but for effective organization of all available forces—to present a bold opposition against the usurpers at a time when widespread discontent<sup>1</sup> had made their situation perilous—and if he had made the most of his opportunity by accepting the offer of<sup>2</sup> co-operation from the sturdier and more resentful chiefs of Bihar, who like him, had eaten the salt of Aliverdi, and were ready to take up the cudgel on behalf of the dispossessed family. Unfortunately, lust of power and

1. Note the remarks of Orme about the disappointment of the confederates and relations, discontent among the army and the officers of Government and "the complaints of the whole populace of Muxudabad, who had beheld with detestation the gold and silver of the capital so ostentatiously carried away by the foreigners. The first instalment of the treasure, received on the 6th July, was picked up in 700 chests and laden in 100 boats and carried in triumphal procession. Disturbances and insurrections soon occurred in Midnapur, Dacca and Purnea and there was a general disaffection throughout the Subadari." (Orme's *Indostan*, p. 195; Broome's *Bengal Army*, p. 186).

2. Seyarul Mutakherin, p. 643.

place, hatred and distrust of others, and alarm for life and property, made the Raja pursue a course which tended to the subversion of the native dominion by materially contributing to the consolidation of the power of the foreigners. "Let me be remembered," says Karam Ali,<sup>3</sup> the contemporary historian of Bengal, "that the primary cause of the predominance and domination of the English and the sluggishness of the authorities was the neglecting of Clive (with Mir Jafar) with a force and his befriending with Maharaja Ramnarain." Bihar offered no effective opposition to the project of the successful conspirators of Bengal because the Rajah saw his safety in throwing himself on the protection of those traders and adventurers who were to become, soon, absolute rulers of the land.

It was not, however, till some months after the battle of Plassey, that Raja Ramnarain showed a definite attitude of disaffection on, and detachment to, the English. Despite his outward show of submission, he was not really well-disposed towards either the new Nawab or his English supporters till he had received the famous letter of assurance from Clive,<sup>4</sup> on January 1st, 1758. It was at first but natural for him to harbour ill-feeling against, or feel suspicious or be afraid of, the vanquishers of his master, but he was shrewd or timid enough not to give expression to his feelings by boldly standing up against the usurper. It has already been shown elsewhere<sup>5</sup> that the latter had taken care not to take him into their confidence when they hatched their conspiracy against Siraj; but after its successful execution, they became very anxious to win him over. His<sup>6</sup> pre-occupation,<sup>7</sup> mis-calculation, or want of clear and definite<sup>8</sup> instruction from the young and unfortunate Nawab, had prevented the possibility of the Patna force marching to Bengal and counteracting or disconcerting the con-

3. *Muzaffer Nama*, 136a.

4. Clive to Select Committee, January 4, 1758, referred to, by Dodwell in his *Dupleix and Clive*. Even earlier, in Nov. 1757, Clive wrote to S. C. . . . "As Ramnarain refuses to trust his person in the Nabob's power without a letter from me, I have wrote to him that he may come with safety having the Nabob's authority for so doing . . . ." (Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, 1327). See also Seyar.

5. Dastur-ul-Insha and Orme, quoted in *I.H.Q.*, March 1939.

6. Dastur.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 26b.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 27b, 29a and 36b.

spiracy, as had happened in the case of the Purneah affairs.<sup>9</sup> As late as 4 or 5 days after Plassey we find him appealing to the faithless Seths<sup>10</sup> to befriend his master and it was not till the morning of Monday, the 16th Shawwal, i.e. the 11th day after Plassey, that the Rajah began to fear for the life of the young Nawab. Though he got a Perwana on the following day<sup>11</sup> which may have confirmed his worst apprehensions, nevertheless, he appears to have been, as yet, unaware of the true nature of the revolution, as is shown by his expression, "Probably<sup>12</sup> there may have been an agreement with the Ferangis (and Mir Jafar)." It is the fresh Parwana and the letter of Maharaja Bahadur (Durlabhram), one of the fellow conspirators, received on Wednesday, the 18th, Shawwal,<sup>13</sup> which must have opened his eyes fully, and made him anxious to keep up appearances by sending Nazars and congratulations and complying with the orders of the new ruler. The letter of the 19th,<sup>14</sup> and that, written 2 or 3 days after, throw sufficient light on the subject of the first reactions of the Patna Rajah to the Revolution in Bengal.

Our knowledge of these things is based not only upon the contemporary English records and Persian histories, but also on the valuable and hitherto unknown and untapped letters of Raja Ramnarain, which he wrote to his brother, Dhiraj Narain, then his representative at Patna. The story can be better told in the words of the Raja himself, and, therefore, the literal translation of the relevant portion of some of these original and revealing documents is given below :—

"I have<sup>15</sup> received your letter, dated Saturday, the 14th (Shawwal), together with the original of the letter of Mansa, the Mirdaha<sup>16</sup>. . . . As regards your observation about the urgency of my expeditious return, I find the situation without any remedy. Yesterday, at evening, Raja Pahalwan Singh<sup>17</sup> returned from

9. *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 38; *J.O.B.R.S.*, Dec. 38.

10. *Dastur*, 26b.

11. *Ibid.*, 22 a, and b.

12. *Ibid.*, 37b.

13. *Ibid.* 24 a and b.

14. *Ibid.*, 37b.

15. *Dastur*, 22 a and b.

16. Mirdaha was an officer employed by Government in villages.

17. *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 38.

Kamgar Khan.<sup>18</sup> Nothing has been gained except stipulation and adjustments. This news reached him in detail through the letter of Birbhoom and Kharagpur, and in these circumstances, we know what to expect to get out of him. I can not afford to desist or move away distractedly and show fright. Since last evening till now, the morning of Monday, the 16th, it has been raining cats and dogs. . . . After 3 Pabars in the night, which is a lucky moment, I may move on from this place. The above mentioned letter is enclosed herein. In all probability, the Nawab is not alive, otherwise he must have written to me by some means or the other, or some news must have reached me from the road or journey. That they have caused a letter of such contents to be written out and proceeded in such a manner, is also at the instance of the worthy (clever) men of that place (Murshidabad). I have already written a reply to Mirza Mustafa Quli Khan's<sup>19</sup> (letter). I am not in my senses. So long as I do not see you, I can not regain my composure of mind. Previously I had written to you about sending Lala Bishun Singh, but now it is no longer advisable, and it must depend upon advices. If through the grace of God, he (Nawab) comes out alive, we must by all means possible, take care of him. For the present, however, self possession and self-restraint is absolutely necessary. Such is the issue of past words<sup>20</sup> and self-conceitedness. Praise be to God, the most Holy! Whatever you wrote about being cautious concerning the procedure of post, had already occurred to me, and, accordingly, I also had written to you about it. For two or three days correspondence must remain confined to the hands of our own men and also the letters from the east which are (at present) stopped. There is no danger of the Nalua (bamboo joint to convey letters in) I despatched before, falling into the hands of any one. I have complaints against none. The recollection<sup>21</sup> of the one invested with authority is only to show one's firmness and constancy. As regards your practising self restraint according to

18. *Ibid.*,

19. He was brother to Sirajud-Dowla's father-in-law, Mirza Iraj Khan. Consult Seyar for the latter's inhuman behaviour towards Siraj on the 6th Shawwal, 1170. Mustafa Qulli Khan used to reside mostly at Patna and there are several references to him in the letters of Raja Ramnarain.

20. That Ramnarain knew something of the young Nawab's short-comings is also shown by certain other references in his letters. See *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 38.

21. The meaning has become obscure because of the illegibility of these sentences.

the usage referred to, there is nothing wrong in it and in the event of conflict much will have to be kept confidential.....".

There is much in this characteristic letter, the meaning of which is not quite clear. It is difficult to find out the contents of the letters of the Mirza and of Mansa, though the latter appears to have been used as a mere tool in the hands of the clever people of Murshidabad, who had been alienated and turned hostile by the indiscreet conduct of the self-willed Nawab (mark the fling upon him) and were anxious to woo or awe the Rajah of Bihar. The Nawab's flight is clearly hinted at, and it is "this news" which Kamgar Khan must have received through his kinsmen<sup>22</sup> on the border. But want of communication from, or information about, the ex-Nawab naturally caused the Rajah to apprehend the worst. Probably it was in response to the Parwanah of his vanquished master, dated the 6th Shawwal<sup>23</sup> year 4th, that is, the day following the battle of Plassey, that Raja Ramnarain wrote to his brother and Naib at Patna to send Lala Bishun Singh to the help of their master, but when he received no further summons and bad news began to reach him, he advised the postponement of the undertaking till fresh news arrived. We can understand the difficulties of the Rajah and also his prudence and precaution concerning his correspondence, and appreciate his sentiments of loyalty to a setting sun like Siraj, but a bolder and a more energetic course of policy on his part would have enhanced his reputation and made the situation much more complicated for the conspirators, if it could not have saved Siraj, who was despatched in the noon<sup>24</sup> of the 15th Shawwal, 1170.

His behaviour on the receipt of the first definite information concerning the new regime and an invitation to accept it, may be explained but can not be defended. His temporizing policy gives us an insight into the working of his mind. That motives of self-interest, a love of office, and questionable methods rather than a feeling of righteous indignation, readiness for revenge, and vigorous and determined efforts to resist the wrong doers, guided the actions and movements of the Rajah, is abundantly proved by some of the remarks of contemporary writers, Indian and European, and by his own unpublished letters.

22. The Raja of Birbhoom was a sister's son of Kamgar Khan. (Hill, Vol. I).

23. Dastur, 26b.

24. Seyar, p. 641.

We shall first quote Gholam Husain "After the investment<sup>25</sup> of Mir Jafar with authority and the elevation of his pillars of state, letters began to be despatched to Ramnarain, holding out inducements, filled with words of consolation and assurances and containing an invitation for submission. He, too, deemed acquiescence and complying with Mir Jafar to be the best of all policies. Orders were issued to the Raja to set at liberty Mirza Ghulam Ali Beg, son of Mirza Hakim Beg, and to send him to the court. The Mirza who had been dragged back from Arwal by Siraj's order and kept confined, was set free and he soon arrived near Mir Jafar. As the humour and temper of the Mirza were much akin to that of Mir Md. Jafar Khan's, they had been friends before and now he was treated with so much distinction<sup>26</sup> and regard that he soon came to eclipse all other courtiers and favourites."

That Raja Ramnarain was fully aware of such relations between the Mirza and Mir Jafar and that he had anticipated such an order by issuing instruction to his brother for the release of such a boon companion, will be evident also from his letters. He wrote on the 4th day of the formal accession of Mir Jafar<sup>27</sup> :—

"The letter I wrote last night from Bakhra (Gaya Dt.) must have reached you. To-day, Wednesday, the 18th Shawwal, Year 4th, I left that place and within the space of 1½ pahars, arrived at Raipur. On account of the rains which began at the dawn, I had to meet with much trouble..... To-morrow, I shall arrive at the pass of Chandoo. I hear that the bridge is not yet ready and, therefore, delay is inevitable.... I had written to you also, and if you have arranged for the boats, there would be no delay. To-day, on my arrival, I received a Parwana and letter of Maharaja Bahadur again through a pair of the Harkaras<sup>28</sup> of Narain Singh, brother to Raja Ram. As you should also know of its contents, I am sending it to you for perusal. In answer to the above, I wrote an Arzi, in the language and with the forms of address and title I used before in my letters to His Excellency (Ali Verdi)<sup>29</sup> and despatched

25. Seyar, p. 642. Mark the variation in Raymond's translation.

26. M. N. 64a. Mirza Ghulam Ali was put in charge of the department of Mint, at Murshidabad.

27. Dastur, 23b, 24a.

28. Hill's Bengal, etc.

29. Mir Jafar assumed all the styles and titles of Aliverdi and conferred those of the latter's nephews on his own brothers and relations. (S. M. p. 642).

it with the usual congratulation and 5 gold mohars. The copy of this I shall send to you by to-morrow. You should set at liberty Mirza Hakim Beg Khan and others, in accordance with what was written before, and now you should cultivate very friendly relations with them and show them much favour".

On the day following, the Rajah sent another letter wherein he wrote <sup>30</sup>"I have just now started from Raipur towards the pass of Chandoo. It was not possible to build the bridge on account of the crowding in of Raham Khan's followers. Let me see what comes to pass. I am hurrying up.....yesterday I wrote to you about the reply I sent to Murshidabad. The surprising thing is that Frenghies, too, are at Murshidabad. Let us see what they bring into being. Whatever information you may have gathered from Khan Saheb, Khajajir, and the bankers, as also the news from the west, must be communicated to me.....".

A third and a very characteristic letter containing fuller information on the subject runs thus<sup>31</sup>:—"You have written that my friend, the Khan Saheb, too, insists on getting information about the release of Ghulam Ali Beg Khan and others, and that you are waiting for a hint from me. My soul! Before this, two or three days ago, I wrote to you for releasing these poor people. I have also sent the Shuqqa of the present despot ('Musallit-i-Hal'); As your letter was despatched yesterday, I am in great anxiety on account of the Harkaras not reaching you. Send the reply soon. As these are delicate times, the loss of one letter may involve us in troubles—I have lost my senses and am certainly not in my element....you must at once release Mirza Ghulam Ali Beg and Mirza Hakeem Beg, and restore to them their confiscated property, together with their elephants. You should also offer your excuses, plead your innocence, seek their forgiveness and convey your warmth of affection through Khan Saheb and Shaikh Mohammad Afaq. As regards what you say that you did it in compliance<sup>32</sup> with orders, you need not feel worried about it. In my opinion, you have shown favour in that if you had acted according to what

30. Dastur, 37b.

31. Dastur, 40b, 41a.

32. The December issue of J.B.O.R.S., contains an article by the present writer wherein will be found the letters of Dhiraj Narain telling us how he carried out the Nawab's orders with regard to the Mirzas and others during the absence of his brother, Raja Ram Narain, from Patna.

that dear one (Siraj) wrote, these men (the Mirzas) would never have remained alive. At any rate, the world is not quite devoid of a sense of justice and equity, and these too, are after all, men of senses and are sure to feel grateful when they realise the true situation. If, on the other hand, they have nothing else but complaints, you should seek the mercy of God. Show them the utmost of favour, release them and leave them to do what they like. You may ask them to proceed to Murshidabad, and provide them with boats, if they prefer the journey through the river. Their release will enable us to ascertain the temper or mood (of Mir Jafar). I am afraid only because of the arrear pay of the army, otherwise, I would not have felt anxious on account of this affair. Let this time (of adversity) go to the hell and let him (Mir Jafar) take what he wants. What pleasure is there that I should strive after and who (in my circumstances) would wish for it?....."

The above letters have been given practically in full so as to describe the working of the Raja's mind in his own words. A lull followed by frequency of correspondence after Plassey, the reference to the letter of Raja Durlabh Ram, especially that delivered by the Harkaras of one who was brother to Siraj's head spy or chief of Intelligence Department, the prompt despatch of congratulatory letter together with the customary Nazars and significant forms of address, and the anxiety shown to ascertain the attitude of the new master by the immediate release of his boon companions, and the direction for favour being shown to the latter, are well worth our careful attention. The attitude of indifference shown towards the new state of things in the concluding sentences of the last letter appears like making a virtue of necessity. Undoubtedly Ram Narain could have no soft corner in his heart for Mir Jafar but he was forced partly by the importunities of his friends<sup>33</sup> at Murshidabad, and partly by his own love of office, to make the best of a bad bargain by accepting the revolution.

There is a significant reference to the arrear pay of the army, and elsewhere,<sup>34</sup> we get indication of the heavy expences incurred

33. Durlabh Ram officially represented Raja Ram Narain in Murshidabad court and was friendly to him. (A.A.; SM.). The Raja had also numerous other friends, particularly Ghulam Hussain Khan, the Arzbeqi. There are references in the Dastur to Khaja Wajid and several others who were in the Murshidabad court.

34. Dastur, 36b.

by the Raja. The large army taken to Purneah<sup>35</sup> and the force of 10,000<sup>36</sup> raised and kept up to deal with the situation arising from the rebellious attitude of Kamgar Khan and the threat from the west, must have involved Raja Ram Narain in financial difficulties. But did it really stand in the way of a retaliatory action on the part of the Raja. What about other circumstances? Did the chiefs of Bihar, for example, fail to respond to the clarion call of duty? Was the Raja himself sincerely desirous of pursuing a spirited policy but was prevented from doing so by adverse circumstances, particularly the apathy of his compatriots? Such a misleading idea one is apt to get from the wrong translation of Seyarul-Mutakherin. Below is given, in parallel columns first Raymond's English version,<sup>37</sup> and then a faithful translation of the relevant portion of the original Persian text,<sup>38</sup> so as to show the interpolations and inaccuracies of the French translator:—

"It must be observed that although the new Sovereign had been opposed nowhere, it was rather through incertitude how to act than out of any affection to his person, or any opinion of his talent, so that every one had thoughts of availing himself of such a time of trouble. Ram Narain, who in his heart was strongly attached to Aliverdi Khan's family had already wrote to the zamindars of his province, namely, to Raja Sundar Singh and Pahalwan Singh, the most powerful among them, to join with him in a common effort calculated to revenge the death of their master's son. But he received no favourable answer from anywhere, and he soon found that his situation by becoming critical, required a deal of dissimulation and some apparent compliance with the revolution; for by this time strong suspicions had arisen in his mind, nor were they totally groundless."

"When a great revolution and a big interregnum occurred in Murshidabad, every one began to think in his own way and plan his own designs. Raja Ramnarain, too, was argued into leading an army so as to take vengeance for his master's son and beneficent lord by Pahalwan Singh and Raja Sundar Singh. But he failed to find means and summon courage and although he was full of apprehension in respect of his own critical condition, he took recourse to acquiescence (in the new state of things) and considered management of the business to be the best of things."

35. *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 38.

36. *Dastur*, 36a.

37. *S. M. Eng. Text*, Vol. 2, p. 250.

38. *S. M. Persian, Lucknow Text*, 643.

That Raja Ram Narain failed to follow a straight course and a vigorous policy, either because he did not possess sufficient boldness or he could not place much reliance upon the professions of the Bihar zamindars, with some of whom he had been on bad terms,<sup>39</sup> sometime back, and was also probably not quite sure of the support of his own troops, whose salaries had not been paid up to date, is clear not only from the passage quoted above, but also from what actually transpired during the first few months after Plassey. Let us consider his attitude towards M. Law and his dealings with Major Coote, who were sent in pursuit of the latter to Bihar. Ives<sup>40</sup> and Orme give detailed and interesting account of Coote's Bihar expedition, and of what he experienced at the hands of the Rajah and his men in Bihar.

It has been mentioned elsewhere,<sup>41</sup> that M. Law, as soon as he had heard of the active hostilities between the English and the Nawab, had advanced from Patna. He was within a few hours march of Siraj when he heard, first of the capture of the latter, and then of his death, whereupon he at once retraced his steps towards Patna "to preserve his own liberty and intending to offer his services to Raja Ram Narain."<sup>42</sup> The Raja, to quote Orme and Broome,<sup>43</sup> had all along regarded M. Law and his party as an important resource in the event of any struggle, and from the time they had entered the province under this chief, he had given them his countenance and his support. Hence M. Law's intention of joining him was natural and judicious. It was equally natural that Mir Jafar and the members of the new Ministry should feel distrust of Ramnarain and be desirous of preventing, if possible, the junction of M. Law which could afford a material accession to his strength. It was, therefore, determined to send a detachment without delay to overtake and destroy the French Party, or at any rate, to overawe Ramnarain and deter him from taking them into his service, should they reach Patna. Accordingly,<sup>44</sup> on the 4th of July, a force was detailed to march in pursuit of Law, and Subadar Mooten Beg, with his 2 companies of Madras sepoys, was at once sent forward as an advance guard, followed, two days after,

39. *I.H.Q.*, Dec. 38.

40. Ives' *Voyage and Historical Narrative*.

41. *I.H.Q.*, March 39.

42. Orme, p. 185.

43. Broome, 165; Orme, 186.

44. Broome, p. 164.

by the march of Major Coote at the head of a force of 223 Europeans, 500 sepoy, 50 lascars, 2 field pieces, stores and ammunition, all laden in 40 boats.'

At the same time, Clive<sup>45</sup> and Mir Jafar wrote urgent letters to Ramnarain at Patna to stop Law and Parwanahs were also issued to different<sup>46</sup> chiefs and Government officials on Coote's way to Patna to supply everything of what the Major stood in need and to obey his orders as Commander of the whole of the Nawab's troops. "But Ramnarain was no lover of Mir Jafar." and as "he was not yet acquainted with Clive" says<sup>47</sup> Hill, "so he allowed him to pass." Let us hear what Law<sup>48</sup> himself says about the affair":—"On the 16th of July we arrived at Danapur, 8 miles from Patna, where I soon saw we had not time to lose. The Raja of Patna himself would not have troubled us much. By means of small boats we could have avoided him as we pleased. But the English were advancing, commanded by Major Coote. Possibly we could have outdistanced them but we did not wish to give them the pleasure of seeing us flee. On the 18th instant an order from the Raja (R. N.) instructed me, in the name of Mir Jafar, to halt, no doubt to wait for the English. Whilst another, on his part, advised me to hurry off. Some small detachment of horsemen appeared along the banks apparently to hinder us from getting provisions or to lay violent hands on boatmen. On this we set sail, resolved to quit all the dependencies of Bengal.....lost 2 days at Chapra...and 5 days later, on the 25th July, we arrived at Ghazipur, the first place of importance in the province of Shuja-ud-dawla, the Viceroy of Oudh and Allahabad."

In the meanwhile Coote, while on his way to Monghyr, had written on the 19th July<sup>49</sup> to Raja Ramnarain asking him to oppose the French and prevent them from going further up the river. When he had arrived at Baikatpur near Fatuha, 16 miles from Patna, he received in reply, two letters from the Raja of Patna, "apologizing<sup>50</sup> for the escape of the French party which he ascribed partly to his not having received earlier instructions on the subject from Murshidabad, and partly to his having himself been ab-

45. Hill's "Three Frenchmen in Bengal", p. 109.

46. Wyly's Life of Sir E. Coote, p. 47.

47. Hill's Three Frenchmen.

48. Ibid., p. 110.

49. Wyly's Life of Coote, p. 48.

50. Orme, p. 199; Broome, p. 171 and 172.

sent from Patna and engaged in an expedition against two disobedient chiefs of Moy and Sader, whose districts lay about 30 miles south east of Patna. It was further stated that on his return, only, two days before, he had immediately proclaimed Mir Jafar Khan, Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and that he had despatched 2,000 troops in pursuit of M. Law and disbanded the greater portion of his own army.

We gather from the above that the Raja, despite the exhortation<sup>51</sup> of his brother and his own hurried efforts, did not actually return to Patna and formally proclaim the accession of Mir. Jafar before the 29th Ziqad, although his letter of the 18th<sup>52</sup> Shawwal (i.e. more than a month back) tells us of his having sent the Nazarana and the congratulation to Mir Jafar. Was his absence deliberate and designed for a purpose? Unfortunately, we do not find any other letter in the Dastur to throw fresh light on the Raja's plan and movements. Certain it is, however, that notwithstanding his prompt profession of allegiance and show of activity against M. Law, the Raja's sentiments were far from friendly to the new ruler. Perhaps he could not persuade himself to trust Mir Jafar on whose behalf his fellow conspirators and the friends<sup>53</sup> of the Raja had hastened to plead with him. The private letter which Ramnarain wrote<sup>54</sup> to Law and the ease with which the latter was allowed to move on to the extreme boundaries of the province, give us an idea of his real attitude. A further indication of his feeling is found in Orme's interesting narrative and shrewd observations. We are told that<sup>55</sup> "soon after the receipt of the two letters—and they were the first from Ramnarain—a deputation of his principal officers arrived at Fatuha under the pretence of compliment, but in reality to observe the nature and strength of the forces, and discover the intentions of Major Coote." They repeated the substance of the Raja's letter to which Major Coote replied that he would be at Patna the next day, when he would himself wait on the Raja and arrange further plans and operations.

Another proof of the Raja's ill feeling has been found in the fact that Coote's arrival at the Patna Factory on the 26th July was

51. Dastur, 22a.

52. Ibid.

53. Vide ante.

54. Ibid.

55. Orme, p. 190-1.

far from cordial, for many excuses were made for avoiding a meeting with him and some of his men were even beaten and wounded. We may quote the contemporary<sup>56</sup> authority "Major Coote immediately prepared to visit Ramnarain, but was prevented by a message desiring him to take some repose, and to defer his visit till the next day; in the afternoon, three Europeans and some sepoys who were leading some cattle to the Factory, were, without provocation, assaulted and wounded by a number of persons belonging to the Garrison. Complaints were immediately made to Ramnarain who showed no inclination to redress the outrage; and, moreover, desired Major Coote not to visit him, as was intended, the next day, lest the ceremonial should give occasion to quarrels betwixt their respective attendants. An English officer, likewise, walking in the town observed two men of condition, who did not suppose him to understand their language, talking of a design to massacre the English detachment."

Even if we take the attack on Coote's men to be the result of time honoured veneration of the Hindus for the bovine animals, and attach little importance to gossips the like of which once caused the wholesale plunder<sup>57</sup> of Delhi, we can not but perceive a strong vein of resentment against the white people who had been so instrumental in the destruction of the house of Aliverdi and his nephew, Haibatjung, the beloved<sup>58</sup> of Patna populace. Indeed, Coote's position, to quote his biographer,<sup>59</sup> was now somewhat precarious; he was isolated and far from reinforcement in the midst of a semi-hostile people, and with the European portion of his small force on the verge of mutiny. He however at once took the best means of dealing with the situation.

First he held a conference, on the 27th July, with Md. Amin Khan, the brother-in-law,<sup>60</sup> and Mir Md. Kazim, the brother of Mir Jafar. "They informed him," says Ormes,<sup>61</sup> "that the French

56. Orme, p. 191.

57. e.g. The sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739.

58. A manuscript, discovered by the writer in Patna City, named Gulzari-Bahar, composed in 1204 = 1789 by Ramdeyal Gulshan, gives instances of impartial administration of justice between Hindus and Muslims by Haibat-jang.

59. Wylly's Coote. p. 49.

60. Orme and all other authorities have mis-spelt the names and mistaken the relationship of these two noble men.

61. Orme, p. 191.

party might easily have been stopped, if Ramnarain had so willed, that on hearing of the death of Siraj, he had sent letters to Shuja-ud-dowla, the Sooba of Oudh, proposing to render himself independant of Bengal, if the latter would assist him with his force and requesting him to protect the French party on the frontier until it might be necessary to recall them to Patna; that Shuja-ud-dowla encouraged his views, but was prevented by events which more immediately concerned himself, from marching with his army to Bihar. They likewise asserted that Ramnarain had consulted his confidants on the means of destroying the English detachment." On getting this information the Major decided to place no confidence<sup>62</sup> in the advice or promises of the Raja and to proceed with all expedition to the frontiers of Oudh."

A well-timed severity enabled the Major to suppress further disorders among the European soldiers, and he also succeeded in prevailing upon the fatigued and discontented sepoys, particularly of Madras, to resume the advance; but it was with difficulty that his party reached the Company's garden at Bankipore on the 30th July and moved on to Dinapore on the following day, because, says Ormes,<sup>63</sup> "it was impossible to collect sufficient boatmen without the assistance of Government which Ramnarain promised but did not supply half the requisite number." At Dinapore Coote was joined by the troops "which Ramnarain pretended<sup>64</sup> to have sent forward in pursuit of M. Law," and with them they halted at Maner, situated at the confluence of the rivers Sone and the Ganges. Here Mooten Beg<sup>65</sup> reported to Coote that Hayat Khan (called Haibat Jung by Ormes and Broome), the Commander of Ramnarain's force, refused to proceed further and that he would not let the Beg and his people enter into the Bazar of the town. At the same time Lt. Kinch, who commanded the artillery which marched with the sepoys, informed Coote that he had observed hostile demonstrations by the armed inhabitants in the several villages they had passed through.

Hearing these reports, the Major took all possible precaution, after passing the night, moved on to Chapra, on the 2nd of August, where the Europeans and the sepoys were lodged in the large saltpeter ware-house and the factory. It took three tedious days

62. Broome, p. 171.

63. Orme, p. 191.

64. *Ibid.*

65. Orme and Broome.

for the whole baggage, stores, etc. to be ferried over from Maner to Chapra for the "bed of the river in this part was three miles broad and the officers<sup>66</sup> of the district—the Raja's agents—had failed to furnish the boats and other assistances the Raja had promised." It was at Chapra that Coote learnt from his Harkaras that Law had left that town 17 days previously, and were then at Benares where the French were living under the protection of Raja Balwant Singh, a feudatory of the Oudh Nawab. It was also reported that Balwant Singh<sup>67</sup> had assembled 4,000 troops to oppose the English and that Fazal Ali Khan, the Nawab of Ghazipur, with whom the French had stayed 2 days, had also collected 3,000 men and was marching towards the borders of his district. It was also here that, late in the night of 2-3, Pheroo Singh,<sup>68</sup> an officer of Ramnarain, came to Coote and told him that he must be very cautious how he proceeded, for his master, Ramnarain, was throwing every obstacle in the way of the onward progress of the forces, and had given Pheroo Singh himself positive injunction to proceed no further. It became abundantly clear that no assistance of any kind would be accorded by Ramnarain to Coote. On the other hand, "intelligence<sup>69</sup> was obtained that several chiefs in this part of Bihar had enlisted forces to assist Ram Narain."

On such information and also the report that the roads to Benares were in a very bad state and that there were three rivers to be crossed on the way, being laid before a council of war, it was unanimously decided not to proceed further in pursuit of Law nor to remain at Chapra but to return to Patna. In the meanwhile, during the night of the 4th August, two deserters came in from a town north of Chapra, bringing news that one Dunsee Ram,<sup>70</sup> the petty Raja of Patora, was collecting troops and had already assembled 3,000 horse and 1,500 foot and 4 guns. And Pheroo Singh<sup>71</sup> admitted that the local Rajas, after the death of the late Nawab, no longer considered themselves obliged to pay revenue to Mir Jafar, and were collecting their forces to resist any demand which might be made upon them. Coote remained undismayed, and a bold threat which he held out to Dunsee Ram led to the collapse of that

66. Orme and Broome.

67. Broome, p. 176.

68. Ives quoted by Wyllly.

69. Orme, p. 193.

70. Ives and Broome.

71. Wyllly.

Chief. Despite the decision of the war council, however, the Major resolved to wait for further orders. He had already made a complaint<sup>72</sup> against the rulers of Patna from whom he had met with obstruction instead of aid. On the 12th August<sup>73</sup> he received a letter from Clive, instructing him, as a scheme of Mir Jafar, to return to Patna, and endeavour in concert with Md. Amin Khan to wrest the Government from Ram Narain. Clive wrote to Coote, from Murshidabad, on the 1st of August,<sup>74</sup> "Ram Narain is a rascal. . . . The resolution here is that if it can be effectively done, he is to be demolished." This is explained by the fact that the Nawab had become alarmed<sup>75</sup> at the reports received from his kinsmen relative to the ambitious designs of the Raja which were confirmed by the difficulties and oppositions experienced by British detachment throughout the province, where Mir Jafar Khan's order and Parwanas were treated with perfect contempt, especially when opposed to the views or wishes of Ram Narain.'

Accordingly, immediately on arrival at Patna in the noon of 13th August, the Major sent for the two relatives of Mir Jafar and consulted with them as to the course to be adopted. He himself was of opinion that the only means of his executing his instructions was to make an immediate assault on the Citadel where Ram Narain resided, and the garrison of which did not exceed 2,000 men. "But Md. Amin Khan represented that their force was not sufficient to invest it so closely as to prevent Ram Narain from escaping by some of the secret passages, and proposed to defer the attempt until he himself should be joined by 1,500<sup>76</sup> of Ram Narain's troops whom he had engaged to desert."

"But by this time," says<sup>77</sup> Orme, 'Ram Narain had taken the alarm, probably because of information received from his friends at Murshidabad of the orders sent to Major Coote and Md. Amin Khan, which, confirmed by the hasty return of the detachment from Chapra, frightened him so much that he now spared no attention to the Major and received his (first) visit (on the 15th) with much affectation of complacency. Two days after the Major received a letter from Mir Jafar fraught with suspicions that Md. Amin Khan had borne false witness against Ram Narain, as

72. Coote to Clive.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Dodwell's Dupleix and Clive, p.

75. Orme, p. 193.

76. Orme, p. 193; Broome, p. 178.

77. *Ibid.*

a pretext for levying forces with the intention of seizing the government for himself".

Ram Narain's complete change of tactics and unexpected shower of civilities upon Coote has been sufficiently accounted for, but the motive of Mir Jafar and the reason of the abrupt change has been considered obscure<sup>78</sup> by Orme. We must remember however, that Md. Amin Khan, the step brother of Aliverdi, and the brother of Mir Jafar's first wife, was a man of some ability<sup>79</sup> and courage, and though Mir Md. Kazim, the elder brother of Mir Jafar, and then a Buxi (paymaster of the forces) of Ram Narain, was "a good<sup>80</sup> natured plain man with very little brilliancy in his character," he was, nevertheless, a formidable rival for the Governorship of Patna, if Ram Narain was deposed. Md. Amin's proposal to Coote, in the night of the 27th July, "to cut<sup>81</sup> off Ram Narain, if he would support him" had been declined by Coote because the latter was not yet authorised for it. It was to him that on his return from Chapra, on the 13th, Coote read out the letter of Clive, but this time the Khan, who had been, in the meanwhile, active in seducing the Raja's soldiery, held back the Major. He had reckoned without his host. The counter intrigues of Ram Narain, who had so many friends in Mir Jafar's court, had already produced its effects and caused the Nawab to suspect and distrust his abler and more distant relative. "The counter instructions were received from Mir Jafar," says<sup>82</sup> Broome, "because, weak and vacillating, he now began to entertain ever greater fears with regard to his brother (in law) Md. Amin Khan whom he suspected of traducing Ram Narain, and exaggerating his conduct, with a view to securing the Government of the province for himself, and ultimately proclaiming his independence. Such appears to have been the leading motive for Mir Jafar's decisions to which he was probably encouraged by Ram Narain's agents in the Durbar."

Be the motive what it may, certain it is, however, that despite<sup>83</sup> the advice, and to the great annoyance of Clive, Mir Jafar ordered a suspension of all hostilities, and directed Major Coote to

78. *Ibid.*

79. Consult Seyar, p. 503, for the part played by the Khan in the rescue of Saulat Jang.

80. S. M., 643.

81. Coote to Clive.

82. Broome, p. 179.

83. *Ibid.*

endeavour to arrange matters amicably with the Raja, and, if this could be done, to leave him in the government of the province. A communication was speedily entered into between Ramnarain and Major Coote, and on the 21st August the latter visited the Raja and all points were finally discussed, and Ramnarain offered to swear fidelity and allegiance to Mir Jafar Khan, "if the English would guarantee safety, honour and position to which the Major pledged himself." Accordingly, on the following day, a public Durbar was held for the adjustment of all differences, attended by the Khan's and by Ramnarain with all his principal officers. Coote and Mr. Pearkes and all the Civil and Military officers were also present. "The two Muslim<sup>84</sup> noble men, says Orme "accused the Raja of a design to assassinate them which, indeed, had been reported in the city; then of his intention to rebel against Mir Jafar, in proof of which they urged his connivance at the passage of the French troops through Bihar, the oaths he had taken from the officers of his army, his correspondence and his proposals to Shuja-ud-dowla." Ram Narain solemnly denied all these accusation and produced a letter he had just received from the Oudh Nawab which indicated no such intentions as were imputed to their correspondence! He then said, it was true that he had been attached to the late Nawab because his fortune had been raised by the princes of his family; but now that Siraj was no more, and none of his family remaining worthy or capable of government, on whom he would naturally wish to depend as on Mir Jafar whom their common patron, Aliverdi, had raised so near his person and dignity."

After these mutual accusations and explanations, Raja Ram Narain sent for a Brahmin and solemnly swore, according to the Hindu custom, allegiance and fidelity to Mir Jafar and friendship and good will towards Mir Md. Kazim and Md. Amin Khan who, in their turn, pledged themselves on the Quran to bear no ill will against or attempt in no way to injure him. They then embraced<sup>85</sup> each other and all the three embraced Major Coote, as the mediator of this reconciliation. "Nevertheless", remarks Orme,<sup>86</sup> "neither side believed the other, but each wished to gain time and to wait events; for Ramnarain knew that the order from Murshidabad would prevent Major Coote and the brother of Mir

84. Orme, p. 194.

85. Orme, p. 194; Broome, p. 179.

86. *Ibid.*

Jafar from acting against him at present ; and they knew that he, disappointed of the assistance of Shuja-ud Dowla, would be submissive until he was better prepared to assert his independence."

The sequel will show how the game of intrigues and counter-intrigues began soon after this apparent reconciliation—a game in which Ram Narain won baffling all attempts to oust him in favour of Mir Md. Kazim Khan, the elder brother of the new Nawab.

## Theocracy versus Autocracy

*With reference to 'Early Medieval India'.*

By

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THE Muslim State in Medieval India has been popularly but inaccurately described as a theocracy. Nothing can be more misleading ; the blunder arises from a misconception of the meaning of 'theocracy' and an utter ignorance of the true character of the Empire of Delhi. In order to explain the degeneration from the theocratic 'Khilafat' to the autocratic rule of the Muslim sovereigns, a reference is to be made to the Islamic political theory and ideal.

The Muslim state, being extraordinarily God-conscious, is permeated by a religious control, which extends to every sphere of human conduct. Allāh is everywhere, and a Muslim is never permitted to lose sight of his faith. He is the real owner of sovereignty. He bestows it upon whom He likes, and deprives others likewise.<sup>1</sup> The idea of sovereignty in Islām is one of the most prominent factors of Islāmic Political Theory. According to the Muslim theology, political authority rests with the Muslim brotherhood, which may confer supreme power upon any bonafide Muslim. The ruler and the ruled are fastened together by means of *bait*, which literally means 'contract' or 'submission'. It signifies an offer of fidelity and allegiance on the part of the subjects, and its acceptance by the ruler.<sup>2</sup> The bond of Muslim society, therefore, rests on an implied contract, or consent without which none has any right to exercise authority. Thus the political authority in Islām depends upon the *will* of the Muslim brotherhood, which is free from any restriction of caste,

1. 'Malik-ul-Mulk'—Qurān, 3: 3.

2. Qurān, 26: 2. Also 26: 3. "Surely those who swear allegiance to you (i.e., Prophet) do but swear allegiance to Allāh."

creed, race or colour, and that 'all believers are equal in the sight of God.'

The *Shari'at*, i.e. the path of virtue or the divine code of ethical and social laws, is supreme; and politically the Amīr, the Caliph, and even the Prophet—being members of the Muslim community and subject to the same laws—were never regarded immune or absolute. Thus the supremacy of the law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic politics, and the ruler as well as the ruled have to submit to the *Shari'at* for their guidance considering it as the will and command of Allāh.

The Muslim law imposes upon the individual the duty of obedience to the Imām. "Obey God, the Apostle, and those in authority from among you<sup>3</sup>; and in case of difference of opinion, to turn back to Allāh and his apostle—the basic principle of the faith. The one-sided emphasis on the duty of the individual without any corresponding obligation on the part of the Amīr would be meaningless: It has been, therefore, expressly provided that the person in authority is accountable and responsible to God for the welfare of the subjects.<sup>4</sup> The interests of the state are prior to the interests of the individual<sup>5</sup> and that it is the duty of the ruler not to betray his trust<sup>6</sup>.

The Muslim nation is a politico-religious unity (*Millat*). The Islamic conception of nationalism or patriotism is not based on any geographical or racial consideration. Islamic polity has borrowed, the terms *Ummāh* and *Millāh* as also *Khalīfā* and *Imām* from the *Qurān*<sup>7</sup>. It goes without saying that Islām makes no distinction on account of place, birth or lineage, but teaches a practical brotherhood unparalleled in the history of mankind. The Holy *Qurān*

3. *Qurān*, 5: 8.

4. The Apostle is ordered thus:—"Go on inviting . . . and say, 'I believe in what Allāh has revealed of the Book, and I am commanded to do justice between you; Allāh is our Lord and your Lord; we shall have our deeds, and you shall have your deeds; No plea need there be between us and you. Allāh will gather us together and to Him is the return.'" *Qurān*, 25: 2.

5. *Ibid.*, 9: 3—"and know that your property and your children are a temptation, and that with Allāh is immense reward." *Qurān*, 9: 3.

6. *Ibid.*, 9: 4—"Oh believers: be not unfaithful to Allāh and the Apostle nor be unfaithful to your trusts, while you know.

7. "Walo shaullah ho lajaalakum", "*Ummahun Wahida*".—*Qurān*, 25: 1.

"Inna jaalna kum khalifahun fil arz"—*Ibid.*, 23: 2.

"Qala inni jaoloka linnas-i-Imama"—*Ibid.*, 1: 15.

says, "the believers are naught else but brothers."<sup>8</sup> Islam lays down the basis of a vast brotherhood, in which all men and women of whatever tribe or nation, have equal rights as if members of the same family. The slave is to be clothed with the clothing and fed with the food of his master, and is not to be treated harshly. "Your wives", says the *Qurān*, "have rights against you, as you have rights against them".<sup>9</sup>

The ruler is to conduct the affairs of the state in consultation with counsellors, according to the injunction of the *Qurān*. "And consult with them upon the conduct of affairs; and when thou art resolved, then put thy trust in God."<sup>10</sup> The Political ideal of Islām is to make human beings capable of acting together in the service of God as well as of one another, and to build by institutions by consent and consultation so as to encourage right conduct and justice. "So that it (wealth) may not circulate (only) among the rich", is the key-note of the Islamic policy regarding the national wealth. Hence the distribution of wealth among all classes has been emphasised by the institution of a property tax (*Zakāt*)<sup>11</sup> restrictions on the power of testamentary disposition, laws of inheritance and the prohibition of usury.

Islām did not provide as to who would succeed the Prophet when he died. A successor to the Apostle was soon considered to be an unavoidable necessity; such a leader or chief (*Imām*) must be absolutely just, selfless, wise, and virtuous. After the Prophet, there sprang up the Caliphate, which was based upon election; but as the empire expanded, the system was changed to a mere ceremony of *bait* or submission. The circle of electors was reduced gradually from the leading men of the town to eleven, five and even one, so much so that the sovereign could appoint his own successor. In order to reconcile the theory with practice, Māwardī tried to justify this conclusion, and the relaxation in the principle of election led to the recognition of the right of the sovereign to inherit. However the idea of the ultimate sovereignty of the Muslim people did survive.

8. *Qurān*, 26: 1.

9. *Ibid.*, 2: 28.

10. *Ibid.*, 4: 17.

11. "And gives away wealth out of love for Him to the near-kin, the orphans, and the needy, the wayfarer and the beggar, captives and keep up prayers and pay *Zakāt*."—(*Qurān*, 2: 22).

The first rulers were divine kings such as the Sāssānians, who were regarded as 'God among men.' A full fledged Sultanate, however, began with the Khwarazmian Empire, and Mahmūd of Ghazna was, perhaps, the first to assume the title of Sultān.<sup>12</sup> The non-recognition of the institution of monarchy bred curious but natural results. In the first place all distinction between the king *de-facto* and the king *de-jure* was lost. Secondly, as there was no place for *Sultanate* in the Islamic political theory, there was consequently no provision for the devolution of the crown. The state could not be regarded as the property of the Sultān. The result was the interminable wars of succession, and an appeal to arms was the only possible remedy to solve the riddle. It was customary for the Sultān to nominate his heir either in his life-time or on his death-bed; but the king's nominee was almost always rejected.<sup>13</sup> A strong hand, of course, could, with little difficulty, find his way to the throne, and the *Khāns*, *Maliks* and *Amīrs* perforce made their submission while the weak successors fell a prey into the hands of the so-called electors only to be set up and pulled down with the inevitable result of losing their necks. A formal ceremony of *bait* was, however, followed in each case.

The division of the state between Ghasuddin and his brother *SHahābuddin* was neither sanctioned by the Islamic law nor supported by any precedent. However it evolved a principle that the state was the private property of the ruler. Mu'izzuddin died without leaving any son to rule over his empire, and his Turkish slaves were the only heir. On the other hand, the ruler of Fīroz Koh found himself unable to impose his sovereignty over the powerful Turkish *Maliks*. The death of *SHahābuddin* left the puzzle unsolved. The sovereigns were required to form new theories or to reaffirm the time-honoured ideas regarding the institution of kingship.

The ruler was looked upon with awe and reverence, and kingship as an indispensable institution. There was a choice between monarchy and anarchy, and the people wisely chose the former.

12. *Siyāsat-Nāmā* of Nizām-ul Mulk Tūsī, p. 108.

13. Qutbuddin Aiybek nominated Itutmish to the throne of Delhi; but the *Maliks* elevated Arām *SHāh*. Sultān Itutmish made Raziyyā his heir-apparent, but the *Maliks* raised Rakhnuddin Fīroz *SHāh* to the throne of Delhi. Again Balban nominated Kai-Khusro, but Kaiqabād succeeded him at the instigation of the *Maliks*.

The Muslim society had undergone a great change, and it was a period of an 'alluring materialistic civilisation and not of faith.' The Muslim law or *Shari'at* came to be regarded as impracticable. With the fall of Mādāin, and the transfer of the seat of Government to Baghdād, Persian ideas began to flow in, and in course of time completely changed the face of Islām. The conquerors fell an easy prey to the culture of the conquered, and the old doctrine of Persian Imperialism crept in the body-politic. Persian ideas and institutions were adopted whole-sale; the government of the empire, the administration of the various departments, the personality of the ruler, the state ceremonials, the dress and royal symbol were modelled upon Persian lines. These ideas spread from Baghdād to Ghaznīn and other parts of the Muslim world, and likewise made way into the Indian plains. Of all these ideas the most significant was the theory of the Divine Right of the Persian Kings. The virtue of the divinity<sup>14</sup> was associated with the office rather than with the person of the Sultān. "Excluding the functions of a prophet," it was repeatedly asserted that "there is no work as great and noble as the task of Government."<sup>15</sup> Kingship, a great blessing and the highest office, is the creation of God, and is received from Him alone. A king is a representative of God on earth,<sup>16</sup> and the heart of king reflects the glory of God. 'The Creator displays his inner richness by raising at every stage a person from among the created, endows him with all the accomplishments befitting sovereigns and entrusts him with the task of government, so that the people may lead a happy and prosperous life under his just and equitable regime.'<sup>17</sup> A king must, therefore, feel the importance and significance of the glory and grandeur thus conferred upon him and must be grateful to God for this great honour.<sup>18</sup> 'He must seek God's pleasure by doing the virtuous acts, which consists in administering absolute justice to the people—a means of the strengthening of the empire and a way for his own salvation.'<sup>19</sup>

14. It is related about Humayun that on the occasion of a public assembly, a curtain was hung between him and the audience; and when it was drawn, the gathering exclaimed with one voice, "behold the illumination of the Divine Being." Abul Fazal made Akbar "Insān-i-Kāmil"—"Perfect man."

15. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz SHāhī* of Zīā Barnī, p. 27.

16. Amir Khusro in his *Qirān-us-Saidain*, p. 205, addresses the Sultān as 'Shadow of God'.

17. *Siyāsat-Nāmā*, p. 6.

18. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz SHāhī* of Zīā Barnī, pp. 70, 71.

19. *Siyāsat-Nāmā*, p. 8.

A king must be brave, enterprising, just and benevolent. He should be 'true to his army, benevolent to the subjects, kind to the oppressed, courteous to the virtuous and an abstainer from the evil-doers.'<sup>20</sup> He should be neither sweet-speaking nor very harsh. To retain his kingship he must maintain his prestige. Kingly dignity disappears on account of friendship and familiarity; and the result is vice, immorality and sinning throughout his kingdom.<sup>21</sup> Kingly glory and terror of authority contributes more than mere chastisement to the establishment of a strong and stable government. His society should be composed of the virtuous, faithful, wise and sagacious people. He should never grant audience or give posts to the humble or low-born people.<sup>22</sup> The primary duty of a king is to maintain peace and order in his dominion and to protect and patronise the faith.<sup>23</sup>

He must keep himself well informed of the condition of his provinces and the doings of his governors.<sup>24</sup> But he should be all the more particular about his personal security, and keep his guards and servants satisfied; 'My first advice to you,' said Bughrā Khān to his son "is this: consider Empire as dear but your own life as dearer; for if life is in danger, what is the use of this world."<sup>25</sup> Secondly, hesitate in killing Malikhs and Amīrs, but convert your enemies into friends by means of liberality, sagacity and kindness."<sup>26</sup>

The Three essentials of kingship are the army, treasury and nobles,<sup>27</sup> the means of success are justice, beneficence, pomp and show. A king must have under his command ten *Khāns*, each Khan ten *Maliks*, each Malik ten *Amīrs*, each Amīr ten *Sipāh-sālārs*, each Sipāh-sālār ten *Sar-khīls* (generals)<sup>28</sup> and each Sar-khīl ten horsemen or footmen. The assumption of a canopy of state, and to cause one's name to be read in the *Khutbā* and to be inscribed on the coinage were regarded as all the insignias

20. Mss. *Adāb-ul Harb*, p. 50-A.

21. *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz SHāhī* of Zīā Barnī, p. 34.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

23. *Qirān-us-Saidain*, p. 206.

24. Zīā Barnī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz SHāhī*, p. 97 and *Qirān-us-Saidain*, p. 205.

25. Zīā Barnī, p. 152.

26. *Qirān-us-Saidain*, p. 204.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

28. Zīā Barnī—*Tārīkh-i-Fīroz SHāhī*, p. 145. There is obviously some mistake. An army of 100,000 is possible only if *Sipāh-Sālār* is eliminated. *Sipāh-Sālār* was a high title conferred upon Amīrs.

of royalty.<sup>29</sup> 'The army, should in no case, be allowed to molest the subjects and the latter must not encroach upon the rights of the former.'<sup>30</sup>

Such was the theory and practice during the Medieval Period. The position was not acceptable to a number of true followers of Islām such as theologians and *sūfīs*, who broke away from the monarchy and disassociated themselves with the corrupt condition of the Muslim society. The Sultān of Delhi was an autocrat, bound by no laws and subject to no control; the subjects had no rights but obligations. The Hindū theories of *Dharma* and *Karma*, teaching contentment and the rule of the upper classes over the lower, in a way, strengthened rather than weakened these ideals; and as a matter of fact, the Hindū political system gave way at the first approach of the Muslim arms.

The state was based on force: the sovereign upheld his power in the face of grave dangers; all land belonged to the crown; and the imperial treasury was the personal property of the Sultān. Formally the ruler showed respect for religion, and employed under his service some theologians (*Dastār-bandān*) as *Qāzīs* and *Sheikhul Islām*. Institutions such as *Bait*, *Khutbā*, *Wakf* (endowment) and *Khairāt* (charities) marked outward shows; mosques were built and *Jihāds* were waged. Yet the unfailing power of the Malikhs, the force of local customs and tradition and above all the powerful influence of mystics and divines kept the sovereign in alarm. The ambitions of the Sultāns of Delhi, like the Sāsānian monarchs of Persia, were to build lofty and magnificent palaces, to hold grand assemblies, to conquer the world, to accumulate vast hordes of treasure, to bestow over his favourites, to carry on war to uphold his supremacy and to maintain a large establishment of attendants and *harem*. The position of the Sultān was so secure that 'Alāuddīn and Mohammad Tughlaq contemplated founding a religion, and Akbar actually created a new faith. Acts of cruelty, tortures and even massacres were practised by dictates of policy, extravagant and wasteful expenditure became the rule, the *shari'at* was neglected, and the will of the sovereign became the law of the state. Such was the un-Islamic nature of the Sultanate of Delhi.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

30. Mss. *Adāb-ul-Harb*, p. 50-b.

## Prativadi-Bhayankaram-Annan

(the period in which he lived)

BY

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Among the Vaishṇava *Āchāryas* Prativādi-Bhayāṅkaram-Anṇan occupies a position of some importance, though he does not rank exactly with the regular line of *Āchāryas* well known among the Vaishṇavas. The importance of his position really arises from his name being associated with the history of some of the more important *Āchāryas*, such as Vēdānta Dēśika, his son Nayinārāchārya, and another contemporary, Maṇavāla-Māmuni. There has recently been a discussion in regard to his position, and his relation to the two sections of Vaishṇavas, the so-called *Vaḍakalais* and *Tenkalais*. Apart from the doctrinal differences, we shall examine his position in regard to the time and character of his position.

It must be noted at the outset that, according to the *Guruparamparas* of the Vaishṇavas, the work in three thousand *granthas* of the third Brahmatantrasvāmi is perhaps the most authoritative work for this particular period, embracing the lives of the three *Āchāryas* mentioned above, namely Vēdānta Dēśika, Nayinārāchārya, and Maṇavāla-Māmuni. According to this *Guruparampara*, Vēdānta Dēśika was born in *Kali* 4370 expired, corresponding to the A.D. year 1268, and he is stated to have lived for a little over a complete century, in fact 101 years. His life period therefore would be A.D. 1268 to A.D. 1369-70. His son Nayinārāchārya is said to have been born in the 48th year of the father, equivalent to A.D. 1316, and his length of life is given as 99 years, taking him on to the year A.D. 1415. Maṇavāla-Māmuni's date of birth is *Kali* 4472, corresponding to A.D. 1370, and his duration of life is 73 years, taking his life on to A.D. 1443. The total period of these three *Āchāryas* extends from A.D. 1268 to A.D. 1443. This is coeval with the early history of Vijayanagar more or less, coming down to the commencement of the reign of emperor, Sadāśivarāya. Prativādi-Bhayāṅkaram-Anṇan's name is brought in as a teacher of the Vaishṇava Vēdānta along with Maṇavāla-Māmuni. He is actually mentioned as the first among the disciples of Nayinārāchārya. His name comes into association with Vēdānta Dēśika as

the composer of a biographical laudation in a Sankrit poem, *Saptati-Ratnamālikā* which he composed in response to a challenge made against Vēdānta Dēśika as a teacher of very high rank. Actually the story is that the poem met with the approbation of God Ranganātha himself thus placing the claims of Vēdānta Dēśika beyond dispute. This at once disposes of one part of the question: that he might or might not have been a contemporary of Vēdānta Dēśika, but could hardly have occupied any position of importance in association with Vēdānta Dēśika. This is confirmed by the story that is given to explain how and when he got the actual title Prativādi-Bhayāṅkaram-Anṇan.

The occasion for this arose when Nayinārāchārya had become the recognised teacher of the Vaishṇavas and when the first Brahmatantrasvāmi had passed away. This latter was one of the principal disciples of Vēdānta Dēśika along with Nayinārāchārya himself, but seems to have been a much older person. According to the account we are quoting from, Nayinārāchārya became eligible for the teachership of the Vēdānta very early in his life, actually in his 22nd year, and all the time that the father lived perhaps he was occupying a position of subordinate importance to the father. When Nayinārāchārya was 22, Vēdānta Dēśika must have been seventy, and had thirty years more of work in the seat of the chief *Āchārya*. It may therefore be reasonable to assume that Nayinārāchārya actually became the principal teacher after the father's death, which would mean after about A.D. 1370. It was then that his position as *Āchārya* was challenged by an ascetic of the *Māyavāda* school who challenged Nayinārāchārya to a disputation. If Vēdānta Dēśika had been living, the challenge should have been made to him. Nayinārāchārya is said to have asked his principal disciples as to which among them would meet the *Sanyāsi* in argument. They hesitated in view to the great reputation of the antagonist. Seeing this hesitancy among his really capable disciples, Nayinārāchārya seems to have called this gentleman, familiarly known by the name Anṇan, who was in charge of the kitchen of Nayinārāchārya, and whose scholarship was of the average. Finding him ready to accept the challenge, he equipped him for it by teaching him the *Hayagrīva mantra* and presenting him with his own ring, the holy *tīrtha*, etc; and then sent him forward with his good wishes for success. He argued with the other *Sanyāsi* and by sheer hectoring won in the argument and returned victorious. Nayinārāchārya then addressed him as *Prativādi-Bhayāṅkaram*, one who is frightening to opponents in argument, and this is supposed to be the origin of the

title. We may perhaps legitimately infer from this that Anṇan was among the younger followers of perhaps Vēdānta Dēśika, and his son in succession, and did not take high rank among the disciples for scholarship.

The next incident in his life takes him on to a period perhaps much later than this. When after receiving all the teaching of Vēdānta Dēśika from Nayinārāchārya, he was qualified to set up as a teacher of the Vaishṇava Vēdānta, and was going on with his work in the very temple at Śrīrangam. Maṇavāla-Māmuni also set up as a teacher of the Vaishṇava philosophy in Śrīrangam itself. The teaching of Anṇan followed the traditional one of Vēdānta Dēśika and his predecessors right on to Ramanuja himself; while Maṇavāla-Māmuni was conducting his classes, if they could be so called, following, at any rate on the Prabhandā side of the teaching, that of the later Āchāryas, whose interpretation of the Tiruvāymoli in particular made an effort to be independent of the teaching of the Vēdānta as coming down in Sanskrit literature. There was a difference of interpretation in certain points, and the matter in dispute between one of the disciples of this Maṇavāla-Māmuni and Anṇan was as to which was the correct interpretation. Provoked by the challenge thus thrown at the teaching of Vēdānta Dēśika, Anṇan composed the work *Saptati-Ratnamālīka*, the jewel garland of seventy in praise of Vēdānta Dēśika, describing his work and teaching, and recited it in the presence of God Ranganātha, putting it to the God himself to disapprove of what is stated in the poem if he was wrong. The story is that this appeal to the God met with the God's approval and put the correctness of Vēdānta Dēśika's teaching beyond dispute.

This incident could have taken place only late in the life of Nayinārāchārya himself and even of Anṇan. Maṇavāla-Māmuni's date of birth is given as A.D. 1370. He was a man occupying a secular position, and had renounced it and became a *Sanyāsi*, and set up as a teacher comparatively late in life. He could not therefore have come to teach in Śrīrangam much earlier than the end of the first quarter of the 15th century. According to this account of the third Brahmatantrasvāmi, the death of Nayinārāchārya follows soon after and the date of his death is A.D. 1415, so that this dispute between the disciples of Maṇavāla-Māmuni and Anṇan may have taken place, say about A.D. 1410 to A.D. 1415. So without going any further in our investigations, and, on the statement of the Vaishṇavas themselves alone, Prativādi-Bhayankaram Anṇan's lifetime must have fallen in the century, A.D. 1340

to A.D. 1440, his position as a teacher of standing having been only in the early years of the 15th century.

The dating given all through this account is the traditional dating of the *Guruparamparas* composed by the third Brahmatantrasvāmi, who lived just about the same time, it may be as a junior contemporary of these teachers. We have recently come upon two inscriptions in the collection made from Tirupati, the Tirupati Devastānam inscriptions, which specifically refer to Prativādi-Bhayankaram-Anṇan. The first one is of date A.D. 17th August 1514. The inscription is at the temple at Tirumalai on the hill, and is the record of an agreement between the temple management and the bachelor superintendent of the garden named Tiruvāli-Parappinān. His name is given as Tiruvēngaḍa Ayyan, clearly indicating that he was of the Sāttāni community, and he is described as a disciple of an Appa Aiyangar, son of Prativādi-Bhayankaram Anṇan, whose original name was Vēdānta Āchārya. Of course, it concerns a temple service with the details of which we are not at present concerned. But our concern is a specific date in the year A.D. 1514 for this bachelor, Tiruvēngaḍa Ayyan, a disciple of Prativādi-Bhayankaram Anṇan's son. The second record bearing on this is of date 13th February A.D. 1541. This is again an agreement between the management of the temple and a bachelor superintendent of the garden going by the name Tiruvēngaḍa-nāthan who is described as the disciple of Emberumānār Appa, grandson of Prativādi-Bhayankaram-Anṇan, whose original name was Vēdāntāchārya. This name would imply that his parents were admirers of Vēdānta Dēśika and would justify his attachment to the latter's son. The specific dating for the son and grandson of Prativādi-Bhayankaram Anṇan respectively in A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1541, a period of about 26 years marking a generation between them, gives us some positive guidance to the dating of Anṇan himself. Taking the average interval of thirty years from generation to generation for these Āchāryas, we shall have to find a date in Anṇan's life roughly at a period thirty years before A.D. 1514, that is, in the eighties of the 15th century, say about A.D. 1484. The question therefore would arise whether we could regard Prativādi-Bhayankaram Anṇan to have lived on to the year, say A.D. 1480. There is no very particular reason for not regarding him as a comparatively long lived man, and, if we should take him to be a comparatively young man at the time that he came into this prominence under Nayinārāchārya, as we said about A.D. 1410, and if we give him thirty to thirty-five years of age at the

time, another fifty years would bring him rather close to the period with which we are concerned, which would be nothing impossible for people of that type, and, if the date A.D. 1514 for his son could be taken rather near the end of his life, it would really make Prativādi-Bhayaṅkaram-Anṇan not go even so far as A.D. 1480. It is therefore quite likely that Prativādi-Bhayaṅkaram-Anṇan's active period of life was from A.D. 1400 to A.D. 1470 or A.D. 1480.

This approximation to the correct date of Anṇan on the basis of the specific data from the inscriptions at Tirupati would perhaps justify the conclusion to which we have arrived elsewhere that a correction of about twenty to twenty-five years may have to be made in the dating of the *Guruparamparas* for the *Āchāryas* beginning with Rāmānuja and coming down to Vēdānta Dēśika and his followers.

The other part of the question, which naturally enough led to a very lively discussion whether this Anṇan belongs to the *Vaḍa-kalai* or *Tenkalai* group of Śrī Vaishnavas, is matter the discussion of which would involve the discussion of the eighteen points of difference between the one and the other generally recognised as the distinguishing doctrinal differences between the two. It is very doubtful that, at this period, the differences between the two sections had got to be so clearly formed or formulated. Several of these would be considered of a minor character by people who take a secular view of the question, and it is hardly necessary we should get into that discussion. But the matter of dispute between the disciples of Maṇavāla-Mamuni and Prativādi-Bhayaṅkaram-Anṇan in the Śrīrangam temple in the matter of their respective teaching relates to the proper interpretation of the Tamil Prabandha literature, particularly the *Tiruvāymoḷi* of Nammālwar. The teaching of Anṇan followed that of Vēdānta Dēśika and the northern school, bringing the light of Vedic exposition of Vaishnavism to bear upon the writings of the *Ālvārs*. The difference actually arose in connection with the handing down of the traditional teaching of Rāmānuja's pupil who had charge of this. It was handed down as usual by word of mouth from teacher to pupil, which oftentimes got to be written out by some one or other of the more enterprising pupils having confidence in his capacity to take over the whole of it in notes. It was done in this case by a pupil who used to carry about the cadjan with him. On one occasion when he had to swim across the Kaveri in floods to meet the teacher at Śrīrangam, the whole manuscript got loose from his loin cloth in which he had tied it before getting into the river, and

he could collect only parts. It is said that he made up the lapses by writing out from memory. When he showed the text thus made up to his teacher, the latter read through the whole of it, and kept by, as he found several of the passages made up, different from the actual teaching. It certainly was a sad disappointment to the particular pupil concerned. But a pupil of his thought otherwise and carried it over, and that was the text on which Maṇavāla-Māmuni based his teachings. Hence the difference between the two sections of teachers, and that was what was brought into the discussion between Anṇan and Erumbi Appa, the disciple of Maṇavāla-Māmuni. This is one of the essential differences between the two schools, and very probably that was what actually led to the name, the northern and the southern schools. It is hardly necessary to go further for our present purpose.

## Editorial

### CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN MYSORE.

We have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of a copy of the report on the constitutional reform in Mysore by the K. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar Committee and the Government order thereon, with a Proclamation by His Highness announcing certain reforms in the government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore. Among the Indian States, which are so much to the fore in the discussions on constitutional reform for India particularly in regard to the question of Indian federation, Mysore takes high rank among the enlightened Indian states as having anticipated most of them in the introduction of a popular assembly, to stand between the government and the people, to represent the latter and let the former know their views and wishes in regard to various matters coming within the purview of the administration of the state. The Hindu ideal of good government is acceptability to the people of the government carrying on the administration for the time being, and the proverbial good government is that which is most readily and delicately responsive to the needs and the wishes of the people, so as to insure popular welfare to the maximum extent compatible with efficient administration. So it is that the dramatist has put it into the mouth of Rama himself, the typical Indian sovereign whose administration is proverbially the model of a good Hindu administration, that he would not in the least hesitate to give up friendship, mercifulness, his own happiness, and, in the last resort, even his own dear wife Janaki if he could but ensure the happiness of the people by so doing. The form of administration did not matter. The individual king or sovereign even called a despot or an autocrat—he was really very far from being the one or the other—though there were bad rulers who could be described in these terms. An earnest watchfulness for that which contributes to the good of the people, and a ready responsiveness to do that which pleases them and is for their good, and avoid that which is displeasing to them, have always been regarded as the characteristic feature of an ideal administrator. When the Mysore administration was made over to its ruler in 1881, almost the first administrative act of the young ruler and his wise administrators was the creation of an assembly of people whose main function it was to bring to the notice of the Government the views and feelings of the people in regard to matters of day to day administration, so that the government may

know almost at first hand what exactly the effect was of the varied activities of the administrative machinery that carried on the government of the state. Through almost the whole cycle of years that have since passed the government have always been watchful to note how various administrative measures affected the people, and to alter these or readjust them to meet popular feeling. With a view to achieve this more effectively they have from time to time introduced changes in the constitution and powers of this body, and went the length even of creating another, a comparatively smaller-body, more actively associated with the administration, the specific function allotted to it being the taking of an active part in the work of legislation. This smaller body came to be called the Legislative Council to distinguish it from the Representative Assembly of the people that the older body already was. By a careful adjustment of the relation between the government and these two elective bodies, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja have made recurring efforts to bring the actual administration of the state to be more or less in close accord with the wishes and the feelings of the people. As the latest step in this kind of readjustment is the report under review.

The country wide agitation carried on by the Congress for the establishment of responsible government was not without its reflex action in Mysore. To meet this demand, the Mysore Government constituted a committee, composed of expert administrators and popular representatives to examine the question and submit their recommendations. Rajasabhabhushana Dewan Bahadur K. R. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Retired Member of Council, was appointed Chairman of this Committee, and 20 other members, adding subsequently four more specifically to represent the Congress party in Mysore, constituted the Committee. After a short while these last four members declined to co-operate, and the original committee went on to work and submitted its report on the basis of which His Highness has issued a proclamation constituting the Government composed of His Highness at the head of the administration, an Executive Council composed of the Dewan and four other members called Ministers constituting the Cabinet, a Legislative Council of 68 members formed by enlarging the present body of 50, and a popular assembly of the representatives of the people of 310 members instead of the 275 as at present. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's report is a valuable document which has made a careful survey of the administration as it has been at work, considering in detail the work of the two popular bodies, and their articulation with the work of the executive administration. Their recom-

mendations are the result of a careful consideration of the realities of the existing administration and may be characterised as liberal in its recommendation. It does not proceed on the assumption that Mysore is constitutionally a *tabula rasa*, and it was for them to draw up a new constitution for the state. The report makes an effort to readjust the existing constitution, and make it approach as near as is compatible with the actual circumstances . . . . . a responsible government. The franchise has been very largely widened, having regard to the level of education of the people and the conveniences of the electorate for its work. For the population of Mysore, adult suffrage would mean about four millions of votes, obviously an impossible number. That may be an ideal which one might expect to reach in the distant future as education and the actual capacity of the people to exercise their faculties intelligently and with some feeling of responsibility. This is not attained merely by the promotion of literacy. It would much rather be by the promotion of active intelligence whether the individual concerned is literate or not. The limit of the franchise for the time being seems to have regard to this particular, and may be regarded liberal, having regard to the circumstances of the case at the moment. The Popular Assembly of 310 is to consist of 166 members elected by rural constituencies on a modified property qualification, 45 representing urban constituencies, 30 representing Muslims, another 30 representing the Depressed Classes, 5 representing Indian Christians, one each for Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Special interests, such as, planting, commerce, etc., are allotted 22 seats with a reserve of nomination for special purposes of 10. This may be considered a fairly wide extension of the franchise. The Legislative Council is to consist of 68 members, instead of 50, with 44 elected members, 24 nominated members. Here again 24 get to be elected by general constituencies, 11 representing minorities 5 for Muhammadans, 4 for Depressed Classes, 1 each for Indian Christians and Europeans. 9 more are to be elected by special interests, such as, University, trade and commerce, planting, labour, etc. Except in the case of the European representation, the members are all of them to be elected by constituencies of their own. 24 members are to be nominated, of whom 16 would be officials for the present and 8 non-officials. Gradually the number of nominations, particularly the officials, may be reduced to a much smaller number.

In regard to the character of these two popular bodies, the larger body will continue to be essentially a body with initiative and referendum, the principal function of which would be

bringing popular wants to the notice of the Government and giving expression to popular views on matters of administration; whereas the Council, the Legislative Council, would be more actively associated with the administration and will have for its principal work, legislation and active co-operation in the budget and administration. It will be noticed that these two do not constitute exactly what may be described as a bicameral legislature. The Popular Assembly is to be presided over by the Dewan, while the Legislative Council will have to elect its own President and a Deputy President, though it is provided in the first instance that the President may be nominated by His Highness the Maharaja. The Executive is to be composed of the Dewan appointed by His Highness and holding office during his pleasure, assisted by a Council of four ministers, two chosen from among the officials and two more from non-officials holding office for a term of four years without any difference between the one and the other in respect of the portfolios that they might be in charge of. The Executive Council is to go on for a term of four years unless dissolved before their time for valid reasons. The members of the Executive Council, Dewan as well as the ministers, are appointed by His Highness, but the non-official members will be chosen by him from among panels elected by the Legislative Council and the Assembly. It may however be said that it does actually provide a machinery for carrying on the government with a due sense of responsibility to the people at large, thus exhibiting the essentials of a really responsible government. A few subjects are excluded from the purview of these popular bodies, but they are such as constitute the peculiar features of the Indian states in the framework of the present India. We have no hesitation in welcoming these changes as marking a large distinct step in advance, and wish the new constitution all success under the enlightened aegis of His Highness.

#### THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The Indian Historical Records Commission met this time in Calcutta under the auspices of the University. It was quite a successful session and was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.

We are happy to note that as many as 40 papers bearing on topics connected with the recent history of India, and connected with the discovery of record material and their utilization in the reconstruction of history, were read by scholars working in the different sections of this field of research. It was a very creditable

piece of work for the energetic Secretary to have supplied well before the time for the meeting each member of the Commission with a brochure containing all the papers to be read at the meeting. A collection of the summaries of these was placed in the hands of the members before the Session began, so as to facilitate the grasp of the problems and points involved and to encourage discussions thereon. The Historical Records Commission has been encouraging all scholars to contribute papers on so far unknown or hitherto unpublished records, and piece together and interpret such records as are already known. The Commission has thus been serving as the connecting link between the Government and the wider public interested in Modern Indian History. A good part of the business meeting on the second day was taken up with a discussion as to the lines on which the indexing and classification of pre-mutiny records should proceed, and as to the disposal of the record of the Company classified as C; and it was rightly resolved that this last class of papers should not be dissolved as there are occasional demands for their inspection from scholars. The question of the grant of facilities to the students for perusing the record in the Imperial Record Department down to 1839 is under the consideration of the Government. We are also glad to note that a resolution was tabled for securing typescript or microfilmed copies of the records relating to India and preserved in Britain, France, Holland and Portugal, and for urging on Indian States the value of the proper preservation, cataloguing and indexing of their records. Altogether the work done at the Conference was very creditable. Some interesting remarks were made on the work of the Bengal Record Office, by His Excellency in his opening address to the Conference.

#### THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Closely following the Session of the Historical Records Commission came the Third Session of the Indian History Congress held under the auspices of the Calcutta University. The session lasted for three days beginning from the 15th of December 1939. This was attended by a very large number of delegates from the different universities and learned institutions in the country and was presided over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University. He delivered an interesting address in the course of which he pointed out the possible danger of historians giving their work a "regional bias," against which every true student should guard himself. He urged that history writers may have a nationalistic outlook, but should also avoid dangers that are inherent in such an outlook. All historians should rise above religious and communal

prejudices and they should act as *danda-dharas* in exercising and condemning books which defy canons of critical judgment, and would put forward astoundingly uncertain and untenable theories.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Hon. Mr. Aziz-ul-Huque, paid a just tribute to the historians of the land and exhorted them to open up in true and correct perspective India's inheritance from the past. He warned that the historian should not treat isolated aberrations and occasional abnormal occurrences of the past as necessary links in the chain of history, and held that, that by a proper development of true historical research, the conflicts existing between the different section of the Indian people should be put in their true perspective so that they may cease to have practical influence.

The Congress divided itself into five sections,

1. Section I—Archaic Period (President: Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University).
2. Section II—Ancient Imperial Period (President: Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History, etc., Madras University).
3. Section III—Early Mediaeval Period (President: Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab), Superintendent, Central Circle, Archaeological Survey of India).
4. Section IV—Mughul Period (President: Dr. Tarachand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Principal, K. P. College, Allahabad).
5. Section V—Modern Period (Including later Maratha-Sikh history)—(President: Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University).

Over 130 papers were read in the different sections and a creditable amount of research work was exhibited.

At the business meeting the constitution of the Congress was elaborated with special reference to the admission of members and the maintenance of a register of them. It was resolved to request the Government of India and the Inter University Board to recognise the Indian History Congress as the National Committee of Historians for the purpose of sending representatives from India to all International Historical Conferences. The most important reso-

lution was that, in furtherance of the Congress' plan for writing a Comprehensive History of India on scientific lines, for which a general conspectus was furnished by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a Committee of ways and means be appointed to explore the financial possibilities of the scheme and that the Committee be the following:

Dr. R. C. Majumdar,  
 „ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,  
 Prof. D. V. Potdar,  
 Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,  
 Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan,  
 Sir Jogendra Singh,  
 Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad,  
 Prof. Shri Ram Sharma.

It is hoped that this influential Committee with the indefatigable secretary, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, will be able to announce that the scheme will be feasible, at the next session which is to be held at the end of 1940 under the auspices of the University of the Punjab at Lahore. There was a very well exhibited collection of historical records, pictures, art-treasures of the past and other material which accompanied the session and was opened by the Premier of Bengal.

#### THE NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY.

It is well known that with the organisation of an Archaeological Department by the Government of India so long ago as 1871, there was felt the need for an independent journal for the promotion of research work on various lines by individuals as a supplement to such work of publication as the Government department might feel called upon to do. The Indian Antiquary was started at the time by four enterprising scholars interested in this field of work, and was conducted with great ability and success through sixty-three years of work, till it came to a stop in the year 1933, as it was found difficult to maintain it and continue its publication. It was therefore decided, with the greatest regret, to stop publication of that journal not without the hope that some kind of an efficient substitute would be found sooner or later to carry on the work. It is gratifying to find that after an interval of five years the New Indian Antiquary was announced by the enterprising publishing firm of Bombay, the Karnatak Publishing House, under the capable editorship of two young scholars, Messrs. S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode. Under these promising auspices it was expected that work

would go on successfully, and it is gratifying to note that the journal has passed through the first year of its existence without showing any sign of the infantile ailments to which such enterprises are usually liable. We are informed that volume II of the journal is nearing completion. That certainly is a promising beginning and, so far as those responsible for its working go, it is very creditable performance. We note with pleasure that the journal shows output both in quality and in quantity, which is certainly very promising. The first volume before us gives promise of continuous good work, and, with ordinary financial support, there seems to be nothing to prevent its going on for as long a time as its predecessor, though there ought to be nothing to prevent its going on and having a much longer lease of life than the old Indian Antiquary. The articles in the volume show a great variety and wide choice of the subjects already, and there is nothing whatever to prevent its attaining to the comprehensiveness and eminence of its predecessor in a short while. Notwithstanding the large multiplication of journals bearing upon Indian History and culture generally, there is room for a journal of this kind as an All-India monthly covering the wide field that it does cover. It may be held to supply a felt want, for a common platform for Indian literature and culture and ought certainly to receive adequate financial support. There is a vast amount of talent in the country and elsewhere among Indologists which can be exploited to maintain a good level of achievement. The young and enterprising editors have already exhibited the energy required, and there is every hope that the journal will advance in usefulness and popularity as years go by. It is a great pity that times should have become so unpropitious on account of the war. Let us hope that the clouds of war will disperse sooner than later, and the intolerable octopus to all good effort will disappear. We welcome the determination of the publishers to go on with the work notwithstanding this great discouragement, and let us hope that they will be rewarded for their pains and enterprise in due course. The effort is in every way commendable and deserves all possible encouragement all round. We wish the editors and publishers a good new year and a prosperous future.

#### THE ANCIENT INDIAN CIVILISATION SERIES

(The Adyar Library).

We are glad to note that the Adyar Library has announced a project for publishing a series of books bearing on ancient Indian

culture. The scheme is to produce a series of handy volumes bearing on various topics constituting ancient Indian culture in the total. The books are intended primarily to meet the needs of the uninitiated general public, no previous knowledge of the subject being taken for granted. Each work would be entrusted to a scholar of standing and reputation in the particular subject. It is hardly necessary for us to say more about it than to mention that the project already includes about thirty books on various subjects of interest. There would certainly be more. The volumes are intended to be issued at a price well within the reach of the general public, the price of each volume being somewhere about Rs. 3. We wish the scheme all success and commend it to the public as one deserving of their attention and patronage. The whole scheme would be under the control of learned and influential scholars, who may be trusted to presenting an impartial and reliable account of the topics dealt with in each volume. We wish the enterprise all success.

## Reviews

### MARWAR-KA-ITIHAS OR THE HISTORY OF MARWAR. Published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.

Marwar-ka-Itihas written by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, is an authentic and detailed history of the Jodhpur State.

The author has taken great pains in exploiting different sources and consulting many books to get the material for his book. He has also brought out with success many new facts, which up till now, lay hidden and has succeeded in dispelling a number of false ideas prevailing in regard to the Rathor rulers of Marwar among old and present scholars. The large number of footnotes added to this volume enhances the value of this scholarly work.

Beginning with a short sketch of the previous ruling dynasties of Marwar, this volume contains the history of the Rathor rulers of Marwar from about the beginning of the 13th century to the end of the 18th century A.D.

The work is scholarly and carefully compiled and will prove a valuable handbook to scholars.

### CENTRAL ASIA PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF GENERAL JOSIAH HARLAN, 1823-41. Edited by Frank E. Ross, M.A., Luzac & Co., 46, Great Russel Street, London, W.C. 1. Pages 155.

Josiah Harlan was the first American to venture out into the unexplored regions of Central Asia in the early years of the 19th century, when English and Russian interests had come into definite clash. He first entered life already under the East India Company as an officiating surgeon and took part in the First Burmese War (1824-26). He resigned from the Company's service at the close of the war and then proceeded to Ludhiana where he attached himself for some time to the precarious fortunes of Shah Shujah, the exiled ruler of Afghanistan who was living on the bounty of Ranjit Singh of Lahore. He soon found that the usurper Amir Dost Mohammad Khan could not be dislodged from his position and then he entered the more attractive service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, under whom he rose to be a provincial governor for some years. He was

engaged in the course of his service in the Sikh State in very clever manoeuvres and diplomatic intrigues in the operations round Peshawar. His fitful nature led him to give up this also and then he journeyed to Kabul, took service under Dost Muhammad Khan and trained his troops in European military tactics. This gave him an opportunity to study the Amir at close quarters and he has given a colourful and fine revealing sketch of his new master; from it the following typical passage is quoted. "Nevertheless, his perfect knowledge of the people over whom he was called to rule, and his unprincipled readiness at despotic sway, made him remarkably well adapted to govern the worse than savage tribes he had to command, especially when sustained by the powerful influence of the praetorian or janissary tribe of Kizzlebashe. He is no believer in human principle, but a self-convicted and unchanging doubter of every motive but self-interest, and is ever on the alert to seize by craftiness the object which any one possessing power would attempt by the direct exertion of optional authority. He is liable to frequent despondency, but is too politic to display this infirmity of feeling to common observation."

Harlan has provided a useful description of the Amir's campaign across the Hindu Kush into Balkh against the recalcitrant ruler of Kundooz. He also depicts the disaffection prevailing among the Amir's followers at the time of his supersession by Shah Shujah so unfortunately restored by the strength of British arms. After this revolutionary turn, Harlan had to give up Afghan service and turn to his American home where he published a book in 1841 entitled, "A Memoir of India and Avghanistaun, with Observations on the Present Exciting and Critical State and Future Prospects of Those Countries; Comprising Remarks on the Massacre of the British Army in Cabul, British Policy in India, A detailed Descriptive Character of Dost Mahomed and His Court, etc. (Philadelphia, 1842)." He designed the memoir as a preliminary to a personal narrative delineating his observations. He suggested to the American Government the advantage of importing camels from Central Asia for service in the western deserts of the U.S.A. and the profitability of the introduction of the Kabul variety of grape into the central climatic region of the United States. He lived on till 1871 long after Dost Muhammad had regained his throne and far into the reign of his successor.

The *Narrative* written by him of his experiences beyond the Hindu Kush in Balkh and Northern Afghanistan is now published under the editorship of Frank E. Ross. It partakes in value of the type of observations made by Moorcroft and other notable

travellers. Its compilation dragged on through a number of years and though portions of the journal from which the compiler was enabled to write the *Narrative*, do not exist, still its manuscript and that of other notes and letters which were utilised by him are available in their bulk. The most important feature of the *Narrative* is the reliability and accuracy of Harlan's geography. "Professor Felix Howland, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, a member of the faculty of Habibia College, Kabul, Afghanistan who has travelled extensively in Afghanistan, states that the modern geographer will have little fault to find with the geographical detail, save the figures given for the elevation of mountain passes, which were estimates by Harlan or others."

Harlan is frequently mentioned in the writings of the Central Asian travellers of his generation. He intersperses in his accounts gleanings from classical geography. He stresses upon the horticultural features of the province of Balkh, particularly noticing the excellence of its pistachio nuts and melons; he describes the different species of the Bactrian camel and, while dealing with the chief features of the flora and the fauna, takes the opportunity to make a few historical observations that have been valuable to subsequent students, particularly in the matter of the coins of the ancient Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Herein he makes mention of a rare coin of Menander, having the effigy of a human figure clothed in a lion's skin. Dealing with the political and social organization of the Uzbeks of the country he gives them credit for a respectable sedateness and remarks that there are no professional females of a degraded character among them. The second part of the *Narrative* dealing with the military topography of Northern Afghanistan, is lacking in a portion at the beginning. The next part contains geographical and historical notes of the region beyond the *Paropamisus*, i.e., the Hindu Kush region. These observations cover a multitude of topics and among them is one that tells us that the "Avghauns, the Persians and the Uzbek Tatars, who border upon the Hazarrahs, may justly be placed among the rude and depraved, while the Hazarrahs are entitled to our regard as partaking more of an unsophisticated and original people." There is a sufficiency of historical observations bearing both on ancient and mediaeval times. At the end we have a map of Afghanistan and the adjacent border lands reproduced from the general staff map of that region in the British War Office. The book is a useful addition to the literature being on the geographical and other data of Central Asia in the 19th century.

C.S.S.

**HISTORY OF THE BRITISH RESIDENCY IN BURMA, 1826-1840** By W. S. Desai, M.A., Bom. & Cantab. Burma Education Service, Lecturer in History, University College, Rangoon. Published by the University of Rangoon, 1939. Pages xiv and 491.

The First Burmese War ended in the treaty of Yandabo of 1826 and gave a better scientific frontier than before to British India on the east. The famous American Missionary, Mr. Judson, who came to Burma in 1813 gives a very good account of the surprise created in the Burmese mind by the British troops and their successes and of the difficulty that the Burmese found in understanding the forbearance and moderation of the victors. But in England the War was not at all popular, and in India the impression was not favourable. Prof. Desai traces Anglo-Burmese relations from the treaty of 1826 to the early years of the reign of Tharra-waddy (1837-46). He has made use of the Records of the Bengal and Indian Governments lying at the India Office and of other works, both contemporary and later. The narrative takes us directly to the Anglo-Burmese relations from 1826 down to the establishment of the Residency in 1830, and shows how the Treaty of Yandabo was a very ill-defined one and failed to fix the frontier lines of demarkation, which gave rise to endless complications to John Crawfurd, who became the Resident Minister at the court of Ava. The settlement of the boundary dispute between Burma and Manipur was most difficult to accomplish, particularly in the matter of the Burmese cession of the Kubo region to the latter state. The idea of a regular Residency in the Burma capital was first deemed to be outside the pale of Indian politics, because Burma was held to lie outside the Indian zone, and also because British and Indian merchants were expected, after the war was over, to quit independent Burma and settle in the ceded territories of Arakan and Tenasserion.

The appointment of Major Burney as the first regular Resident in 1830 forms a landmark in the history of Anglo-Burmese relations. Crawfurd had, indeed, expressed the view that the permanent residence of an envoy at Ava was, for the time, inexpedient; nor was he in favour of maintaining a resident agent at Rangoon either. But the Indian Government was not satisfied with the fruits of Crawfurd's embassy. It first wanted to appoint Burney as Consul at Rangoon, though the post was not proposed to be of a permanent nature. "In the English copy of the treaty of Yandabo the words 'Resident or Consul' were used; but in the

Burmese version, 'Ayashi' or 'Government person' and 'Governor.' To the Burmese Government these terms meant 'Accredited Minister'. Burney suggested that the term 'Consul' be not adopted, because it was wholly unknown to the Burmese, and was not mentioned in their version of the treaty." (Page 53). Difficulties were experienced in giving a proper designation to the new officer, and Burney was at last chosen to be the Resident.

Subsequent difficulties over obviously trivial matters rose before the official recognition of the Resident by His Burman Majesty could be actually secured and there was a regular tug of war over the question of the Resident wearing shoes at the Durbar. One feature of the court ceremonial that we read of was that the Durbar opened with several Brahmans on each side of the king, chanting a prayer and a song; and this reminds the student of the persistence even to-day of such Brahmanical ceremonial rites prevailing at the court of the Siamese King at Bangkok, as described by Dr. Quaritch Wales. Difficulties occurred over the details of the payment of the indemnity due from Burma to the Indian Government according to the treaty of 1826. The presence of Burney was of great advantage to British subjects residing and trading in Burma. He endeavoured to get the duties levied upon exports arranged according to a definite system; and he had several acrimonious conferences with the Hlutdaw, the great Council of State.

In those days the King enjoyed a tremendous influence over his nobles and subjects. He was indeed tolerant towards Christian Missions and even inquisitive about current European policies like the revolutions of 1830-31.

At last the Kubo question was settled in 1834 when an attempt was made by the Burmans to remove the Residency from Ava to Rangoon, in return for an offer of additional facilities to British commerce and shipping. The Indian Government was strongly against this proposal. Burney then tells us of the revolution in the capital which resulted in the accession of Tharrawaddy. The new King was personally in closer contact with the British Resident, but soon persuaded himself into a determination to induce Burney to leave Ava. The prevailing impression arising out of the king's movements then was that he would shortly go to war with the British. He was importing arms and ammunition and strengthening his frontiers. Burney returned from Rangoon to Calcutta where he urged upon the Government of Lord Auckland that the Burmese king should be intimidated and brought to his senses by

a prompt and vigorous display of force. There was soon effected a change of the Burmese capital from Ava to Amarapura; while a new British Resident was appointed in the person of Major Benson, though the Burmese ministry said that in the treaty of 1826 there was provision only for one resident. Benson was in office only for a few months, but he was vigorous enough in his attitude towards the Burmese court; while the king neither wanted a Resident nor desired a war. The Residency continued to function under W. McLeod till it was transferred to Rangoon and finally withdrawn altogether from Burma. From the departure of McLeod to Calcutta down to the outbreak of the Second Burmese War in 1852 there was no intercourse between the two States but peace prevailed in spite of intriguing frontier incidents. The documentation of the narrative is good and the style is such as sustains the interest of the reader, in spite of the comparative dullness of the topics treated. The book throws a great deal of light on the internal history of the reigns of the two Burman kings, Bagyidaw and Tharrawaddy.

C. S. S.

**SHUJA-UD-DLAULAH.** By Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Professor of History, Dungar College, Bikaner, Formerly Fellow, University of Lucknow, Author of "First Two Nawabs of Oudh", Volume I. 1754-1765. Calcutta, 1939. Pp. viii and 313.

Dr. Srivastava has already given us a scholarly monograph on the "First Two Nawabs of Oudh". He now takes up the life and achievement of the next one, Nawab Shuja-Ud-Daulah and traces in this first part of his proposed work the events in his career and their significance and historical bearings. Of course he would hold that this Nawab should get the credit of having been the first patriotic Indian prince to throw a bold and open challenge to the growing power of the English in Bengal and to take up a vigorous offensive to reduce them to their original status as a trading corporation. After tracing the Nawab's boyhood and early years of rise to power and his promotion to the office of deputy vazir of the Empire and his even acting as Wazir for some time for his father, Safdar Jang, our author stresses on his service in assisting in the task of thwarting Imad-ul-Mulk and his schemes; and takes us on to the fateful month of June 1757 when the Nawab was forced to conclude peace with the Wazir by which he was assured of security and after which he fell into a mood in which he could indulge in sloth and debauchery.

Next follows the explanation of the scheme planned between Shuja-ud-Daulah and Prince Shah Alam by which the latter was to be helped to carve out for himself a new kingdom in Bengal away from the dangerous grip of Imad-ul-Mulk. Dr. Srivastava proves clearly that the repulse of Shah Alam's first invasion of Bihar was due to weaknesses inherent in the position of the Mughal Prince himself, and not to Clive's 'marvellous success', which was not won against odds. The importance of this invasion of Bihar and of the magnitude and significance of Clive's success on this occasion has been greatly exaggerated by English historians. A most valuable part of the book under notice is the evaluation of the part played by Shuja-ud-Daulah in the fateful Maratha-Afghan contest of the years 1759-61. The Nawab's place among the Indian rulers of the time was unique and he could not from his very situation follow the path of neutrality. The Afghans were conscious of the importance of winning him over and therefore sent the clever Najib-ud-Daulah as a special envoy to his court and used the familiar cry of "War between Infidelity and Islam" which had been on most times a more potent force than even the offer of the Wizarat to himself and the Empire to Shah Alam. It is this diplomatic triumph of Najib-ud-Daulah that has been missed in its full significance by most writers. Shuja-ud-Daulah did not feel completely happy in the Afghan camp to which he had chosen to adhere and still pursued his efforts at peace. This desire to avoid war which he continued to show even before the battle was in consonance with his marked humanitarianism shown after the victory, particularly in securing proper funeral ceremonies for the slain Maratha generals and his unsuccessful attempt to save the life of Janoji Sindia.

We read subsequently that after the second invasion of Bihar by Shah Alam, Shuja-ud-Daula's interference in Bengal affairs was made with the objective of only tightening his grip on the province of Allahabad and getting rid of any possible rival to his own power in that province. He now wrote to the Holkar to help to instal the fugitive Mughal Emperor on his ancestral throne; and the latter obviously welcomed it. Nor was the Nawab indifferent towards the strengthening of his hold on Bundelkhand which had become a threatening centre of Maratha influence. Dr. Srivastava says that the fall of Jhansi into the Muslim hands was an event of great political importance and roused temporary hopes of the strengthening of the Empire. The Nawab took Shah Alam with him into Bundelkhand and made an earnest endeavour to win the princes and rulers of that land to his side.

Dr. Srivastava would not support the view of Dr. N. L. Chatterji, a recent biographer of Mir Qasim, that the latter had long been looking out for an alliance with the Nawab or from the Marathas, the Ruhelas and the Jats. In the negotiations that preceded the Bengal campaign, Shuja-ud-Daulah was torn between conflicting aims. His main grievance against the English was on account of their indifference towards the claims of Shah Alam and himself respectively as Emperor and Wazir with all the rights appertaining thereto, over the Bengal subah. Mir Qasim did not even suspect the main motives of the Nawab, which were complex and complicated by the Bundelkhand question; he gave up all hope of friendly agreement with the English along with the prospect of securing a friendly cession of Bihar; but his advisers and Shah Alam counselled him against entering into an alliance with Mir Qasim. Dr. Srivastava solves the whole problem of the forces that controlled his conduct by concluding that above all his mental temper in which neutrality had hardly any place drove him into war with the English. His plan of campaign is next examined and we read that Mir Qasim did not cheerfully co-operate with him while the Emperor was at cross purposes and secretly intriguing with the English. The engagements that preceded Buxar, the continuance of peace talks even on the eve of that battle, the tampering with the *morale* of the Nawab's troops by the English, the Nawab's arrest and spoliation of Mir Qasim, the good account that is given of the battle itself and of its importance and consequences by our author are very interesting and instructive. The subsequent military operations that followed and led on to the collapse of the Nawab's power and his flight into Ruhelkhand take us to the sequel of Shuja-ud-Daulah's despair of getting any help from the Marathas at this juncture and his throwing himself on the mercy of the English. The struggle was over but the *denouement* of the crisis is reserved for the next volume which we await with interest. The book is well-written with an elaborate basis of documentation, comprehending Marathi, Persian and French materials besides the usual records and other works in the English and other languages. A vein of justifiable vindication of Shuja-ud-Daulah's character and activity from undue condemnation marks the general treatment followed in the book, in which the most important lesson for the careful student is a remarkably clear and instructive explanation of the Nawab's part in the fatal Panipet campaign.

C.S.S.

S. H. HODIVALA: STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY; xxiii + 727 pages, Bombay, 1939.

Dr. Hodivala says in his preface that he cannot claim to be a historian, but few modern historians—counting among them those of great note—have laid the students of the Medieval epoch of the history of our land under a greater sense of gratitude than he has done by writing the book under review. No doubt Elliot and Dowson's great joint effort was unique in their own days and even now fills a great gap for the English-knowing public. The work of collecting the most useful chronicles, sifting and digesting them and then having the most instructive parts translated must have meant an enormous amount of energy and time; but the fact remains that the learned editors were in the main content with the publication of the translations and appended only too few notes to their eight odd volumes. Still the very matter that had just then been brought to light for the first time was rightly regarded as being of first class importance, and, in spite of the fact that a large amount of texts from which extracts were then translated have now been published *in extenso*, the value of the translations has not thereby been minimised and holds the field even now. But every one who perused E. & D. knew how much the annotation of the work in the light of the latest knowledge was needed, and now Professor Hodivala has performed the task.

On going through Professor Hodivala's work the mere title of which does not betray the real purpose of the work, one is struck by the great amount of erudition which it must have entailed, for it is difficult to find any work of merit in any European or Oriental language dealing with the period under review which has not been utilised by the learned author to the best of his advantage or the advantage of his readers. When Hodivala's work was not before us it was perhaps possible to do with just the volumes of E. & D., but with the appearance of this work it is impossible to do any research in the period of Indian history with which it deals without having it by one's elbow.

The studies are of various kinds, and in order to show their importance it is better to give just a few instances of the field covered by them:—

(1) Mere notes on the authorities, elucidating the meaning of the passages or annotating them. Thus on page 382 while dealing with Ibn-i-Batūtah he fixes the position of Qarāchīl or Black Mountain as Kumāyūn.

(2) Brings Elliot and Dowson up to date, as on page 1 (early Arab Geographers) he proves that 'Balhārā' could not mean Vallabhi as presumed by E. & D. for the reason that the power of Vallabhi had been destroyed before the Arab geographers wrote, and by 'Balhārā' they could only have meant their successors the Rāshtrakūtas, especially as the titles of some of the Rāshtrakūta kings have the epithet 'Vallabha' affixed to their names.

(3) Corrects E. & D. in a downright manner, such as on page 132 where Albērūnī is said to have been indebted to the Sultan of Khwārizm for the opportunity of visiting India. Hodivala proves that this is not correct, nor is the oft-repeated statement that Albērūnī was in India for forty years.

(4) Corrects E. & D.'s misinterpretations of Oriental works, as on page 422 (Mirkhwōnd) he rightly says that what 'Abdu'r-Razzāq consul—was the cabalistical mode of divination called 'Ilm-i jafar' not (as E. & D. say) any 'book of presages compiled by Imam Ja'far-i Šādiq'.

(5) Substantiates the statement of our authorities by the results of modern research. Thus on page 417 'Abdu'r Razzāq's statement that the mint at Vijyānagar was situated to the left of the royal palace is substantiated by modern topography of the ruins of Hampi.

(6) Corrects the authorities, such as on page 339 (Fuṭūhat-i Firūzshāhi) proves that Khān-i Jahān must have died in 770 not in 772 as stated as his death occurred 18 years after Firuz's accession in 752 H.

These instances are only by way of showing the extent of the book under review. Each note is full of quotations in order to substantiate the author's suggestions, a large number of which seems to be impressive and convincing. We cannot be too grateful to Professor Hodivala for bringing out these 'Studies' about a period of Indian History which went to create that marvellous composite Indo-Muslim culture which is the foundation of Modern India.

I hope it would not be regarded as a discordant note when I say that a book which, I am sure, will be frequently used needs a much stronger binding; but of course this does not decrease the value of the work by an iota.

H. K. SHERWANI.

INDIAN STATES AND THE NEW REGIME, by Maharaj-Kumar Raghbir Singh with a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer. Pp. xxviii + 469. Bombay. D. B. Taraporewala, Sons & Co., 1938. Price Rs. 10. -

In these days of frequent changes in the Indian constitution the need for a comprehensive study of the same is becoming increasingly recognised, and during the last few years the literature on the subject has been steadily growing. The recent political and constitutional development in the country has made the princes feel and think about it. It is therefore in keeping with the changing spirit of the times that the members of the princely order have begun to put their ideas boldly before the public. The book under review written by Maharajkumar Raghbir Singh the heir-apparent of the Sitamau State represents a detailed study of the problems of the Indian States in relation to the new regime, the Indian Federation. The publication of the book by the Maharaj-Kumar brings credit not only to the author himself but also to the whole of the princely order.

The book is divided into two parts the first of which deals with the past history of the States and the second with their "coming present". In the former the author traces the historical evolution of the Indian States and shows how the Marquess of Wellesly perfected a system which was begun by Clive in 1765 and developed by Warren Hastings. He says that the British first created a series of buffer states on the frontier of their own possessions, then made subsidiary alliances with them, and later changed their policy into one of making subordinate union with them, which was followed till 1906 when it was given up by Lord Minto in favour of a policy of co-operation with them. This new policy helped the development of the federal idea among the Princes and in fact they came to feel that such a constitution would be the only solution for many of the difficulties which both the States and British India experienced in regard to subjects of an all-India character.

In the second part of the book the author summarises the relevant portions of the Government of India Act. He feels with many thinkers and writers including the members of the Butler Committee that the treaties concluded by the princes were with the crown and not with the Government of India. He then examines the federal character of the Indian constitution and brings out the peculiar features of the same. This is followed by an analysis of the main features of the different departments of the federal government.

In the epilogue which forms the last portion of the book the author thinks about the future of the princes. He is confident that within twenty years of the inauguration of Federation India will become one unit "The Federation of India." He feels anxious about the future of the Chamber of Princes and wishes, quite as a young prince from Central India, that it should be strengthened and reorganised.

The main body of the book is followed by useful appendices and a comprehensive index. The book is a useful addition to the literature on the subject.

T. V. M.

#### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT of H. E. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS 1934-35 and 1935-36.

The reports under review maintain their high standard and are interesting from more than one point. Among the monuments surveyed, the more important is at the Fort at Kalyani (Bidar). The antiquities of this place form the subject of a learned article from the Director Ghulam Yazdani. Much more work has been turned out in the year 1935-36 in respect of surveys of monuments. In the field of conservation, the work of conserving the Ajanta caves was continued, besides other conservation works. It is reported that the monograph on the Telugu Inscriptions of H. E. H. Dominions has been sent to the press while the book on Bidar is getting ready.

The appendices B to G. in the Report for 1934-35 are by Dr. P. Sreenivasachar being notes on the Nāgulaṇḍa inscription, Vāḍapalli inscription of Ana-vēma, the Warangal inscription of Ambire-deva, the Inugurti inscription, and the Nelakoṇḍapalli inscription of Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya. The same interest is sustained in the valuable appendices to the Report for 1935-36. Special mention may be made of Mr. Yazdani's survey of the Neolithic sites in Raichur District, and his note on Maski excavations. Equally interesting is the note by Mr. K. M. Ahmad on the prehistoric sites in the Raichur District. Dr. P. Sreenivasachar notices the Raichur inscription of Viṭhāla-nātha. The plates of which there are fifteen are very richly illustrated, and enhance the value of the Report to a considerable extent.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR,

ENGLISH RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY. POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE. Volume 6. Poona Affairs. 1797-1801. (Palmer's Embassy). Edited by G. S. Sardesai, B.A. Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1939. Price Rs. 7-12-0. Pp. xxx and 691.

This volume is a continuation of the previous one on Poona Affairs which ended with the resignation of Sir Charles Malet as the Resident. The interval of about a year between Malet's departure and the assumption of duties by his successor Colonel William Palmer was occupied by a comparatively dull period in Maratha-British dealings. Palmer had considerable experience as the Resident with the Sindia and the Agent with the Nawab Wazir. He was however removed from the Poona Residency by the imperious Wellesley for his failure to enforce the treaty of alliance upon the vacillating Peshwa in 1800, but continued on at the place for some time longer. He was an honourable man and did not pry like his predecessor too much into the private life of the Peshwa and preserved the dignity of his position by his stately bearing. His narrative is always clear and straight; and the light that he throws on Bajī Rao Peshawa and on the indigenous institutions of the Maratha polity is really useful. This volume contains, in its bulk, Palmer's letters in reply to those sent to him by the Governor-General excepting such as had already been printed by Martin in the *Wellesley Despatches* and also the letters received by the Poona Residency.

The topics discussed in the Correspondence, almost all of them lead one way or another to the final retreat of Bajī Rao to British protection which ended in the treaty of Bassein. Side lights are given of the tyranny and domestic troubles that characterised Bajī Rao's rule; and these records explain clearly why dark clouds were shortly to burst in upon the Maratha nation "with the certainty of Fate in a Greek tragedy beyond the possibility of a doubt." For the sake of convenience, the editor has divided the Correspondence into sections according to subjects treated, and each letter has been given an indicative note at its head. We learn of the importance of the Maratha court to do anything even in support of the British at the time of the last war with Tipu Sultan and also of the real nature of the attitude adopted by the Peshwa towards the British and the Nizam in this crisis. Again we could sense the secret enmity of the Maratha State towards the British power at the time of the death of Nana Fadnis, which greatly disturbed the situation at Poona and destroyed all "the wisdom and

moderation" of the Maratha Government. Thus Palmer says: "The death of Nana Furnawees, which I think is much to be apprehended, would produce great changes in the conduct and views of the Paishwa's and Sindia's administrations, and probably accelerate the subversion of the Brahmin power, and the total separation of the great members from the head of the Mahratta empire." The period covered by this volume is interesting alike an account of the grave troubles that beset Bajji Rao at home, and the external events that contributed to the intensifying isolation of the Poona Durbar in Indian politics.

C. S. S.

INDIA AS DESCRIBED BY EARLY GREEK WRITERS. By Baij Nath Puri, M.A., B.A., (Hons.), Research Scholar, Lucknow University. The Indian Press, Limited, Allahabad. Pp. 155 and iv-vi.

This manual is the revised edition of the author's thesis on "India as described by Early Greek Writers," which was presented for the M.A. Degree of the Lucknow University in 1937. It is a handy book on the subject and gives an introductory background covering the writings of the main classical authors and the geographical knowledge of India that they presented in their respective accounts. The inference is drawn from the latter that the Greek Historians were conscious of the fundamental physical unity that India possesses. In the field of polity, we see that the forms of Government varied at different periods and in different regions in the epoch covered by these writers, namely, from the fifth century B.C. to about the close of the second century A.D. Social divisions among the people, their modes of living, dress etc., are next described; herein the account given in the book tells us that society was a perfectly matured one and had living points of contact with the outside world. Industrial activity of a relatively advanced type was also manifested, while in religion and in the arts of the mind, we learn several things, including much interesting matter about asceticism as it prevailed among the different communities. Greek writers were attracted much by the religion and philosophy of the Hindus. In art and architecture the contributions of Hellenistic culture are well pointed out and the glory of Indian architecture is stressed showing the practical side of Indian life. The book is useful as an aid to the general reader.

C. S. S.

THE HISTORY AND HISTORIANS OF BRITISH INDIA. By Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Kt., Litt.D. Srimant Sayaji Rao Lectures delivered at Baroda in 1938. Kitabistan, Allahabad and London.

This is the subject of Srimant Sayaji Rao Lectures, delivered by the author at Baroda in 1938. It deals with the services that Baroda has rendered to the progress of India in recent times and traces a picture of the different phases of the history of British India and of the successive generations of its historians in all their features and limitations. It enables us to see clearly some of the misconceptions of former historians like Sir William Hunter's theory that Sir Josiah Child was the first to envisage the prospect of British dominion in India. It points out the several obvious gaps that still stare the student in the face, in the history of the 17th century, both with reference to the authorities of the period and to the problems that confronted the British at that time. We learn also that the Mughal Secretariat in that century and even later was certainly more active in exercising control over the affairs of the Europeans than has been deemed to be the case. Among the problems that still await labour at the hands of the student and the researcher are according to the learned author, the study of institutions and administrations in the 18th century, particularly the condition of rural areas.

The century that closed with the mutiny has been fairly full of historical literature and of a dynamic interest shown in the lives and doings of the personalities. On these prejudices which have been strengthened by passion and partisanship and in recent years by a tendency to cloth with imperialistic vision the actions of men and justify them on one ethical ground or another have not disappeared, while the materials for the study of indigenous institutions have not received the same encouragement as those illustrating the Company's machinery and instruments of government. Comparatively little has been written as yet with regard to the evolution of the British power after the mutiny and the changes in the outlook of the British administration and its attitude towards the people. The quantity of material revealing the new forces at work, particularly from 1870 onwards, remains in a large measure still awaiting recognition and study at the hands of the student. On the whole the lectures afford brilliant side lights and points of guidance to the advanced student of British Indian History in its diverse phases.

C.S.S.

**SILAPPADIKARAM OR THE LAY OF THE ANKLET.** Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Sri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Oxford University Press.

This book is a translation of one of the five major Kavyams of ancient Tamil Literature. From the ordinary street beggar to the learned and erudite Tamil Scholar, everyone in Southern India knows the story of the merchant Kovalan and his chaste wife Kannaki. But the classical work embodying the tragic story of Kovalan which combines in itself the three reorganised divisions of Tamil language viz., Iyal, Isai and Nāṭakam written by the prince poet Iṅgōvaḍigaḷ is an excellent specimen of pure literary effort and serves as an untarnished mirror reflecting the religion, culture, government and social life of the first centuries of the Christian Era.

This unique work does not appear to have been translated before. From the preface we learn that some chapters and the *Padi-kam* as well as Dr. Swaminatha Iyer's summary of the Epic were once translated by Julien Vinson many years back. But the whole work remained untranslated. Hence, it is but in the fitness of things that a well-read historian and research scholar having abiding interest in Tamil Literature should undertake a translation of it. Mr. Dikshitar has already published many valuable books and articles in English which have been very well received and appreciated by scholars both in India and elsewhere. He has now made a successful attempt to translate this fine work into English.

This work which opens with a highly appreciative foreword from the renowned French scholar Jules Bloch, consists of an introduction, Text and Appendices. The origin and the form of a major *Kāvyam* is first discussed and then the story contained in the *Kāvyam* is briefly told. In Section IV the author discusses the date of Cēran Śēnguttuvan who was the brother of Iṅgōvaḍigaḷ and the ruling Cēra at the time. In this connection it is worth noting that the author accepts the theory that only *makkattāyam* (i.e., son succeeding father) and not *marumakkattāyam* was in vogue in the Cera country in that remote age. Again the writer's conclusion regarding the identities of Gajabahu I with the king of that name who was present during Pattinidevi's consecration is learned and convincing. Section V treats of Śēnguttuva's achievements and Section VI is devoted to an estimate of the King's character. The sections that follow treat of the political condition both in North and South India at that period, the conditions social, political and econo-

mic of the Cera, Cola and Pandya Kingdoms and Ceylon, and other details.

It is fairly well-known that a peculiar importance attaches to this *Kāvyam* inasmuch as the author of it was a regular contemporary of events narrated in it. Endowed with a powerful intellect, the learned recluse Iṅgōvaḍigaḷ has given to the world a mighty piece of admirable art, and this work has been commented upon by the prince of commentators, Aḍiyārkunallār.

To attempt then such a big work is no doubt a bold venture and Mr. Dikshitar has proved himself equal to the task. The footnotes in each page conduce to clarify the translation. The author should be congratulated on the fine way in which he has carried out this difficult task. Even the *Arangēṭṭukāthai* which is generally a bugbear even to many a Tamil Pandit has been ably tackled by him and the several footnotes he has given, will, I hope, go a great way towards revealing to the west the vast erudition, experience, and descriptive skill of Iṅgōvaḍigaḷ. The ballads, love songs and couplets in the *Kānal Vari*, *Aycheyarkuravai* and other pieces that form part of this narrative poem have been carefully approached and the author, it must be said, has done his very best to preserve the spirit underlying them. A good and fairly reliable translation was highly desirable from the non-Tamilian point of view and I am sure western scholars will greatly benefit by reading this.

R. Raghava Aiyangar.

## Select Contents from Oriental Journals

*Journal of the American Oriental Society.* Vol. 59, No. 2, June, 1939.

The Epic *Triṣṭubh* and its Hypermetric Varieties. By F. Edgerton being a by-product of his critical edition of the *Sabhā-parvan* (Mah. B.K. II) to be published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and holding that their real nature has never been fully understood, or clearly stated in print.

Was there cross-cousin marriage among the Śākya? By M. B. Emeneau.—Evidence for cross-cousin connections in the Śākya line is not too good; and that for the cross-cousin relationship of the Buddha and Dēvadatta is refuted by northern texts which present Dēvadatta as the parallel cousin of the Buddha. Buddha and Dēvadatta were not known, in the oldest available tradition, to be related in any way, both being merely Śākyas and only later, a relation between them was fabricated, that of parallel cousins in the north, that of cross-cousins in Ceylon.

*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London).* Vol. X, Part I, 1939.

Some English loan-words in Gujarati. By Alfred Master.

Burmese Proverbs—A Supplement to Existing Collections. By Kin Maung Lat.

A Chinese Vocabulary of Cham Words and Phrases—transcribed, translated and edited by E. D. Edwards and C. P. Blagden

Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian by W. B. Henning.

Various Eras and Calendars used in the countries of Islam (continued) by S. H. Taqizadeh.

A Civil and Military Review in Fārs in 881/1476 by V. Minorsky.

Muhammad's Bond with the Women by Gertude H. Stern.

Calligraphers and Artists: A Persian Work of the 16th century by C. C. Edwards.

Aspects of Islam in Nineteenth Century South Africa by S. A. Rochlin.

## SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 411

Two Mende (language of Sierra Leone) Tales by R. Eberl-Elber.

*The Cambridge Historical Journal.* Vol. VI. No. 1.

Bentinck and Education I. Macaulay's Minute by Percival Spear. The criticism is that the new educational policy did not adopt its social means to its cultural ends.

*Archiv Orientální (Journal of the Oriental Institute.) Prague.* Vol. XI, No. 1, June, 1939.

A Study in the Phonology of Modern Persian by J. Kramsky, (first attempt to present a phonological analysis of modern Persian).

Civilisation Indo-Européenne et Civilisation Hittite par G. Bonfante.

Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel by Jaroslav Průšek (Story-telling in the Sung period).

*The Journal of the Greater India Society.* Vol. VI. No. 2, July, 1939.

Contributions from the *Mahāvamsa* to our knowledge of the Mediæval Culture of Ceylon, (W. Geiger), (VI Settlement: Villages and towns).

Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma by Nihar Ranjan Ray. (VI The Buddhaghosa tradition: Legend and History C. 400-450 A.D.).

VII Buddhism in Prome, C. 280 A.D.

The Asoka Mission of Sona and Uttara—Legend and History, C. 250 B.C.

Completing the traces of Buddhism mainly of the *Theravāda* School before Anawrahta's conquest.

The Copper-Plate of Barabudur (828 Śaka) by H. B. Sarkar, (showing that there were different standards of measuring lands in different parts of Java or there were abuses in land-measurements.)

*Epigraphia India.* (Vol XXIV, Part 5) for January 1938—issued 1939.

Three Inscriptions of Vaiḍumba—Mahārāja Gaṇḍatrinētra by R. S. Panchamukhi, (concluded).

Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its vicinity by H. Luders. The 1st contains the name of Mahakshatrapa Soḍāsa and shows Sanskrit Kāvya poetry fully developed in the 1st century B.C. There is the possibility of Tosha, probably an Iranian lady, having built a Bhāgavata shrine. The 4th inscription belongs to the period before Kanishka. The 5th on the pedestal of a statue probably is the name of a Śaka general Vlana represented by the statue. The last shows that very probably the pillar on which it is engraved hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōra.

Kośam Inscription of (the reign of) Kanishka : the year 2. by K. B. Goswami (being the earliest Brahmi inscription of Kanishka so far discovered).

Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha) : V. S. 1545, Śaka 1410 by H. D. Sankalia (giving the genealogy of the Sultans of Gujarat, but excluding Kutbuddin and Daud and recording all the important conquests of Mahmud to about A.D. 1490).

Bhopal Plates of Mahākumāra Harichandra Deva by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (Harichandra identified with Harichandra, son of Lakshmivarman of a branch of the Paramāvas).

Śāsanakoṭa Plates of Ganga Mādhanavarman : 1st year by C. R. Krishnamacharlu (the earliest genuine copper-plate document, discovered so far, not only for king Mādha, but also for his family).

Ranipur Jharial Inscriptions by B. Ch. Ch. habra.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—Letters.* Vol. IV. 1938, No. 2, (issued August, 1939).

Do. Vol. IV, 1938, No. 3, (issued September 1939).

Putrikā-putra, on the appointed daughter's son in Ancient Law by N. C. Sen-Gupta. (A brief account of the stages of evolution of one variety of secondary sons, on the son of the appointed daughter, with the beginnings of secondary sonship generally in ancient Hindu law).

On Tamerlane by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (received in 1929, shortly before the death of the author at the advanced age of 93, drawing a parallel between Tamerlane and Napoleon and giving some sidelights on Sharaf-ud-din, one of his biographers and Arabshah, another Arabic biographer).

The Chinese Connection with Africa by E. H. L. Schmarz (tracing the contact from the time of the Sung dynasty (960-1280) and even from an earlier date. Van Riebeeck recognised the Chinese, affinities of the Hottentots of Namaqualand—Manzi; a Chinese name for their country, means water, the sea, in Bantu.

A Vocabulary of the Mawken, Salon or Sea-Gypsy Language of the Mergui Archipelago by G. M. Ambler.

Yano Daffa Grammar and Vocabulary by N. L. Bor.

The Qūmat-ul-Islām or the oldest Mosque in Delhi by S. K. Banerji, (holding that the Muhammadan subjugation of the Qila-i-Rai Pithaura (name of the Rajput town of Delhi) took place before the end of 1191 A.D. There was a magnificent temple in the court-yard; and Qutb-ud-din seems to have accepted some of the excellences of Hindu architecture in his work).

English-Sēna Vocabulary by N. L. Bor and C. R. Pausey. Development of the Bengal Alphabet from the 5th century A.D. to the end of Muhammadan rule by S. N. Chakravarthi.

Bhārata-battle traditions by P. C. Sengupta (explaining the three traditions of Aryabhaṭṭa; Vridha Garga and the Purāṇas and stating, respectively, (1) 3102-1-B.C.—date of battle (2) 2449-B.C.—beginning of the Yudhistira era. and (3) 1015, 1050, 1115, or 1500 years—being the time interval between the birth of Parikshit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda.

*Solstice Days in Vedic Literature* (inquiry of the method of calculation of the day of the winter or summer solstice by the Vedic Hindus—and stating there was a standard month of Magha in their statements of solstice days in successive ages and there was also a chronological ladder extending from 3550 B.C. to 2100 B.C. during which the literature of the Brāhmaṇas was developed.

Madhu-Vidyā or the Science of Spring by P. C. Sengupta (holding that the Vedic Hindus could accurately determine the beginning of spring, full 60 days after the winter solstice from about 4,000 B.C. and corroborating Tilak's finding in his *Orion* with more definite and stranger reasons).

When Indra became Maghavan by P. C. Sengupta. (Indra is identified with the sun at the summer-solstice and becomes

the slayer of Vṛtra and by the heliacal rising of the Maghas constellation, becomes Maghavān.

Kasinathabhatta and his works Paramānanda.

Matasamgraha—A hitherto unknown work of the Pārāmananda School by C. Chakravarthi.

*Indian Arts and Letters New Series.* Vol. XIII No. 1. (First issue for 1939).

The rearrangement of the Indian Collections at the British Museum by Basil Gray—surveying the history of the collections from the time of the gift of the bronze figures of Pattini Devi from Ceylon by Sir Robert Brownrigg, the captor of Kandy, stored in the Indian room and the Asiatic saloon, and the principles on which the present arrangement has been built up.

*Dancing in India* by La Men—tracing the birth of the Indian dance, the background and technique of the Nāṭya, the latter comprehending the elements of *rasa*, *bhāva* and *abhinaya* and idealised action in position, gait and hand-gesture—also describing the *Kathākālī* and *Sadir* Dance of South India, the *Kathak* of North India and the new dance. The Indian Art of calico-printing in the Middle Ages. Characteristics and Influences by R. Pfister—showing that the export trade in this article had fallen into the hands of Arabs and Persians even before the 11th century and the secret of cotton dyeing was very slow in spreading beyond the bounds of India.

*Recent Hindi Literature* (in the last 70 years) by T. Grahame Bailey—*Khari Boli*, the medium in which all Hindi writers are struggling to express themselves is very young, impaired by senseless Sanskritisation and should be freed from affectation.

*Modern Art in Bali* by J. Kats (a plea for guarding against deterioration in standards).

*The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.* Vol. XIV. 1939. Part IV.

The Antiquity of the Hindoo Nose-Ornament called 'Natha'—by P. K. Gode—indicating that the custom of boring the septum of the nose was of Arabic origin, and the boring of arc of the nostrils was current in Persia; and that the nath

existed in South India in the 14th century and was prevalent even in earlier ages in other parts.

The Bhagavadgita "Riddle" unriddled by S. K. Belvalkar—accounting for the intrusion of the *Gītāprāśasti* lines at the commencement of the 43rd chapter of the *Bhīsmaparavan*.

*The Post-Madhva Period* by B. N. K. Sarma—Some of the immediate disciples and early followers of Madhva—The *svāmis* of the Udipi Mutt and other early Tanṭava disciplines.

A detailed exposition of the Nagari, Gujarati and Modi scripts—by H. R. Kapadia.

*The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*—Vol. XXV. Part I. (March, 1939).

Notes on the Punch-Marked copper Band found at Patna—by E. H. C. Walsh—indicating that the coins were all of the Maurya period and were in wide circulation.

*The Tridandamāla* of Āśvaghoṣa by E. H. Johnston—This Āśvaghoṣa was different from the great poet and the colophon shows that this was a Sarvāstivādin different from the Āśvaghoṣa of fame.

*Aryan attitude to female deities* by Mangobind Banerji.

*Transport of Saltpetre in India in the Seventeenth Century*—by J. N. Sirkar.

*Asurgarh*, an unexplored ruin in the Darbhanga district—by H. R. Krishnan.

*A Note on the worship of the Godling Basavan among the Ahirs of South Bihar*—by the late Chandra Misra.

## Our Exchanges

*The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., Poona.  
*Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.  
*Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.  
*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.  
*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.  
*Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.  
*Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E. I. Ry.  
*Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst Street, Calcutta.  
*Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.  
*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.  
*Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, "The Ashrama", Luz, Myslapore.  
*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.  
*Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.  
*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.  
*Le Monde Oriental*, Kungl: Universitetets Bibliotek, Uppsala.  
*Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.  
*The Political Science Quarterly*, Columbia University, New York.  
*Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.  
*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore  
*Yoga-Mimansa*, Kun'javana, Lonavla, Bombay.  
*The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.  
*The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.  
*The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archaeological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).  
*The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.  
*The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.  
*The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.

## OUR EXCHANGES

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*Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.  
*De Gaeckwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.  
*The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.  
*The Federated India*, Madras.  
*The Superintendent of Archaeology*, Gwalior State, Gwalior.  
*Verlag Der Asia Major*, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.  
*Triveni*, Editor, Y. M. I. A. Buildings, 9, Armenian Street, Madras.  
*Journal of the Madras Geographical Association*, Cathedral P. O., Madras.  
*Journal of the Bombay University*, Senate House, Bombay.  
*Muslim University Journal*, Muslim University, Aligarh.  
*The Karnatak Historical Research Society*, Dharwar.  
*The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.  
*The U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.  
*Indian Culture*, The Indian Research Institute, 170 Manicktola St., Calcutta.  
*Bharathi*, The Bharathi Office, 7, Thambu Chetty Street, G. T., Madras.  
*Karnataka Sahitya Parishat*, Sri Krishnarajendra Parishat Buildings, Hardinge Road, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.  
*The Man in India*, Ranchi.  
*The Journal of the Greater India Society*, 21, Badurbagan Row, P.O., Amherst St., Calcutta.  
*Brahmavidya*; The Adyar Library Bulletin, Adyar.  
*The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares Hindu University P.O.  
*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin Und Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter & Co.,  
*Indiana*, Gandhigraham, Benares City.  
*The Poona Orientalist*, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.



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