

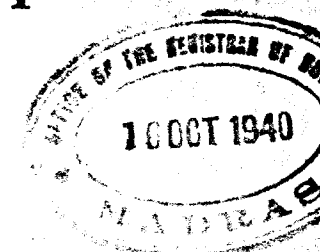
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Journal of Indian History

Origin of Slavery in Indo-Aryan Economy

By

ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

I. INCEPTION: CAUSES

'DĀSA,' the Indian word for slavery is used in the Rgveda synonymously with 'dasyu' in the sense of enemies of the Aryans (V. 34. 6; VI. 22. 10; 33. 3; 60. 6; VII. 83. 1; X. 38. 3; 69. 6; 83. 1; Av. V. 11. 3). The *dāsavarṇa* (Rv. I. 101. 1; 130. 8; II. 12. 4; 20. 7; IV. 16. 13; VI. 47. 21; VII. 5. 3) and the *āryavarṇa* (III. 34. 9) allude to the aborigines and the Aryan invaders with reference to their respective complexions.¹ The difference in religion between the two sets of people is also very frequently noted (I. 33. 4f; IV. 16. 9; V. 7. 10; 42. 9; VI. 14. 3; VIII. 70. 10; X. 22. 7f.). These conquered aboriginals must have often been reduced to slavery and hence the new application of the word 'dāsa' in the sense of a slave (VII. 86. 7; VIII. 56. 3; X. 62. 10; Av. IV. 9. 8; Ch. Up. VII. 24. 2). In the Atharvaveda 'dāsi' is used in this sense (V. 22. 6; XII. 3. 13; 4. 9; Ch. Up. V. 13. 2; Br. Up. VI. 1. 10). "Aboriginal women were, no doubt the usual slaves, for on their husbands being slain in battle they would naturally have been taken as servants."²

Thus in India, as elsewhere slavery originated from the earliest laws of war. "The vanquished is the victor's slave—such is the law of war" (Mbh. IV 33. 59f)³. 'Those made captive under a standard'

1. This is sometimes directly mentioned: *Kṛṣṇa tvac*,—Rv. I.130.8; IX. 41.1; *śvītṛya*.—I.100.18; *ahorātra* as analogous to *śudrāyau*, not of course in direct order—Vāj. Sam. XXIV.30. Cf. in the Majjhima-nikāya (93)—'deva vannā ayyo c'eva dāso ca' in the Yona and Kamboja countries.

2. Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 357.

3. In the same vein the Pāṇḍavas speak to the captive Jayadratha in the Vanaparva.

are among the different classes of slaves enumerated in Manu, the Arthaśāstra and Nārada (dhvajāhṛta—Manu, VIII. 415; Arth. III. 13; Nār. V. 27. Prisoners captured in raids are one of the three varieties known in the Vinayapiṭaka (karamarānito, Bhik. V, Samgh. I. 2. 1). In the Jātakas brigands are seen harrying a border village and going off with their prisoners (coresu paccantagāmaṃ paharitvā karamare gahetvā gacchantesu, III. 147; IV. 220). In the Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Sutasoma is afraid that Brahmaddatta of Benares would enslave the captured princes.⁴

These people, if they happened to survive their master, did not recover their freedom but were handed down to the legitimate heir along with other properties of the master. This is another variety of slave noticed by the lawgivers (paitṛka,—Manu; dāyāgata,—Arth; Nār.) and the practice is fully borne out by other evidence.

The child born of a female slave in the house of a master became a slave to the same master. This is alluded to as *gṛhaja* or *udaradāsa* in Manu, the Arthaśāstra and Nārada and as *antojato* in the Vinaya passage. Vidura, the king's councillor enumerates this among the four kinds of slave (*āmāyadāsa*, Jāt. VI. 285) and he himself is a specimen. The Jātakas give other instances of 'home-born' slaves (I. 452; VI. 110).

We come to a later stage of development when slaves could be purchased for money (*krīta*,—Manu; Arth., Nār.; *dhanakkīto*, Vin.; *dhanena kita*,—Jāt. VI. 285). In the Jātakas *'satena kīṭadāsa'* is a stock phrase indicating that 100 *kahāpaṇas* is the conventional price of a slave (I. 224, 299). 700 *kahāpaṇas* are "enough to buy slaves male and female" (*alaṃ me ettakaṃ dhanam dāsīdāsamūlāya*, III. 343).

Manu and Nārada recognise slavery by gift. In the Vessantara Jātaka an exiled prince gives away his wife and children to a suitor (VI. 546). Such pious demonstrations were however undoubtedly rare.

According to the Arthaśāstra and Nārada one could be pledged or mortgaged to slavery. The state of mortgage continued till the

4. Among the four kinds of slave enumerated elsewhere appear 'those driven by fear' (*bhaya paṇunnāpi*, Jāt. VI. 285). Perhaps in those times and places when or where aggression and brigandage were not uncommon, the weaker people occasionally sought a powerful but benevolent master for protection against 'the laws of the jungle.'

debt was cleared. Of course the sale, gift or mortgage was open only to the rightful owner of a person, i.e., to the master of a slave, to a husband, to a father or to kinsmen of a minor.

Perhaps a further stage is revealed with the enslavement by judicial punishment. This practice does not appear in the lists of Vinaya or of the Vidura-panḍita Jātaka. Manu refers to it as *daṇḍadāsa* and the Arthaśāstra as *daṇḍapraṇīta*. The commentators on Manu explain it as "because one cannot pay a debt or a fine." The Arthaśāstra lays down that a person enslaved by court decree shall earn that amount by work (*daṇḍapraṇītāḥ karmaṇā daṇḍamupanayeta*) i.e., the culprit must earn and pay by hard labour the fine he is sentenced to. It is not made clear in either of the two passages whether this service is to be rendered to the state or to the sufferer. This form of penal servitude was certainly temporary expiring as soon as the fine or decree was worked off. But in the Jātakas there are instances of 'life sentence' too. In the Kulāvaka Jātaka a *gāma-bhojaka* is reduced to slavery by the king's decree for bringing false charges against his people (I. 200). In the Mahā-ummagga Jātaka the king commutes death sentence of four mischievous counsellors and condemns them to slavery (VI. 463).

Nārāyaṇa and Nandana extend the *daṇḍadāsa* of Manu to include those who are sentenced to slavery for leaving a religious order. Viṣṇu emphatically declares: "An apostate from religious mendicacy shall become the king's slave" (V. 152). According to Nārada such an apostate is never to be emancipated (V. 35; Yāj. II. 183). But we have no concrete instances of such measures in the Jātakas. It is obvious that these pious rules are difficult to enforce and reflect only a growing tendency against which the law-givers strove in vain.

Manu and Nārada specify slaves serving for food. Nārada says that this type of slave is released on giving up the subsistence. But this being the condition, his status differs very little from the labourer working for hire and paid with food (*bhataka*). Apparently the status of slavery was sometimes preferred by a pauper to that of a hireling whose position was sometimes worse than his brethren.

It is clear that as want and starvation became acute, people sold their freedom for maintenance. Nārada's list accordingly includes one taking to bondage for food in time of famine.

From Nārada, it appears that a debtor might have had to serve his creditor as slave until the payment of the debt with interest

(V. 33). Theri Isidāsī, born as the daughter of a poor carter heavily encumbered with debts was carried off as slave by a merchant in default of interest.

Kapaṇamhi appabhoge dhanika-pāṭabahulamhi.¹
taṃ maṃ tato satthavāho wasannāya vipulāya vaḍḍhiya²
okaḍḍhati vilapantiṃ acchinditvā kulagharassa

Terigāthā, 443f.

1. Ināyikāṇaṃ purisāṇaṃ adhipatanabahule bahūhi ināyikeki abhibhavit-abbe. —Paramathadipnī.

2. Inaraḍḍhiyā. *Ibid.*

From the commentatorial note on *daṇḍadāsa* in Manu it appears that this service might also be exacted *in lieu of* a debt.

Voluntary enslavement is noticed in the Arthaśāstra (sagrādāt-mādhātā) and in Nārada. It is referred to also in the Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī (I. 168) and in the Vidura-paṇḍita Jātaka (sayam pi upayanti dāsa). The motives of such self-degradation might be manifold. It might be done as penance (Jāt. VI. 87). It might be done to save somebody else's life or freedom (VI. 135). Obviously such cases were rare.

'Won through wager' is another kind of slave in Nārada. In the Majjhima-nikāya there is a passage which says that a gambler by throwing a low cast with the dice loses son, wife, all his possessions and finally goes himself into bondage (129). One is immediately reminded of the classic (but by no means solitary) instance of Draupadi in the notorious dice contest in the Mahābhārata (cf. I. 16. 20).

There might be other ways of reduction to slavery. The Magadhans once under a spell of pestilence are seen offering to be Jīvaka's slave if he cured them (Mv. I. 39). One marrying a female slave becomes a slave according to Nārada.⁵ It is interesting to note how with the advance of time and crystallization of social institutions slavery became more and more institutionalised and its forms and varieties increased. At first, in the Vedic literature, it was only the captive in war. The Vinayapitaka gives a list of three, the Vidura-paṇḍita Jātaka of four. In Manu the list is widened to seven, the Arthaśāstra evinces the knowledge of eight varieties

5. Nārada's list also contains 'one enslaved for a stipulated period and 'one self-sold.' The significance of these is not made clear.

leaving others unspecified, and as we come down to Nārada we are presented with a still wider list of fifteen.

II. MANUMISSION

The rigidity of the institution however did not mean 'once a slave, always a slave.' There were provisions for redemption, and manumission was not unknown. A pledge or mortgage was recovered on clearance of debt (Arth.; Nār.;). One condemned for debt or with fine was free as soon as it was paid or worked off. One enslaved for subsistence, or for a stipulated period, attained freedom on termination of the condition. The Arthaśāstra enjoins and the Vessantara Jātaka shows that a slave could be released if somebody paid his price fixed at the time of sale or bequest. The exiled prince who gave away his children as slaves put a price on them "as one puts a price on cattle" (gone agghapento viya tatth' eva thito kumāre agghāpesi). Eventually the grandfather of the children paid their price and procured their immunity (VI. 546f). According to Nārada one who saves his master's life in peril is entitled to liberty (V. 30). One made captive in fight, one won through wager and one voluntarily enslaved are to be released on giving a substitute of equal capacity (34)⁶; the husband of a female slave on parting with his wife (36).

But the commoner means of freedom was voluntary manumission given by the owner as an act of grace. This was open to all the varieties of slaves (Nār. V. 29). A slave girl brings to the housewife the happy tidings of arrival of her son who had turned a recluse and is promised manumission in a fit of ecstasy (Mn. 82). A master freed his slaves on the eve of renunciation (Jāt. V. 313). Kaṭāhaka, the run-away slave was traced but freed by his master (I. 451ff).

III. FUNCTIONS

"The work which the slaves had to do was naturally extremely manifold and differed with the social position of the master and the intelligence of the slave."⁷ Kaṭāhaka was employed as store-keeper (bhaṇḍāgārikakammaṃ karonto) and Nanda was appointed by his master the guardian of his hidden property on behalf of his son. Highborn and accomplished slaves to the king held high

6. A rule the observance of which was very doubtful. Cf. the case of Draupadi.

7. Fick—Die Sociale Gliederung.

offices going up to the position of his counsellor. As a rule however the work of the slave was of a lower nature.

To take care of the master's household, to attend to his body, to prepare his food and serve the dinner, these were the commonest functions of a domestic slave. The slave Pingalā washed the feet of her master and the family before they retired to bed at night and even after that she sat on the door-sill to await the master's pleasure (Jāt. III. 100). With considerable detail, Kaṭāhaka describes the *dāsakammam*,—how he would set the dishes, place the spittoons, look to the drink and fetch the fan and how he would minister to the master when he retired (I. 453). Among the 'impure work' which is reserved for slaves according to Nārada is 'rubbing the master's limbs when desired' (V. 7). They served also as bathing attendants (6; Arth. III. 13; Jāt. I. 383).

Apart from personal attendance, the domestic slave did all other menial work of the household. A very common function of a female slave is pounding and winnowing of rice (I. 248; II. 428; III. 350) and spreading out the rice in the sun (I. 484). He or she is also seen clearing the leavings of food (Nār. V. 6; Jāt. IV. 145); sweeping the yards and stables (Nār. V. 5; Jāt. VI. 138); cleansing the bathing tank (Jāt. I. 484); fetching water (V. 284, 412); going on errands (I. 350).

Generally female slaves were maintained for domestic work. All the cases cited above except Kaṭāhaka (and Jāt. I. 350) were women (also Mn. 82). For outdoor work men were employed. The king's slaves served in the industrial and agricultural establishments of the state (Arth. II. 24.) or fought in his army (Rām. II. 84. 7; Jāt. V. 412); private slaves plied in the big and small agricultural estates and industrial enterprise.

IV. CORRUPTIVE INFLUENCE

The institution of slavery was not as innocent as it would appear from the functions of a slave enumerated above. In the Nāma-siddhi Jātaka is a scene of a master and a mistress beating their slave for she had not brought home her wages (ekaṃ dāsiṃ bhatim adadamānam, I. 402). It would appear that the master might let out the services of the slave on hire and thus make a profitable business out of him or her, since the slave had no right to earn and own property. In the *paccupannarattṭhu* of the Māmsa Jātaka even the slaves of *bhikkhus* go to town to get dainty fare for their sick masters (III. 49).

Another evil feature was that the female slaves were very often kept for enjoyment avowed or surreptitious. Sometimes it is difficult to demarcate them from prostitutes and concubines. In the primitive concepts of social ethics this was the natural destiny for the wives and daughters of one slain in battle or made captive in war. Instances of slave women bearing children to their masters come from the later Vedic literature down to the Arthashastra and the Jātakas (Ait. Br. II. 19; Kauṣ. Br. XII. 3; Arth. III. 13; Jāt. IV. 145, 298). The king's female slave are to serve as bathroom attendants, shampooers, bedroom servants, washerwomen and flower garland-makers (*snāpaka-saṃrāhak'-āstaraka-rajaka-mālākārakarma dāsyah kuryuh*,—Arth. I. 21). Prostitutes and female slaves incapable of providing enjoyment to king (*bhagnabhogā*) are to be employed in the stores or kitchen. Female slaves are trained along with royal prostitutes in the arts of entertainment and feminine wiles (II. 27). In the taverns it was not an extraordinary spectacle to find a *dāsi* with blooming youth and beauty (*peṣalarūpā*) lying in intoxication with her master (II. 25). This was the natural social consequence emerging out of the maintenance of large number of woman slaves within the household.⁸

V. CODE OF RELATION

The code of treatment of a slave by a master and of reciprocal duties and relations as formulated in didactic pieces is fairly enlightened and high. In the words of the Buddha slaves and servants form the *nadī* (*hetṭhimā disā*), among the six quarters that the Aryan master has to protect; and (1) he assigns them work according to their strength (*yathābalaṃ kammanta-samvidhānena*), supplies them with food and wages (*bhatta-vetanānuppadānena*), (3) tends them in sickness (*gilānu paṭṭhānena*); (4) shares with them unusual delicacies (*acchāriyānaṃ rasānaṃ samvibhāgena*), (5) grants leave at times (*samaye vossaggena*)⁹. The slaves and workmen respond to such good ministration in five ways: (1) they rise before him, (2) they lie down to rest after him, (3) they are

8. It might of course happen, although very rarely, that a master gives the status of wife or daughter-in-law to his female slave (Amba-Pv. Com. IV. 12, Therig. 445). On the reverse the Jātakas furnish instances of the master's wife and daughter falling in love with or marrying their male slaves.

9. Constant relaxation so that they need not work all day, and special leave with extra food and adornment for festivals, etc.,—Buddhaghosa. Cf. Jāt. III. 435.

content with what is given to them, (4) they do their work well, (5) they carry about his praise and good fame. (Dn. XXX. 27). Asoka exhorts the proper treatment of slaves and hirelings along with friends and relatives as consonant with dhamma (R. E. XIII). According to Manu, the master's duty is to give funeral *pinḍa* to the sonless slaves and to maintain them when old and weak. The Śūdra on the other hand must never leave his master whatever may be his sufferings. He should maintain his master besides his own family when the latter suffers a loss of wealth (*dravya-parikṣaye*, XII. 60.35f). He stands in respectable company with parents, brother, children, daughter-in-law and female relatives of his master with whom a Snātaka should never have quarrels (IV. 180). A slave is as one's shadow whose offence the master should bear without resentment as of his brother, wife, son and daughter (IV. 184f). According to the Arthaśāstra those who do not heed the claims of their slaves, hirelings and relatives shall be taught their duty (II. 1).

VI. LEGAL POSITION

The fundamental fact of the legal position of the slave was his complete loss of *persona*. He was the master's chattel as much as oxen, buffaloes, gold and silver (Jāt. I. 341); or as oxen, gold, garments, sandalwood, horses, treasures, jewels etc. (V. 223). The master had the right to recover him if he ran away (I. 451, 458) or disposed himself to another master (Nār. V. 40). He had right to make a bequest of him to another (Jāt. VI. 138). He was just as Vidura the councillor describes himself: "I am a slave from my birth; my weal and my woe come from the king, I am the king's slave even if I go to another, he may give me by right to thee."

Addhā pi yonito ahaṃ pi jāto
bhavo ca rañño abhavo ca rañño
dās'āham devassa paraṃ pi gantvā
dhammena maṃ mānava tuyham dajjā ti

VI. 285.

As will be seen below the master could take the life of his slave with impunity.

A slave can have no property (Manu, XII. 60.37; VIII. 416f) i.e., he cannot earn money by working for others (*adhigacchanti parakarma-karaṇādinaṃ*,—Nārāyaṇa). Whatever he earns belongs to his master (Mbh. I. 82. 22ff; V. 33.68; Nār. V. 41). The doors of the Saṃgha were closed to him (Mv. I. 46f). He could not

enter an agreement unless authorised (Arth. III. 1). He could not stand as witness except in case of failure of qualified witnesses (Manu, VIII. 66, 70).

VII. SOCIAL STATUS

These legal disabilities do not discord with the idealised relation between a master and a slave outlined above which ignores any right on behalf of the slave. Nor does his inferior social status. In Manu and in the Śāntiparva Mahābhārata (242.20) he appears as an integral part of the master's family,¹⁰ deserving of treatment similar to the members of the household. If a slave sometimes figures in the less respectable company of cows, mares, she-camels, she-buffaloes, she-goats and ewes of which the issue belongs to the owner of the mother,—Manu, IX. 48; Cf. Jāt. I. 341; V. 223), this is no paradox. For the *magna familia* of the Aryan householder embraces within its fold these domestic animals as much as the slaves. Animals had as much claim to kind treatment as slaves (Asoka's R.E. XIII) and neither had the social status of the other members of the family. This is shown in characteristic fashion in the Nānacchanda Jātaka. Puṇṇā, the female slave is offered a boon along with the master, the mistress, the son and the daughter-in-law. While they ask for a village, 100 milch cows, a car and ornaments, she for a pestle, a mortar and a winnowing basket (II.428).

This Puṇṇā, receives from her master the epithet—'jammi', meaning 'the low, contemptible.' 'Thou wilt be a slave,' is a serious form of curse (Mbh. I. 16. 19ff.). *Dāsiputra* is a universal term of abuse (Jāt. I. 225; III. 233; IV. 41). King Vidudabha is insulted as the 'son of a slave-girl' even by a slave woman (IV. 145). Children of slave-girls by their masters did not get over this stigma.¹¹ Mahānāma, the Sākya cannot dine with his daughter Vāsavakhattiyā by the slave Nagamuṇḍā. Bodhisatta, as king's chaplain, disports with a slave-girl, but cannot give his family name to the bastard born to him (IV. 298).

VIII. TREATMENT

The legal and social position of the slave being what it was, his habitual lot was not to be petted and fondled like a foster child. The slave Kaṭāhaka learnt writing with his master and "two or

10. Also Mbh. V. 23.15; 30.39; Jāt. II. 428; III.167.

11. Ait. Br. II.19; Kauṣ. Br. XII.3.

three handicrafts (vohāre) and grew up to be a fair-spoken and handsome youngman" (vacanakusalo yuvā abhirūpo ahosi). Brought up in the refinements of his master's house, he could successfully pose abroad as his master's son. With a master like Bodhisatta such treatment is intelligible, but even with such a master, the slave could not escape the fear that "at the slightest fault he shall be beaten, chained, branded and fed in slaves' fare" (tālītvā bandhitvā lakkhaṇena anketvā dāsaparibhogena pi paribhuñjissanti, I. 451). It is wonderful that Mrs. Rhys Davids finds only two instances of actual ill-treatment in Buddhist literature,¹² the one where a slave tries the temper of her mistress by persistent late rising and is struck in the head with a lynchpin causing bleeding (Mn. 21); the other where a girl was beaten with rope by her master and mistress for not bringing home her wages (Jāt. I. 402f). In Buddha's discourse slaves and servants are said to be obeying the inhuman orders of a king harried by stripes and fears (daṇḍatajjitā bhayatajjitā, Mn. 51). "Men acquire men as slaves and by beating, binding and by otherwise subjugating them make them work day and night. These people are not ignorant of the pain that is caused by beating and chains."

Manuṣa manuṣāneva dāsabhāvena bhuñjati
Vadhavandha nirodhena kārāyanti divānisaṃ
Ātmanaścāpi jānāti yaddukkhaṃ vadhavandhane

Mbh. XII. 261.38f.

The cruel master in the Vessantara Jātaka ties the hands of the boy and the girl with a creeper and holding it tight beats them and drives them on. "Where he struck them the skin was cut, the blood ran, when struck, they staggered against each other back to back"¹³ (VI. 546f.). In the Rajjumāla-vimāna (Vimānavatthu) occurs the doleful sketch of a maid-servant who was abused right and left and when she grew up, had a liberal deal of blows and fisticuffs. She was taken by the hair for slaps and kicks. She tried to escape with a shave but it made her lot worse. The mistress was aroused at her tonsured poll. She bound her head with a rope and pulled it down with a wrench whenever it pleased her fancy. The maid was thus nicknamed Rajjumāla. Weary of her

12. Camb. His., Ch. VIII, p. 205.

13. There is a perceptible element of exaggeration to make a perfect villain of the Brāhmaṇa and demonstrate the piety and fortitude of the prince who is a Bodhisatta.

life she thought of deliverance by committing suicide in the jungle which was happily averted. This apparently was the common lot of slaves as insinuated in Sakka's talk with a maid who would not weep at the death of her master's son. "You must have been oppressed, beaten and abused by him and therefore, thinking he is happily dead, you weep not." (Jāt. III. 167).

Nūna tvam iminā pīletvā bādhētvā paribuṭṭā bhavissasi, tasmā 'sumatoayan' ti no rodasīti.

The same treatment to a dāsī is echoed in the commentary on the Uragapetavatthu, I 12 :

Yadi evaṃ tena taṃ poṭhetvā veyyavaccakāritā bhavissasi, tasmā maññe sumuttāhaṃ tena matenāti na rodasīti.

In both the cases the insinuation is denied and in the Jātaka story, it is said that the young master was full of love and pity for his slave—"te samaggā sammodamānā piyaṣaṃvāsā ahesum." But this was a Bodhisatta family and Sakka's words more correctly represent the standard.

The toll of misery did not always end with beating and binding or other ingenious device of torture. A *setthi's* daughter is afraid that her father would cut her and her slave lover to pieces if he heard of their liaison (Jāt. I. 120). In the Nāgavimāna we read that the guard of a sugarcane field (ucchupālaka) in the employ of a Brāhmaṇa was clubbed to death by his master for having improvised a hut to accommodate some Bhikkus and given them canes to eat.

taṃ sutva brahmaṇo kupito anatamano taṭataṭāyamāno kodhā-bhibhūto tassa piṭṭhito upadhāvitvā muggarena taṃ paharanto ekappahāren' eva jīvītā voropesi (Vv.—Atth. V. 12).

The servile class (dāsajāti) should be given by their masters used articles and torn clothes no longer fit for wear (adhāryāni viśīrṇāni vasaṇāṃ, Mbh. XII. 60. 33). 'A slave's fare' is a common phrase of abuse in the Jātakas (dāsaparibhoga, I. 451, 459). The Arthaśāstra gives a foretaste of this staff when it says that bad liquor (duṣṭasurā) fit for underselling may conveniently go into the ration of slaves, hirelings or hogs and draught animals (II. 25). The slave was not even entitled to a square meal. He was to get provision in proportion to the work done (yathāpuruṣa-parivāpam bhaktam kuryāt, II. 24; Cf. Jāt. III. 300).

That the slave's was not an enviable lot is also clear from the fact that freedom was highly prized¹⁴ and that he sometimes ran away from his master's house (Jāt. I. 451, 458). Even the Arthaśāstra which is otherwise so liberal, has to admit that a run-away slave forfeits the right of redemption.¹⁵

IX. THE SLAVE AND SERVILE CLASS

When a slave is discharged from bondage, no legal bar or social stigma attaches to him any more. The ban of the Saṃgha is lifted from him (Dn. II. 35). But the mere fact that a slave could earn freedom does not necessarily mean amelioration. If he was competent to settle in a skilled profession it was the better for him. For a poor unskilled person it was fire from the frying pan; i.e. either a change of master or serving as a labourer for hire.

As a matter of fact, it was not the status of slavery which was so degrading, the degradation was inherent in the class which served as drudge to the higher orders. In this light is to be read the injunction of Manu that a Śudra even if set free, is not released from servitude—"for who can take away that which is inborn in him?" This also explains the two sets of rules, seemingly contradictory, in the Dharmasāstras and in the Arthaśāstra. Those very 'Impure works' (sweeping ordure, urine, leavings of food; attending to the master while naked) which Nārada assigns to a slave, are prohibited for him in the Arthaśāstra. While Manu and Nārada countenance no rights of property for a slave, the Arthaśāstra allows him to earn, own and inherit property. Even after his death, his kinsmen have the priority of claim on his property over the master. Sale and mortgage into slavery are laid under severe strictures. Chastity of female slaves are meticulously guarded not only against the master but against royal officers and every debauch is punished with heavy fine, and violation entitles her to freedom (i.e. forfeiture of value on the part of the master,—mūlyanāśa).

While Manu declares that a Śudra is not released from servitude by being set free, the Arthaśāstra rules that an Ārya does not lose his birthright (āryabhāva) even if enslaved. If it is true that in the latter the Śudra is not a distinctly separated category from the Ārya as in the former, but a part of it, that only indicates that the Śudra of the Arthaśāstra is not the same class as the

Śudra of Manu. It is remarkable that the liberal rules of the Arthaśāstra are confined to the one and the main chapter (dāsa-kalpa) and its cursory references elsewhere do not adhere to the same enlightened principles. These latter were applicable to large classes of people who stood between the border lines of the Śudra and Mleccha groups i.e., those who were neither absorbed within nor kept in complete isolation from the Aryan social organism. The privileges accrued to the upper classes degraded to slavery, the Āryas proper. The instance of the Vessantara Jātaka is a clear proof of this proposition. The prince who gives her daughter to slavery, put a high price on her lest a low-born should pay it and 'break her birth-right' (jāṭisambhedana kareyya).

In the Arthaśāstra, the Mlecchas are expressly kept out of the privileges. The suggestion readily occurs that they formed the bulk of slavery. But certainly a Mleccha could not be put into a job which brings him into personal contact with an Aryan master. It appears that the Śudras, i.e. the lowest of the Aryan fold, or the aborigines who became an appendage to the Aryan system supplied the mass of slave labour, not the Mlecchas of whom even the sight and air were reprehensible, nor the upper orders who were occasionally relegated by freaks of fortune. This is why in Manu and in the didactic episodes of the Epics, dāsa and Śudra go synonymously. This is why 'dāsa' is so often distinctly referred to as a 'jāti' i.e., a class by birth and not a functional group.

X. SLAVERY—INDIAN AND WESTERN

The actual condition and life of this class, though not enviable was better than that of the slaves of ancient Greece and Italy, or of the late 'white plantations.' When Megasthenes said that the Indians do not employ slaves, he only brought forth this contrast. Unlike those countries again, the number of slaves in India, though large, was a fraction of the labouring class. The work of degrading manual labour was shared between the slave, the free hired labourer and a host of Mlecchas and hīnajātis. Hence in India the basis of economic life was not slavery and the Eastern analogy of the slave of Rome and Sparta in allround exploitation was not the dāsa but the last of the classes mentioned above.

14. tattonidāṃ labhetha pāmujjam, adhigacche somanassam, Mn. 39.

15. It is strange of Mrs. Rhys Davids to say "we do not meet with run away slaves." Loc. cit.

Some Observations on the Character and Achievements of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya

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It is commonly held by many writers on ancient Indian History that Chandragupta II peacefully succeeded to an empire which had been thoroughly consolidated by two of his predecessors. This general belief has been very beautifully expressed by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyanger in the following words:

"There seems to have been no opposition of any kind to his accession and the succession therefore was peaceful one. Such a succession gives us the indication that the empire built at such great pains and organised by two of his predecessors had got into a sufficiently settled conditions to be handed on as a peaceful possession. Chandragupta's work therefore was not that of the warrior statesman, but was one of a peaceful administrator. All the frontiers appear to have remained without disturbance of any kind except along the south-west where he had to carry on a war, the only war of his reign."¹

Recently, there has come to light evidence, both literary and epigraphic which necessitates a revision of the previous views. It appears now, that neither the accession was undisputed, nor the frontiers were immune from disturbances. Chandragupta's was an uphill fight for retaining the sovereign position which had been jeopardised soon after the death of Samudragupta.

Let us first take up the question of his succession. In the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas known so far, Candragupta II is mentioned as the immediate successor of Samudragupta. But as remarked by the late Dr. Jayaswal, "the inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy, or a complete list of successions;" but only indicate a particular line of descent. Much emphasis has also been laid on the expression *pādānudhyāta*,² as indica-

tive of Candragupta's nomination to the throne by his father Samudragupta.³ But the expression is merely a formal statement indicative of respect and used with reference to fathers by the sons, by the feudatories for their overlords etc., and is not a proof of nomination to the throne nor of immediate succession. This is clear from the Nalanda clay seals of Kumāragupta II. Here we find that Puragupta is called as *Kumāragupta-pādānudhyātaḥ*, 'favoured by the feet of Kumārgupta,' and yet the immediate successor of Kumārgupta I was Skandagupta and not Puragupta. This is made perfectly clear by the known dates of Skandagupta which run in continuation of those of Kumāragupta I.

The existence of an elder brother of Candragupta II is now more than a possibility. As a result of the recent researches of a number of scholars it has been established that the immediate successor of Samudragupta was not Candragupta II, but a king named Rāmagupta.⁴ Rāmagupta's rule was very short. His defeat at the hands of an enemy—whose identity we shall discuss below—not only seems to have made him unpopular with the people, but also resulted in an estrangement with his queen Dhruvadevi who became thoroughly disgusted at the imbecile behaviour of her husband who had purchased peace by agreeing to surrender the queen to the enemy.⁵ On the other hand the queen was deeply grateful

3. cf. the recent opinion of Prof. Dr. Sten Konow, "That there was a Gupta emperor of that name is not, I think likely, since Samudragupta himself seems to have made Candragupta his successor." JBORS, 1937, p. 446.

4. For details see:— (a) A. S. Altekar, *A new Gupta King*, JBORS, Vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 223-53 and Vol. XV; p. 134.

(b) D. R. Bhandarkar, *New Light on Gupta History*, Mālavīya Commemoration Volume, pp. 189-211.

(c) K. P. Jayaswal, *Candragupta II and his Predecessor*, JBORS, Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-36.

(d) V. V. Mirasi, *Further Light on Rāmagupta*, IA; 1933; 201-205.

5. cf. the following verse from Devicandraguptam:—

रम्या चारतिकारिणी च करुणा शोकेन नीता दशा
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा युमेव चान्दीकला ।
पर्युः ह्रीवन्नोचितेन चरितेनानेन पुंसः सतो
लज्जाकोपविषादमीत्यरतिमिः क्षेपीकृता ताम्यते ॥

'(She) who has been reduced to this charming, (yet) piteous state creative of spiritlessness on account of grief caused by what was agreed to (उपगत) at that time by (her husband) who abandoned her (राहु) like

1. *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 43.

2. lit. 'favoured by the feet of'.

to the young prince Candragupta, who had hazarded his life to save the queen and the honour of the house. It is no wonder that in these circumstances she unconsciously began to cherish feelings of love for this youth of undaunted courage. Such a situation must have led to harem-intrigues, culminating in the deposition and murder of Rāmagupta. Candragupta now got the throne and Dhruvadāvi became his chief queen. These are not mere surmises, but actual happenings the memory of which had survived upto Śaka year 796 or A.D. 871 and have been twice alluded in the following verses from the inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings:

सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे कृता
 वन्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नायशः ।
 शोचाशोचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाच्यममङ्गीकृतं
 त्यागेनसमसाहसैश्च भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोऽभवत् ॥

'Who did not commit reprehensible atrocity against his elder brother inspite of the ability (to do so) and did not incur ignominy by misdeeds like intercourse with the wife of a kinsman, nor through fear did resort to demoniac course with an utter disregard for purity or defilement, (but) who became (known) as Sāhasāṅka in this world (only) on account of liberality and unequalled courage.'

हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरदेवीं च दीनस्तथा
 लक्षं कोटिमलेखयन् किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।
 येनात्याजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकृद् वाक्यार्थकैः का कथा
 ह्रीस्तस्थोन्नतिराष्ट्रकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

'The wretch, having killed his brother, seized the kingdom as well as the queen. It is said that he, the bounteous giver belonging to the Gupta dynasty, caused laes and crores (lit. a lac and a crore) (of grants) to be written (even) in the Kali age, [or caused to be lanced or sacrificed laes and crores of his enemies in battle (कलि)]

the digit of the moon (reduced to a sad plight), by the head of Rāhu; being subjected to shame, anger, distress, fear and anxiety on account of this behaviour which becomes only an imbecile person of her husband in spite of his being a man, she feels tormented.'

6. Cambay Plates of Govind IV, E.I., VII. p. 33, ll. 26-27 and Sāngli Plates ed. Fleet, I.A. XII, p. 250, ll. 23-25.

7. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, E.I. XVIII, p. 248.

(But) he who renounced his own kingdom several times (regarding it as) trivial, what to say (in his case) of external objects.⁸ That ornament of the exalted Rāṣṭrakūṭas, even in the reputation of being a donor, (is the giver of) sham to him (the Gupta donor).⁹

These verses show that a Gupta king who bore the title of Sāhasāṅka and was famous for his great charity had cruelly treated i.e. murdered his elder brother and taken possession of the latter's kingdom and wife. Amongst the kings of the Gupta dynasty Candragupta II is reputed to have been a liberal donor. On his silver coins we find the legend Vikramāṅka.¹⁰ The name of Candragupta's chief queen as given in the inscriptions is Dhruvadēvi. From the extant fragments of the play Devicandraguptam we find that Dhruvadēvi was the wife of Rāmagupta. That shows that Candragupta had seized the wife of Rāmagupta. The statement with regard to demoniac conduct is also applicable to Candragupta II, as it is clear from the following passage of ŚRṆGARA-PRAKĀŚA that he undertook to appropriate a Vetāla for the accomplishment of his object.¹¹

यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते शकपतिना परं कृच्छ्रमापादितं रामगुप्तस्कन्धावारमनुजि-
 वृष्टुरुपायान्तरागोचरे प्रतिकारे निशि वेतालसाधनमध्यवसन् कुमार चन्द्रगुप्त आत्रेयेण
 विदूषकेणोक्तः ।

'as in the play Devicandragupta, prince Candragupta, desiring to rescue (lit. to show kindness to) Rāmagupta's camp, which had been reduced to a sad plight by the Śaka lord, and undertaking in the absence of any other method of retaliation, to win over a vampire, at night was addressed by Atreya—the Vidūṣaka.'

All these facts lead to the identification of the Gupta King mentioned in the two verses quoted above with Candragupta II, Vikramāditya, and prove that he had murdered his elder brother and usurped the throne. No motive can be attributed to the composer of these verses for distorting facts.

8. Here the reference is to 'wife.' cf. Mallinātha on Raghuvamśa, VIII,

89, बाह्विषयेः पुत्रमिव कलत्रादिभिः

9. The meaning of the last line are not clear and the text seems to be defective. My translation is only tentative.

10. Allan: CCGD, p. cxiv.

11. This has been pointed out by Prof. V. V. Mirāś, I.H.Q., 1934.

He has stated the facts as known to him perhaps from the play *Devicandraguptam*.¹² In view of these facts the accession of Candragupta II cannot be called as peaceful.

Next let us examine the proposition that Candragupta's main task was not that of a warrior but of a peaceful administrator.

In the Udayagiri Cave inscription of Candragupta II's¹³ minister Virasena Śāba, there is a very significant statement. Virasena is stated to have come there in company of the king whose aim was the conquest of the whole world,¹⁴

“कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञेह सहागतः ।

The expression (कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजय) has so far been taken as a reference to the Military campaign against the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain and Surāṣṭra. But it is pertinent to ask if the conquest of two provinces only could have been described by a contemporary writer as the conquest of the whole world. *Kṛtsnaprithvijaya* is undoubtedly synonymous with *digvijaya*, and implies a military undertaking of a far greater magnitude. Now it may be objected that there were no pauses for much arduous campaigning. The bulk of the Indian territory had already been subjugated by

12. Dr. H. Raychaudhuri has doubts regarding the reliability of the statements of this play. He points out that historical accuracy has not been adhered to in the play *Mudrārāksas*, by the same author. (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 465 n. 1). But we must remember that the events dramatised in the *Mudrārāksas* had taken place about a thousand years before the author's time and he had to depend on traditional accounts entirely. After such a great lapse of time it was but natural that discrepancies should arise; but the case is different in *Devicandragupta*. In the 6th century—the period to which Viśākhadatta belongs—the facts relating to Gupta history must have been known with a greater degree of precision.

13. D. N. Mookerji refers this inscription to the reign of Candragupta I (J.I.H., December 1938). However that is not correct. The Minister Virasena calls himself as अन्वयप्राप्तमन्त्रिणः ‘who had obtained ministership by heredity.’ That means that his father was also a minister. Virasena was the minister for peace and war. The name of the Minister of Samudragupta in charge of peace and war is Harisena and his father's name is Dhruvabhūti. So that Harisena cannot be a successor of Virasena; and must be a predecessor. Virasena in all probability was son of Harisena and thus he would be a minister of Candragupta II and not that of Candragupta I.

14. CII. Vol. III, p. 35.

Samudragupta, and the frontiers of the Gupta Empire pushed to the utmost limits in the North, South and East. Only in the west the Śaka principalities had been left out and these were annexed by Candragupta II. In view of the accepted notions about Candragupta II it is no doubt difficult to imagine that there was a general recrudescence of disturbances in different parts of the empire; but this is at best an *argumentum ex-impossibili*. Samudragupta no doubt, had by his diplomatic ingenuity and military strength, succeeded in winning the voluntary friendship of some and the forced obedience of others, but the weakness shown by his successor Rāmagupta must have given a different turn to that situation. The surrender of Rāmagupta dealt a staggering blow to the prestige of the Guptas, and proved an indirect incitement for the reticent vassals to rebel. In order to understand the situation it is necessary to examine the genesis of the trouble in which Rāmagupta was involved. According to the statements of Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita*, of Bhoja in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, and of the rhetoricians Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, it was a Śaka overlord who had compelled Rāmagupta to surrender on these humiliating terms. However according to the verse quoted by Rājaśekhara¹⁵ he was the lord of Khaśas.

Regarding the identity of this powerful adversary different opinions have been expressed. Dr. A. S. Altekar identified him with the Śaka Satrap of Western Mālava and Surāṣṭra.¹⁶ The same opinion has been recently expressed by Dr. Sten Konow.¹⁷ Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Prof. V. V. Mirasi have regarded him as a Kuṣāṇa ruler of the Punjab and Kabul.¹⁸ The evidence of the verse from the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* has thus either been ignored altogether, or accepted with modifications. I think it is worth while to examine the various identifications.

In the opinion of Dr. Sten Konow the trouble arose because a Śaka lord asked for the hand of a Gupta princess. In support of

15. दत्त्वा ददगतिः खसाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवभामिनीं
यस्मात् खण्डितमाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीशमशुतो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गिरिगुहाकोणकणिकन्दरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेयतमस्त्रीणाम्नेः कीर्तयः ॥

16. J.B.O.R.S. 1928, pp. 249-53.

17. J.B.O.R.S., 1937, pp. 449 and 450.

18. J.B.O.R.S., 1932, p. 29 and I.A., 1933, p. 205.

this statement he quotes the following passage from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta:—

दैवपुत्रवाहिषाहानुषाहिशक्रमुण्डैः सैहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वोपवासिभिरात्म-
निवेदनकन्योपायनदानगरुत्तमदङ्गस्वविषयमुक्तिशासनयाचनायुपायसेवाकृतवाहुवीर्यप्रसर
धरणिबन्धस्य ।¹⁹

and remarks, "The *ātmanivedana* 'presentation of one's self' i.e. attendance in person could hardly be expected from the Kuṣāṇa King of Kings, but only from the minor chiefs the *daivaputraśāhi*. What the overlord could do and apparently did was to offer a princess (*Kanyopāyana*).... For the Śakamuruṇḍas then we should have the *Kanyādāna* which must I think be different from *Kanyopāyana*. I cannot see any other way of bringing out this difference than by taking the whole from *ātmanivedana* to *dāna* as a *dvandva* forming a *tatpuruṣa* with the ensuing *yācanā* requests of (1) (permission) to present themselves in person, (2) to be allowed to offer a bride; (3) for the bestowal of a bride and (4) for sealed grants for the enjoyment of territories belonging to them (including religious establishments in India)."²⁰

Although it is not necessary that we should have one form of *sevā* (service) rendered by one group of rulers, but even conceding that, it is impossible to agree with the suggestion that the Śakas asked for the hands of the Gupta princesses. The author of the inscription wants to glorify his patron by describing the various methods adopted by the foreign monarchs to fan the vanity of Samudragupta. But, the asking for the hand of his daughter certainly does not fall in this category. At least no Indian poet could have regarded it as a compliment to this supreme king.²¹

The compound may be better explained as

कन्याश्च उपायनानि च तदानम् । or कन्या एव उपायनं=कन्योपायनं,
तदानम् ।

19. CII. 111, p. 8.

20. J.B.O.R.S., 1937, p. 449.

21. Of course in the Talagunda inscription (of Kākusthavarman) we find that the giving away of daughters in marriage to other kings is also an item of praise. But in that case the monarchs to whom the daughters were given were the Imperial Gupta rulers. The Kadambas who were petty rulers, evidently took pride in being connected with a paramount power. But here the foreigners are represented as paying tributes. They are not superiors.

'the giving of daughters and presents' or presents of daughters.' Moreover in the case of Rāmagupta, it was not the hand of a daughter (कन्या) that was asked for by the Śaka lord, but his demand was for the surrender of a Gupta queen (द्वी). So that the evidence of the Allahabad inscription is not relevant. Dr. Altekar had proposed the identification only tentatively, for want of a better claimant. He admits that there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the "Western Kṣatrapa King had grown so powerful as to compel the surrender of the Gupta queen".²²

As regards the identification with a Kuṣāṇa ruler of the Punjab, it is doubtful how far we are justified to assume that Śaka does not denote only the Śakas but also the allied tribes of Turuṣkas and Kuṣāṇas. Moreover the place where Rāmagupta was besieged, was situated, according to the verse quoted by Rājaśekhara, in the Himalayas in the neighbourhood of Kārttikeya-nagara. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has identified this Kārttikeyanagara with Kārttikeyapur mentioned in the Pandukeśvar copper plate grant²³ of Lalitaśūradeva, and two Taleśvara²⁴ copper plates of Dyutivarman of about the sixth century.²⁵ In all probability this Kārttikeyapura is the same as Kartṛpura mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as a frontier tributary state. This Kārttikeyapur was situated near the modern village of Baijnath in the Almora District. There is no evidence that the Kuṣāṇas ever ruled in this part of India, and hence the enemy of Ramagupta does not appear to have been a Kuṣāṇa ruler.

However we may note the objection raised against this identification of Kārttikeyanagara by Prof. V. V. Mirasi who thinks that Kārttikeyanagar is not to be taken as one word but to be split up as Kārttikeya, and nagara, the latter being connected with the following expression (क्षीणं गणैः). He further says that as the verse has been quoted as an instance of a *muktaka*, it must contain the name of a king, as the verses of the type do. He regards Kārttikeya as another name of King Mahīpāla of Kannauj.²⁶ However the rule or even a convention does not exist that stanzas of *Muktaka* type must invariably contain the name of a king. Ac-

22. J.B.O.R.S., 1928, p. 252.

23. I.A., XXV, p. 178 f.

24. E.I., XIII, pp. 116 and 119.

25. Mālavīya Commemoration Volume, p. 194.

26. I.A. 1933, pp. 201-5.

cording to the definition of Mukṭaka as given by Daṇḍin, it is 'a solitary stanza complete in sense and requiring no help of context for its interpretation.' There are numerous instances of such eulogies of kings' fame, in single verses, without any mention of the ruler's name.²⁷ It may also be pointed out that Mahīpāla's conquest of the Himalaya region is not a fact admitted by all historians, as the evidence relating to it is very vague. Further if Kārttikeya is separated from *nagara*, the sense of the line will be impaired. The king's fame was sung in the very Himalayas where Rāmagupta suffered an ignominious defeat. How far then is it proper to say that the fame was sung by groups of urban women only? The Himalayas are not noted for many cities. If the statement was a general one, it would have been more proper if the poet had mentioned the conventional *Kinnaris* and *Kirāt* women, instead of 'urban women.' Hence the only reasonable interpretation is that the incident had taken place in the vicinity of Kārttikeya-nagara in the Himalayas. This Kārttikeyanagar, we have proposed above, to identify with Kartīpura, which included the modern district of Almora and some adjoining territory. This is exactly the region occupied by the Khasa tribe. The mention of the Himalayas and the Khasa overlord is a real statement of facts and not an imaginary detail filled in by the poet, as Prof. Altekar seems to take it. He remarks, "The real discrepancy therefore consists in the fact that whereas the enemy of the Guptas is represented as a Śaka king by Viśākhadatta, Bāṇa, and Śaṅkarārya, he figures as a Khasa ruler in the verse before us. Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon. We therefore would be hardly justified in rejecting the unanimous testimony of Viśākhadatta, Śaṅkarārya, and Bāṇa in his favour."²⁸ However it is worth while to examine how much weight can be attached to this unanimous evidence, in preference to the verse of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. This much is certain that the verse quoted by Rājasekhara is at least earlier than the tenth century A.D. Now Śaṅkarārya belongs to the seventeenth century. As for Viśākhadatta, the fragments of the play *Devicandragupta* discovered so far, do not contain any indication that the enemy of Rāmagupta was a Śaka overlord. It is only in the prefatory remarks of Bhoja and Rāmacandra Guṇacandra who quote the play, that we find mention of the Śaka overlord. But both these authors are later

27. cf. *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāraṃ*, pp. 140-44.

28. J.B.O.R.S., 1928, p. 243.

than Rājasekhara. Bhoja belongs to the eleventh century; Rāmacandra Guṇacandra belong to the twelfth. Thus the so-called unanimous evidence is itself much later than the verse under discussion, with the possible exception of Bāṇa. It is difficult to decide whether Bāṇa has erred or the author of this verse. While it may be argued that Bāṇa was a great scholar and a careful writer, we have also to keep in mind that Rājasekhara too was a highly learned author. He quotes this verse as an instance of (वृत्तिवृत्त) a description of actual historical happenings. That shows that Rājasekhara who appears to be a keen student of geography and history, regarded the statements contained in the verse as true facts.

In view of the fact that we do not know the exact date of this verse, but only the lowest limit, is it not possible that it may be earlier even than Bāṇa? In any case there is no reason to regard it as less reliable, than the account of Bāṇa. The above discussion disposes of the doubts regarding the identity of Rāmagupta's enemy with a ruler of the Khasa people. The reason of a war in this quarter is not far to seek. We know that, the state of Kartīpura, had accepted the overlordship of Samudragupta and paid tribute to the Gupta Emperor. A dispute between the paramount power and its feudatories can arise any moment. While the Gupta emperor was confident of his military strength, the Khasas also relying on their natural defences of the mountain fastnesses, might have taken up a defiant attitude. Thus it led to a war in which the Khasas placed as they were in an advantageous position, pressed very hard on the Gupta army of invasion. Prof. Altekar has doubts, if the Khasas were so powerful in the fourth century as to be able to defeat the Gupta army.²⁹ However it has to be noted that even at present this mountainous country produces the finest soldiers. It is no wonder that sheltered in their highlands where campaigning for an invader is no easy job, they proved invincible for Rāmagupta, even as the Nepalese did in the beginning, for the British armies during the reign of Marquis of Hastings, in the war of 1814-16.

Rāmagupta finding himself in a helpless situation had no alternative but to make an abject surrender. Although the humiliation of the surrender of the queen was averted by the dashing courage of prince Candragupta, the incident gave a severe blow to the prestige of the Guptas, and had its repercussions in various parts of the empire. The strained relations between Rāmagupta and his younger brother after this incident, were an additional cause that

29. J.B.O.R.S., 1928, p. 243.

contributed towards lowering the prestige of the Guptas. They must have led to a relaxation of the control over the feudatory states. The Khaśa rebellion acted like a signal for other vassal States; and the kingdoms of the south and the frontier states of Samatata and Davāka also went into revolt. However Candragupta proved equal to the emergency that had arisen. After his succession he marched out in person against the rebels and restored order. These military achievements of Chandragupta were duly recorded, but in a manner that has stood in the way of the proper recognition of the facts. The Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription records that King Candra defeated a confederacy of foes in the Vaṅga country, performed mighty deeds of valour in the south and enjoyed for a long time sovereign power that was the creation of his own arm. Hoernle³⁰ and V. A. Smith³¹ proposed to identify king Candra with Candragupta II Vikramāditya, but the identification seemed to be unsatisfactory on account of the following reasons. It is stated in the inscription that Candra's sovereign power was the creation of his own arms, while Candragupta II inherited the empire built by his father and grandfather. Secondly the exploits in the Deccan suggested the name of Samudragupta rather than that of Candragupta, and thirdly the inscription did not contain any reference to the conquest of Mālwa and Surāṣṭra. These objections have not been answered so far although the identification has been recently upheld by eminent writers.³² It is now possible to answer these objections. Of course Candragupta I and Samudragupta had built an extensive empire, but the trouble had commenced after Samudragupta's death and due to the weakness of Rāmagupta, there was a crop of rebellions and the empire was on the verge of collapsing. It was a virtual reconquest that Candragupta II had to carry out after his accession to the throne.³³ Thus the statement *svabhujārjita* with reference to Candragupta II's sovereignty is perfectly justified. The war in the Deccan also seems to have been necessitated by the insubordination of the vassal rulers in that region. As already stated the infection of Khaśa insurrection had spread very rapidly.

30. I.A., XXI, p. 44.

31. J.R.A.S., 1897, pp. 1 ff.

32. cf. K. P. Jayaswal, J.B.O.R.S., 1932, pp. 31-33; and Ganga Prasad Mehta, *Candragupta Vikramāditya* (in Hindi), pp. 53-58. Dashartha Sharma, J.I.H. 1937, p. 134.

33. A parallel is afforded by Mughal history. Babar had founded the Mughal Empire. Humayun lost and regained it. But after Humayun's death there were so many rebellions that Akbar had to wage war in all quarters and thus he is called the real founder of Mughal power in India.

As regards the Śaka war, that took place rather late in Candragupta's reign. He came to the throne in or before 380 A.D.³⁴ The earliest specimens of the coins of the western fabric bear the date A. D. 409. As the latest date on the coins of the Kṣatrapas is A.D. 383 the annexation of Mālava to the Gupta empire has to be placed between A.D. 388 and 409. The Udayagiri Cave inscription mentioning the *divijaya* is not dated. Hence it is not possible to assign a definitely earlier date to the Śaka war.³⁵ The Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription is no longer held to be posthumous.³⁶ It seems to have been put up immediately after the victories over the rebels; and thus the omission of the Śaka war is quite natural.

Hence, after the death of Samudragupta the sequence of events appears to be as follows.

Rāmagupta ascended the throne. He was soon involved in a dispute with the vassal state of Karttupura. He led an expeditionary force which was defeated and Ramagupta's camp was besieged. He stooped to purchase peace by surrendering his queen. This ignominy was averted by prince Candragupta's stratagem. The incident was followed by palace intrigues as a result of which Rāmagupta was murdered and Candragupta II came to the throne, and married his late brother's wife and made her the chief-queen. But the infection of rebellion had spread. The success of the Khaśas and the family feuds of the Guptas had encouraged other vassals to make a bid for independence. There were rebellions in the Deccan; and in Vaṅga³⁷ a confederacy had been formed to fight Gupta-imperi-

34. The earliest known date is 61 in the Muttra Pillar inscription, E.I., XXI, p. 1 ff.

35. It has been assumed that the event can be placed between A.D. 388 and 401. But the inscription of the Sanakānika chief dated 82, does not say anything about the wars. It might have been put up earlier or later.

36. cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, I.C. Vol. III, p. 511 and Dasharatta Sharma; J.I.H. 1937, p. 13 f. and I.C. Vol. V, p. 206.

37. Vide Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription. Vaṅga is not mentioned as a vassal State in the Allahabad pillar inscription. But as Samatata and Vaṅga are more or less synonymous it may be safely assumed that the war was with the vassal states. Samatata is the country situated between the streams of the Ganges in South Bengal. This very region has been called as Vaṅga by Kālidāsa, cf.

वङ्गानुवाय तरसा नेता नीसाग्रनोद्यतात् ।

निचखात जयस्तम्भात् गङ्गाक्षीतान्तरेषु सः ॥

Raghuvamśa, IV, 36.

alism. The vassal states of Samatāṭa, Ḍavāka and perhaps Kāmarūpa had united to give battle.

The princes of the Deccan followed suit but the attempts of the rebels were foiled by the swift action of Candragupta. In order to celebrate these victories and to express his gratitude to the tutelary deity Viṣṇu, Candragupta ordered the setting up of this magnificent iron pillar. It seems impossible that the pillar could have been manufactured in India in any other age than that of the Imperial Guptas. These military achievements justified the assumption of the titles Vikramāditya and Vikramāṅka, and it was not mere vanity that had actuated the emperor to assume these proud epithets.

The Vanci Problem

By

MR. T. K. KRISHNA MENON,

(1) In essence, the Vanci Problem, briefly stated, would come to this: Was the original Cēra capital on the eastern side of the Western Ghats or on its West? Or, to put it in other words, was it Vanci in Cochin or Karūr in Trichinopoly?

(2) Mr. V. R. Dikshitar, in the Introduction to his English rendering of *Silappadikaram*, says, "Pandit R. Aiyengar first identified Vanji with Karuvur in Trichinopoly District. . . . The long and short of his erudite thesis was to settle once for all the controversy as to the location of the original Cēra capital. He came to the only possible conclusion that this Vanjikkaruvur was the present town Karur in Trichinopoly District. It is not possible nor is it necessary to traverse the ground again."¹

(3) The decision is not so definite and so conclusive as to preclude the need for further discussion on the subject. The Pandit published his *Vanjimānakar* in 1917 where, it is stated he, for the first time, made this identification. The late Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer, who was a great research worker and an eminent judge, and who had evidently read Rao Sahib Pandit M. Aiyengar's thesis as well, when in 1937 he published his "*Cera Kings of the Sangam Period*," questioned the tenability of the Pandit's conclusion. He states "That Vanci is Koḍum-Kōḷūr (Cranganore) of which Tiruvancikulam is a suburb, has been held as an undisputed axiom by Tamil scholars from the beginning; and the reasoning by which that view has recently been attempted to be controverted is more perplexing than convincing."²

(4) To Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar is due the credit of giving a transient liveliness to this torpid subject. Recently, this was the subject of an interesting discussion in the All-India Oriental Conference at Tirupathi.³ There too among the dozen scholars who took

1. R. D. Cilap., p. 44.

2. S. Iyer's *Cera Kings*, p. 80.

3. *The Hindu*, 4-3-1940, p. 4.

part in it, all except Pandits R. Raghava Aiyengar, M. Raghava Aiyengar, and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar were definitely of the opinion that Vanci was on the West Coast and was not the Karur in Trichinopoly.

(5) How is it that Mr. Dikshitar does not attempt to meet "The relevant facts of outstanding significance" which Mr. Sessa Iyer has set forth in his work "to help us in the solution of the question?"⁴ It cannot be that he has not seen them; for Mr. Sessa Iyer, in his Preface, gratefully acknowledges his obligation to Mr. Dikshitar "For his valuable suggestions and his untiring service in seeing the work through the press with scrupulous care." And yet there is not one single word about the arguments advanced in this work in Mr. Dikshitar's book. Nor does he make any reference to the articles in the *Centamil*, and in the *Journal of the Oriental Research* where the late Mr. C. S. Cheluva Iyer, B.A., B.L., dispassionately reviews the position taken up by Srimans R. Raghava Aiyengar, and M. Raghava Aiyengar.⁵

(6) Speaking of certain Orientalists whose tendency was to modernise everything Indian, the late K. T. Telang, an illustrious judge and a great research scholar, said that they dreamed their desires and tried to realise their dreams. Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyengar is no less vehement in his outspoken utterance about this lamentable failing in certain gleaners in the Tamil Research fields. "It would be hazardous to start any theories from incoherent statements or to cite these as authorities in support of one's preconceived theories, as has been recently done by the members of the new school of Tamil research work, whose love of their language is more than their regard for historical truth."⁶ The ancestral readiness to implicitly believe in Pandit-lore is gone; to secure conviction, even to reach normal conclusions, one must have in these days the conscious guidance of competent authorities.

(7) In research work, there is no room for personal predilection or for patriotic bias. We must receive light from whatever quarter it comes and follow truth to wherever it leads us. This question is now approached from that standpoint. But in its treat-

4. Ch. VI, pp. 80-96, of S. Iyer's *Cera Kings*.

5. C. Iyer's article in *Centamil* Vol. XXI, No. 4 (Feb.-Mar. of 1923), and that in *J.O.R.* (1929), pp. 113-134. Nor to these articles does he refer: *M.R.* Vol. I, No. 3, p. 341. *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 259. *M.Q.R.*; Vol. II, No. 3, in which the article on the Cranganore Temple is the one I mean.

6. S. Iyengar's *Tamil Studies*, p. 51.

ment, I must confess, I am handicapped by the shortness of time, by my ignorance of the Tamil language and by the absence of a well-equipped reference library essential for this sort of work. Further, the subject may not be an inviting one except perhaps to research scholars and a few other; and to lighten the burden of the theme I can but offer only a few strokes of quoted genius.

(8) With these prefatory remarks, let me proceed to the subject:

In the forefront, I shall marshal the arguments of the partisans of the pro-Karūr theory. For this I gratefully seek the assistance of Mr. Cheluva Iyer. In his review of *Vancimānakar* by Mr. R. Raghava Aiyengar and of *Cēran Cenkūṭṭuvan* by Mr. M. Raghava Aiyengar, the late Mr. Cheluva Iyer, the clever lawyer he was, has carefully analysed the two works, and formulated the grounds adduced by the two authors as evidence of their theory. His statement of their case, published first in Tamil in 1923 and in English in 1925, has not yet been questioned. Thus, I believe I can safely conclude that the six most important reasons for their conclusions, as summarised by him, are correct and have been approved by the two scholars. To give completeness to my paper, I shall take leave to briefly state them in his own words and also his running remarks about them.⁷

(9) (i) The site on which Karūr was built had been a forest of *vancūla* or *vanci* trees, and hence it was called *Vancūlāraṇyam*. The two authors also contend that Karūr did not take the name from the *vanci* creeper.^{7a}

But the author of *Maṇimēkalai* invariably connects *Vancimānakar* with the creeper *vanci* and never for once has he alluded to it as the *Vanci* of the *vanci* trees or of cows. Again, the meaning of *Vancūlāraṇyam* could only correctly be the forest which is full of milking cows and appropriately enough, another name of the town is *Tiruvānilai*, the village-common for the assem-

7. C. Iyer in *J.O.R.*, pp. 117 et seq.; also in *Centamil*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, 1923.

7a. *Vanci* is always a creeping plant and never a tree. (*Tamil Antiquary* No. 6, p. 1920). *Vanciyūr* is the name of a part of Trivandrum, *Vancipūla*, north-east of this, is the seat of a chief in Travancore; and far north is *Tiruvancikulam*, in the Cochin State, about which it is sung *pūva-vanci pūṭṭa-vanci*, the *Vanci* where no enemy has set foot.

blage of cows, and the God in the temple is called Paśupatiśvara, the lord of the cows.

(ii) Under this head five quotations are given, connecting Vanci with the river Porunai and another about the country surrounded by falling waters rich with fat fish from the rice-fields where reapers bind sheaves intermixed with peacock feathers! and so on about musty elephants and ships sailing in a sea of sharks.

Here the reviewer agrees with the learned Pandits that the Vanci referred to in the above stanzas can only be Karūr. I regret I have to respectfully differ from them. The last extract can more fittingly be applied to Vanci on the West Coast than to Karūr in Trichinopoly, even though the agriculturists in Kerala do not mix up sheaves with peacock feathers. To the other five, I would add yet another and a more telling quotation than the rest of the lot. In the benedictory portion of *Silappadikāram*, there are five songs, the first two of which are intended for the Pāṇḍyan King of Madura and the next two for the Cēra King at Vanci.⁸ The former ordered the execution of Kovalan, and died when he came to know about the truth of the anklet and of the innocence of Kovalan while the latter put up a memorial to Kaṇṇaki, the chaste wife of Kovalan, who suffered immolation on account of the loss of her dear lord. The image for the memorial was carved out of the stone the King Śenkuṭṭuvan brought from the Himalayas.

"Long live the King who made the tall-crowned monarchs of Northern regions bear on their heads the (stone) image yielded by the King of the mountains (the Himalayas)!"

"Long live the King and his ancient Dynasty at Vanci encircled by the Ān-porunai in continual floods—Long live!"

The identification of Vanci with Karūr is effected on the supposition that the Porunai is the Āmarāvati. Neither the Āmarāvati, nor the Periyār is referred to by the Tamil lexions as a synonym of the Ān-porunai. But it is relevant here to remark that one of the appellations by which the ancient Cēra Kings were known is Porunaitturaiyan, as may be seen from *Divākaram*, the earliest Tamil lexicon. The word *tuṛai* can only mean seaport here, as otherwise, there would be no significance in calling the Cēra rulers by that name. Mr. Ullur Parameswara Iyer rightly asks, "Where was this seaport on the banks of the Āmarāvati of which the Cera

8. R. D. Cilap, p. 332.

was the owner?"⁹ On the other hand, if by the Porunai is meant the Periyār, the title Porunaitturaiyan becomes singularly appropriate by its close connection with the famous port Muziris. "When the Cochin rulers migrated from Mahodai to Tṛpūnittura, the present capital, they gave it that very name, as evidenced by the fact that Pūnitturai is a corruption of Porunaitturai."

Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar, in his speech before the Tirupati Oriental Conference said that "There were four fundamental points that ought to be taken into consideration in any historical research; namely the edicts, the literature of the period, contemporary writings of foreign visitors and tradition." How I wish his allies had followed this salutary procedure, stated in the form of distinct propositions the points with which we are here primarily concerned, submitted their argument, *pro and contra*, after the exacting rules of historical criticism, and given references, as footnotes, to the authorities they relied on. Where is the authority for saying that the Porunai and the Āmarāvati are one and the same? For important statements like this one would expect to be given satisfying authorities; as otherwise, a bare assertion could only be answered by a flat denial. In this identification, the Pandit has not only resorted to what Grote, a great historian, calls 'The German license of conjecture', but has even permitted a vague possibility to be sublimated into a conclusive proof. Before I leave this part of the argument, let me say, especially in connection with the last quotation, that the floods of the Periyār river are well-known. It is on account of the silt brought by these floods that the mouth of the river was partly blocked and the port of Muziris became unserviceable for navigation.

(iii) The tutelary divinity of the town of Karūr bears the name of Vanciamman, and the image in the temple north of the Āmarāvati is called Vancuḷēśvaralingam. These examples, Mr. Cheluva Iyer says, could also apply to Vancuḷāṭavi as being the origin of the names Vanciamman and Vancuḷēśvaralingam, and so from these to infer that Vancimānakar was Tiruvānilai-Karūr will be opposed to logic.

(iv) The meaning of the stanza, "You who are not only like the cool rippling cauvery which bends its course straight to the east, but also deep like the confluence of the flowerbedecked waters of your three rivers", according to the two Tamilian controversialists, is that the three rivers, the Cauvery, the Āmarāvati and the Kuḍa-

9. Ullur, *Sh. Com.* Vol., pp. 248-9.

vanār, mingle their waters, and that after this junction the Cauvery flows east; and therefore it is inferred that Vancimānakar is on the banks of the Amarāvati. Mr. Cheluva Iyer says that these statements are far away from geographical truth. The junction of the rivers Cauvery and Amarāvati takes place six miles away from Karūr, and the eastern flow started from a rock, called Agastyapārai situated near Koḍumuḍi, a town more than 20 miles from Karūr. Mr. Iyer further remarks that "It is not clear how they make out a connection between the confluence of Amarāvati with Kaveri and Karūr, and how it has become a sea also." Why not, he suggests with some degree of certainty that the sacred confluence be that of the Bhavani with the Cauvery and the Amṛtanadi? The famous town of Bhavani, which belonged to the Cēra country, is situated at this confluence.

(v) According to the two authors, the God who sleeps the sleep of eternal wisdom in the golden-domed palace has reference to the Ranganātha's temple in the Arcakavanam in Kārūr. They are further of opinion that whether the temple was Ranganātha's temple, or another within the place itself, it must be one very near to the King. If that be so, it is not at all likely that the King Śen Kuṭṭuvan, after worshipping God Śiva, and the sacred fire of the Brahmins, would have mounted his elephant without worshipping God Viṣṇu in that temple and receiving the prasādam himself.

(vi) The last argument is founded on the fact that old Roman coins were found in the vicinity of Karūr. It is strange that these two learned research scholars are ignorant of the well-known historical fact that there was a Roman temple at Cranganore where was also stationed two cohorts of Roman soldiers, and that several Roman Coins were recovered from that place, a few of which are deposited in the Madras Museum.^{9a} This fact, therefore, is no valid ground for concluding that Karūr was the capital of the Cēra rulers.

(10) It is strange that Sriman R. Raghava Aiyengar wants to take Kaṇṇaki, after she leaves Madura, to Palni Hill and then to Karūr. If her destination was Karūr, there was, Mr. Cheluva Iyer says, a very good route in the plains from Madura via Dindigal to Karūr and so there was no earthly need for her for going on one of the banks of the Vaigai and for taking the fatiguing trouble of ascending and descending hills. Both Dēvandi, a friend of Kaṇṇaki and one Parāśara, a learned but poor Brahmin from Puhār, take the

9a. *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 306.

same route followed by Kaṇṇaki. Dēvandi goes to Vancimānakar, after hearing from Māṭalan the fate of Kaṇṇaki and how she was enshrined in the capital of the Cēra King. The Brahmin goes there to get rid of his poverty as he had come to know of the wonderful liberality of the Cēra ruler. Mr. R. Aiyengar admits that the Cēra King, let him be called by any name, whom Parāśara went to see was reigning in the Malaiyālam country but he tries to avoid the natural conclusion that Vanci is in Malaiyālakarai. Even at this day, if one were to go by foot or in a car, to Kodungallur from Madura, one has to take the same aforesaid uphill and down-dale road which, on reaching the plains, runs by the Periyār. A learned commentator of *Śilappadikāram* says that the temple to God Muruga referred to in that classic to be the one at Tiruccenkōdu. "If we were to suppose rightly remarks Mr. Cheluva Iyer, that the hill which was dedicated to God Muruga was Palni, it is nothing but natural to suppose that the great author would not have lost that splendid opportunity of giving a glowing description of so famous a temple, one of the military head quarters of the God, in befitting terms." Thus far and no further.

(11) But were I to confine the question within the limits of replying to the two learned Pandits, I am afraid I might leave the matter in an imperfect condition. I shall therefore, further endeavour to refer to a few other points as well which will be material to our investigation. In so doing I shall try that the essay is not drugged with an overdose of words, much less overwhelmed with an exuberance of biased or sentimental eloquence. I shall also see that I do not fall into an error similar to that of Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, and relate only, as was remarked by Gibbon, that which might redound to the glory of my country and suppress what might go against it. For, in these days, I am afraid I may not get for me an apologist like Dean Milman who pleadingly spoke for Eusebius that he erred more from credulity than from questionable motives.

(12) That tract of land that lay between Malaya Parvata (the Western Ghats) on the east and Paśchima Sāgara (The Arabian Sea) on the west, with Gokarṇam and Kanyākumāri at the northern and the southern ends, was called Cēra and Kēraḷa in ancient Tamil works and in the Edicts of Asoka respectively. It became Malai-nāḍu in the Tanjore inscriptions, and Mākōtaipattānam of the early Malabar plates. The early settlers were not bent on conquest but only on consolidation. It was only later, during the time of the Perumāls that the country was expanded, and it took in at first

Nilgiris, and then for some time, Salem and Coimbatore.¹⁰ When it was still further widened, the need arose for stationing in the north a Viceroy of the Cēra ruler.

(13) There is a slight difference of opinion as to the form of the Government that prevailed in Cēra before the advent of the Perumāls. But, whether or not it was theocratic or republican, all are agreed that it failed, because the elected rulers called Taliatiris

10. Dr. K. Iyengar's *Manimekalai*, p. 40. *Patirrupattu*, 22, ll. 15, 16. M. S. R. Iyengar's *History of India*, pp. 81-2.

"Within Tamilakam there existed three ancient kingdoms—the Pandya, the Chola and the Kerala or Cera. The land of the Ceras lay northwest of the Pandyan Kingdom along the Western Ghats on the seaside." Prof. N. Sastry's *Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 25. "The Pandyan Kingdom in the Sangam age corresponded to the modern districts of Tinnevely, Ramnad and Madura." *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 37-8. "According to the Periplus (The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, McCrindle, pp. 130-8) Kerala began at Leuke or the White Rock off the sea opposite Badagara in Malabar and ended at Nelkunda or Kannetti in the present Travancore State. In the following century (180-225), under Cenguttuvan, the Chēra empire included Gokarnam in the north, Mysore, Arcot and Palni on the east and Cape Comorin in the south. The earliest rulers of Kerala known to history were the Tamil Cheras who had their headquarters at Tiruvancikulam."

Ullur in *Sh. Com.* Vol. on page 250, states thus:—"Mr. R. Dikshitar states that the natives of the ancient Cēra Kingdom were broadly classified into Malainadu and Katalmalainadu; that the former was the real Kongunadu with the capital at Karuvur, while the other comprised the provinces of Kuttanadu, Kutanadu and Pūlinadu. The statement is not supported by Sēnavarayar, Naccinakinayar or Pavanandi. What is the authority for this statement of Mr. Dikshitar? Cekkizhar in his *Periapuranam* begins the story Viranmintanayanar of Cengannur, which is admittedly part of Kottanadu, with the description of Malainadu and not of Katalmalainadu." *Tolkappiyam*, which refers to the division of the Cera Kingdoms does not refer to a Katalmalainadu. In *J.O.R.*, pp. 122-3, Mr. Cheluva Iyer has these relevant observations on this point. "The learned among the ancients divided the Tamil country into three main divisions, and named them Kunanaḍu (the eastern country), Kuḍanaḍu (the western country), and Tennāḍu (the southern country) It was also widely known that kings who ruled the western country were styled Ceras and Ceralas and their kingdom as the Cera country. The western limit of it was the Arabian Sea. Kerala, the sanscritised form of Ceralas, is still in vogue. It is also clear from numerous passages in the ancient literature that the Cera king was called Kuḍanāttukāvalan (protector of the western country) and Malavan (lord of the mountains). These being the undisputed facts, it stands to reason that the capital of that country must have been situated in that country; and, therefore, the assertion that Karūr which is situated in an eastern district where there are no mountains and which is far away from the mountains

began to arrogate to themselves rights and privileges they did not own, and to try to enrich themselves within the short period of the three years during which each was to govern the land. So, the representatives of the people in the dēśams and nāḍs convened their Kūṭṭam, the national assembly in Tirunāvāya and unanimously resolved to invite a great man (a perumāḷ) from (*paradēśa*) the other side of the ghats to govern the country for a period of twelve years. This is the accepted origin of the rule of Cēramān Perumāḷs. All the existing ancient chronicles of Kerala are at one on this point. When that is the case, will the invited ruler reside and have his capital some where in Cera, or outside it, far far away in Karūr in another country.¹¹

(14) Similarly, there will be no difficulty to find out a place fit to be the capital of the Cera country. Muziris, described by Pliny as the *primum emporium Indiae*, was one of the famous ports in ancient India, much frequented by foreign merchants. It is the Muchiri of the Tamil poets, the Muziris of the early Greek geographers and the Koḍungallur (Cranganore) of modern days. Pliny says "Calobotras reigned in Muziris when I committed this to writing." That was about 75 A.D.¹¹

(15) Besides the reference of Pliny in his *Natural History* the *Periplus* also contain the statement that Muziris was "two miles distant from the mouth of the river on which it is situated and was the seat of the government of the Kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras." *Periplus*, and Ptolemy (who was almost a contemporary of Sēn-kuttuvan), and other travellers would not have called the rulers Keralaputras unless they were of Kerala and had their capitals there. For Calobotras of Pliny, Kerobotras of Ptolemy, Keprobotras in *Periplus*, is identified as the Keralaputra of the Asoka edicts, one of the names by which the Kerala rulers were known.

and the western sea, was the capital of (Kerala) Cera country does not appeal to the intelligent public." He also adds that the names Kuttan and Kuttuvan are peculiar to Malabar. "Such names are not in vogue in and around Karūr or in any other Tamil speaking district. Therefore it is a safe conclusion that the country where Cera Cenkuttuvan was born and reigned should have been none other than the country which now goes by the name of Malayalam."

11. *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 33. Also S. Iyer's *Cera Kings*, p. 91. Mr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 444. Prof. N. Sastry's *Foreign Notices*, p. 53. Both Valmiki and Kalidasa refers to musiris and muruchi.

Near by is the Periyār river, the very first river mentioned by Ptolomey in Cēra. He calls it the *pseudo-stomos* (false mouth), because the Periyār does not enter the sea direct, but loses itself in the backwater very near Muziris.¹² *Aha- and Puṛa-nānūru* sing of the beautiful ships of the Yavanas disturbing the white foam of the fair Periyār of the Śēralas.¹³ In *Puram* 343, we read, "sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market. The gold got from the ships as price for the articles sold is brought in barges to Muziri, where the roar of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kuṭṭuvan presents the rare products of the sea and the mountains to those that visit him." Can written evidence be more conclusive to prove that Muziris was the capital and principal port of the Cēra Kingdom? Close by lies Karūr-padañña. It is to this that Ptolomey probably refers as *Karoura bassileon Kerabothram*, Karoura the royal seat of Kerabothras, and places it, as it is even now, near the west coast on a river flowing into the sea not far from Muziris.¹⁴ One can easily see that it is a fit place for the summer residence of a ruler. Both Tiruvancikulam and Koḍungallūr lie touching each other and near the port. The former is also called in old records as Mākōtai, Makōtaipaṭṭaṇam, Mahādēvarpaṭṭaṇam,¹⁵ because of the famous Śiva

12. *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. II, Series 10, p. 262. Dr. K. Iyengar's *Contributions to Dravidian Culture*, p. 360 T. K's *Dravidian Culture* fn. on p. 62.

13. 149, ll. 7-12; 343, ll. 7-10.

14. McCrindle's *Ptolomey*, pp. 52-3. M. R. Vol. I, pp. 341 and 343.

15. *Suka-Kokila Sandesams*, parts one of each, 65 and 83 verses respectively. Mr. Sethu Pillai in *Sh. Com. Vol.*, pp. 258 and 261. "On the west coast, the greatest seaport in the ancient days was Muziris, at the mouth of Cullī river now known as the Periyar. This river is referred to in Tamil classics as *Cullī-am-perayāru*. When Cēraṁān Perumāl, a contemporary of the Saivite saint Sundarar, ruled over the Cēra country, the seat of the government was Kodungalur or Mahodai, and the sacred shrine was Anchai-k-Kalan. Mahodai is described in Saint Sundarar's *Thēvāram* as a town situated on the sea coast. The expressions used in *Periyapurānam* with reference to Tiruvancikulam seem to show that it was originally the name of the temple at Koḍungallūr." On page 215 of the *Sh. Com. Vol.*, Ullūr has the following: "Pandit Raghava Iyengar admits that, in the days of the Cēraṁān Perumal Nayanar (8th Cent. H. C.), Cranganore was the capital of the Cēras, and that it was known as Vanci. (*Cēraṁ Cenkuttuvan*, p. 131. *Vancimanagar*, p. 19). But he says that, after the Sangam period, the Cēras had to leave their interior capital and flee to the west coast owing to constant quarrels among them and the Pandyas and the Colas. But such quarrels were frequent even in the days of *Purānānūru*."

temple there. For the same reason, the Rulers of Cochin have the words *Gangādhara-tiru-koil-adhikārikaḷ* annexed to their titles. Maṭilakam (the Guṇavāyir-Kōṭṭam, and the Tṛguṇavāyil-Kōṭṭam) lies about four miles to the north of Cranganore (Koḍungallūr, Koḍum-kōḷi-ūr) and Tiruvancikulam.¹⁶

When there is this Vanci on this side of the Ghats, why should any one go to Karūr, far away on the other side of it?^{16a}

(16) The existing names of certain localities in and around Tiruvancikulam have a definite contribution to make to the unfolding of this problem. In the pre-Perumāl period, the 64 *grāmaṇis* into which the country was then divided had, to facilitate work given to four of them, Parappūr, Perinchellūr, Panniūr and Chenganyūr, the right to elect a king who was to conduct the government for three years. These triennial rulers were called *Taliyātiris*. Tali also means the place of their residence and the God of a capital or dynasty; so that these administrators were supposed to be not only the representatives of the people but of their gods as well.¹⁷ Even during

16. Cranganore, Koduru-Kollur. It is here that a temple was built in honour of Kannaki who suffered self-imposed martyrdom for the death inflicted on her innocent husband Kovalan by the hasty and unjust order of the Pāṇḍyan King at Madura. (*Mahodayapuram*, p. 2). Mr. P. Pillai, *Cranganore Temple*, M.Q.R. of September 1903. See same Review, p. 161 of 1904 June. *Q. J. of the Mythic Society*, January 1926. The term Mākōtai is applied to both Cranganore and Tiruvancikulam in early times. These two places lie touching each other. M. R. Q., March 1903, p. 14. In *Dēvi Bhāgavatham* (Skanda VII, Chs. 30 and 38), Makotai is a name of a centre of the goddess worship. Ullūr, *Sh. Com. Vol.*, pp. 241, 242 and 244: "Kuṇavayirkoṭṭam where Ilankoadigal lived, according to Adiyarkanallār, the famous commentator of *Śilappadikāram*, was Tṛkuṇvāyil, and was situated on the eastern side of Vanci." He also says that Kōṭṭam means a Jain temple. Pandit Raghava Iyengar simply says that the temple stood on the eastern side of Vancimanakar. (*Cēraṁ Cenkuttuvan*, 1915 ed., p. 23). It later came to be known as Tṛkunamatilakam..... Several Sanskrit works refer to it and locate it near Cranganore and Tiruvancikulam. The Śaiva temple in the latter place was the most conspicuous shrine to which all the 32 gramams paid undivided homage."

16a. It is significant that, whenever a capital is in the interior, Pliny, Ptolomey, and the author of *Periplus*, mention that fact clearly; and it is thus obvious that the Cēra capital mentioned by them was on the south-west coast of India. When naming the ports there, Ptolomey refers to Diamper (Udayampērūr) after Karoura.

17. *Keralam*, pp. 58, 60 and 67. *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, p. 309. Keralolpathi (one published by Bharata Vilasam Press, Trichur (M. E. 1106), pp. 4-6. Another published by the Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1890; pp. 15-16.

the Perumāḷ period, the Perumāḷs used to be assisted in their administration by a councillor from each of the above four *grāmams*. There are even now four *taḷis* in the vicinity of Tiruvancikolam, called Mēttāḷi, Kilttāḷi, Nēttiyāḷi and Chingapurattutāḷi. And Allur in Kodungallur, according to Dr. Gundert, signifies the residence of the Perumals with the four *taḷis*, and is also called *alial peringoyilakam*. Allūr must have been an extensive plot of ground, and the modern Kodungallūr must, presumably, have been its western part. For, still we have the northern, eastern and southern parts of it (Kallur, Vaṭakum muri, Kīlakkumuri and Tekkumuri) elsewhere. Similarly in the part adjacent to Kodungallūr, which lie touching Tiruvancikolam, there are several places of the names of which Karūr forms a part, such as Karūrpattanna, Karūr, Karūr-kutti and so on. Tri-Karūr further inland, was the place where, even after the partition of Kerala by the last of the Perumāḷs, the 64 *grāmams* met to consider the steps to be taken to maintain their prestige and the integrity of their community. Some of the Cēra Kings have attached to their names the name of Kuḍḍakka, the monarch of the west, a fitting name to monarchs of the west.¹⁸ Can it be that Kodungallūr is a convenient variant of Kuḍḍakallūr (Kudakko+Allur)?

(17) The denouement of the story in *Silappadikāram* also lends considerable weight in favour of the Vanci theory. How it does I shall presently show. In Pūhār (Kāvēripūmpattinam), the Cola capital, there lived, in the middle of the 2nd Century A. D., two merchant princes. One had a son called Kovalan, and the other a daughter named Kaṇṇaki. Kovalan married Kaṇṇaki and was given a separate mansion to live in. For some time they lived happily untill when Kovalan was charmed by the snares of a fair courtesan Mādhavi. He wasted his wealth on her, but only to find that she loved another. Hurt by this, he returned to his noble wife. With Kaṇṇaki he set out to Madura, the Pāṇḍyan capital, to begin a fresh life there. They had with them only the two anklets of Kaṇṇaki which were given her of her father. Kovalan went out to the market to sell one of them. There he chanced to meet the state

18. R. D. Cilap, p. 209, note 3. In the *Keralolpathi*, *Tṛkkūrūr* is mentioned as a capital of the Cerman Perumals. It is about 23 miles to the east of Cochin. See also *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. II, p. 36; also archaeological Survey of S. India, Vol. II, p. 261.

goldsmith. At that time, the latter was under a cloud of doubt of having stolen the queen's anklet. So he thought this was a nice opportunity to remove the suspicion against him. He took the anklet to the King and told him who the thief was. The King ordered Kovalan to be at once beheaded. The news made Kaṇṇaki mad with anger. She went to the King with the other anklet and demanded justice. The repentant King fell down and died. Kaṇṇaki was not satisfied with this; she plucked her right breast and threw it over the city which was consumed by fire. Kaṇṇaki proceeded to the Malaināḍu, and from there left the world to Heaven in a celestial car.¹⁹

(18) All this the Cēra King, Śenguttuvan, and his queen heard from the poet Śāttanār. The queen wanted a temple to be put up in honour of Kaṇṇaki. Śenguttuvan brought the *Śīla* (stone) for the image from the Himalayas and "enshrined with ceremonious consecration the idol of Kaṇṇaki at Vanji, whose breast was responsible for a revolution."²⁰

(19) Kovalan had a daughter named Maṇimēkalai by Mādhavi. Both the mother and daughter entered the order of the Buddhistic nuns. The story of Kovalan and Kaṇṇaki is told by Iḷango-aḍigaḷ, the brother of Śenguttuvan in his poem called *Śilappadikāram*, (the story of the Anklet) while that of Maṇimēkalai is narrated by Śāttanār, a great friend of Iḷango-aḍigaḷ, in his poem *Maṇimēkalai*. In the latter too we read thus: Maṇimēkalai reached Vanci and wishing to offer worship to the image both of her chaste mother, and to her father Kovalan, she repaired to the temple erected in honour of the former.²¹

(20) At Vanci, "she goes to the assemblage of the teachers of the different persuasions, and addressing the leader of the path of

19. R. D. Cilap, Intro., pp. 3-7.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

21. Dr. K. Iyengar's *Manimekalai*, p. 186. Again, in Ch. XXVIII of *Manimekalai*, it is stated that, soon after the transfer of the Cōla capital to Conjeeveram, there was famine in all the country around. Man and beast fell victims to it, and the survivors migrated to Vanci. There was not much climatic difference between Conjeeveram and Karur, and there was no need to migrate from the one to the other. There can therefore be no doubt that the famine-stricken people must have gone to Thiruvancikulam. (Vide Prof. M. S. P. Pillai's article on the *Capital of the Ceras* in the *Cochin Argus*, 20 and 27 of July 1940).

the Veda, asked him let her know the ultimate truth as he understood it."²²

(21) There is no contention on the part of the advocates of the Karūr theory that there existed at Karūr as at Vanci a temple for Kaṇṇaki, nor was there a University at Karūr as at Maṭilakam²³ near Vanci, where Maṇimēkalai could have prosecuted her higher studies in philosophy. Even now, at the time of the celebrated Cock Festival of Cranganore, when thousands of people gather from all parts of Kerala, the worshippers in some of their songs address the Dēvi as *Ottamulaicchi* (one-breasted). It is not also reasonable to suppose that, if Karūr was the capital and Śen Kuṭṭuvan was residing there, he would have allowed the memorial to be built at Vanci in Malainādu which, even as the crow flies, would be at least 150 miles away from his palace.

(22) Vanci subsequently came to be known as Ancaikkalam,²⁴ meaning the abode of the mother. Mr. Ullūr Parameswara Iyer asks who can this mother be but Kaṇṇaki, (Pattinikkaḍavu!) the Goddess of Chastity whose image Śenkuṭṭuvan consecrated in his capital?²⁵ Pandit Raghava Aiyengar admits this fact,²⁶ but, as if to counteract the irresistible force of this question, he speaks of a deity called Vanci Amman (not Māriamman, I suppose) in a minor temple in Karūr. But Mr. Parameswara Iyer gives him no safe retreat there. He asks the learned Pandit, "Is she with one breast and is she called *Ottamulaicchi*," as the Goddess at Cranganore? Are torram²⁷ songs sung of the Pandit's deity as are current in Kerala? And how is it I ask that the Karūr shrine is small and unknown while that at Cranganore is grand and famed all over the land? After all his trouble and expense in getting the stone for the image from the Himalayas, will the Cera emperor stint in the construction of a temple? It took him three years to fetch it; and he thought

22. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

23. *Matilakam*, H.Q.R., Vol. V, p. 138.

24. In the inscription in the Tiruvancikulam temple, the word used is Tiruvancakkalam. (*Tr. Arch. Series*, Vol. V, p. 191).

25. *Sh. Com. Vol.*, p. 246.

26. *Vancimanakam*, 1917 ed., pp. 88-9.

27. Torram is explained as appearance or manifestation of Kāli, in which form worship is carried on in Cranganore. Kōvalan in these Malabar songs is called Pālakan; for Kōvalan is a corruption of Gōpālan, and so Pālakan is not inappropriate.

so much of it that it (*Śila*) was carried on the heads of Aryan Kings. Was it to witness the consecration of this Vanci Amman in a small shrine in Karūr that he invited king Gajabāhu from Ceylon? I shall not wait for a satisfactory answer to these uncomfortable questions.

(23) Next we shall touch upon a few points in favour of Vanci in Kēraḷa. For that, I cannot have a better guide than the masterly work of the late judge Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer.²⁸

(a) *Silappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai*, the two *panchamahā-kāvya*s, are closely connected with the Cera country and its capital. Iṅgo-aḍigal, the author of the former, was a brother of the great Cera ruler, Śen Kuṭṭuvan. He became a Buddhist ascetic and lived in Guṇavāyirkottam (Maṭilakam). There was a great university which and the *Vidval Sabha* attached to it were presided over by this young prince.²⁹

Śittalai Śāttanār, the author of the other, was a great friend of Iṅgo-aḍigal. Both these works speak of Vanci, and never of Karuvūr or Karūr. So too in *Patirruppattu*, *Puranānūru*, *Paripādal*, *Pattup-pāṭṭu* only the word Vanci occurs, and not Karuvūr. Vanci is described as of equal importance as Madura, Koḷi (Uraiyūr) and Uraṇtai. "An examination of the Śāngam works thus shows that the ancient poets knew the capital city of the Cera as only Vanci." Only in a solitary poem of the *Aganānūru* collection the word Karuvūr appears where it is doubtful whether or not it is a proper noun or only a descriptive name, meaning an impregnable city. In *Agam* 263, Karuvūr Kannampālanār sings of Vanci as the capital city of the Ceras. Of *Patirrup-pattu*, meaning the "Tens Tens", only eight are now extant. These are written by eight different poets to commemorate the exploits, the liberality and other noble qualities of eight Cera Kings. In the fifth book, the hero is Śenkuṭṭuvan. *Amkūrunūru*, 'the five short hundreds', was written by five different poets of the Cera country under the orders of the Cera King Yānaikkat-chēymāndaram-śēral-Iṇṇuporai. This, *Silappadikāram* and *Patirrup-pattu* teem with usages and customs peculiar to Malaiyālam.³⁰

(b) Even when Vanci and Karuvūr began to be used as convertible terms, the early commentators took particular care to give

28. S. Iyer's *Cera Kings*, Ch. VI.

29. *Matilakam*, H. Q. R., (Cal.), Vol. V; p. 138.

30. S. Iyengar's *Tamil Studies*, Ch. X and p. 342.

the warning note that Vanci, the capital of the Cera kingdom was in Malainādu and it was not the Karuvūr in Kongunādu; and those who wrote commentaries centuries after the Śāṅgam period and who explained Vanci as Karuvūr took care to state that it was not the Karuvūr of the Trichinopoly District. Aḍiyārkkannallār distinctly says that Vanci is Koḍumkōḷūr;³¹ while Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Swaminatha Iyer, whose eminence as an erudite Tamil scholar is acknowledged by all, unmistakably states that Karuvūr, the capital of the Cera, is in Malainādu, and it is not the Karuvūr in Kongu-nādu.³²

Śēkkilār, the author of *Periyapurāṇam*, says that Vanci is Koḍumkōḷūr, and that Karuvūr in Kongu-nādu is a town of the Colas. Kongu-nādu, it has to be said here, was originally under its independent chief. Then it was subjugated by the rulers of the Cola, Pāṇḍya and Cera Kingdoms. In a poem of the third decade of the *Patirrup-pattu*, it is sung that Kongu-nādu was conquered by the younger brother of Iṁayavaramban-Neḍum Ceralātan.³³

But, long before this, the Cera dynasty had established their power and fame. Is it likely that the Cera rulers would have waited for this conquest to establish their metropolis? Would have pitched upon a place for their capital in Kongu-nādu, which had the unenviable notoriety of being "the cockpit of the Tamil country?" One can concede, as is suggested by some, that, after the extensive conquests by some of the Cera Kings, they found it desirable to establish a viceroyalty in Karuvūr, both for administrative efficiency and more for securing that key position in their hands. As Viceroys only junior members of the family used to be sent with palatine powers.³⁴

It will be seen that, to avoid the possibility of any confusion arising out of the solitary use of Karuvūr in the *Aganānūru* lyric, the early Tamil lexions, *Pingalantai* and *Śēndan Divākaram*, took particular care to explain by a separate *sūtra* that Karuvūr denotes Vanci. The present protagonist of the Karuvūr theory wants to lend support to it with a damaged inscription got from somewhere near Karuvūr; but Mr. Sesha Iyer shatters it still further to pieces

31. P. 19 of the 3rd ed. of *Cilappadikaram*.

32. Dr. S. Iyer's *Manimekalai*, pp. 100-1.

33. P. 22.

34. S. Iyer's *Cera Kings*, p. 186. Also see C. Iyer in *J.O.R.*, 1929, pp. 130-3.

by stating that "all inscriptions got from the place are Cola inscriptions; and there is nothing in them or anywhere in literature that I know which attributes its origin and rise to the Ceras."³⁵

(24) There are distinct references in *Manimēkalai* and *Śilappadikāram* to indicate that the appropriate setting for a Cera capital was in Kerala and not in Trichinopoly. It is not possible, within the short space of this paper, to go into all even several of them. We shall have to satisfy ourselves with a few from *Śilappadikāram*.

(a) Iṅgō-aḍigal was the younger brother of Śenkuṭṭuvan. An astrologer predicted that he would succeed his father. To prevent that possibility and leave the throne to his brother, he renounced the world and became a monk. This story is told by Pattini whose spirit is said to have possessed Dēvandikai; "afterwards, Dēvandikai stood up before me god-possessed. She came before me and said, 'In the artistic Audience Hall of the ancient city of Vanji, when you were seated by your father's side, you frowned upon the astrologer, who predicted indications of your succeeding to the throne, so as to relieve the affliction of Senguttuvan. You then went to Guṇavāyirkottam and, standing before the ancient saints, you renounced all thoughts of the burdens of the earth in order to secure the kingship of the vast realm afar-off.....'"³⁶

Guṇavāyirkottam is another name for (matilakam) Trikkannāmatilakam near Cranganore, the Kuṇavāyil of Tamil and the Gunapuram of Sanskrit literature, a place where Iṅgō-aḍigal lived and from which he wrote his famous poem *Śilappadikāram*. There is no place near Karuvūr in Trichinopoly called by that name. The context clearly indicates the proximity of Vanci to Guṇavāyirkottam.

(b) Śen Kuṭṭuvan, on his march to fetch the stone for making the image of Kaṇṇaki makes the outskirts of the Nilgiris as his first halting place,³⁷ which would be a physical impossibility unless Vanci is Tiruvancikolam and not Karūr far far away in Trichinopoly. Further, as the Himalayas is to the north of Karūr, one to go there from Karūr need not come at all to the Nilgiris which is far to the north-west of Karūr.³⁸

35. Do., p. 86.

36. R. D. Cilap., p. 343 (XXX), ll. 170-80.

37. R. D. Cilap., 296 (XXVI), ll. 85-6.

38. C. Iyer in *J.O.R.*, p. 125. "If Cenkuṭṭuvan had started on his northern expedition from Karūr, the geographers would raise the question,

(c) Again, on Śenkuṭṭuvan's triumphant return from the north, Śākkayan, a dancing expert from Paraiyūr, performs a dance for the king's pleasure.³⁹

Mr. Dikshitar is partly right when he says in his foot-note to the word Śākkayan that "Even today we have in Malabar a professional class of dancers and musicians who go by the name of Śākkaiar"⁴⁰—Chākyār to be more correct. And what about Paraiyūr? Can it not be the modern Parūr, which is only about four or five miles from Cranganore? If not, was there a place near Kārūr which went by that name? No one has yet set forth that a Chākyār went all the way from Parūr to Karūr to give a dance before the great Emperor Śen Kuṭṭuvan.

(d) When Śen Kuṭṭuvan accompanied by his brother Iṅkōv-adikal, and his consort Vēnīmāl and an army of four divisions, started from Vanci-murram, his silver-white palace to go and

how he reached the eastern sea and afterwards the slopes of the Nilgiri Hills, for camping for the first night as stated in the text. Therefore the inevitable conclusion which any impartial reader could arrive at would be that of Srimans Iyengars, for the purpose of establishing their prior conclusion that Karur was Vancimanakar, twist and distort the plain reading of the author of the great epic into incongruities and thereby land themselves in difficulties."

39. R. D. Cilap., pp. 318-9 (XXVIII), II. 67-8.

40. R. D. Cilap., p. 318; also C. Iyer in J.O.R., p. 129.

"Chākyār Kuṭṭu as an institution and pastime was never known to have existed at or about Karūr, or, for the matter of that, anywhere in the Cōla or Pāndyan kingdoms. But, on the other hand, I am sure that no one could be so ignorant of the fact that it has been, *sui generis*, so in the Malayalam country....Paraiyūr is unquestionably the modern Parūr, a town five miles from Kōḍunkallūr. This furnishes a very important ground for the conclusion that Vancimanakar, the capital of Cera Cen-kuttuvan, should have been a city in the Malayalam country." Yet a ground or two similar to the above I wish to point out here towards the solution of the Vanci problem. Perum Cōti Uṭṭayan Cēran Atan, an early Perumal of Kerala, is stated to have fed thousands of people at Kuḷunūr. Justice Sesha Iyer identifies it with Kumūḷi, far away from Vāñci. He would not have done so if he had known that there is a place called Kuḷumūr, six miles from Tiruvancikulam. An inscription in the temple there refers to it as "Tiru Kuḷunūr." (S. Iyer's Cera Kings, p. 8, Mr. A. G. Warrier's (B.A., B.L.) article on *The Perumal's Agrasāla*, on page 48 of the Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin, Vol. VIII, pt. I Gōthuruthu (island of cows) was, so the tradition the grazing-ground of the cows of the Perumals, during the summer months, and Pullūtt (pullu=grass) for their herding-place during the rainy season, when the former low-lying island will be flooded by the Periyar. Both are near Cranganore.

enjoy the mountain scenery his first halt was the bank spread with fine sand dunes from the Periyār river. Mr. R. Dikshitar calls it the Ponnāni river.⁴¹ This is called the Pērār, the Bhāratapuḷa, and the Niḷa, and takes its source in the Anamalai Hills. The river referred to in the text is more likely to be the Periyār, the modern Alway river, which is a part of the Periyār (periya+ār). This is also called the Cūrṇi and the Pūrṇa. The word Alway (ala=wave, wā, wāya = mouth) means the mouth of waves. Even, at the time of floods, when the force of the current is terrific, one can notice the waves of the sea coming to the very mouth of the river and, so to say, swallowing the waters of the river. Similarly, Kotum-kollur means (Kotum+Kōle+ūr) the place of severe storms. The fitness of the name will be appreciated by any one who visits the sea there on a windy day during the monsoonish months. "Aḍiyārkanallār clearly says that Cenkuṭṭuvan returned to Vanci on the very same day he saw the mountains. This would not be by any means possible if he proceeded to the banks of the Periyār from Karūr in Trichinopoly." It cannot but be admitted that both the aforesaid rivers are in Kerala. The Āmrāvati that flows along Karūr does not bear the name Periyār. Again, the presents the hill-folk offered the king on the banks of the Periyār are reminiscent of Kerala (Cēra) and not of Karūr in Trichinopoly: "the white tusks of elephants, chips of sandalwood, pots of honey, cardamoms and pepper stalks, ripe cocoanuts, bunches of the big variety of sweet plantains, fawns of the timid deer, and peacocks with beautiful feathers."⁴²

(e) It is significant that the first stage of the march was by the sea coast. There, the dancers from the Kongan and the Kuḍagu countries come to sing and dance and thus please and honour the king.⁴³ All these would be possible only if Vanci in Malainādu and not if Karūr in Kongunādu was the capital.

(25) It is said

'Seven cities claimed great Homer dead

Through which the living Homer begged for bread.'

41. R. D. Cilap., pp. 284-5.

42. Ullur, Sh. Com. Vol., p. 246. C. Iyer in J.O.R., pp. 123-4: "If the king's palace was at Karūr, it is inconceivable that, instead of going to Kollimalai, having easier approaches and belonging to him, he should have chosen mountains very far away from his capital, having the direct road to them excepting through countries belonging to other sovereigns, and encamped on the sand dunes of the Periyar."

43. R. D. Cilap., pp. 296-7.

Similarly, there was a stiff controversy over the place of birth of Sankaracharya among scholars of other part. Malayālis, strange enough, took no part in it. Stranger still, Cochinites, to whom Kālaḍi, the birthplace, belonged till about 1771 A.D., did not claim him as their countryman. Malayālis by nature do not warm over matters of this sort. In spite of this, when there is a persistent tradition that Vanci (Tiruvancikolam) had been the capital of the Ceramān Perumāls, it can only mean that there is a firm basis for that. Not only there is a tradition handed down from age to age, but there are also signs left which will point to the correctness of the tradition.

(a) During the annual festival in the famous Tiruvancikolam temple, when the Deity is taken out for the *para* procession, the deity is even now first taken to an untenanted *paramba* called Ceramān *paramba* to receive the offerings now placed there by the temple authorities themselves. Any man can understand the meaning behind this procedure. Very probably, that was the place where the place stood and from where the Perumāls received the deity and presented their offerings like the other residents of the locality.

(b) There is in the temple two fine metal images of Sundaramūrthi and of his friend the Perumāl. Nowhere else in Kēraḷa, an image of an ordinary human being is kept inside a temple. It is recorded in *Periya-purāṇam* that Sundaramūrti was a great friend of a Ceramān Perumāl with whom he travelled to several famous Śaiva temples and died from Tiruvancikolam. In his last *padigam* he sings of his soul going to Kailas. This explains the presence of the two images of the great Śaiva saint and of his friend and devotee in one of the famous temples in Kēraḷa.

(c) Another uncommon peculiarity of this temple is that, after the final offerings of the day and the last Śivēli procession at night are over, the images of Śiva and Pārvati are taken in procession to the bed-chamber to spend the night there. Both these indicate in an emphatic manner of the control of the temple at one time of a foreign Tamilian authority. Before I leave this subject, let me assure the advocates of the Karūr theory that there is a fine large Vishnu temple near this temple, and that, for the alleged absence of that, they need not shift the Cēra capital from Vanci to Karūr.⁴⁴

44. *Mahodayapuram*, p. 7, where Mr. Rama Varma Raja, the Elaya Raja of Cranganore, says that there are three Vishnu temples, not one.

Mr. R. D. Dikshitar (*Cilap.*, p. 204, note 5; p. 233 note) says

(d) There is one significant fact about the Cranganore temple as well. Until very recently, the functionaries in charge of the temple were people who went by the name of Aḍigals. These are not associated with any other ancient indigenous religious place of worship in Kēraḷa.

(e) My friend, Mr. K. Achyutha Menon, the Govt. Secretary whose love for archaeology is only second to that for his official efficiency, reminds me that there is, in the precincts of the Bhagavati temple, a shrine for Vasūrimāla, Masūridēvata (goddess of small-pox), appropriately tended exclusively by women, and that the Koḍunkallur Bhagavati is specially a favourite of Kuḍumbi Chetties. It is necessary to remember here that at "the installation of this goddess," there were the twin girls of the handsome wife of Arattān Setti, and also the little daughter of Śēḍa Kuḍumbi.⁴⁵

He also tells me that the Būtacatukkam that was removed to Vanci by the Cera king⁴⁶ might in all probability be the Kshētrapāla of the Cranganore temple, which is the guardian deity of the temple and is of gigantic proportions. He has one or two other relevant suggestions which are worthy of serious considerations.

(f) Vēlans nad Pāṇars are found in numbers in Malabar with those names and ply the same professions as in the days of *Silappadikāram*. Place-names like Cēranallūr, Cēramangalam, near Cranganore are suggestive of the close bond of the Cera rulers to Kēraḷa. A village near Cranganore was till recently called Cera-cira, the Cera's bund. It has now become Karanchira.

(g) Villavan Kodai is mentioned in *Silappadikāram* as the minister and commander-in-chief of the Cera king.⁴⁷ The title Kōdai still lingers as a title among the nobility of Malabar, who had land forces under them. Villavan brings to mind Villavillavar, Villarrattam, a Swarūpam which existed in Chennamen-

that the game of ammanai is still current among the women-folk of the Tamil land. Ammanai, he added, is a wooden ball. In Kerala, not only women but even men are experts in this game and practice this. They do not use wooden balls, at any rate now, but those made of pewter (ōtū). These make a fine jingling sound when played with, on account of the small metallic grains put inside them. The songs accompanying the game are so nice and so fitting as to suit the movements of the balls.

45. R. D. Cilap., p. 338, l. 50.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 151 and 332.

47. R. D. Cilap., pp. 289 and 303.

galam about three miles from Cranganore. When that became extinct, the Paliath Achan's family was given the estate and the honours that belonged to the *Villarvaṭṭam swarūpam*, and successive seniors, Paliath Achans, held for many years the combined offices of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Cochin Rajas who claim to be the legal heirs of the Perumāls.

(h) At the installation ceremony of the stone, it is stated that certain Aryan kings, who had been kept as prisoners of the Cera ruler, were released and lodged in the mansion of *Vēlāvikkō*.⁴⁸ Where is this place? Near Cranganore, there is a place called *Vellāngallūr*, with a *vellākkōvilakam* (white palace) as opposed to another called *Karutta-kōvilakam* (black palace), where two Arya (Kshatriya) families lived.

(i) To these I think I can profitably add a few of the arguments advanced by the Tamilian scholars who advocated the Vanci theory at the Oriental Conference.⁴⁹

Mr. C. K. Subramania Mudaliar quoted several verses from *Sēkkizhār* to show that *Karūr* could not have been the capital of *Chēra*. He said that *Sēkkizhār*, who lived in the 11th century, had clearly indicated that *Kongars* and *Kuḍakula* chieftains were different people, and that the people in the mountains were subordinate to the *Chēra*, *Chola* and *Pāndya* kings. In ancient Tamil literature it was stated that the *Chola* kings had five cities, in each of which they used to be crowned and *Karūr* was one. If that were so, it was impossible for *Karūr* to be the *Vanchi* of *Chēras* also.

"Mr. Venkataswami Nattar of Annamalai University expressed the same view as the previous speaker. He added that *Kongu Nādu* was divided into two parts called *West Kongu* and *East Kongu* and that the *Chēra* kings ruled over only the *West Kongu*. The *East Kongu* wherein *Karūr* was situated was for sometime in the possession of *Cholas* and sometimes in the possession of the *Chēras*.

Similarly, Dr. S. K. Ayengar, Rao Bahadur Ramachandra Chettiar and Mr. Pannirukai Perumal Mudaliar contended that *Vanci* should have been on the West coast and could not be *Karūr* in *Trichinopoly*. Mr. Chettiar particularly noted that as there were no hills in the vicinity of *Karūr*, it could not have been *Vanci*.

48. R. D. Cilap., p. 324. II.195-8.

49. Page 4 of *The Hindu*, of March 24, 1940.

Recently, Profr. P. Pillai has ably controverted the arguments of the two Pandits in his learned article on the *Cochin Argus*, and established the claim of *Vanci* as the capital of the *Ceras*. "The *Cēra* country was *Malainādu* or the mountainous country, which had two ports at *Musiris* and *Tyndis*, and held the seat of Government at *Vañji* or *Thiruvanjikulam*, with *Karūr* as a viceregal seat after the territorial expansion during the time of *Cenguttuvan*." Here I must stop. But I cannot stop without expressing my gratitude on my behalf and on behalf of my countrymen to Sir Shanmukham Chetty for the interest he is taking in the solution of this problem. But for his greatness as a politician and administrator, his greatness as a scholar would have had a better chance of being more widely known than now.

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Nanak Panthis or The Sikh and Sikhism of the 17th Century

(Translated from Muhsin Fani's *Dabistân-i-Mazâhib*.)

EDITED WITH NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

THE *Dabistân-i-Mazâhib*, from which I have culled and translated the account of the *Nanak-panthis*, the followers of Guru Nanak, is generally acknowledged to be the work of Shaikh Mohsin Fani.

According to the *Gul-i-Ra'na*¹ and the *Miftah-ut-Twarikh*² he was a resident of Kashmir, but a closer examination of the *Dabistan* reveals that he was born somewhere on the shores of Persia, and that he was compelled by inconstant fortune and force of circumstances to spend most of his life in "the land of the believers in transmigration." Unlike most of the Muhammadan writers, Mohsin Fani has not anywhere in the text alluded to his parentage and the date of his birth.

Out of over fifty dates that are connected with the various events of his life, referred to here and there is his work, the earliest is 1028 Hijri,³ corresponding to 1618 A.D. when his guardian Mobid Hushiar took him for blessing to Balak Nath, a leading member of the order of the Jogis in the seventeenth century. The next earliest date is 1033 Hijri (1623 A.D.)⁴ when he was still in his infancy and was carried, as he himself tells us, in the arms of Mobid Hushiar to a leading Gosain, Chatur Vapah

1. By Lachhmi Narayan; also Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. vii.
2. By Munshi Danishwar.
3. Lucknow Edition, p. 182-83; Shea and Troyer, Vol. II, p. 137.
4. Lucknow Edition; Shea and Troyer, II, 145.

(? Chaturpal), who then blessed him, taught him the *Surya Mantra*, or prayer to god Sun, and deputed one of his followers to remain with him 'till the age of manhood.' Taking into consideration the two dates, we may infer that Mohsin Fani could not have been more than eight years of age, the latest year when a boy may be carried in the arms of his guardian, even if he were ill. This would place the date of his birth about the year 1615 A.D.

From his childhood, Mohsin was, by nature, a religious-minded youth. He was brought up in the Sufi atmosphere under the care of Mobid Hushiar and Mulla Yaqub Kashmiri⁵ and this had liberalised his religious outlook. According to Beal's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, "He held the appointment of Sadarat of the province of Allahabad for several years in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan; and when that monarch conquered Balkh in A.D. 1646, A.H. 1056, amongst the spoil that fell into the hands of the emperor belonging to Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of that province, was a *Diwan* composed by Mohsin Fani which he had sent as a present to that ruler with verses in his praise; this annoyed the emperor, and Mohsin was forthwith dismissed from his office. He received, however, a small pension and passed the remainder of his life at Kashmere, where he died in A.D. 1670, A.H. 1081."

He devoted most of his life to the comparative study of religions. As a true seeker after truth, he travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and went as far as Meshed in Persia to obtain first hand information about the various religions of his time. No time and labour were spared by him to study these religions from the practical lives of their followers and from the original sources in their scriptures and other authoritative works. Every statement that he has made in his work is based either upon his own personal observations or upon the information supplied by the best informed men with whom he could get in touch. He says himself at the conclusion of his work: "After having much frequented the meetings of the followers of the five beforesaid religions," Magians, Hindus, Jews, Nazareans, and Muselmans, "the author wished and undertook to write this book; and whatever in this work, treating of the religions of different countries, is stated concerning the creed of different sects, has been taken from their books, and for the account of the persons belonging to any particular sect, the author's information was imparted to him by their adherents and sincere friends, and recorded literally, so that no

5. *Gul-i-Ra'na*, quoted to Shea and Troyer.

trace of partiality nor aversion might be perceived: in short, the writer of these pages performed no more than the task of a translator." This declaration of Mohsin Fani is self-explanatory.

Mohsin's account of Sikhism and its Gurus and followers in the middle of the seventeenth century is the first from the pen of a non-Sikh contemporary writer, and it throws a flood of light on the earlier Sikhism. It is not to be claimed, of course, that this account is free from errors. There are a few things here and there which have no other historical evidence to support them, or which may be revised in the light of more authentic evidence. These I have pointed out in the foot-notes. But of one thing we are sure. Mohsin Fani has nowhere in his work adopted a hostile attitude towards any particular people. His defects, therefore, may be attributed to his imperfect knowledge of the language of the people of which he wrote, or to the incorrect knowledge of those who were his sources of information. It may be safely said that Mohsin has given an impartial account of what he saw and heard of the Sikhs and their Gurus during his contact with them. As he tells us in the text, he was personally known to Gurus Hargobind and Har Rai, and, evidently, it was this close contact with the great masters that inspired him with esteem and affection for their personalities and admiration for their teachings.

This great work of Mohsin Fani, the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, was at first translated into English by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, and was published by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland in 1843. But it was marred by innumerable mistakes for want of sufficient knowledge of the Persian language. The chapter on the Nanak-panthis, dealing with the Sikhs and Sikhism, was particularly hopeless. It was, therefore, that I translated it in January 1930 for the *Khalsa*, Lahore, then edited by Bhagat Lakshman Singh, but with the commencement of my *Life of Bhui Gurdas* in the columns of that paper, its publication was deferred. In the meantime another translation of this section from the pen of Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia was published in the *Khalsa Review*, Lahore, for June 1930. As this came very dangerously near my own, I have been indifferent to the publication of my translation. I have, however, been feeling all this time that there were many points in it that needed elucidation and explanation, and also some opinions and views that ought to be corrected in the light of more authentic evidence. I have, therefore, yielded to the wishes of my friend Rao Sahib Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the departments of History and Politics in the Annamalai University, in publishing this translation.

I have been strictly literal in my rendering, with the result that not unoften the diction and idiom of the English language had to be sacrificed to keep it as near the original as possible. For this I crave the readers' indulgence. I have given my explanations of the doubtful points in footnotes, and, although some of them have grown disproportionately lengthy, I hope the discussions therein will not be found wholly uninteresting.

NANAK—PANTHIS,¹ who are known as *Guru-Sikhs*² or disciples of the Gurus [Nanak and his successors], have no belief in idols and idol-temples. Nanak is from the Bedis; and Bedis are a sub-caste of the Khatris.³ In the reign of His Majesty, the late Emperor Zahir-ud-din Babar—may God illumine his argument—he (Nanak) became famous. Before the victory of the late Emperor (Babar), he (Nanak) was a *Modi*⁴ to Daulat Khan Lodhi, who was one of the high officials of Ibrahim Khan Emperor of Delhi. And, Modi is an official in charge of the granary.

Once a saint came to him and captivated his heart so much so that Nanak, going to his shop, gave away (in charity to the poor) all his own and Daulat Khan's grain that he had in the shop and stores. He severed his connection with his wife and children. Daulat Khan was astonished to hear this. As he saw signs of saintliness in Nanak, he refrained from molesting him. In short Nanak underwent severe austerities. At first he reduced his food, and, after some time, he depended upon drinking a little of cow's milk. After that he lived on *ghee* and then on water. Lastly he lived on air like those who, in Hindostan, are called *Pavan-āhāris* or consumers of air alone.⁵

Some people became his disciples. Nanak believed in (was convinced of) the unity of God as it is laid down in the tenets of Muhammad. He also believed in the doctrine of transmigration.

1. *Panth* is a Sanskrit word meaning path. *Nanak-Panthi*, therefore, literally means a person following the path of Nanak, that is, a disciple of Nanak.

2. *Sikh* is a Punjabi word for the Sanskrit *Shishya*, meaning a disciple.

3. The second of the four castes of the Hindus.

4. A Commissariat or a supply officer.

5. There is nothing in the biographies of the Guru to substantiate this statement. It appears to have been based on the authority of some one who wished to represent the Guru as one of the old Hindu recluses who are generally respected for their austerities.

Holding wine and pork unlawful, he abstained from animal food⁶ and enjoined against cruelty to animals. After his death meat-eating became common among his disciples. And when Arjan Mal, who is one of the prophetic order of Nanak, found that evil, he prohibited people from meat-eating and said: "This practice is not in accordance with the wishes of Nanak."⁷ Eventually Hargobind, son of Arjan Mal, ate meat and hunted, and most of his disciples followed his practice.

Just as Nanak praised the Muhammadans, he also praised the incarnations and the gods and goddesses of the Hindus. But he knew them all to be the creation and not the creator. He denied [the doctrines of] *Halool* (direct descent from or incarnation of God), and *Ittihad* (direct union of the All-pervading God with any parti-

6. Here Mohsin-Fani or his informant seems to have erred. There is nothing in the teachings of Guru Nanak to condemn the use of animal food. On the other hand we find him cooking a deer, which a disciple had presented to him at Kurukshetar during his visit to that place. When the Brahmans expressed their horror at his cooking of flesh on the occasion of a Solar Eclipse, he replied:—

Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.
When he quickeneth, he obtaineth a mouth of flesh; his bone, skin,
and body are made of flesh.
When he is taken out of the womb he seizeth teats of flesh.
His mouth is of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is in flesh.
When he groweth up he marries, and bringeth flesh home with him.
Flesh is produced from flesh; all man's relations are made from
flesh.

(*Guru Granth Sahib, Var Malhar ki, M.I., p. 1289;*
Macauliffe, i. 47-48).

The following is also on the same subject:—

Fools wrangle about flesh, but know not divine knowledge,
or meditation on God.
They know not what is flesh, or what is vegetable, or in what sin
consisteth.
They who forswear flesh and hold their noses when near it, devour
men at night ...
In flesh we are conceived, from flesh we are born, we are vessels
of flesh. ...

(*Guru Granth Sahib, Var Malhar ki, M.I., p. 1289;*
Macauliffe, i. 48).

7. There is no such sentence traceable in the sayings of Guru Arjan in the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

cular body). They say that he had the rosary of the Muhammadans in his hand and the sacred Brahmanical thread round his neck.⁸

His disciples narrate so many of his miracles which cannot find room in this brief sketch. One of these is that Nanak, having been displeased with the Afghans, deputed the Mughals over them. So in the year 932 [*al-Hijri*, 1526 A.D.] His Majesty the late Emperor

8. "He seems to be confusing the black woollen string called *Sehli* which a class of saints wear in India and which is found in the feathers round Guru Nanak's neck." [S. Umrao Singh Majithia in the *Khalsa Review*, June 1930, p. 5.] As for the Brahmanical thread, Guru Nanak had flatly refused to put it on when the family priest Hardial proceeded to perform the ceremony. No remonstrances and persuasion of the priest were of any avail with the young Guru who gave utterance to the following hymns:—

1. Make mercy thy cotton, contentment thy thread, continence its knot, truth its twist.

That would make a *janeu* for the soul; if thou have it, O Brahman, then put it on me.

It will not break, or become soiled or be burned or lost.

Blest the man, O Nanak, who goeth with such thread on his neck.

Thou purchaseth a *janeu* for four *damris*, and seated in a square putteth it on;

Thou whisperest instruction that the Brahman is the guru of the Hindus—

Man dieth, the *janeu* falleth; and the soul departeth without it.

(*Guru Granth Sahib*, *Asa-di-Var*, p. 471.)

2. Though men commit countless thefts, countless adulteries, utter countless falsehoods and countless words of abuse;

Though they commit countless robberies and villainies night and day against their fellow creatures;

Yet the cotton thread is spun, and the Brahman cometh to twist it.

For the ceremony they kill a goat and cook and eat it, and everybody then saith, 'Put on the *janeu*.'

When it becometh old, it is thrown away, and another is put on.

Nanak, the string breaketh not if it be strong.

(*Asa-di-Var*, p. 471.)

3. By adoring and praising the Name, honour and a true thread are obtained.

In this way a sacred thread shall be put on, which will not break, and which will be fit for entrance into God's court.

There is no string for the sexual organs, there is no string for women;

There is no string for the impure acts which cause your beards to be daily spat upon;

There is no string for the feet, there is no string for the hands;

There is no string for the tongue, there is no string for the eyes.

Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babar gained victory over the Afghan [Emperor] Ibrahim.

They also say that during one of his travels Baba Nanak spent a night in a fort and was absorbed in the vision of God. However much the children, who were playing there, touched his body with their hands, no motion appeared from him. They stitched up his eye-lids, nose and ears, and tied his hands tightly. When Nanak returned to himself from that state [of mental alienation, ecstasy] and found himself in that condition, he went to one of the houses. When he arrived at the threshold, he cried out: "Is there any one in the house who can open my stitched up eye-lids with hands?" A handsome woman, having conducted him into the house and, untying his hands, unstitched what was sewed up and cut the threads from the eyes of Baba Nanak with her teeth. Consequently the paint of her *Tilak* was impressed on the fore-head of Nanak and the *tilak* of that woman became smothered. When Nanak came out of her house, the neighbours saw him in that condition [with the *tilak* mark on his forehead] and thought that he had copulated with that woman. Consequently the woman became infamous in the community. And, a dislike appeared towards her in the mind of her husband.

The woman one day came to Nanak and said: "I rendered you service in the name of God, and now they blame me." Nanak said: "To-morrow the gate of the fort shall get shute and it shall not open till your hand reaches (touches) it." The next day, however they did try to open the gate of the fort, it did not open. The people remained in that state of helplessness. The place was high and away from water. The quadrupeds also could not get out. The inhabitants of the fort approached all those persons whom they considered to be holy. The closed gate did not open by the prayers of that community until [the people of] that community came to Nanak and said: "Oh saint! what is the remedy for this thing?" He replied: "This door shall not open except by the hand of a woman who has not done what is unlawful with a stranger [that is, who has

- Without such strings the Brahman wandereth astray.
- Twisteth strings for the neck, and putteth them on others.
- He taketh hire for marrying;
- He pulleth out a paper, and showeth the fate of the wedded pair.
- Hear and see, ye people, it is strange
- That, while mentally blind, man is named wise.

(*Asa-di-Var*, p. 491.)

not co-habited with a person other than her husband].” The people of the fort took the women, whom they considered to be virtuous and chaste, to the gate of the fort. But it was of no avail. At last every woman who was inside the fort rubbed her hand against the gate, but no good came out of it. Consequently they sat down in despair.

At the time of the evening prayer, the friend of Baba Nanak came. The people laughed on seeing her. Her husband and near relatives, being ashamed, rebuked her. The woman lent no ear to what the community said. Striking her hand into the gate-ring, she pulled it. And lo! the closed gate was opened. The people having been astonished fell at the woman’s feet.⁹

The *Bani* of Nanak, that is his hymns, comprise prayers, admonitions and counsels, and most of the sayings are on the greatness of God Most Holy. And all that is in the language of the Jats. A Jat, in the vocabulary of the Punjab, is a villager and a peasant. His (Nanak’s) disciples have no regard for the Sanskrit language. The rules and regulations which Nanak laid down will be described hereafter.

Nanak has said in his hymns:

“Heavens and earths are numerous. Prophets, saints, incarnations (*Avtārs*) and *Sidhs* have attained perfection through devotion to God. And every one who strives in the worship of God, by whatever path he wishes, becomes favourite of God. The means of (attaining) proximity of God is non-injury to (any) living being.

Be righteous that you become freed (saved). Righteousness from you (shall bring to you) success from God.”¹⁰

The sons of Nanak are in the Punjab. They are called *Kartāri* [that is, the worshippers of *Kartār*, the Creator]. But, according to the opinion of some, the spiritual office did not inherit to his sons. They say that by his order Guru Angad from the caste of the *Trehan*¹¹ Khattris sat in place (succeeded to the spiritual office) of

9. The story is not traceable in any of the biographies of the Guru.

10. *Guru Granth Sahib*.

11. The word *ترهانی*—*Trehan*—is wrongly transcribed as *سرین*—*Srin*—in the lithographed copies. Guru Angad was born in the *Trehan* sub-caste of the Khattris and not in the *Srin* sub-caste.

Nanak. After him Guru Amardas, from the *Bhalla* Khattri caste, became his successor, and after him sat Guru Ramdas who is from the *Sodhi* Khattris and whom they call *Sri Guru*, the Great Master, also.

After the death of Ramdas his son Arjan Mal sat in the place of his father. In his time the Sikhs or disciples became numerous and made exaggerations in the beliefs. They said: “Baba Nanak is God and the world is of his creating.” But in (his) hymns Baba Nanak reckoned himself a Slave [of God], and called God *Niranjan*, the Formless, *Parbrahm*, the Supreme Spirit, and *Parmeshar*, the Supreme Lord, who is not body and bodied and is not united with [material] body. The Sikhs says Baba Nanak was such and had no body, but he appeared to us through his power. And they go so far that when Nanak left his body, he absorbed [himself] in Guru Angad who was his nearest servant (most devoted disciple), and that Guru Angad is Nanak himself. After that, at the time of his death, Guru Angad entered into the body of Amardas in the above mentioned manner. He in the same manner occupied a place in the body of Ramdas, and Ramdas in the same way got united with Arjan Mal. They give everyone the name of a *Mahal*; first *Mahal* being Nanak, second *Mahal* Angad and so on till the fifth *Mahal* who is Arjanmal. They said that whoever does not acknowledge [or believe in] Guru Arjan Mal to be the very self of Baba Nanak becomes *Manmukh*¹² or a non-believer.

They have [numerous] stories. They say that in ancient time Baba Nanak was Raja Janak.¹³... In the opinion of the disciples of Nanak, Guru Nanak, in a life from previous creations, having been Raja Janak, had accomplished spiritual works along with his temporal kingdom and called mankind to God.

The chronicler [the author himself] has heard from reliable Sikhs that when Baba Nanak appeared in the *Sat Jug*,¹⁴ a crowd of disciples came round him. He sent a cow into the kitchen. When

12. By an error in reading the Persian *Shikastah* hand, the word *من مکه* *man-mukh* is wrongly transcribed as *marnakh* or *marankh*. *Man-mukh* in Punjabi means a non-believer.

13. After this follows a long irrelevant account of Raja Janak, the father of Sita, the dutiful wife of King Rama of Ayodhia, from the *Jog Basisht*. It has no bearing on the subject. I have, therefore, thought it best to omit it.

14. Hindu astronomers have divided time into *Kalpas*, *Mahayugas* and *Yugas*. A *Kalpa* is the greatest Indian division of time. It consists of 1000 *Mahayugas*. A *Mahayuga* is composed of four *yugas* of different lengths,

cooked, they brought it to the *Sangat*, that is, the congregation of the Sikhs. Some ate of it and the others ran away. The Guru prayed and the cow came to life. On seeing that condition [of the cow come to life], the crowd that had run away, returned and submitted: "Now we shall eat whatever is ordered [in the kitchen]". The Guru, that is, Nanak, said, "Now it cannot be, and our promise to you is for the Treta Jug." So in the cycle of the Treta the Guru appeared. The disciples assembled, as I have said, killed a horse and brought it into the assembly. Some ate of it and a crowd disliked it. So he (Nanak) prayed and the horse became alive. The deserters made the same previous request. This time he said, "Now our promise to you is for the Duapar Jug." And in the cycle of Duapar they brought an elephant into the kitchen. At that time also it happened as I have said. The promise was made for the Kal-Jug. They say that in the Kal-Jug they brought a man into the kitchen. Whoever ate of it was liberated and he who refrained [from eating it], remained in suffering.¹⁵

I have also heard from a Sikh, who called Nanak a near Slave of God, that when Nanak severed his bodily connection, his soul reached a fork, where one road ran in the direction of heaven and the other in that of hell. Nanak chose the road to hell, and he brought the inhabitants of hell out of the infernal region. And the Most High addressed him: "Those sinners cannot enter heaven. So you should go to the world and liberate this multitude." Nanak consequently came to the world. And now those inhabitants of hell are the multitude of his disciples. And the Guru comes to this world and returns back till all of that sect obtain salvation. Other than this man, no one is seen from among the Sikhs who holds Baba Nanak to be God.

In short, the disciples of Nanak condemn idol-worship. Their belief is that all their Gurus are Nanak, as has been said. They do

the *Krit* or *Sat*, the *Dwapar*, the *Treta* and the *Kali*. The *Kali-yuga*, or the *Kaljug*, as it is called in Northern India, consists of 432,000 solar years. The *Dwapar-yuga* is double the length of the *Kali*, the *Treta-yuga* is triple and the *Sat-yuga* is quadruple. According to the *Surya Siddhanta*, the present *Kali-yuga* commenced at midnight on Thursday, the 17-18th February, 3102 B.C., while others have calculated it to have commenced on the following sunrise, 18th February. [Sewell and Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, p. 6.]

15. I have not seen this recorded anywhere in the Sikh historical and religious works, nor have I heard of it from any one as an oral tradition. This is, apparently, an adoption of some old story related by some one with the object of representing the Guru to be in no way inferior to any of the mythological Hindu deities.

not read the *Mantras*¹⁶ of the Hindus. They do not venerate their temples of idols, nor do they esteem their *Avatars*.¹⁷ They have no regard for the Sanskrit language which, according to the Hindus, is the speech of the angels.¹⁸

In short, during the time of each *Mahal* (Guru), the Sikhs increased till in the reign of Guru Arjan Mal they became numerous, and there were not many cities in the inhabited countries where some Sikhs were not to be found. There is no restriction among them that a Brahman may not become the disciple of a Khattri,¹⁹ for Nanak was a Khattri, and no Guru amongst them is from the Brahmans, as has been described. Similarly they placed Khattris under the authority of the Jats, who belong to the low caste of the Vaishyas,²⁰ as the big *Masands*²¹ of the Guru are mostly Jats. The Brahmans and Khattris are (become) *Meli*²² and *Sahlang*,²³ that is, pupils and disciples of the Guru, through the medium of a *Masand*, and are accepted into the pupilage and discipline of the Guru.

It should be known that in the reign of the Afghan kings, the nobles were addressed in writing at *Masnad-i-Āli* or the High Seat. Subsequently by frequent use the Indians have reduced it to

16. The Vedic and Puranic hymns.

17. Incarnations of God, such as Rama and Krishna.

18. Gods like Brahma and Vishnu. Compare Swami Dayananda's *Satyarth Prakash*, Urdu, 4th edition, p. 565.

19. According to old Hinduism, the duty of teaching is assigned exclusively to the Brahmans. There is a restriction, therefore, for a Kshatriya to become the teacher of a Brahman. But, as caste distinction is not allowed by Sikhism, no such restriction exists among the Sikhs.

20. The second lowest class of the Hindus.

21. Agents or deputies. The word *Masand*, a corrupted form of Persian *masnad* and synonym of Punjabi *manji* or cot, was used for the Sikh missionaries. When preaching, these missionaries were usually seated on *masnads* (high seats), or cots, out of reverence for their religious learning and devotion, while the audience squatted on the ground, covered with carpets or otherwise. The word *masnad*, corrupted as *masand*, came to be used for them as mentioned in the text.

22. *Meli* in Punjabi means a companion, a brother-in-faith, or a member of a congregation.

23. This word سہانگ is not legible in the lithographed text. S. Umrao Singh in his translation in the *Khalsa Review* has transliterated it as سہانگ *Sahāyak*. If the dots on س were after سہ, they could have passed for ع and the word could have been read as *Sahāyak*. But this is not so. The dots are on the top of س and can only be taken for those

Masand. And as the Sikhs consider the Gurus *Sacha Padshah*, that is, the Veritable King, they call their agents *Masand*. They call them *Rām-dās* (or the servants of God) also.

In the time of the *Mahals* before the fifth Mahal, no *Bhet*²⁴ (offering) or tribute was collected from the Sikhs. Whatever was presented by the Sikhs themselves was accepted [and deemed enough]. During his time, Arjan Mal deputed one person to the Sikhs of every city so that he might collect tribute and offerings from them. [This deputy or agent was called *Masand*].

People began to become Sikhs of the Guru through the medium of *Masands*. The chief *Masands*, through whom large numbers became Sikhs of the Guru, appointed deputies on their own behalf, so that in every place and *Mahal*,²⁵ people, having (at first) become *Meli* (associates or pupils) of the *Masand* through the *Masand's* agent, become the Sikhs of the Guru.

They have so decided that an *Udasi*, that is a renouncer of the world, is not praise-worthy. Therefore, some Sikhs of the Guru do agricultural work and some trade, and a multitude takes up service. Every year, according to the extent of the money earned by them, they send (their dues) to the *Masands* in the form of offerings. The *Masands* do not touch it (that is, they do not appropriate it to their own use). Other than this, whatever they bring, during the year, for the *Masand* (himself) for conveying their *Bhet* to the Court of the Guru, is spent for himself, if the *Masand* has no other means of livelihood. But if he himself is engaged in some business or profession, he never soils himself by [misappropriating to himself] the offerings (of the Sikhs). Collecting all (the offerings), he conveys them to the Guru.

In the month of Baisakh (April), when the sun is in the sign of Taurus, the *Masands* assemble at the Court of the Guru. Whoever,

of a ॐ. The word, in the text, therefore, is nearer to *Satsang* ॐ. Moreover, there are three dots, two of which may be taken for those of ॐ and the third for that of ॐ.

There is, however, a word *Sahlang* ॐ which occurs in the hymns of the third and fourth Gurus Amardas and Ramdas in the *Gauri* and *Sūhi Rāgs* in the *Guru Granth Sahib*. It means 'connected with' or 'combination of.' [Sri Guru Granth Kosh, Khalsa Tract Society, Amritsar, 2nd ed., p. 164.] But it does not appear to have been in common use, and the word *Sahayak* is seldom met with in the Sikh literature, whereas *Satsang* is one of the commonest words and is very closely related to *meli*.

24. The word *bhet* means voluntary 'offering to a holy man or deity,' and not tax or tribute.

25. Here the word *Mahal* means a *parganah*, a territorial division.

from among their *Melis* (Members of the *Masands'* congregations) wishes, and able to undertake the journey, comes to Guru with the *Masands*. At the time of taking leave (from the Guru's presence), the Guru bestows a turban on each of the *Masands*.

Now, when a few of the beliefs of the Sikhs have been written with the pen of research, I write about some of the prominent people of this sect whom I have seen.

Sixth *Mahal* is Sri Guru Hargobind, son of Guru Arjan Mal. When His Majesty the late Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jehangir, after the arrest of Khusro, arrested and fined Guru Arjan Mal for the reason that he had prayed for the welfare of Prince Khusro, the late Emperor (Jehangir)'s son, who had rebelled against his father, they demanded an enormous sum from him (Guru Arjan). The Guru was unable to pay. Having imprisoned him, (therefore,) they kept him in the sandy desert of Lahore. From the heat of the sun, the severity of the summer, and the tortures of the bailiffs, he gave his life.²⁶ This incident took place in one thousand and fifteen (1015

26. The martyrdom of Guru Arjan is generally misunderstood, and even men like Mohsin Fani have followed the popular account which is apparently given currency to by those who were mostly responsible for it. But that, in fact, he suffered for his religion at the hands of Jahangir may be seen from the following passage in the Emperor's own Memoirs, the *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 35, Nawal Kishore Lucknow Edition:

"In Goindwal, which is situated on the bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garb of a *Pir* and *Shaikh*, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had noised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this shop warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam.

"At last when Khusro passed along this road, this insignificant low fellow made up his mind to wait upon him. Khusro happened to halt at the place where he was. He (Arjun) came and saw him, and conveyed some preconceived things to him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which the Hindus in their terminology call *qashqa* (*Tika*) and is considered propitious. When this came to the ears of our Majesty, and I fully knew his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures.

"There were two other persons, Raju and Amba by name. They led a life of tyranny and oppression under the shadow of Daulat Khan

al-Hijri, 1606 A.D.)²⁷ Similarly he extorted Shaikh Nizam of Thanesar from India for his complicity with and prayer for the welfare of Khusro.

Khwaja-sera's protection. During these days when Khusro was near Lahore, they committed depredations. I ordered that Raju be hanged and that a fine be levied on Amba because he was known to be a rich man. (One lac and fifteen thousand rupees were received from him. This amount I ordered to be spent upon artillery and for charitable purposes.)

From the above it is clear that long before the rebellion of Khusro, Jahangir had been incensed against Guru Arjan on account of his increasing religious influence amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. And, therefore, he was "for years" thinking of either putting an end to his religious preachings, which he contemptuously calls "false traffic", or making a Mussulman of him. No report was made to the Emperor of the visit of Khusro to Guru Arjan on the spot at Goindwal, when the Emperor crossed the River Beas at its ferry, nor did anything on the subject "come to his ears" for about a month during which period Khusro had been arrested and made prisoner and a large number of his followers had been impaled, and both of his accomplices Hassan Beg and Abdul Rahim had been inclosed and sewed up in the raw hides of a cow and a donkey. It was only on the eve of the Emperor's departure from Lahore that the report regarding the alleged complicity of the Guru in the rebellion was made to the Emperor. This throws a doubt on the truth of the report. If Khusro had actually met the Guru, it would certainly have been reported to the Emperor on the spot at Goindwal or in its neighbourhood where it could also have been easily verified and the Guru would have been carried a prisoner to Lahore with him.

The author of the *Mahma Parkash* tells us that the guru was then at Tarn Taran, and not at Goindwal. Khusro could not have, therefore, met him. No wonder that the whole story might have been an imaginary concoction of the Guru's Hindu and Muslim traducers with a view to entangling him in the rebellion, which had brought such severe punishments on Khusro and his accomplices. Jahangir, apparently, found in this concocted report a long-looked-for opportunity for putting an end to the "false traffic," i.e., the religious activities, of Guru Arjan, and, without any investigation, whatever he ordered him to be tortured to death.

Jahangir makes no mention of any fine imposed on the Guru. He only mentions the death sentence passed against him. Apparently the fine of two lacs of rupees demanded from Amba, and stated in the next sentence quoted above, gave currency to this wrongful statement amongst the people who were Mohsin's sources of information, or the non-payment of the so-called fine on the part of the Guru might have been advertised by his traducers to explain away the cause of his death.

27. The exact date of the Guru's death is:

Safar 2, 1015 al-Hijri

Jeth (Jesht) Sudi 4, 1663 Bk.

Harh (Asharh) 2, 1663 Bk.

May 30, 1606 A.D.

In short, after Arjan Mal, his brother Prithia, whom the latter's followers call Guru Meharban, occupied the spiritual office.²⁸ Now that is one thousand and fifty five al-Hijri (A.D. 1645), Guru Harji is his successor. Prithia and his successors hold themselves to be *Bhagats*, that is, the worshippers of God. And the disciples of Guru Hargobind, son of Arjan Mal, name them (Prithia and his successors and followers) *Mina*²⁹ (the detestable) and this name among them is contemptuous.

After Arjan Mal Hargobind claimed the succession and sat in place of his father, and, being (once) attached to, was not separated from Jahangir.³⁰ Many hardships confronted him. One of them is this that he adopted the form of soliders, girded sword against (the practice of) his father, kept servants and took to hunting. The late Emperor (Jahangir) sent Hargobind to the fort of Gwalior on account of the balance of the dues of fine that he had imposed on Arjan Mal. He remained for twelve years³¹ in that place, where they did not allow that he might eat salty food. During this time the Masands and the Sikhs used to go and bow down to the wall of the fort. At last the late Emperor, by way of kindness, gave freedom to the Guru.

After the death of the late Emperor (Jahangir), he (Hargobind) was devoted to His Majesty, Chief of the Believers, Lord of the Victorious, Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Shah Jehan, Lord of Conjunction the Second. When he returned to his country, which is in the vicinity of the Punjab, he rendered creditable service and

28. Prithia (Prithi Chand) was never acknowledged to be the Guru of the Sikhs. He was the eldest son of Guru Ramdas and used to manage the household affairs and the Guru's kitchen during his life time. But, as he was found unworthy of the holy office, Arjan was given preference and installed as Guru. On the death of Guru Ramdas, Prithia urged his claim to Guruship as his pregenitory right and confiscated everything of the house and the kitchen that he was in possession of; but all his efforts at supplanting his younger brother failed. His second attempt for Guruship after the martyrdom of Guru Arjan in 1606 also met with failure and the small abbey that he had managed to establish with the official support soon dwindled into insignificance.

29. This word *mina* was used for Prithia by Guru Ram Das himself.

30. This refers to the friendship that developed between Emperor Jahangir and Guru Hargobind after the latter's release from the fort of Gwalior. Whether this friendship was the result of the Emperor's repentance for the unjust orders issued for the capital punishment of Guru Arjan, or was actuated by some political motives, is not known to history.

31. The Guru seems to have remained in Gwalior fort for a much shorter period. The exact period has not been determined as yet.

afforded help to Yar Khan, the Eunich, who was Faujdar in the neighbourhood of the Punjab. He returned to Ramdasapura³² in which place Guru Ramdas and Guru Arjan Mal have constructed lofty buildings and a fine tank.

He (Guru Hargobind) had a fight with the armies of Imperial agents and the servants of Shah Jehan who had gone against him by the commands of His Majesty, the Shadow of God. The baggage and property of the Guru was plundered.³³ From that place he hastened to Kartarpur. There also a battle took place. In that battle Mir Badehra, and Painsa Khan son of Fateh Khan Kunaid, were killed. Before and after that occasion large armies rushed at him, but, with the help of God, he escaped unhurt, though he left (had to leave) whatever he had.

I have heard from a person named Sādh that during the battle a person struck a sword upon the Guru. Warding off (the blow), the Guru said to the swordsman, "They do not strike like that. Striking is like this." And with that blow he did away with his foe. One of the companions of the Guru enquired of the chronicler, "What is the philosophy that the Guru at the time of striking the blow said: 'see, in this way a wound is inflicted,'" I said: "It comes to my mind that the sword-striking of the Guru was also by way of teaching, for they call the teacher a *Guru* (or that *Guru* means a teacher), and not by way of anger because it is a condemned thing."

In short, after the battle of Kartarpur he went to Phagwara. As his residence in places near Lahore was difficult, he hastened from there to Kiratpur, which is in the hills of the Punjab. That land belonged to Rajah Tara Chand who did not walk on the path of submission and service to Emperor Shah Jehan.

The people of that place worship idols. On the summit of a mountain, they have raised an idol to the goddess named Naina Devi. The rajahs (petty rulers of the hill states) used to go to that place and performed the rites of pilgrimage. When the Guru came to that place, one of his Sikhs, Bhairo by name, went to the temple

32. The present city of Amritsar was originally called Ramdasapura or Chak Guru.

33. This refers to the first battle fought by Guru Hargobind with the imperialists near, and, perhaps, on the site of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. When the land of the College was at first reclaimed and levelled, heaps of skeletons and skulls were recovered.

of the idol and broke the nose of the Devi (goddess). The rajahs having received the news complained to the Guru and named him [Bhairo]. The Guru sent for Bhairo. Bhairo denied. The attendants of the rajahs said: "We recognize him." He replied: "Oh Rajahs, ask the goddess, if she name me, you (may) kill me." The rajahs said: "Oh fool, how can the goddess speak?" Bhairo answered smilingly: "It is clear who the fool is. When she cannot prevent the breaking of her own head and cannot identify her own injurer, what good can you expect from her and (why) do you worship her as divine?" The rajahs remained tongue-tied. Now most of the people of that land are disciples of the Guru.

In those mountains upto the frontier of the territories of Tibet and Cathay, there is no trace of Muhammadanism. The chronicler has heard it from the tongue of Guru Hargobind: "In the northern hills there is a rajah of great dignity. Once he sent an ambassador to me and enquired, 'I have heard there is a city named Delhi. What is the name of its rajah? Of which rajah's son he is?'" I am astonished that he does not know the name of the Chief of the Believers and Lord of Conjunction the Second (Emperor Shah Jehan).

The Guru had seven hundred horses in his stables. And three hundred cavaliers and sixty artillerymen were always in his service. Of these a number lived by trade, service and (other) occupations. Every one who absconded from any place sought his (Guru's) protection.

The Guru was a monotheist and a unitarian. A person enquired from him about the reality of the existence of the world, and the state of Existence and Being. He replied: "The world is a baseless manifestation and a bodiless appearance. Its reality is God Most High. These bodies [forms] and angels are a mere fancy. And we narrate to you an ancient story.

There was a king who went to hunt *Hatjori* which is called *Qamargha* in Turkish and *Barrak-i-Shikār* (lamb of the chase) in Persian. A deer had come into the enclosure of the army (of hunters). The king said: "[The person] from whose side this deer escapes should not return till he catches it." It so happened that it escaped from before the king. The king pursued it till he fell far (got away) from the army. He arrived at a place where there was no place to go (ahead) on account of the thick growth of trees. The king was pleased that the deer would return. When he reached near it, there was an opening and the deer, having flung itself in it, passed through. The king also caused his horse to jump. The

horse having huddled itself together passed through it. The king was enclosed (caught up) between two branches and his hands and feet became fastened in such a manner as if some body had intentionally tucked him there. For two days he was in that place till two persons, a man and a woman, who were collecting twigs, arrived near him. The woman said to her husband, "Do you see the king has hanged a thief." The man said, "This is not a place for (hanging) a thief. (We) should find out the truth." When they went forward and saw and recognised (him), they said to each other, "Should we release him from this place, he comes to our use (He will be of help to us)." The woman said, "He is king and when he separates from us, who will convey us to him? If he forms relationship with us and accepts our daughter as a wife, we (shall) release him." They proposed it to the king, and the king accepted it. So they took him out of that place, and taking him home they gave him the daughter. He remained for sometime in that place. Afterwards they conveyed him to the army. When he wanted to go into the house, the gate-keeper struck him with a weapon. The king shuddered and awoke. He saw that he was seated on his throne and orderlies were standing in service. By this dream, he woke up from the dream of (spiritual) heedlessness: he realised that the visible world is a baseless appearance, and that whatever a person, while awake, thinks (to be real) is also a dream (allusion). And he found that the difference of forms and separateness of bodies is life. In reality this creation is the only one Sat (Essence, Spirit) qualified by numerous attributes.

A person from the Brahmans, named Deva, who holds himself to be *Giani*,³⁴ came to the Guru. One day he sat down on the *Plang* or bedstead of Gurditta, known as Babajio, son of the Guru. People said, "Don't sit (on this bedstead)." He asked the reason of it. They replied, "This is the seat of the Guru." Deva³⁵ said, "But is not the body of the Guru made of the (same) elements or have I not the rational soul? Is it not in my power to eat whatever he (eats and) drinks?" These words reached Guru Hargobind. He called him and said, "Oh Deva, the whole world is one existence, [is it not?] He replied: "Yes." The Guru pointed to an ass (and said), What is he? Do you recognize him?" Deva replied, "You are absolutely true. This too is yourself." The Guru laughed and was not offended at all. Deva wished to marry his own sister.

34. A person learned in theology.

35. In the text of the lithographed copy 'Deva' is wrongly transcribed as 'waira.'

People said, "It is unlawful." He replied, "If it were forbidden, man and woman could not have sexually met. Because God did not want us to fly in the air, He did not give us the power of flying."³⁶

The Sikhs worship Guru Hargobind as divine. Their belief is that he is God, having manifested himself six times (from Guru Nanak to himself) in this cycle.

Parrah Kaivan Yazdani, having heard the Guru's virtues came to see him. Having recognized him, the Guru showed him due respect. Consequently Parrah Kaivan went away.

A week had not yet elapsed since the departure of Parrah Kaivan, when on Sunday the third of Muharram, 1055 Hijri,³⁷ the Guru undertook the last journey. Placing his body on firewood when they set fire and the flames rose high, a Rajpoot named Rajaram, who was his servant, flung himself into the fire. He walked a few paces on the fire till he conveyed himself to the feet of the Guru.

36. Umrao Singh writes:—

".....Deva was, evidently a vigorous type of neo Vedanti sophist which somewhat after the manner of Walt Whitman wants to override all ethical considerations which have made the evolution of the human species possible. Deva was not aware of the biological reasons which have made incest unlawful—namely the reason for marriage between distant blood, and the half-vedantis and gyanis, harping only on the idea of freedom from all restraint, including moral ones, for the free soul have fallen into this error, which has been avoided by all true guides of mankind. The Sikh Gurus, like other guides of humanity, have deprecated every laxity of morals.

Some people would wish to eliminate the incident of the dialogue between Deva and Guru Hargobind, so as to eliminate the chance of anybody among the acquaintances of the Guru having been impudent towards him. To our mind it is an example of the tolerance of a great personality like the Guru Hargobind towards half-wise half-foolish men, and his self-control over personal indignation, as much as an appreciation of the ready humour of the remark. It is the little minds who get upset by such things and are vindictive....." (*The Khalsa Review*, p. 15-16).

37. The year should be one thousand and fifty four, and not fifty-five as given in the text. 1055 A.H., being the year current when Mohsin was writing his book, has been inadvertently written by a slip of the pen. This has been corrected by the author himself when he gives 1055 as the date of Guru Har Rai's departure for Thapul after a year of his residence at Kiratpur from the time of his installation as Guru after the death of Guru Hargobind. 1054 al-Hijri agrees with the date of Guru Hargobind's death according to the Sikh chronologies.

He placed his face on the soles of his (Guru's) feet and did not move till he gave his life. After him the son of a Jat, who served the Guru's son-in-law, jumped into the fire. After that a large number (of people) wanted to jump in. Guru Har Rai forbade it. Says Daulat Khan Qaqsal:—

Quatrain.

From a hundred sayings of my spiritual teacher, I remember one word:

The world becomes not waste as long as the tavern is in existence [distributing the wine of God's love],

As long as one can give life, so that he can take away heart:

To give life and to take away heart, these two are God-given.

Guru Hargobind in his letters to the chronicler remembered [himself] by the title of Nanak³⁸ who is the spiritual head of this sect. He (chronicler) saw him at Kiratpur³⁹ in the year one thousand and fifty-three Hijiri.

Guru Har Rai is the grandson of Guru Hargobind. His father Gurditta, known as Babajio, at first desired Guru Hargobind that he might pass on the rein of successorship into his (Gurditta's) control. [At this time] Gurditta Ghora, a Sikh, brought his daughter for [marriage with] Babajio. Baba[jio] wanted to send her to his special herem when the mother of Har Rai, who, on account of the carelessness with which Babajio treated her, wanted that woman [to be given] to some other man, came to Guru Hargobind and complained. Having heard her, Guru Hargobind said to Babajio: "I regard Naghora (Gurditta Ghora?) as a son of mine. His daughter, cannot be married to my son." Naghora (Gurditta Ghora?) did not agree to taking away his daughter and returning of the Sedan-Chair (litter). On account of his humble requests, Babajio did not reject his wish. Guru Hargobind said: "May this matrimonial

38. Translated as the sentences is found in the lithographed text, it would be: "Guru Hargobind in (his) letters remembered the chronicler by the title of Nanak." But this is inconsistent with the practice of the Gurus. It was the Guru who assumed for himself the title of 'Nanak' when he succeeded to the spiritual office, and not that he remembered his friends and followers by it. The mistake in the text is apparently due to the omission of *خود* or some such word after *نام*.

39. In S. Umrao Singh's translation, it has been transliterated as 'Kartarpur.' This, I presume, is due to the printers' carelessness. 'Kiratpur' is quite clear in the text.

connection and its fulfilment never take place." In those very days Babajio passed away with the bridegroom's robes on. The daughter of Gurditta Ghora returned home a virgin.

So, therefore, the great Guru favoured Har Rai, the eldest son of Babajio, with an eye of kindness and addressed him as Babajio. At the time of his death, he (Guru Hargobind) installed him (Har Rai) on his own seat (of Guruship), put the robe of successorship on his body and ordered (his) progeny and all his family-members to obey him.

Har Rai remained at Kiratpur for one year. In the year one thousand and fifty five (hijri), when Najabat Khan son of Shah Rukh Mirza, having mobilized an army, under the orders of Shah Jehan, invaded the territories of Tara Chand and made the Raja a prisoner, Guru Har Rai went to Thapul in the territories of Rajah Karam Prakash near Sirhind.

The Sikhs call Har Rai the Seventh Mahal. He is very well known to the chronicler.

Having acquainted himself, the author now writes about some of the famous Masands and divine Ramdasis, and presents some of the characteristics [customs and manners] of this sect. They call their successors Ramdas also. The late Emperor Jehangir and Emperor Shah Jehan called the Guru, Ramdas, that is the God of the idolatrous Ramdasis.

Jhanda is one of the propagandists of the Guru. He is a wealthy man. He does not talk to any one and has nothing to do with the good and bad of any one. One day his foot had a wound. Hargobind said, "You don't wear shoes." On hearing this, he immediately put off his shoes and went about with naked feet for three months. When the Guru came to know of it, he said: "Put on [your shoes], I had told you [to put off your shoes] for the healing of the wound."

Some days afterwards Guru said: "Tell the Sikhs that they may bring firewood for the kitchen that it may be *sawāb* (virtuous) to them." Jhanda disappeared the second day, in spite of the fact that on other days he did not get up from sleep upto mid-day. As people thought of the madness of his brain, they thought that he had gone out. The Guru and people searched for him and saw that he was coming with a bundle of firewood on his shoulder. The Guru said: "I did not tell you [to bring firewood]." He replied: "You ordered the Sikhs. I am a Sikh, and I know of no higher dignity."

Once the Guru went inside a garden. He said to Jhanda, "You remain at the gate." By chance the Guru, going out by another door, went home. Jhanda stood there for three days till Guru Hargobind, on hearing of it, called him back.

Guru Hargobind had a disciple named Bidhia.⁴⁰ He sent a man to bring grain from the place where it was sown. That man gave away the whole of it and said to Bidhia, "You used to distribute it to the needy people. I also did the same at that place. And you are saved from the expenses of transporting it." Bidhia was at first a thief. Now also his followers have inclination for theft. He tries his utmost in the obedience of the Guru. His belief is that whatever they steal for the Guru is praise-worthy, and that there is *Sawāb*, or future reward of virtue, in it.⁴¹ The Sikhs say that Guru Hargobind said, "On the day of retribution will not ask from my disciples [the account of] their deeds."

Sadh is one of the disciples of the Guru. According to the Guru's orders he set out from Balakh to Iraq for bringing horses. He had a grown up son who fell sick. People said: "You are still in the city of Balakh, only one stage distant from home, see your son." He replied: "If he will die, there is plenty of firewood in the house. You may cremate him. I have set my face in the service of the Guru. I shall not return." At last the boy passed away and he [Sadh] did not return.

At last he brought three Iraqi horses. Khalil Beg, a tyrant, took hold of them. This did not bring good luck to him. During that very year his son, who was the cause of it, died and he himself was dishonoured and disgraced.

Sadh is a person who does not become elated by joys and depressed by sorrows. Once the author was a companion with

40. The name (بیدیا) Bidhia—a contraction of Bidhi Chand—has been erroneously transcribed as (بیدتا) Bidhta in the lithographed copy and has been transliterated accordingly by Shea and Troyer and S. Umrao Singh in their respective translations.

41. In all probability the author here alludes to Bidhia's carrying off the two horses *Gulbagh* and *Dilbagh* from the fort of Lahore. These two (three?) beautiful Iraqi horses, intended for Guru Hargobind, were forcibly snatched, as Muhsin Fain himself tells us in the account of Sadh, by Khalil Beg of Lahore and sent to the royal stables in the fort. Bidhia volunteered his services to recover the horses. Disguising himself, first as a grass-cutter and then as an astrologer-tracker, he carried away both the horses, one by one, from the fort and brought them to their rightful master.

him from Kabul to the Punjab. The belt or my skin-coat snapped. Sadh instantly took off his Brahmanical thread and put up a patch in that place [that is, patched the belt with it]. I said "Why did you do like this? He replied, "The wearing of the thread is an undertaking of service. When I neglect the service of friends, I become a non-wearer of thread.

Verse

This knotless thread is although a single thread:

In a cloister it is a *tasbi*,⁴² in an idol-temple a *zannar*.⁴³

A Sikh asked Guru Hargobind: "In the absence of the Guru, how shall I find him." He replied: "Reckon every Sikh, who taking the name [of God or Guru] comes to your house, as Guru."

It is a practice amongst the Sikhs that whatever wish they have, they present whatever they can as an offering before a *Masand*, or a Sikh, in an assembly of the Sikhs and request that they [the assembly of the Sikhs] should join their hands [in prayers] towards the Guru and pray that his wish be fulfilled. The Guru, too, requests his wishes to be fulfilled in the same manner from the *Sangat* that is an assembly of the Sikhs. This custom is also prevalent among the Sipasians, that is, the Yezdanis. The belief of this sect is that when a large number of people fix their attention on the fulfillment of a certain thing, it surely comes to be, because it has the fullest effect.

Among the Sikhs there is nothing of the austerities and worship according to the religious laws of the Hindus. In eating and drinking they have no restrictions [like the Hindus]. When Partabmal Giani saw a Hindu boy who had a mind to embrace Islam, he said: "Why do you become a Muhammadan? If you have an inclination to eat every thing, you may become a Sikh of the Guru and eat whatever you like."

The belief of the Sikhs is that the disciples of the Guru all go to heaven. Whoever takes the name of the Guru and comes into the house of a Sikh, they do not prohibit him. They say, a thief, taking the name of the Guru, came into the house of a Sikh. The Sikh served him according to their custom. In the morning the Sikh went out so that he might bring some thing better [to cook] for him. The thief found the wife of the Sikh with many jewels.

42. Rosary of the Muhammadans.

43. The Brahmanical thread of the Hindus.

Having at once killed her, and taking away the jewels, he stepped out [went out of the house]. In the way he met the master of the house. The Sikh took him back by force [compelled the thief to return to the house with him]. When they came to the house they found the wife killed. The thief thought that the Sikh had found it out, and therefore told him the truth. The Sikh replied, "You have done well [that is, what has happened in His Will]." He closed the door of the room. He said to the neighbours: "My wife is ill." He cooked the food, ate himself and gave to the thief, and said: "Come out [that is, you may go away now]." He did not take the jewels from him and presented them to him. And he cremated his wife.

Similarly they say that a Qalandar was staying in the house of a Sikh. One day the Qalandar said to the wife of the Sikh: "For the sake of the Guru, satisfy my desire." The woman said: "Remain contented [in the Will of God]. I am the property of another." Out of fear, the Qalandar did not come to the house of the Sikh again. The Sikh enquired: "Why does not the Darvesh come?" The wife told him of the Darvesh's request. The Sikh said: "Why did you refuse his request." The woman went out and bringing the Qalandar by request, united with him. In the month of Baisakh when they went to the Guru,—and that Guru was Hargobind—the Guru wrathfully looked at the Qalandar and said: "I have smitten him." The Qalandar became a leper.⁴⁴

Similarly they say that one of the Gurus, on seeing a speaking parrot, praised it. A Sikh heard it. Going to the master of the parrot, who was a soldier, he asked for the parrot. The soldier said: "If you give your daughter [to me], I will give the parrot to you." The Sikh accepted it. Again he [soldier] laughed and said: "If you give your wife [to me], the parrot becomes yours." The Sikh accepted it. He took the soldier home and made over his wife and daughter to him. When the soldier came home and

44. This story of the Qalandar and the Sikh woman and also the next, may throw no aspersion on Sikh morality. Rather, it shows how simple the mind of a Sikh is, and that, in his overflowing devotion to the Guru, he is prepared to lay down his every thing when appealed to in the name of the Guru.

This story is not to be found anywhere in Sikh histories or legends, and it is not improbable that it may be an invention of some fertile brain to depict the simple-mindedness of the Sikhs or to ridicule their whole-hearted devotion to the Guru.

told the secret to his wife, the wife rebuked him so that, having given the parrot to him (Sikh), he made over the wife and daughter (also) to him. Full of joy, the Sikh went to the Guru.

To conclude, these things happened before Guru Hargobind. And these are the famous Sikhs of this sect [of the *Nanak-Panthis*] that are recounted.

"Was the Abdali Invasion of 1766-67 A Real Menace to Bengal?"

A REJOINDER

By

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My attention has been drawn to an amusing diatribe which Dr Ashirvadi Lal Srivastava of Dungar College, Bikaner, has recently published in the *Journal of Indian History* on my paper dealing with the Abdali menace to Bengal in 1767. As a humble student of history, I lay no claims to infallibility. I should therefore be the first person to profit by and be thankful for any criticisms that anybody might generously offer in the spirit of a fellow-worker.

I must confess beforehand that Dr. Srivastava's criticism is at places grossly misleading. I shall now give my reply to the points raised in his long-winded and pontifical diatribe.

(1) My point was only to explain that *the evidence actually available to Verelst in 1767* was such as might reasonably justify the fear of an Abdali attack. My critic failed to realise this! From the information that Verelst and the Select Committee obtained from responsible English officers, they had to conclude that some defensive measures were urgently needed. To argue in 1940 on the basis of facts and evidence unknown to Verelst in 1767 that such defensive measures were needless is a curious method of reasoning. I myself pointed out that it is easy to ridicule the hasty preparations now that we are in the know of facts, but in 1767 the authorities clearly warned by Messrs. Smith, Clive, and Barker had surely good reason to feel alarmed. My critic by refusing to understand the position of Verelst in the light of reports then available to the latter has only betrayed an uncritical bent of mind.

(2) In his last minute to the Select Committee Clive himself had uttered a strong warning (and not merely a hint as my critic innocently suggests) to Verelst and the Select Committee as regards the Abdali menace. Verelst could not ignore the warning

of his predecessor. My critic triumphantly refers to a subsequent remark of Clive to the effect that the Abdali danger was a bugbear; but I myself quoted this very remark while explaining Verelst's attitude. As for Clive's minute which my critic does not appear to have fully comprehended, it contains the following clear instruction, "We ought....to unite our whole forces against this warrior and as his chief strength is in cavalry, we should avoid extensive plains and endeavour to bring him to action in an inclosed-country. I should prefer giving him battle on this side the Soan, as near the Ganges as possible, which will be our security against any disastrous event." Clive concludes by saying that although money could buy off the Shah, 'this expedient should not be made use of.... as it will tarnish the lustre of our arms.' Is this merely a hint of danger as my learned critic imagines, or a clear instruction to fight the Abdali?

(3) As the avowed apologist for Shujaudaulah, my critic has argued in the fashion of a nervous lawyer called upon to defend a weak case that the Vazir was in no way nervous on the approach of the Abdali. My critic forgets again that not only the Vazir's letters but other reports that Verelst actually received clearly showed his hero's nervousness. My critic is also nonplussed by Barker's report, and he uncritically treats it as the latter's opinion. He forgets that the opinion of Barker or Smith was bound to carry weight at Calcutta, as they were not irresponsible newsmongers or ignorant travellers, but responsible officers of the Government.

(4) My critic argues as Barker's letter reached Calcutta on the 24th March I am guilty of anachronism and am unjustified in defending the measures of 23rd February. This betrays a perversion of facts. My point was that the authorities formulated their plan of defence on the 23rd February not because of Colonel Barker's letter, but because they had already been warned by others including Smith and Clive. Barker's letter only deepened the growing anxiety of the authorities. Thus it is clear that there is no anachronism.

(5) My critic pleads with a surprising naivete that Smith and Barker gave only alarmist news and that they were mere spies. He fails to realise that the authorities in Calcutta in 1767 would necessarily be guided by the reports of their own responsible officers and agents.

(6) My critic has needlessly argued at length that there is no evidence to show that the Abdali invaded India at the instiga-

tion of Mir Qasim. He deliberately ignores that I had merely suggested that there was a rumour or suspicion to that effect. My statement is fully supported by C.P.C. Orig. R. 1764-69, No. 13. Letter from Shitab Rai, which runs as follows, "*Rumour says that the latter (the Abdali) is coming to India at Mir Qasim's instigations.*" My critic probably did not read this letter! This letter from a responsible official reached Calcutta in the first week of February. What could be more definite than this categorical report from Shitab Rai, and how could Verelst easily ignore it? I am further amused to note that my critic jumps to the conclusion that Clive "does not seem to have believed Col. Smith's report of 20th December." I can hardly believe it possible to draw such a false impression from Clive's minute.

(7) My critic argues that the Abdali had no eye on Bengal. He forgets again that Verelst had a clear warning from Barker, "... the ultimate views of the conqueror extend beyond the capital, and that, he will endeavour to penetrate to our frontiers and even to possess himself of these provinces." How could Verelst ignore such a definite warning from a responsible officer? After all, Verelst could not be omniscient in 1767, as my learned critic can afford to be in 1940 with the help of evidence unknown to Verelst!

(8) My critic suggests that as he found no evidence in support of the alleged statement that the Abdali had expected that the Vazir might join him, the statement must be wrong. This is pure misrepresentation. My point was that the Calcutta authorities feared that there might be an alliance between the two, and that the fear was due to the report they received on this subject from Barker. My critic may conveniently dismiss Barker as an alarmist, because Barker's report is extremely inconvenient to him. But, I may again point out that Verelst could not have wholly ignored the report of a responsible officer of the Government.

(9) My critic regards the statement that the Shah found on his appearance that the Sikhs had grown too formidable as inaccurate, because, as he says, the Shah knew years before 1766-7 that the Sikhs were formidable. My point was that by 1767 the Sikhs had grown too formidable for the Shah. Does it mean that they had not been formidable before? He quotes from Sir Jadunath's work, but does not do it fully. In page 500 of his work my critic would find Sir Jadunath's statement that by 1767 the Shah was worn out by the long contest with the Sikhs. This implies that

by this time the Sikhs had proved that they were now too formidable for the Shah.

(10) Again, my critic tears words from their context and falsely suggests that I wrongly hold that "the Abdali meant to stay two or three years in Hindustan." To be honest, he should have quoted the preceding words which are "... it was reported by Najibuddaulah that the Abdali meant to stay two or three years." (vide Letter from Najibuddaulah—Trans. R. 1767-8, No. 140A-C.P.C.). Did my critic come across this letter?

In conclusion, I may inform the readers that the work of which the paper in question is a part, was examined among others by Sir Jadunath Sarkar himself under whose patronage and guidance alone my critic managed to produce his own monographs. I shall quote just a few words from Sir Jadunath Sarkar's opinion, "... This book represents accurate and exhaustive labour on a period of Indian History which had not been fully studied before and the writer has gone to the original sources of information. He has correctly interpreted the facts and his presentation is sober and uncoloured by passion or prejudice." Another competent examiner, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, wrote among other things, "..... this work evinces diligence and scholarship in research and the capacity to form sound and balanced judgments" I know that these words of eminent historians will carry weight with disinterested readers of the *Journal of Indian History*.

Annals of Old Madras: Law Courts 1678—1862.

By

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

At Madras the Company's servants derived their judicial powers to some extent from the local Indian rulers. Soon after their arrival, in 1641 they received an 'express command' to try, according to English law, two low caste men (pariahs), who had murdered a woman for her jewels and duly put them to death; whilst the 'Choultry' Court where disputes between Indians were formerly decided by an Indian judge, was handed over in 1654 to English magistrates and survived till 1800. In 1678 Sir Streyntsham Master instituted a Court of Judicature, consisting of the president and council; but it disappeared in 1688 and its powers were entrusted partly to an Admiralty Court and partly to a Mayor's Court. In 1704 the former disappeared in its turn and was replaced by the governor and council, who themselves tried admiralty cases, especially cases of piracy and heard appeals from the mayor's court. This court was part of a municipal constitution created in 1688 with the object of facilitating the raising of local taxation; the corporation neither raised taxes nor did anything else that it should have done, except as a judicial body, in which capacity it rendered good service. It was ultimately replaced in 1727, by a municipality, with a Mayor's Court.

This was replaced by a Recorder's Court erected in 1798 with a barrister presiding over it. In the discharge of his judicial functions he was assisted by the Mayor and Aldermen. This was superseded by a Supreme Court established in 1801 with three barrister judges presiding over it. The Supreme Court derived its authority from the crown. Its jurisdiction was limited to all persons living in Fort St. George and over all British subjects resident in the factories in the Presidency. Side by side there came into existence the Company's Courts—The Adawlat—established in the various provinces by the Company under the terms of their various charters. This 'duplicate jurisdiction' brought the King's Courts—the Supreme Courts—into conflict with the Company's Courts and caused in the past no little trouble and made the judicial system unnecessarily complicated.

The Indian High Courts Act of 1861 put an end to this duplicate jurisdiction by establishing High Courts to replace the Supreme Courts and the Sadr (and Foujdari) Adawlat. The High Court thus established in Madras in 1862 consisted of a Chief Justice and puisne judges. On the latter some were barristers and others members of the civil service. The Indian element was introduced subsequently and increased gradually. The High Court was invested with Original, Civil, Criminal, Appellate, Admiralty, Ecclesiastical and Matrimonial Jurisdiction with a control over the District Judges, who in their turn supervised the work of the Subordinate Judges and District Munsifs.

II

The First Law Library

"The Agent Sir William Langhorn being near his imbarquing, and he having several Law Books of his own brought out with him, and ready to take Home again with him, it was desired by the rest accordingly upon his assent thereunto the prices were settled as they should judge most useful for this place to be kept here for the Honourable Company's Service, here being great want of such for their good Government in the Administration of Justice, and accordingly upon his assent thereunto the prices were settled as hereunder by Clement King. and it is resolved that the Agent do make payment out of the Honourable Company's Cash for the same £ 5-15-6 at 2sh. 3d. Rs. 51-8-0. Thus the Government obtained a Library of "Law Books" judged "most useful for this place." (19-9-1677).

Appendix.

A catalogue of several Law Books of Sir William Langhorn Baronet, as followeth:—

	£	sh.	d.
Bolton's Justice of Peace, First and Second Books ..	0	6	0
Rastall, his Book of Assize ..	0	7	0
Rastall, his table of the first abbreviation of English Law Books ..	0	6	0
Sir Francis Bacon's Elements of the Common Laws of England ..	0	1	0
The Woman's Lawyer ..	0	1	0
Pleas of Assize ..	0	1	0
Perkins' Treaty of the Laws of England ..	0	1	0
Wingat's Abridgment of Statutes ..	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
Hughes' Abridgment beginning where Wingat leaves.	0	2	0
Brownlow and Goldsborough's Reports with directions to proceed in many intricate actions	..	0	2 0
Doctor and Student	..	0	1 0
An Abridgment of the Treatise called Doctor and Student	..	0	0 6
The exposition of the terms of the Law	..	0	2 6
The Parson's Law	..	0	1 0
The Court-keeper's Guide	..	0	1 0
Observations concerning the Common Law	..	0	1 6
The Office of Executors	..	0	1 0
The Manner of Holding Parliaments	..	0	1 0
Actions and what actionable	..	0	1 0
A Collection of the Acts passed in the 23rd Year of King Charles the Second	..	0	4 0
A Collection of the Statutes continued from the beginning of the Magna Charta in the 9th Year of Henry the Third until the Seventh of King James, in English	..	1	0 0
Pulton's Collection of Sundry Statutes in English with an addition of Statutes never before in English.	1	10	0
Mansbye's Collection of Statutes made in the Reign of King Charles the First and King Charles the Second with the abridgement of each as stand-re- pealed and expired	..	0	14 0
Littleton's Tenures	..	0	1 0
Admiral Jurisdictions	..	0	1 0
The Office of Coroners and Sheriffs	..	0	2 0
Tyton's Collection of Orders used in Chancery	..	0	1 0
Topics of the Laws of England	..	0	1 0

III

Notes of Early Cases

A few days after Andrew Cogan his arrival (1641), a Murther (of a native woman) was committed in our Towne

The woeman had byn wanting many dayes, and none but the Murtherers could say where she was. At length somewhat was seen to floate upp and downe the River, when the partie that murdered her, being amongst divers others, made proffer, and did swime of to see what it was and bring it ashore. When the corps was ashoare, no wound was perceived, and therefore con-

ceived that she might drowne herselfe; whereupon order was given for her buriall. When then the party that swam of aforesaid was very importunate to have some satisfaction for his pains; but one of the standers by tould him that he had no reason of all men to require any such thing, for that she had mainteigned him and his consort for a long time together. Uppon which every man's eye was uppon him, when one amongst that many discovered upon the cloath he wore some blood, and being asked how that came, he presently made answeere how. But within less than half an hower that tale of his was proved a ly, and in the interim we found that the cloath that he wore and that upon the dead corps had byn one entire piece. When then wee layed the Murther to his Charge, but he denying it, wee sent, searched his house, and there found all her jewels and cloaths, not any one wanting. So then, when all things appeared so plaine, he confessed the Murther, but his consort was gone 2 or 3 days before; nevertheless he had not the power to goe out of our command.

So wee apprehended him likewise, and notified all the passages to our Naigue, who gave us an express command to doe justice uppon the Homicides according to the Lawes of England; but if wee would not, then he would according to the Custome of Karnatte; for, said he in his Olio (Cadjan), if justice be not done, who would come and trade here, esppecially when it shall be reported it was a place of theeves and Murtherers. Which being so, and unwilling to give away authority to those who are too readie to take it, wee did justice on them and hanged them on a Gybbet.

In 1642, when Antonio Mirando slew a British Soldier, the Council were unwilling to deal summarily with a European subject of a Foreign power. The Naik, however, insisted on his immediate execution, and Mirando was accordingly shot. In 1644 when Seargeant Bradford inadvertently caused the death of a native, the case was referred to the principal inhabitants, who brought in a Verdict, under native law, of accidental death. Thomas Paine and Thomas Morris found guilty of sedition, were punished with the lash.

In order to enforce the payment of some money due to the Company by a Native broker, named Bera Timana, Sir Edward Winter (Agent 1661-1668) erected a gallows and prepared to have him hanged. This had the desired effect. And Bera Timana was readmitted into the Company's service. Sir Winter however retained the money for his own use.

A Madras slave girl came by a violent death, and her Mistress, Mrs. Ascentia Dawes, was accused of the capital crime. Uncertain of their powers, the Agent and Council asked for instructions from England. After deliberation, the Company, under the authority given by the Charter of 1661, gave the Agent at Fort St. George judicial power to try this and similar cases and sent to him the opinion of the Sollisitor Gennecrall about the case with directions in the case (10th March 1668).

The trial began. This was the first trial by Jury. The Indictment against Mrs. Ascentia Dawes for the murther of Cheque *alias* Fransisek was made according to the forme prescribed, a precept issued out, and 24 persons summoned for a Grand Jury, whoe returned the Indictment billa vera, whereupon a precept was issued to summon a Jury of 12 persons for her tryall. There were 36 summoned, and appearing the indictment was read, and shee, as they came to be named, being told shee might except against 20 without shewing any cause, but shee excepted onely against three. And 12 being sworne, six English and 6 Portingalls, and the Indictment read againe, we proceeded to the examination of the witnesses before the Jury, whoe goeing apart, after about two houres sent a note into the Court subscribed by their foreman, wherein they say they finde her guilty of the murther, but not in manner and forme, and therefore desired directions from Court. Answer was returned that they must bring in a Verdict of guilty or not guilty without exception or Lymitation. After some small stay they came in with a Verdict. Being asked whoe should speake, they answered their Foreman Mr. Reade, whoe, contrary to all expectation, gave in their Verdict Not Guilty. The Court, supposing it was a mistake, asked him againe, and he continued to give the same Verdict not guilty, and the whole Jury, being asked, said soe too, whereupon she was quit. The Clarke that attended the Court recorded the proceedings. In their letter of the 15th of April, 1669, the Governor and Council, mention this case and add: "Wee found ourselves at a loss in severall things for want of instructions, having noe man understanding the Laws and Formallities of them to instruct us, as whether anything more had been to be said to the Jury when they brought in such an unexpected Verdict. We proceeded in those and other particulars according to the best of our judgments but if any like case shall occur, wee shall neede the direction and assistance of a person better skil'd in the Law and Formalities of it then any of your servants here are."

Henry Law, in Prison for the death of John Ballance, having petitioned to be brought to trial, a date is fixed, public notice

whereof to be given at the Next Court of Judicature that Warrants may be issued out for the Grand and Petty Jurys accordingly (11th March 1680). Public Notice is given at the Court of Judicature of the time and place appointed for the trial of Henry Law (13th March 1680). Henry Law having had his tryall for the death of John Ballance and then convict of Manslaughter, was this day brought to Court again, and demanding the benefit of the Clergie, it was allowed and sentence passed on him to be Burnt in the Hand, which was executed accordingly (3rd April 1680).

From an early period the Clergy enjoyed an immunity of their persons in Criminal Cases tried by Secular Judges. The privilege was subsequently extended to other persons connected with the Church, and ultimately to lay men of Education. A lay man found guilty and claiming benefit was tested as to his ability to read Latin. If he passed the test, he was branded on the hand with a hot iron to prevent his claiming the privilege a second time.

On the 7th of April 1686, according to appointment, John Terry A Sergeant was brought upon his tryall for murthering Peter Taylor, a private of the Garrison. The Court, being held at the Town Hall, Jury and Witnesses summoned and sworn in Forme; and the Jury brought in their Verdict of Not Guilty according to the Indictment but Guilty of Manslaughter. Whereupon the Prisoner being asked if he had anything to say why Sentence should not be pronounced against him, he craved the benefitt of the Clergy which was granted. And the Chaplain declaring—*Legit ut clericus*, he was burnt in the hand and discharged paying his fees of imprisonment.

Before Sir John Biggs, Judge Advocate, Admiralty Court, who presided at the Quarter Sessions, in 1687 Four Criminals were legally tryed by a Jury, were convicted of felonious Roberys and sentanc'd to death according to Law. But the Court considering that Justice enclin'd to Mercy, and that these were the First Crimes they were here charged with, and probably instigated thereto by Youth, the Temptation of a Notorious Rogue their Ringleader, or from necessity by the long Soar Famine; upon which considerations 'tis agreed that the principal and bold offender, M. Tombeane, do suffer death on Thursday next according to sentence, and by his sad example to deter others from the like crimes; and that the other criminalls, Pindaram, Verage and Thannapa be burnt on the shoulder and banish't this place to Sumatra, where they are to remain Slaves to the Right Hon'ble Company for Life, and never to return Hither upon Pain of Death.

In July 1689 Francisco Bott alias Chico, a black fellow and slave, was accused of having stolen at 12 in the Night 31 pieces of China silk from the Godown of a European Merchant. The Jury found him Guilty and the Court sentenced him to Death. He appealed the President and Council who were of opinion that there appeared no evidence at the Trial more than his own confession. At the trial he pleaded Not Guilty. Notwithstanding this the Jury brought him in Guilty upon his former confession. This was considered to be a hard case. It was therefore ordered, that the said Chico be Pardoned the sentence of Death, and that he be stigmatized on the shoulder with the Hon'ble Company's Mark with a hot Iron, and banished to the West Coast (of Sumatra) the Right Hon'ble Company's Slave, where he may do them Service and be more exemplary than by his Death.

Samuel Glover, Burgess of the Corporation of Madras obtained judgement of the Court against the Ship *Happy Return* and thereupon prayed that execution might reasonably be issued out, which the said Court refused in consideration of sound materiall reasons at that time presented to them, whereupon the said Samuell Glover did yesterday (27th instant) deliver a protest against the Worsh^{ll}. Thomas Wavell, Mayor of the said Court, for which contempt and unwarrantable action of his, this Court have unanimously agreed to fine him One hundred Pagodas and twenty four hours imprisonment and so to continue till the said fine is payd and likewise for his contempt of the authority of this Court, it is also agreed on that he is from this present day discharged from being Burgess of this Corporation. (28-3-1690).

"Tuesday 20th December 1692. John Dolben Esquire, Judge Advocate, Admiralty Court, acquaints that information hath been given in before him against Mrs. Katharine Nicks of several notorious frauds by her committed in Connimere, whilst her husband was chief there; particularly that during the late investment, she caused the Rt. Hon'ble Company's Godowns to be broke open, and forcibly took from thence great quantities of cloth of the first sort, which she applied to Mr. Elihu Yales' private use, who was then President, notwithstanding the Merchants declared that the said cloth was brought in upon the Company's account, and positively refused to consent that it should be otherwise applied."

That upon this he (the Judge Advocate) wrote her a letter requiring her, being a woman notoriously known to be a separate Merchant from her husband, to be put in bail to answer the damages the Hon'ble Company had sustained by her illegal proceedings;

which she not complying with, he issued out a Warrant to arrest her. But she refusing to obey, was returned in contempt, he therefore prays the assistance of the Military Power to secure her in her house, being under suspicion that she designs privately to fly from justice.

"Ordered that the Captain of the Guard do send a file of Musketeers with a Corporal to the house of Mrs. Katharine Nicks, who are to obey such orders as the Judge Advocate shall think fit to give."

The Lady was forced to submit and pay up for the cloth she had taken.

Thursday, 18th May 1693, Judge Dolben reports from the Admiralty Court that Captain Ferke having a cause determined there between the Right Hon'ble Company and Himself about 50 tons of lead of the Right Hon'ble Company laden in England, which the said Captain refused to deliver according to Charter Party; Captain Ferke flew out into scurrilious language against the Government here, and the Authority and Justice of the Court, upon which the Judge gave a Civil caution to be more moderate. But when the decree of the Court was pronounced against him and an appeal which he tendered was rejected, he repeated his scurrilious expressions, viz., that he had behaved himself like a man, and was used like a beast; that he knew before he came he should have no justice here, but would have it in another place, upon which the Judge ordered him to be taken into custody, which the Officer going to do, he cocking his hat laid hand upon his sword, and turning upon the Court in that posture said, that in England he was as good a man as Judge Dolben though not here, holding up his hand in a threatening posture, swore he should meet him there where he could have satisfaction, upon which the Judge, seeing the Captain of the Guard present in Court, ordered him to take him and carry him to the Cock house, but sent the Crier after him and ordered him to be secured in the Fort. Since which two days Captain Ferke came to the Commissary of his own accord all alone, and said his Ship was in danger by one cable being broke and the other wanting servis. The Commissary told him the best way to secure the Ship would be to set himself at liberty by acknowledging his error in Court, and asking Pardon of the Court and Judge. To which he replied, he never would do it as long as he had breath in his body, with many vindications of himself and expressions of inveteracy.

Captain Ferke subsequently submitted, but sent in a protest which is still on record.

Wednesday 30th August 1693.—Word being brought US while at Consultation on the 28th instant, that Mr. Wheeler, Member of Council and Sea Custom and Chief Justice of the Choultry, was very sick, and soon after about 11 o'clock that he was dead, we went forthwith to house, and appointed Mr. Mildmay and Mr. Vander Anker to take account of the Right Hon'ble Company's Books and Papers which were in Mr. Wheeler's hands; but on the way the following Note was delivered into the hand of the President.

Honourable Sir,

I have murdered Mr. Wheeler, by giving him arsenic. Please to execute Justice on me the malefactor as I deserve—your Honour's unfortunate obedient servant,

Samuel Browne.

Whereupon Doctor Browne after examination, and his particular relation of the circumstances of his fatal mistake, was by Warrant of the Judge-Advocate, Admiralty Court, committed, as also his servant, who negligently powdered Pearl in a stone mortar where in Arsenic had before been beaten, the mixture whereof with the Pearl is supposed to be the occasion of his death; and there being symptoms of poison, Doctor Bulkley, the Surgeon of the Hospital, was ordered to open the Corpse and make his report. This is the First Inquest on Record.

Saturday 15th November, 1694. One Juggu of the Brahman Caste being found Guilty of Robbery and Felony, and Condemned to be Hanged, upon the earnest intercession of the Right Hon'ble Company's Merchants and some of the Principal Black inhabitants, was reprieved, alleging it was contrary to the Custom of the Country to put a Brahman to Death, requesting he might be punished as accustomed among Gentors. It is agreed that the said Brahmin be Pardoned his Life; and the Justice of the Choultry are ordered to cause him to be punished in the most Disgraceful Way practised among the Gentors in like cases, after which turned out of Town under the Penalty of being Hanged whenever he returns.

Monday 27th April 1695. Dr. Browne was committed to the Custody of the Marshall for being apparently Guilty of a Breach of the Peace. A week afterwards he was discharged from his confinement, in consideration of his Patients suffering for want of assistance, he giving security to the Judge's satisfaction.

Tuesday 12th June 1716. The Worshipful the Mayor acquaints the Board that Captain William How, having entered an action against John Mitchel in the Mayor's Court for detaining his daughter and deluding her by a pretended marriage, in which he officiated himself as Priest and husband. Upon which a trial ensued, and due proof being made by several sufficient witnesses, as well as from the said Mitchell's original letters; the Court had respited judgment on account of his being in the Military Service, till the pleasure of the Board be known, what punishment shall be inflicted in such a case.

"The Board taking this matter into consideration it appears that the forementioned John Mitchel came out a Soldier upon the last year's Ship to serve the Honourable Company the usual term of years. But pretending himself a regular Clergyman, in Holy Orders, and that he had served some years Chaplain of One of Her Majesty's Ships of War, but was forced to abscond and fly for these parts upon account of a debt contracted by being bound for a brother in England; which circumstances inclining everybody to compassionate him (though he brought no Orders with him) he was taken off his duty as a Soldier, and employed as Master to the Charity School lately established in this place at a handsome salary, with all fitting encouragement, besides a recommendation to the Hon'ble Company in our last general letter. But since that time he has been guilty of many irregularities and scandalous actions, altogether unbecoming the Profession he pretends to; many of which appear under his own hand, and others are proved by undoubted testimony and particularly his unwarrantable action of marrying himself clandestinely. Wherefore the Board thinks fit to come to the following resolutions concerning him.

"That the said Mitchel, if in Holy Orders (as he pretends but cannot prove) has basely scandalised the Priesthood by an irregular and unheard of way of marrying himself to a woman and absolutely against her father's consent.

"That the Board is not obliged to regard him otherwise in this case than a Soldier, enlisted in the Hon'ble Company's Service upon the usual terms, and that he ought to be punished accordingly.

"That however as he has appeared under the Notion of a Clergyman, and been entertained as School Master, it will not be proper to expose him to public punishment in the eye of the Natives; and not having wherewithal to make just satisfaction to the

persons he has injured, it is agreed that the said John Mitchel Centinel, do give sufficient security for his good behaviour; or else that he be kept under confinement till opportunity offers to send him off the Place for Europe." In the next General Letter dated 22-9-1720 they reported their proceedings to the Directors; the abstract of their long paragraph appears thus: "John Mitchel proves a very ill man."

The Mayor's Court complained that Mr. George Torriano, who was Secretary to Government, Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of the Appeal Court and Company's Solicitor, had brought a petty suit against Mr. Hugh Naish the Mayor. Torriano and Naish, meeting at a dinner party, made a bet, which Naish lost but refused to pay. Torriano sued him in the Mayor's Court, which ruled that the Mayor was immune from prosecution. (8-7-1734). The Government held that their Secretary had been treated with indignity.

27-2-1741. Miss Elizabeth Mansell, passenger by *The Caesar*, in a deposition before William Monsor, accuses Capt. Cummings of *The Caesar* of committing a rape on her. Agreed that such a crime committed on the high seas is cognisable neither by a Court of Admiralty nor by the Quarter Sessions. Resolved to enquire into it as President and Council. Elizabeth Mansell attends and confirms her statement. Capt. Cummings attends and denies it. He is committed to the Custody of the Captain of the Guard.

28-2-1741. Evidence of passengers and others taken, in the presence of parties. Agreed that there is not sufficient cause to lay this Crime against Cummings, but he is told that his conduct will be a perpetual blot on him.

On 13-4-1746, the proceedings are brought abruptly to a close. Until the 13th of November 1749, there is a complete blank in the minutes. Madras was captured by the French under Labourdonnais on the 10th of September 1746 and it remained in the hands of the French till the 13th August 1749. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chappelle, it was restored to the English.

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The British Administration of the Delhi Territory (1803-57)

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THE Delhi territory provided one of those virgin tracts which delighted the heart of the best officials in the early 19th century and brought out their best qualities. To spend the bracing cold weather touring the country, meeting and studying the villagers, noting strange customs and discovering unfamiliar conditions, restoring order and dispensing justice with a lordly hand, was calculated to kindle the imagination and to force into early bloom all the latent qualities of a man. Here were kingdoms not only to rule but to set in order, a system to introduce in a chaos of anomalies, a fit task for the constructive administrative mind. Above all there was little superior control. Calcutta was too distant to trouble much or to care so long as order was maintained and the revenue came in. On the other hand it brought out the weakness of more ordinary men. The lack of control led to capriciousness and vanity, the loneliness often to eccentricity. Long contact with strange people and ways of life in isolation might lead to a slurring of standards, a doffing of one set of values without donning the best of the others. An Englishman of those days might become as *deracine* as any western educated Indian of a later generation, and his position made the process not only a personal but a public tragedy. Pride easily overtook men surrounded with servility, and idleness others for whose every duty there was always a willing and plausible deputy. The local officials of the time, reared under Mogul and Maratha masters, were past masters in the art of pursuing private interests under a cloak of public-spirited appearances. Under the Marathas they were revenue producing appearances, under the British they changed to reforming appearances, but they were nevertheless appearances all the same. The doctrine of *Māya* was as familiar to the administrator as the saint. And if some of the new rulers succumbed too easily to the delusions of *Māya*, others were too bluntly aware of them and ran to the opposite extreme. For them all was chicane, jobbery and extortion; they would mistake long established custom for abuse, and some age-old custom,

for a complicated villainy. Metcalfe himself, who in his later days had a sincere admiration for the Delhi villagers, began by calling them all robbers. The blundering reformer was often more mischievous than the *Shikar*-loving sleeper for with the hammer of honest zeal he would make fatal gashes in the finely spun web of rural society. So it came about that both the best creative work and some of the most disastrous changes were carried through by the first generation of British administrators all over India.

The first three years were too occupied by the Maratha war and Holkar's raids for much attention to be paid to the administration. The revenue was realised, as and when it could be, through the old agents. The first serious efforts began in 1806 with the arrival of Seton, with the young Charles Metcalfe, only five years out of the College of Fort William, as his assistant. The first need was pacification and the reassertion of authority. The *zamin-dars* near Delhi were so bold that they had divided the city into wards for the purpose of plunder, and they carried on private wars, not only against the *amils* and their men, but amongst each other. Metcalfe could find no more difference than Augustine would have done between robber bands and village republics. It was the heyday of militant village autonomy. But let Metcalfe describe the scene himself.¹

"When the force at Dihlee was not sufficient to keep in awe the neighbouring villages; when the Resident's authority was openly defied within a few miles of that city; when it was necessary to draw a force from another district, and employ a battalion of infantry with guns, and a squadron of cavalry, to establish the authority of government in the immediate vicinity; when the detachment was kept on the alert by bodies of armed villagers menacing the pickets, and when Sepoys who strayed were cut to pieces; when it was necessary to disarm villages and when swords were literally turned into ploughshares; when every village was a den of thieves, and the city of Dihlee was parcelled out into shares to the neighbouring villages, of which each co-partnership monopolised the plunder of its allotted portion; when a company of infantry was necessary to attend the officer making the revenue settlement, and even that force was threatened with destruction, and taunted with the menace of having its muskets taken as playthings for the villagers' children; when to realise a single rupee of the settlement then concluded, purposely concluded on the lightest terms, it was necessary to employ a battalion of infantry with guns; when to subdue a single unfortified village a force of five battalions with cavalry and artillery was deemed necessary; and when the villagers, instead of awaiting the assault, sallied forth against this force, and for an instant staggered the

1. Kaye. *Papers of Lord Metcalfe*, 55. [Kaye Papers] (Vol. I of Panjab Government Records.)

advancing columns with the briskness of their attitude—if that gentleman had been at Dihlee in those days he would probably have been more indulgent towards a system which had brought the Dihlee territory into the state in which it was at the end of 1818..... We had to combat against crime. The bulk of the population were robbers. We had to subdue a refractory spirit before unsued to submit to government. We had to conciliate, and at the same time to control, a considerable class of people more accustomed to command than to obey, and ready to wince under the slightest restraint."

Riding on his elephant and surrounded by his soldiers, Metcalfe toured the district in 1807 and made a settlement for one year, and thereafter triennial settlements were concluded. As conditions became more settled longer settlements were made with the more fully populated villages so that by 1820 there were settlements ranging from three to twenty years. As yet no attempt was made at measurement, the traditional measures being used as the basis. Two changes were made at once, the first being the substitution of cash payments for payments in kind, the second the elimination of Delhi bankers as middlemen. Others were still allowed as revenue farmers but it may be wondered where these others came from. The advantage of the bankers was that he possessed the capital which enabled the village to tide over a bad season without defaulting and so risking the loss of their lands. The disadvantage to the government was that the banker might sometimes default himself and would under-estimate the crop yield in order to increase his own profit. Here and there a wealthy *maqaddam*, and an enterprising *Jagirdar* took up farms, but the government tended more and more to deal directly with the tenants. Both these changes were disliked by the villages. The gross produce was divided into two equal portions; from one the dues of the *maqaddams* were deducted, and the remainder taken by the Government; the other half remained to the cultivators,² after deducting the *patwaris'* allowance.

Seton's instructions to Metcalfe show that, filled with thoughts of his previous revenue experience, with landlords from whom the peasants must be protected looming large, he was far from fully understanding the unique system of Delhi. He was first inclined to believe, for example, that proprietary right to land did not exist in Delhi.³ He also wanted to reduce both the power, and numbers

2. *Delhi Residency and Agency Records*. Panjab Government Records, Vol. I 19. Seton's Instructions to Charles Metcalfe. [Delhi Residency and Agency.]

3. *Delhi Residency and Agency*, 23.

of the *maqaddams*, thinking them vexatious.⁴ But he allowed his young assistant a wise discretion and no harm was done in this direction. Efforts were made to level up the shares of the *maqaddams* which varied, as has been noted, from 2½ to 20% of the produce. Metcalfe achieved a compromise of 5% for the weaker *maqaddams* and 10% for the stronger.

During the next twelve years Metcalfe was continuously in Delhi except for his mission to Ranjit Singh in 1808. His tours through the country soon changed his opinion of the *zamindars* to a sincere admiration and affection. Notwithstanding their turbulence, he wrote in 1815.⁵ "There is a manliness of character which makes it pleasant to deal with them...on the whole, notwithstanding the faults which have been mentioned, my opinion is in favour of the inhabitants both of the City of Dihlee and of its Territory; and I feel an attachment for them, which will make it painful to be separated from them, whenever the day of separation shall come." He acquired in addition a profound respect for the system he found working in such rude vigour. It became the object of his administration to maintain the system intact as far as he could and to prevent outside interference. Long after he had first left Delhi in 1818 nothing so roused him as an aspersion on his "Delhi system."⁶ "If the Commissioners of Delhi are now able to smile benignantly on what they call innocent forgeries, and to give way to sentiments of commiseration towards convicts—if they consider themselves at liberty to let loose criminals on society without dreading bad consequences—it is perhaps owing to the very system which one of them so strongly condemns and decides that they can venture to do so."⁷ While thus rounding on his critics he no less championed his work before the official world generally. He had made his name in Delhi and he staked his reputation on the worth of his work there. In a Supreme Council Minute he challenged posterity.⁸ "When it comes to be decided whether the Dihlee territory has on the whole been better or worse governed than the provinces under the Regulations, the question, it is to be hoped, will

4. *Ibid.* 1-4. Seton to Sec. Government, Calcutta. 15th September 1807.

5. India Office Records. Home Miscellaneous Series. Vol. 776. [I. O. Ho. Misc.] Report on the Judicial Administration of Delhi Territory 1815. Para 201 [Report of 1815.]

6. E.g. Mr. A. N. Ewer's attack in 1823, and Sir E. Colebrook's in 1829.

7. Kaye. Papers 56.

8. *Ibid.* 65.

be determined by impartial judges, free from prejudice and passion."

Metcalfe's Delhi system depended upon a chance and a discovery—the chance that exempted Delhi from the Bengal Regulations, and his own discovery of the autonomous village system. The chance made it possible for him to exploit the discovery. Indeed Metcalfe's system was to have no system; its essential principle was to preserve the old intact. It is the confirmations of custom which were fundamental, and the changes which were matters of detail. Beginning with the Government officials, we find that the main framework remained the same. The whole Delhi Territory was treated as a province or *subah*, of which the Resident was the *Subahdar*. His assistants, who varied from three to six were his *naibs* or deputies, and were assigned no definite territorial jurisdiction. In 1815, at the height of his system, he had only four, of whom three were engaged in judicial duties. The one revenue officer was also in charge of the Delhi customs. So far from complaining he wrote cheerfully that he could manage without European assistance altogether if necessary.⁹ The Resident himself was in the position of a Mogul frontier governor. He had in his charge the protected Cis-Sutlej Sikh states, and the various small states in and around the Delhi territory. In addition he had the conduct of foreign relations with the independent states of Rajputana (till 1818) and with the Panjab and the North West.

Below the Resident and his Assistants authority descended straight to the *amil* or officer in charge of the *pargana* or sub-district. In British usage the *pargana* became a *tahsil* and the *amil* a *tahsildar*. The *tahsildar* as before dealt with the village *maqaddams* on all matters except the revenue assessment, which was settled by an Assistant at first in annual and then triennial tours. One change was here introduced. Contiguous villages were formed into groups called *zails*, with a headman known as a *zaildar*.¹⁰ He was usually a prominent *maqaddam*, and served as a link between the villages and the *tahsildar*. The *maqaddams* retained their position as the representatives of the cultivators. Metcalfe resisted both Seton's idea of depressing their position or the suggestion, in the Bengal fashion, "to make *Maliks* of the village *Mokuddums*; in other words, to convert those who are deputies from the body of landholders for the management of the concerns of the village into absolute pro-

9. I. O. Ho. Misc. 776. Report of 1815. par. 88

10. Not to be confounded with the *Zillah* of Bengal—a district.

prietors of all the lands of the whole village." He continued both their numbers and their duties, and so, as he hoped, their influence. As part of the recognition of their proprietary rights, Metcalfe maintained the rule that land could not be sold or alienated except by the consent of all the proprietors. This ruled out the custom of Bengal, of selling up land for arrears of revenue, with all its disastrous social consequences. Metcalfe was very clear on the evil of this, and whatever is left of village life to-day in the territory is probable due to his stand, for it enabled the villagers to survive without extinction the first thirty years of over-assessment.

"The sale of lands for arrears of revenue is a common instance of the little consideration in which the Zumeendaree rights are held by government. For trifling arrears of revenue, which might be restored in subsequent years, the hereditary rights of families, which have existed for centuries, are annihilated, and a new right of absolute property established in favor of other persons, purchasers of the proprietary right at the public auction; by which purchase the original proprietors of Zumeendars must either become the labourers of the new proprietor, or quit their houses and lands, their country and home, for ever.

The custom of selling lands for arrears of revenue has not yet found its way into this district, and I trust that it never may be introduced."

The essential condition of the *maqaddams* was largely untouched. They were restrained in their foreign relations it is true, but their internal supremacy within the villages apparently continued. Theirs was still the negotiation with the revenue officer of the *tahsil-dar*, the allotment of the assessment, and the payment of the *jumma*. If swords were beaten into ploughshares, theirs was still the hand which held the new implement. The chief changes in their internal position were the addition of some new duties and expenses. The *patwari* was now protected by the government who relied upon him for a new set of records, and his payments had now to be made regularly. Government horsemen and *peons* who came on official business had to be entertained, and sometimes full-time *chokidars* had to be paid by order of the magistrate. A vexatious impost, the parent of much grumbling and wrangling, was the allowance to be paid on each rupee of revenue to cover Government against loss through bad coins. A much more serious item, however, and the one which was the most real imposition and expense, was the incidence of *begar* or the Government claim to forced labour. The claim was as old as sovereignty in India, but its enforcement was new to this generation and more extensive than in former times. Government might requisition carts and bullocks for transport, and in times like the Gurkha war or the last Maratha campaign made

extensive demands.¹¹ Men might be impressed to work on roads or to act as baggage carriers. Then the *maqaddams* had to pay the villagers concerned for the loss of time incurred, repair the carts and replace the cattle which had died. This, though irksome, was perhaps necessary, but what was still more resented was impressment for the trains of passing European. Not only the high official touring his district, but the distinguished visitor or anyone travelling through the territory who could get an order from the Supreme Government, exercised this right. Not all of them were as scrupulous as Bishop Heber in their treatment of them. So what was a recognised custom and right of government became by too liberal an exercise oppressive and a grievance. *Begar*¹² was like ship money—its acceptance depended upon its moderate use. Metcalfe was eloquent about its abuse and tried to suppress it, but he admitted that his success was far from complete. A revived authority meant more official movement, and the increased scope and activity of Government in British hands meant still further demands. It bore most hardly upon the villages near the high-road, whose inhabitants sometimes fled *en masse* at the approach of some large body or the train of a great man. Men even tended to desert these villages and settle elsewhere, which explains why on the Grand Trunk Road at this day villages are few and far between. High and low exercised the right, wrote Metcalfe, the low having the least consideration. The worst of the high were military officers and the worst of the low were the servants of Europeans. Sepoys would make men carry their muskets for them, and *chaprassis* their bundles. Women suffered more than men, because they could more easily be spared from the village. Women "far gone with child, or with infants at the breast" were to be seen carrying the baggage of the great man ambling on his elephant or being carried in his palanquin. The officers supposed to suppress the custom had themselves an interest in its maintenance, and would be found impressing men themselves as they went round reporting on the enormities which existed. "If this practice is to be put down, it will require all the authority of Government to affect it," wrote Metcalfe. A local order was plainly insufficient in face of so entrenched an official interest. Worst of all were the Europeans, over whom the Resident had no control. They could apply to the civil authorities for anything they wanted, from camels and carts to bearers, carpenters and any kind of craftsmen. Their servants were worse than

11. Kaye. Papers 37-38.

12. I. O. Ho. Misc. 776. Report of 1815 paras 107-137.

they, and the general rule was that the lower the official standing of a man, the more determined was he in the exercise of his rights. For with him it was not only a question of money, but of the vital and all-important *izzat*. Abolition was not impossible, for those who had no powers managed without it, but it was difficult in the case of Europeans, for there was a dearth of carts and bearers, and villagers preferred an Indian employer to a European. In other words there was not a sufficient surplus of labour to meet easily the greatly increased demand.

The actual supply of labour was not the only grievance; there was also the damage done to crops and trees. The drivers of elephants and camels would sally forth at each camping ground to the nearest village where their animals would strip the trees for fodder. Both the trees were damaged and the villager deprived of a valuable source of fodder themselves. Bentinck suggested at a remedy the planting of trees at Government expenses along the main roads, but the Directors characteristically thought the idea extravagant. The budget must not be unbalanced for a villager's fodder. Curiously Metcalfe, while fully alive to the evil, had no idea of the remedy—the provision of good metalled roads with posting arrangements and a system of dak-bungalows. He opposed Bentinck's road schemes as extravagant and unnecessary, and Bentinck wrote sadly that "he had no idea of a good road."

We come now to the administration of Justice. The British could start from scratch, because such arrangements as their predecessors had were confined to the maintenance of order in the city of Delhi and spasmodic executions for robbery and plundering in the Territory. In the City itself two courts were established as part of the agreement with Shah Alam, for criminal and civil justice, and were presided over by the Resident himself and his Assistants. The Assistant in charge of the city Criminal Court was also superintendent of the city police. The villagers' depredations were soon stopped, the city was divided into wards and crime reduced to "petty thefts of the city vagabonds." The police intelligence was provided by the humble but essential sweeper. They were not in the city as dependent as is often imagined. They had an independent position of their own, and their own species of property—the right to sweep particular streets and quarters. This right was bought and sold between the sweepers themselves, the inhabitants of the streets having no control over it. The sweepers considered themselves "as confidential officers of Government, and may in general be depended on as such." Their ubiquity and their per-

manence made them the general recipients of gossip; no one was so well placed as they to hear of the movements of suspicious characters. Every day they assembled at the central police station to give in their reports. This was another example of the wise adaptation of existing institutions.

In the district the first great task after the cessation of private war was the suppression of *dacoity* or gang robbery. The first difficulty was the interlocking of independent or semi-independent territories with that of Delhi. Eight rajas, four Nawabs, three *Sardars*, one *Thakur* and Bebam Samru's lands all abutted on and some were completely surrounded by British territory. In addition there were three chiefs described as "Plunderers" by Metcalfe. Some chiefs, like Ahmad Baksh Khan of Ferozpur, gave every assistance, but some were "dens of plunderers," and indeed derived an important proportion of their revenues from shares in the loot of these expeditions. The second difficulty was the long established habits of the villagers themselves. Some gave shelter to gangs who came from great distances and of course paid for the hospitality; other villages, mostly of *Gujars*, engaged in co-operative robbery themselves. One of the Assistants had the duty of hunting down the professionals, and was so successful that by 1815 "*dacoity* in any shape is scarcely known." The *Gujars*, as always when the hand of authority was strong, retired to more lawful occupations, and the most common crime left was cattle-stealing. There remained the prevention of crime by some permanent system. Here again Metcalfe followed closely previous practice. The *maqaddams* were made responsible for robberies within their land unless they produced the criminals. He argued that if robbery was being carried on from some village, the *maqaddams* must be aware of it; if a gang of professionals was operating in a district, the *maqaddams* must be accomplices. The responsibility was enforced in the same way as before, only of course much more effectively. The injured party gave notice to the village in whose land he lived. The village had then to turn out and followed the train to the next village. That village then did the same until the tour ceased and responsibility was fixed. The full value of the thing stolen, if not recovered, had to be paid "for the sake of the principle," unless the value was very great, when further inquiries were made. In these cases and those of cattle the *khojis* were extensively used.¹³ Their only difficulty was frequented high roads where tracks became con-

13. Bentinck Mss.

fused and were difficult to pick up. But high roads were so few that their existence did not invalidate the system. Within the villages themselves crimes had to be reported to the *tahsildar* if any action was to be taken. It is to be noted that the practice of the Regulation provinces, where the police were supposed to enquire into crimes whether they were reported or not, was not used in Delhi.¹⁴ Thus one great source of interference with the organic village unit was avoided. The portent of the district police was a cloud only just beginning to shadow the horizon of the village.

There remained the question of civil justice in the villages. This was largely concerned with disputes about land and secondarily about debts. Here Metcalfe relied upon the existing *panchayat*. No district courts were established, and the only innovation was an appeal to Delhi or to a touring magistrate. Metcalfe detested the regulation judicial system and he and his school prevented its spread so far as they could. The wayward genius of William Fraser invented a system which combine the idea of a jury with that of the *panchayat* proper.

"His scheme was partly on the principle of a jury, and partly on that of the *panchayat*; that is to say, the members were generally chosen on the nomination of the parties; but they were required to decide without delay; the matter in dispute was brought to a distinct issue and the whole proceedings were regularly recorded by a government clerk who was deputed for the purpose, with instructions to follow a prescribed course. The disputes were generally between (what I may call republican) communities of yeomen cultivating their own fields, for the possession of land generally of little value, but very easily contested by the people. The headmen of the contending villages, acting for and in the presence of the whole body, were required to nominate six on each side, making on the whole twelve. The right to challenge was freely allowed; and the Jury (so to term it) was required to be unanimous. Mr. Fraser's reason for having so many as twelve was, as he said, chiefly that they might, by their number and weight, be placed above the reach of intimidation or danger from the vengeance of those against whom they might decide; and it was with the same, also with that of putting down party spirit, that he required unanimity."¹⁵

14. These were the Nawabs of Kunjpura, Indri, Nannal, Firozepur, the Khan of the Phattis, the Sardars of Ladaura, Thanesar, Azingarh, the Rajah of Sind, Patiala, Nabha, Bikanir, Jaipur, Ketri, Alwar and Bharatpur; the Rao of Shahjehanpur, the Bhai of Kajthal, the Begam Samon; the Thakur of Barao; the Plunderers of Sidmuk, Bahadura, and Dadrera.

15. This system was still in use in Hissar in 1853. See H. G. Keene. *A Servant of John Co.* 111-112.

Fraser settled 300 cases by means of this method. But Metcalfe could not exclude the Courts altogether, and he had to tolerate them in Delhi, *albeit* in Lord Salisbury's phrase "with loud remonstrances." He recorded that the Courts were very unpopular and the seats of great corruption.¹⁶ "The European judge is the only part of them that is untainted. He sits on a Bench in the midst of a General Conspiracy and knows that he cannot trust anyone of the Officers of the Court." Neither witnesses, pleaders or court officials could be depended upon. Later experience in Delhi itself showed that not even the judge was always untainted. In any case he was often so young and inexperienced that he either gave hasty decisions neglecting local customs, or leaned too heavily on subordinate advice. At the very time he wrote, the president of the civil court was a young man scarcely in his twenties and but two years out of College in Calcutta—his brother. The president of the criminal court was a youth still more junior, who in his first year had decided 166 cases. Men on Rs. 500 a month were doing the work of judges and this was the rule rather than the exception. The pleaders he and the whole public looked upon as pests, but they were constantly employed because they were the only available guides in the new legal labyrinth. Perjury of witnesses was so prevalent "that it is disgraceful for a respectable man to give evidence in the Courts." "The Courts are regarded as places in which a man may be ruined. They are considered as sources of litigation and disturbance to the peace of families. They are spoken of with horror by those who have suffered and with derision by those who have not." The Courts were regarded as "Lotteries" and suits were started as a speculation. In fact that attitude with which any observer of Indian life is so familiar, had already been born. The Courts were to the public a great penny-in-the-slot machine whose workings passed man's understanding, and from which anything might come out except justice.

But for all his scorn Metcalfe could think of nothing better to put in their place. They were to him a cancer which he could not eradicate, whose workings he could only hope to circumscribe. He either did not see, or perhaps preferred not to contemplate the effect the spread of this cancer would have upon his cherished village system.

16. Bentinck abolished this practice in 1831. His action was extremely popular.

Metcalf's Delhi system was notable for certain wider achievements. They were not essentially parts of his *system*, but rather expressions of his liberal ideas. They have been rightly eulogised by his biographers,¹⁷ and do not need more than passing mention here. The first was the abolition of *suttee*, which he ordered on his own authority. The practice was not common in the Territory and he had Moghul tradition to back him, but there was always the example of the neighbouring Rajput states, where it flourished with a rank luxuriance, to be guarded against. Much more remarkable was the abolition of capital punishment, of which there was no instance after 1806. His remarks on the subject were like those of a modern prison reformer, but there was a diplomatic as well as a humanitarian reason which played its part. The death penalty required the sanction of the King. This would be either a form or expose judicial decisions to the caprice of a weak and tiresome old man. In any case it was bad for the King to imagine that he had any vestige of power at all. For once diplomatic convenience and humanitarianism coincided, and the result was to put Delhi in advance not only of the rest of India but of the whole of Europe also. The severest punishment was close solitary confinement in chains for life. For Metcalfe it was only life that was sacred, and he quite failed to see the irony of his next solemn sentence, that prisoners asked to be hanged instead, and some tried to commit suicide. Most remarkable of all was his gradual abolition of corporal punishment. For this was a time-honoured form of executive justice, and particularly in cases of arrears of land revenue. In Bengal the old practice by which wealthy and ancient revenue-farmers and land-holders were imprisoned and beaten for arrears was given up in favour of selling up their estates—a form of humanitarianism which the sufferers failed to appreciate. But in Delhi it was not a choice of one's skin or one's pocket, for land sales were prohibited. This was therefore the most truly progressive of the three measures.

Looking at Metcalfe's system as a whole, we may distinguish between a nearer and more distant objective. The first was to maintain existing village institutions as far as might be ringed round by the *Pax Britannica*, and directed by righteous rulers. The second was to win over the loyalty of the sturdy Delhi yeomen to the British government. Metcalfe was as well aware of the value of such support in a time of emergency as of their existing disaffection. He

17. Parliamentary Papers. Report on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1832. [E. I. C. Affairs 1832] vol. IV p. 24. Evidence of Mr. Holt Mackenzie.

saw good reasons for this disaffection, not only in the reassertion of governmental authority, but in the introduction of a law "they either like nor understand," and in the natural obstacle of differing customs and ideas. They were very restive during the Gurkha, and again during the last Maratha, wars. He hoped to overcome this feeling by giving the villagers benefits which would attach them to the British by ties of interest if not of emotion. The way was to administer the village system to their, and not the Government's, advantage. The method was to make moderate assessments for long terms, and to leave in the hands of the *magaddams* the control of their own revenue arrangements. By so doing the *zamindars* would make a good profit from their land; they would be encouraged to extend cultivation, and would entice cultivators to take up vacant lands. Bulging cornbins would make them forget the more exciting days of lawless penury. Regret would be swallowed up in prosperity. No one starts revolutions with a rising bank balance. And if there was risk of too much independence in an unforeseen future, the risk must be taken, for this was the path of justice and justice was the hand of God. Let him state his conclusion of the matter.¹⁸

"It is proper to consider what would be the effect of such a system on the attachment of our subjects. It is evident that we do not at present possess their hearty affections. There is no reason why we should. There is necessarily a wide separation between them and us, arising out of our being foreigners and conquerors, and the difference in color, country, religion, language, dress, manners, habits, tastes and ideas.

This is a natural obstacle which we have to get over before we can win their affections. And the only mode of getting over it is by conferring on them benefits which they must feel and acknowledge every day and every hour.

Hitherto our government has not conferred any such benefit on the mass of our subjects—that is to say, the cultivating inhabitants of our villages. The permanent settlement had kept them down in Bengal, and ensured their permanent depression. No system has yet been adopted in the Upper Provinces calculated sufficiently to secure for them any permanent advantages.

We should deceive ourselves if we were to suppose that the system of justice which we have introduced is acknowledged to be such a blessing as we can conceive it to be. That it performs considerable good there can be no doubt; but, like most human institutions, it has its attendant evils. These are felt more than its benefits, and our Courts of Justice are generally spoken of with disgust, with ridicule, or with fear, but seldom, if ever, with cordial approbation and respect.....

18. I. O. Ho. Misc. 776. Report of 1815. Pars. 182-196.

The preceding observations have been introduced merely to elucidate the remark which was previously made, stating that our rule had not yet conferred any such benefit on our subjects as, being acknowledged by them from conviction, can form a ground of strong attachment sufficient to overcome the obstacles imposed by original differences.

But if the effects which have been anticipated be the result of the village system proposed, we shall then certainly have a claim on the affection of that numerous class of our subjects, the village landholders.

They will compare their own situation with that of the cultivators living under other governments; they will acknowledge that we have conferred on them unrivalled advantages; they will feel that their interests are identified with ours. Instead of requiring, as at present, troops to control our villagers, we might depend on the latter for the defence of the country against foreign enemies, and the support of the government in any case of internal disturbance.

It is, perhaps, impossible to foresee all the remote effects of such a system; and there may be those who argue that it is injudicious to establish a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead at a future period of dangerous consequences.

There does not appear to be sufficient reason to apprehend any evil consequences, even at a remote period, from the introduction of this system. It rather seems that the establishment of such advantages for the bulk of our subjects ought to attach them to the government which confers the benefit.

But even supposing the remote possibilities of the evil consequences which may be apprehended, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantages from our subjects.

Similar objections have been urged against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects; but how unworthy it would be of a liberal government to give weight to such objections.

The world is governed by an irresistible Power, which giveth and taketh away dominion, and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them.

If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India, and the admiration of the world, will accompany our name through all ages, whatever may be the resolutions of futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of possible danger at a remote period, we shall not deserve to keep our dominion; we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us; and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt, the hisses and execrations, of mankind."

The Fall of Vijayanagar and the Nationalization of Muslim Art in the Dakhan

By

H. GOETZ.

Up to the 15th century Muhammedan art was a foreign, colonial tradition in India. Though differentiated from the rest of Muslim art by its long isolation because of the Mongol invasion, it was kept separated from Hindu tradition first by the stern Muslim consciousness of the Mameluke sultans, and later by the overbearing imperialism of the Khiljis and Tughlaqs. With the disintegration of the Delhi empire, however, the situation became reversed, the new successor states, thrown back on their own resources, started on a policy of some reconciliation with their Hindu subjects, and slowly a new national civilization began to develop which was neither Hindu nor Western or Central Asian; but to which both Hindus and Muslims had contributed their part.

This process was first accomplished in Central and Eastern India, in Gujarat, Malwa, and Bengal; in the North it was postponed by new waves of invaders from Central Asia, in the South it was slowed down by the comparative weakness of the Muslim position which kept up the colonial situation throughout the reign of the Bahmani dynasty. As early as the beginning of the 15th century the sultan Tāj-ud-dīn Firōz Shāh had in fact begun to admit Hindus to the higher administration of the kingdom and to the cultural controversies at the court;¹ but there was never any questioning the dominant position of the Muhammedan cultural tradition; and with the rise of the great Persian statesman Mahmūd Gawān.² Persia became all-powerful in the cultural life of late 15th century Deccan. The ruins of Gulbarga show no vestiges of Hindu influence at all, those of Bidar very little.³ Also the early architecture of the kingdoms superseding the Bahmanis is free from Indian influence, Persia still being the model of all new

1. Proceedings, 2nd Indian History Congress Allahabad, p. 286 ff.

2. Cp. the various studies by Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

3. E.g., miniature Hindu pillars at the corners of bases, terraces, lower walls in the Takht-Mahal.

fashions; until towards the end of the 16th century a really national Dakhanī art springs up.

Basically this art, too, was Persian, but it was mixed with many ornamental additions of indubitable Hindu origin; and it was interpreted in a spirit which was as far as possible strange to that of Persia and Central Asia, and as nearly as possible related to that of Hindu civilization. For the art of the old Muslim countries had always been architectural and very conscious of the geometrical fundamentals of line, surface, and tridimensional space, of pilaster, wall, arch and vault. But in the new *Dakhanī* art these characteristics gave way to another, sculptural conception, a petrified representation of exuberant biological life, so characteristic for the genuine Hindu spirit. Walls dissolve into bundles of pilasters degenerate arches, cornices, etc. suffocated by masses of ornaments, pillars become lotus stems, domes, big bulbs, spires, lotus buds, cupola-drums lotus crowns, and so on. The centre of this new Dakhanī art which was later on, in the late 18th century, to spread over the whole of India, was apparently Bijapur.⁴

The new style first becomes apparent in the buildings erected by Ibrāhīm II 'Ādilshāh (1580-1626) of Bijāpur, and shortly afterwards in the Bhagmatī Masjid and in the tomb of Muḥammad Qulī Qutbshāh (1580-1611) of Golconda. In the Malika-Jahān Masjid built for a queen of Ibrāhīm (1587) the new tendencies are still rather tentative but in the Ibrāhīm-Rauza (1626-33), originally intended for queen Tāj-Sultana, the "Dakhanī style" proper is already in its full swing. Golconda seems simply to have copied the new fashion.

Now it is well known that Ibrāhīm was a great admirer of Hindu dance and music so far that he is said to have inclined towards Hinduism, especially towards the veneration of Saraswatī, the goddess of music and the arts. In Bijāpur he built the Ānand Mahal, in his new capital Nauraspur (since 1599) the Sangīt Mahal (both with purely Hindu names!) for his Hindu dancers and musicians. No doubt, a certain tendency towards a religious and cultural syncretism was then in the air, and also Ibrāhīm's greater contemporary Akbar dabbled in experiments of a new age, a new civilization, a new religion; no doubt, also Ibrāhīm's infatuation in the charms of his accomplished dancers may have had some say in the matter as the moral laxity of Bijāpur in his reign aroused the indignation of leading men of Islam.

4. H. Cousens, *Bijapur and its architectural Remains*, Bombay 1916: etc.

But can the caprice of even an Oriental despot alone explain such a far-going revolution in Dakhanī civilization? From where came the many Hindu dancing girls, musicians, literati and artists without whom such a revolution must be impossible? For the new architecture is only understandable if we assume that Hindu masons, though they had to follow the general canon laid down by Dakhanī-Muslim tradition, were allowed a comparatively free hand to elaborate and embellish it. There must be deeper-going roots behind this revolution.

And we can in fact trace these new tendencies farther back as soon as we turn from the architectural monuments to the paintings of the time. Until recently Dakhanī painting began for us with the later reign of Ibrāhīm II. Its style had the fluid outline of Persian painting under the impress of Rizā 'Abbāsī; Mughal influence was also traceable; but the lurid colour scheme, especially the lavish use of gold ornaments and gold backgrounds attested the presence of another, probably Hindu tradition. When in 1927 L. Binyon⁵ published an else unknown astrological treatise "*Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm*" in the Chester Beatty Collection, London, the genesis of this style began to unveil itself. For in this manuscript which had once been in the library of Ibrāhīm II, but must have been illustrated in the reign of his predecessor 'Alī I, being dated 1570 A.D., we were confronted with two different traditions, both unadulterated and simply juxtaposed; one was the early Safavid tradition of Persia which is known to us also from the wall paintings in the water pavilion at Kumatgi,⁶ the other revealed itself as the Hindu style of the contemporary Dakhan.

That this Hindu style must be a precursor of the Hindu tendencies so obtrusive under Ibrāhīm II is shown by a miniature which I could recently acquire for the Baroda State Museum. Its style is mainly the same as that of the "*Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm*" manuscript, but it differs in many important details. Though it is not dated, it must be of about the same years, as certain architectural features represented in it are to be found at the Solā-Khamba Masjid at Bīdar⁷ which is regarded to be contemporary with the Gagan

5. Rüpm, No. 29, p. 4 ff. Cp. also Arnold-Wilkinson. *The Indian Miniatures of the Chester Beatty Collection*, London, 1936; Coomaraswamy; in Rüpm, No. 31 and *Artibus Asiae* 1927, I; p. 9 ff.; H. Goetz; in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1935, p. 275 ff.

6. Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*; London 1937.

7. G. Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, Arch. Survey, Report 1914-15, p. 132 ff.

Mahal in Bijapur erected in the reign of 'Alī 'Adilshāh I. The architectural background on this miniature in the Baroda Museum represents indeed a palace of the many-storeyed type of the Gagan, Athar, etc., Mahals. The drawing and colouring of this background are almost purely Safavī-Persian as was to be expected in view of the long Persian tradition of the Muhammedan Dakhan; but the composition prefers a primitive geometrical division of the surface which is not known to genuine Persian, but to Vijayanagar, early Gujarātī and Rājput arts which must be Mediaeval Hindu. There are quite a number of suchlike illustrated "Persian" manuscripts in numbers of libraries, and it is rather probable that we may regard them as early "Indo-Muhammedan" (15th—early 16th centuries). On the other side is the subject of the picture a theme of Hindu music, Mālawī Rāginī; it is thus not only evident that this Hindu style of art in Bijapur was closely connected with the Hindu dancers and musicians in favour with Ibrāhīm Shah, but that the pictorial as well as the musical tradition go back to at least A.D. 1570.

And there we are confronted with the question: From where came this Hindu tradition in Bijapur? For before this date Dakhanī-Muhammedan civilization seems to have been more or less of a provincial Persian type; the monuments of architecture were purely Persian; what conclusions we can make about pictorial art (cp. also the illustrated history of the battle of Talikota in the Bhārat-Itihās-Samshodhak-Mandal at Poona which is 'only slightly later) lead in the same direction; and that literary life was essentially Persian is a well-known fact. On the other hand are the Hindu figures in the "Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm" manuscript, as well as in the miniature in the Baroda Museum—which must be regarded as the earliest Dakhanī rāgmālā illustration known—closely related with the scenes of dancers on the great durbar terrace at Vijayanagar,⁸ not only in their dress, but also in the whole artistic conception. Only a few years before the date of these earliest Bijapur paintings (1570) the Vijayanagar Empire had been overthrown in the battle of Talikota (1565), and the destruction of its gigantic capital was not completed before 1567. It seems, therefore, very plausible to regard this whole Hindu current in Bijapur civilization as a result of the fall of Vijayanagar and of the emigration of her artisans and dancers to the victorious capitals, either as prisoners of war or as refugees.

8. A. H. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Delhi 1933.

Before, however, risking such far-swung conclusions, it will be advisable first to consider the general probability of the case. If we leave aside more remote events such as e.g. the assimilation of Eastern Roman and Sassanian civilization by the Arab conquerors of early Islam, or the adoption of Byzantine church architecture by the Osmanli mosque builders, we can trace every stage of the decline of the Mughal Empire in a series of corresponding waves of refugees which bring the refinements of the Delhi court within the reach of the Rājputs and Marāthas; ⁹ especially in the Panjāb we can mark this close interconnection, e.g. the rise of the Mughal-Kāngrā school of painting of Gūlēr immediately after the invasion of Nādir Shāh, and a far-going modernization on Mughal model, including a semi-Mughal school of architecture and painting, at the court of rāja Umēd of Chambā, two years after the final breakdown of Mughal rule in the Panjāb following on the death of the last viceroy Mir Mannū.¹⁰ In all these cases the first mediums of this dissemination of a high, but politically disintegrating civilization have been the artisans, indifferent and adaptable to political and religious conditions and always appealing to the pomp and luxury of the conqueror, and the female entertainers,¹¹ singers, dancers, courtesans, playing on his sensuous weakness, and only much later after conversion and long adaptation, the intellectual professions.

But the fall of Vijayanagar came quite unexpectedly, a few months were sufficient to reduce the proudest and most luxurious city of the South into a scene of desolation and ruins. Its buildings whose solid granite work had withstood the systematic destruction of the Muslim conquerors, are admirable even to-day, its luxury furniture in gold, silver and precious stones had astonished all the foreign visitors, its paintings had found the attention of the Portuguese acquainted with the refined pictures of Renaissance art, and its innumerable dancing girls and courtesans, accomplished and acknowledged by society, were famous in the whole of India.¹² Was it possible that the people who had accomplished all this, should

9. D. D. Parasnīs, Poona in Bygone Days; Bombay, 1921.

10. Antiquities of Chamba State II (under preparation).

11. For the role of the slave singers etc. in the transformation of early Islam, cp. A. Mez, The Renaissance of Islam, London 1937.—For Marāthas cp. Parasnīs, op. cit. and Sardesai, Main Currents of Maratha History, Calcutta 1926.

12. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire. Cp. also the account of the Persian ambassador Abd-ar-Razzāk.

all have fallen under the sword or have found a refuge somewhere in the Hindu South which was in a state of general travail and insecurity? The Dakhani Muslims had already long passed the stage where every idolator was only worthy of being sent to hell. Since the Bahmanis, Hindus were to be found in many posts of the administration, Hindu ladies had married into the Muslim zenanas, and Hindu dancing girls were appreciated by those inclined to luxurious pleasures.¹ The war had indeed been a struggle between kings and aristocracies who had just before been allies and were connected by intermarriage, not a war between Muslims and Hindus (though that sentiment was not absent). Would they not be desirous to avail themselves of this rare opportunity to possess themselves of the coveted luxuries of the fallen city?

We have no literary evidence, but the Indo-Muhammedan chronicles have always been comparatively silent in this respect. Indirect evidence is, however, not lacking. The Vijayanagar style in the Baroda miniature and in the "Nujūm-ul-'Ulūm" manuscript has already been discussed, as well as the figures of Vijayanagar damsels and the theme of Hindu music represented. That furniture de luxe, dishes and vessels, and dress accessories at Bijāpur had been under the influence of the bronze and gold smith's art of Southern India, is evident from any analysis of "Dekhānī" paintings. Also the taste for excessive gilding to be found in these paintings, must go back to the same source. In the buildings two currents of Hindu tradition can be traced. One represents genuine architectural devices, (pillars, capitals, trabeate architraves and ceilings, ante-roofs and multipartite brackets, perhaps also the reduplicated arch); the other is a transposition of bronze and gold work ornaments, especially of decorative rings and caps protecting wooden posts and beams, into a pillar and wall ornament. Now the Vijayanagar palaces had been constructed partly in wood³ and were, according to the Portuguese accounts, richly decked with suchlike bronze and gold work.¹² There can be no doubt, that all these innovations were introduced in Bijāpur, and to a smaller degree, also in Bidar (Rangin Mahal) and Golconda, by prisoners and refugees from Vijayanagar.

A last question still remains to be answered: Why was the full effect of this revolution to be felt not before the reign of Ibrāhīm II, i.e. at least two decades after the fall of Vijayanagar? No doubt, 'Alī I's troubled reign, with its alternating successes and debacles, could not have been very favourable to the arts of peace. But there must have been other reasons. Perhaps we can risk an

inference from another miniature in the British Museum¹³ which shows the young sultan Ibrāhīm surrounded by his court (ca. 1585). Here the Hindu art style, though still discernible, already is almost assimilated into the official court art. As this assimilation was, thus, more or less accomplished before the years of Ibrāhīm's great infatuation for Hindu dance, music and religion and before the appearance (1587) of the first monuments in the new "Dakhānī" style, it is tempting to conjecture, that already in his early reign, the artisans, masons, carpenters, bronze and goldsmiths, painters, dancers, singers, etc., from Vijayanagar had so far adapted themselves to the new milieu that they had become a recognized section of the Hindu population of Bijāpur. In 'Alī's reign Talikota was still too fresh in everybody's memory, and the newcomers, though protected and employed by the more liberal section of the nobles, were still too much strangers, as not to arouse the misgivings of the conservative party. The long and vigorous regency of his highly-cultured mother Chand-Sultān had offered to the young Ibrāhīm II the opportunity not only to acquire a rare liberal-minded education, but also to appreciate the Hindu traditions never quite extinct in the great royal and aristocratic zenānas of those times, and the art of the Vijayanagar dancers and singers, no doubt incorporated into the royal establishment. Thus, in the new age of cultural syncretism inaugurated by Ibrāhīm the remnants of Vijayanagar civilization surviving at Bijāpur were no more felt as an antagonistic element but simply as one of several traditions all of which were to contribute to the new national "Dakhānī" civilization, in the same way as, almost at the same time, the Hindu civilization of the Rājputs became one of the components of the new Mughal civilization inaugurated in the North of India by the great Akbar.

13. B. Gray, Deccani Painting, (Burlington Magazine, vol. 72; p. 74 ff.).

his life he adopted the role of a strictly constitutional sovereign, without unduly interfering with, or fettering the discretion of, those to whom power was entrusted. His intervention in administration was always so judicious and not so frequent that it was hardly noticed. But that he was wide awake and attentive to his responsibilities was shown on the occasions in which he did interfere to see justice done. The story was generally current in Bangalore that the Private Secretary, Mr. Machonachie is reported to have said that, although he worked on the closest terms with His Highness for eight years, he could hardly say that he knew His Highness' mind. Well founded or no, the story found ready popular currency and went only to confirm the general opinion that his natural reserve went to the extreme of secretiveness, and that he could hardly be moved to sympathise. This popular notion got so far that people often asked whether His Highness ever laughed. The reserve there certainly was; and there was no less active sympathy as we have a clear recollection of our first interview with him when he was moved to tears over an incident of history relating to a ruler of Mysore 700 years before him. We were then delivering a course of lectures at the Mysore University, then newly started, on the Muhammadan invasions of South India. The Mysore ruler at the time, the Hoysala Vira Ballala III had to carry on a continuous campaign to dislodge the Muhammadans who had established themselves in Madura with garrison outposts in various other places. The most important of these was at the southern Hoysala capital, Vikramapura across the Coleroon at Srirangam. Vira Ballala had to make a sweeping movement bringing all the Muhammadan garrisons, wherever they were located, into this centre and ultimately closing them up and putting an end to their power. In the course of this patriotic work, a great battle was fought at Trichinopoly between him and the Muhammadans. After a day long fight, the Hindus won the victory. Eighty years old, Vira Ballala who was directing operations, fell into the hands of a raiding party of the Muhammadans by accident. He was taken prisoner; and when the leader of the raiding party came to know that he was the King, he took him over to the Muhammadan Sultan at the time, a particularly cruel man, Sultan Ghiyaz-ud-din Asan Shah of Madura, who ordered his head being cut off, and the stuffed body exposed on the walls of Madura. When this was mentioned, His Highness got out of his seat and moved up to the window just behind, and it took him some few minutes before he could collect himself and resume the conversation, in the meanwhile wiping his eyes with his handkerchief. I was moved in sympathy in my turn, but, as soon as he came back to his seat, he told me, with a sigh, that current history was that the Ballala was a coward who ran away from his capital for his personal protection to Tiruvannamalai. "Is it not so," he asked me. "It was so," I said, and then explained to him how exactly our knowledge got revolutionised, and how a mere trifling error in reading an inscription was responsible for that very bad impression of a patriotic monarch who laid down his life in fighting for his country. Hoysala Vira Ballala died in 1342. I was recounting the story in 1917. It need hardly be pointed out that he could not have been an unsympathetic man who could be so strongly moved by a mere incident of history. We can quote other instances where he showed strong family affection and overflowing sympathy for suffering generally; but it is hardly necessary. We were moved particularly when he said he felt that we were still living in Mysore and working, though actually at the Madras University.

He was careful in respect of administrative matters that went before him. Where he interfered he did so with so much tact and respect for constitutional authority that it looked as though he never did take any interest.

He was very lucky as a ruler. The 38 years of his administration happened to be a period of the full fruition of ideas and projects which received their first sprouting in the mind of that great administrator, the late Sir Seshadri Aiyar. When the first scheme for the production of electricity, the Sivansamudram scheme as it came to be called afterwards, was still under investigation, we have heard Sir Seshadri Iyer saying that he would do his level best to produce power not only at Sivansamudram, but wherever else it should prove possible in Mysore, and bring the full benefit of this power production to benefit the people of Mysore. This turned out to be true, thanks to the sympathy and energy of subsequent administrations and the stimulus and the encouragement of His Highness at the head of them all; Sir Seshadri Aiyar's idea, the mere idea, has been brought to full flower. All credit must certainly go to the ruler, without whose encouragement, the greatest administrators among his Dewans, could not by themselves have realised this ambition. A capable administrator devoted to the good of his people, a good and sympathetic man, a Hindu sovereign in the 20th century keeping up to the genuine ideals of Hindu sovereigns of old, Maharaja Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur could easily have lived on for another thirty years for the benefit of his people. We wish his soul the eternal bliss, for which he was longing all his life. He has left an example to his successor, the young Maharaja. We wish him joy of all the illumination that he could draw from such a magnificent example.

Editorial

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS.

The third session of the Indian History Congress at Calcutta resolved to accept the invitation of the Lahore University, and accordingly the next session of the Congress will be held at Lahore under the auspices of the University of the Punjab about the middle of December next. Steps are being taken accordingly for the session of the Congress being held there, unless the course of the war interfere and necessitate its being put off. The first bulletin was issued on the 25th of June last, and the next bulletin giving the detailed programme, etc., of the session is being expected.

ANANDARANGA PILLAI.

Anandaranga Pillai, the Pepys of French India, has recently been brought out by Messrs. P. Varadachari & Co., Madras. The work is edited by Professor C. S. Srinivasacharyar of the Annamalai University with explanation and annotations, to exhibit the historical value of the work. The work was undertaken long ago, and Professor Srinivasacharyar, with his usual earnestness and industry, had been publishing it in the Journal of Indian History in a series of articles. Revising and recasting wherever necessary, he has brought out a really valuable book on the period of the Anglo-French struggle ending in the establishment of the power in India. It is a period of history when, from a condition of anarchy, South India had to emerge into something like political life. The whole course of the struggle had hitherto to be studied only from such material as the Company's records provided, whether it be the English Company at Madras, or the French Company at Pondicherry. It is not always possible to make out from that kind of material the real condition of the land. It is therefore matter for great gratification that a man of the business standing and position in society of Anandaranga Pillai should have left behind a diary fairly full, intelligent and essentially correct in details on various matters connected with the tangled history of the period. The reading of the diary by itself without considerable priming in the history of the period would, to a great extent, be unintelligible, and that necessary background of history is provided by the editor.

Professor Srinivasacharyar has done his work as editor with honesty and great industry, and has certainly earned the encomium of Prof. Sir

Shafaat Ahmad Khan in the excellent foreword that he has written for the book. The book is of the highest value to the students of Indian History of a particularly complicated period, and we wish Professor Srinivasacharyar and the publisher all success in this effort. It is hardly necessary to go into further details for readers of the Journal of Indian History who would certainly do well to look through the articles that appeared in it in the new form.

NEW JOURNALS.

We welcome the issue of the following new journals recently brought out:—(1) The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, the first issue of which is dated December last. It starts under very good auspices, and is a quarterly issued under the authority of the newly started Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute. This Institute has been organised with a view to promoting the study of history, sociology, linguistics, and Vedic Sanskrit for the moment, and in course of time would expand in its sphere. Poona has got many associations for an institute of that kind flourishing, and it is none too soon that an Institute like that was started. Further nothing better could have been done as a substitute for the teaching institution, the Deccan College, which came in for abolition as such. We wish the new venture all success. (2) Another new venture is the journal called Bhāratiya Vidya as an organ of the Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. This journal issues from Bombay under good auspices with an efficient editorial board. The numbers so far published give promise of very good work and we welcome it as a good addition to the promotion of the study of Indian culture in its various aspects. (3) Annals of the Śrī Venkaṭeśwara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, is the new journal of the recently started Institute of Oriental Research in Tirupati. This was brought out in March last almost with the session of the Oriental Conference held under the auspices of the Institute. It is but appropriate that the newly started Institute should apply itself to its work in this serious manner, and we wish the enterprise all success. The original scheme for the work of the Institute forms an important part of the publication, although perhaps it might have been more advantageous if it had been published long before this, to avoid, if for nothing else, a certain amount of opposition to the Institute, and criticism of the movement generally. Anyway we are immensely pleased that the Institute has come into existence and started work. We wish it all success.

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI

We are in receipt of three sumptuous volumes of the archaeological report on Sanchi which was due for long. The regrettable delay has given us more than adequate compensation in the magnificent quality of the work all round. It is in three volumes. The first section consists of a very well written report on the archaeology of the place by Sir John Marshall himself. This report consists of two parts, the history and the art of the monuments; then the art of Sanchi is interpreted and expounded by that great authority on the subject, the French savant Foucher, forming the third part. The fourth or the last part consists of a collection of all the inscriptions of the locality, as well as those on the monuments and even the caskets buried within them, and their translation by the late lamented N. G. Majumdar. The whole is supplemented by the magnificent body of illustrations consisting of 141 plates very beautifully reproduced in good size. The whole production does immense credit to everybody concerned, and is undoubtedly and literally monumental in point of character. The publication makes a most important addition to the study of Indian antiquities. If one should find fault with an excellent publication, we might file a mild protest here that the size of it makes it difficult for handling for the reader.

Reviews

THE ORIGINAL GITA : The Song of the Supreme Exalted One.
By Rudolf Otto, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 15
shillings, net.

This is a study of the Gita, the Song Supreme as it is called by the learned translator and editor, Dr. Rudolf Otto, with a view to disentangling from the whole text that part which he considers the original Gita, a small self-contained treatise consisting of about 128 *ślokas* of the whole text, which the author names, or at least characterises, as epic Gita to distinguish it from the whole of the text, which is generally regarded as a religious text by the Hindus as well as scholars foreign to Hinduism. This notion of an original Gita was started by that venerable German savant, the late Professor Jacobi and carried much farther from where he left by his distinguished disciple, Professor Richard Garbe. The study of the latter is taken up by the present author, his pupil. The plan of the work is, we may say, the presentation in translation of the whole of the Gita, distinguishing the 128 *ślokas* marked off as constituting this original Gita so-called. These *ślokas* are distinguishable by a different type in the translation of the whole. It is also presented separately with special explanation in a preliminary chapter devoted to this enquiry specially. The principle adopted in this enquiry is that Arjuna and Krishna were two men, distinguished warriors though they be; the critical occasion of the great fight confounds the proved warrior Arjuna, and Krishna, his cousin, companion and charioteer, offers him such words of advice as the circumstances would justify to persuade Arjuna to get rid of the unworthy weakness and sentimentality, and put him in sufficient courage to do his duty as a Kshatriya warrior, whose function is to fight. This could be stated in so many plain words without undue elaboration, and once that is admitted, it would be comparatively easy just to pick out the *ślokas* from out of the whole Gita to make up this secular text if we can with propriety call it so. But Dr. Otto does regard this as certainly secular, though in a somewhat extended sense. It would seem a reasonable contention to make whether, on the field of battle, in front of the armies assembled for fight, we could regard Krishna as having taken it upon himself to deliver an elaborate philosophico-religious sermon to relieve the more or less natural feeling of sorrow and pity

that had overcome the redoubtable warrior, Arjuna, and a few words of practical wisdom not altogether devoid of even the consolations of religion would be perfectly natural in the situation, but not an elaborate and self-contained disquisition on religion, considering and criticising even different phases of conviction among the orthodox. Admitting this possibility, an original Gita may perhaps be postulated, and once that is granted, it is easy to adopt the principle that whatever of the text of the *ślokas* smacks of anything of systematic or doctrinal religion should perhaps be expunged and thus a text constituted. That is the actual procedure adopted by the learned editor.

He divides the whole of the Gita into a number of parts, in fact into 4 parts as containing the doctrinal treatises in particular. He divides the whole into eight such treatises, consisting of the different divisions, Sankhya, Yoga, Bhakti, etc., and excludes rigorously all those *ślokas* of the text from out of the whole, and thus disentangling he arrives at the original, as he calls it of the 128 *ślokas*. In the course of this process of disentanglement, Dr. Otto has undoubtedly exhibited his vast knowledge of the Sanskrit texts, great critical acumen that he is possessed of and a very sympathetic understanding of the text as a whole. The question would arise as to who wrote this original Gita, and how, when and by whom it got elaborated into the present form, and how actually it got incorporated in the Mahābhārata. Of course, Dr. Otto throws out a number of hints from which one could understand the text has come up to the present form by a series of interpolations of the votaries of different systems of religious thought. If that is admitted, it would be difficult to fix a time for all the interpolations together, and a series of interpolations such as he describes would involve ignoring the society of the learned, which it would be difficult as having prevailed with a work like that of the Gita, forming as it does a part of the Mahābhārata. The question gets easily involved in the further questions of the interpolations in the Mahābhārata, and certainly it is a far larger question. But in a work of the character of the Mahābhārata, it is easy to conceive of interpolations, and we think, in most cases, these are found to be in the shape of additional matter in the loosely built body of the vast epic. The interpolations in a compact, small work, such as the Gita, which has a unity of its own is quite a different matter, and the question therefore becomes extremely difficult to settle off hand. Any how the treatise of Dr. Otto, as well as those of his predecessors, deserves serious consideration from all who are engaged, or are interested,

in Sanskritic studies of a serious nature. It is hardly possible to take up further discussion of the matter in a review. We conclude it therefore with respectful admiration for the scholar, who has given the time and taken the trouble to give us such a good exposition of the difficult problem or a difficult series of problems. We are very much indebted to Mr. Turner for the excellent English translation of the work.

NANDAPUR (*A Forsaken Kingdom*) Part I. By Kumar Bidyadhan Singh Deo, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. (Advocate) Jeypore. Pp. vii and 156.

Nandapur stands on the banks of Ishani-Ganga and is noted for the shrine of God Sarvēśvara and lends importance of a historical character to the Jeypore Agency. The author is mainly concerned with the fortunes of the Śankara dynasty, the ancestors of the present family of Jeypore, who reached the zenith of their power under Viśwanātha Dēva, the last great prince to rule as the Gajapati of Orissa after the break-up of the Orissa Empire of Prataparudra Deva. Śrī Vināyaka Dēva, the founder of the Jeypore family, succeeded to the last of the Śilāvamśa rulers of Nandapur and stepped into his shoes through his marriage with a Śilāvamśa princess; he assumed the title of Nandāpūr Bhūpati. Viśwanātha Dēva, commonly known as Gajapati, who concluded a treaty with Sultan Kuli Qutb Shah of Golconda and imparted lustre to the declining Bissan prowess in the Northern Sarkars; was the fourth in descent from the founder of the Nandāpur Sūryavamśa line. His Inscriptions at Simhāchalam have become illegible through neglect; but he is known to have been a Paramabhāga-vata and Paramavaishṇava from the family papers of Jeypore. He is supposed to have died in 1571, shortly before, or at the time of the battle of Dēvapalli with the Muhammadans. Our author describes the continued resistance of the Nandāpur Gajapatis against the Golconda generals.

In 1641 Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda sent Sher Muhammad Khan to rule over all the coast country to the north of the Krishna River, and it was the latter that engaged the ancestors of the present Rajahs of Bobbili and Vizianagram as renter chieftains in the Sirkar of Chicacole about 1652. Nandapur was then ruled by Viravikrama who resolved to remove his residence from his own capital to the present town of Jeypore and who discovered the famous cave of Guptēśvar in Ramagiri. His son Śrī Krishṇa Dēva, succeeded to power in 1660. The author holds that it was

Śrī Krishṇa who granted Kumili to Sītārāmachandra Raj, the ancestor of the present Vizianagram family as an additional *Mokhāsa*. The Zamindari of Bobbili was also carved out in his time and conferred as a *mokhēsa* on Nawab Illich Beg Khan, who, after some time had it transferred in the name of a faithful servant of his, who was the ancestor of the Bobbili family. He would also hold that the name Bobbili as interpreted in Telugu meaning Peddapuli (Big Tiger) has no bearing at all and that villages and *muttas* bearing similar names, such as Bobbiya, Chandili, Girili and Surli, are still found in the Jeypore Zamindari. Therefore "the ancestors of the present families of Vizianagram and Bobbili settled in this part of the country, then imperfectly under the Kutab Sahis, as *Mokhāsadars* in the territories of the ancient race of the Gajapatis of Nandāpur and their military prowess soon made them vie with each other for prominence in the court of Nandāpur, with the result that its prestige and glory were eclipsed by them in course of time in the period of the French and the British as well." (Pages 53 and 54).

A sort of feudal system was established in the reign of the successor of Krishṇadēva; under the rule of the next princes there were several achievements like victories over the Muhammadans and the settlement of Brahmans in several agraḥāras. Mr. Singh Deo examines the dates of the princes who ruled at the close of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth down to the deposition of Lala Krishna Deva in 1758 A.D. The Lala was the last important ruler who fell in the complications caused by French rule. His successor, Vikrama, contrived to overcome the difficulties that faced him and in particular, the claim of the Rajah of Vizianagram that the Jeypore country was his jaghir. In an appendix, the author opines that Jeypore is to some extent the epitome of India from the view point of study of the different aboriginal tribes and requires greater attention devoted to it from Andhra as well as Oriya scholars.

C. S. S.

SOME INFLUENCES THAT MADE THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN INDIA. By M. Ruthnaswami, M.A.C.I.E. Luzac & Co., London. Rs. 10, 1939.

This work represents in a revised form the lectures delivered under the Sir William Meyer Endowment at the University of Madras in 1937. A distinguished student of politics, Mr. Ruthnaswami, who is well qualified for the task, has presented to us a highly original study of the complex and complicated system of

British Indian politics running over 660 pages. The number of lectures delivered was six and these form the six chapters in this book. Chapter I is devoted to commercial origins. The first settlements of East India Company were commercial—factories and warehouses. But in course of time, commercial and political circumstances drove the company into territorial expansion. It was the commercial motif that largely influenced the policy and administration of the East India Company. How this was is explained in a detailed manner in about a hundred pages (pp. 15-120). It is pointed that the Company brought to India both commerce and constitutional government. The commerce of India mainly inland became overseas. The seeds for the future constitutional government of India were laid during the administration by the Company. The second chapter deals with the army. The political conditions of the country led to the necessity of fortifying the settlements and furnishing them with defences. And from the middle of the 18th century the military means of improving the trade of the Company gained precedence. Still under the Company's rule, the subordination of the army to the civil power was gradually effected. Nevertheless the influence of the army was profoundly felt in shaping the Company's policy. For example it was Clive as a soldier who gave a fillip to the expansionist policy of the Company. In fact the first administrators of the Company were all soldiers. After noticing "the military origins of the police in India, the learned author points out with much ability how the Indian Survey, the Indian road, Indian Railway System, Land Revenue and Irrigation and even Public Works Department were all an extension of the Army Department. A claim is made that even provinces were made by the Army and no one can contradict this. Students of British Indian History know that the Punjab and Sind are wholly army made provinces. This chapter is concluded with a plea for placing the Indian Army on national and constitutional foundations.

Land revenue, as maker of British Indian administration, is examined in a long and separate chapter. The acquisition of a large revenue was from the beginning the primary object of the Company. After the acquisitions of the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa the first administrative task undertaken by the Company was the Collection of Land Revenue. In dealing with the history of the Land Revenue, Mr. Ruthnaswami incidentally furnishes the origin and the growth of the Zamindari system with a critical review of its merits and defects. In the same way the Ryotwari system is treated pointing out its defects and advantages. It has

been well said that the real contribution by the Ryotwari settlement was promotion of peace and tranquility. That land revenue not only did influence the general character of the Government but also penetrated on wider ranges of administration has been explained in the last half of the chapter. The District administration of India with its Collector and his assistants and Cutcherry was a creation of Land revenue. Real life has been infused into the villages. In this connection it is shown how some land revenue officials enjoyed certain judicial powers though ultimately they were deprived of them. It is contended with much force that, being a conservative force, land revenue is a peculiarity of Indian government and whoever regulates its assessment holds in his hands the peace of the country.

Chapter IV is on the hold of the Frontier. The East India Company had frontiers but no frontier. A masterly account of the policy connected with North West Frontier is furnished as also its administration. The making of the State by the administration is the subject of the fifth chapter. Indian Police, Political Department, Finance Department, Public Works Department, Posts and Telegraphs, Medical and Health Departments, Archaeological Department and the Secretariat—these and more are examined here. The last and most interesting chapter is on social and political ideas forged by the administration. The supremacy of the British Government in the international policies has been gradually asserted. This is what is called paramountcy with regard to Indian States. The origin and idea of Paramountcy are also discussed with clarity and lucidity. The author proceeds to give an account of social reform effected by administrative considerations. It is concluded that the policy followed in general is the policy of paternalism and consequently a solicitude for the welfare of the people committed to its charge. "Taken all in all, the British administrative system in India is one of the noblest structures whose records illuminate the annals of the art of administration".

From the above analysis of the chief contents of the book one may at once say that Mr. Ruthnaswami has taken great pains to produce this book of much value to students of British Indian administration. He has dived deep into the archives of the government departments and has quoted from the original records as far as possible. Well documented and well written, quite impartial and adequately critical is the account given in this book by the talented author. An index would have further enhanced the value of the work.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

HINDU CUSTOMS by Stanley Rice with a Foreword by H. H. The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 1937.) Price 7sh. 6d.

Though this book is entitled Hindu Customs and their origins, the chief interest in it centres round the institution of caste and its origins. To the Westerner this institution is a mystery and puzzle. A host of Orientalists and others interested in the origin of this institution of institutions in India have striven their utmost to study this from different points of view. The result is that publications on the subject are phenomenal. But the wonder of it is that no last word had been pronounced on it. This, it seems to us is as it should be. For several writers have not the needed background for a subject like this. It defies even Indian scholars soaked in their ancient tradition. Still books like this are welcome as they add to the knowledge already existing on the subject. The origin of caste is put to a searching examination and it is held that the germs existed in the pre-Dravidian tribes and were given a push by the Dravidians and a polish by the Aryans. In this connection Professor Ghose's suggestion of its roots in the Eastern *Vrātya* land is examined, as also its vitality and persistence through the ages.

Equally interesting are chapters on untouchability, Brahmans and the Cult of the Cow. With regard to the last the idea of totems and the custom of venerating deities of fertility are requisitioned. The other sections in the book deal with some Maratta customs and esoteric Hinduism. The latter is a resume of the leading tenets of the Hindu religion.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE RENGMA NAGAS by J. P. Mills (published by direction of the Government of Assam)—Macmillan & Co., London, 1937. 25s.

The Government of Assam should be congratulated for this publication which treats of a very important section of the Naga tribes, and goes by the name of the Rengma Nagas. The Naga tribes are very ancient ones in India and can be traced to pre-historic times. They seem to have spread all over the country from Ceylon to Assam and played a conspicuous part in the history of ancient India. With the spread of Western civilisation, the customs and traditions peculiar to some of these ancient tribes are fast disappearing, and hence it is all the more necessary from the

point of view of ethnology and anthropology that monographs like the one under review are produced before it is too late. In fact Mr. Mills points out the world of difference between the Western and Eastern Rengmas. The Western section has been brought under the influence of missionaries and have changed completely in habits and manners including dress, food and habitation. But the Eastern section of the Rengmas who have fortunately not been touched by the influences of Western civilisation continues to preserve its beliefs and habits which form the interesting study of this book. Incidentally we learn of the practices and customs of other contiguous tribes who are neighbours of the Rengmas. These are the Angamis, Semas and Lhotas. The different chapters on their domestic life, laws and customs, religion and folklore, and last but not least their language are all treated and afford interesting reading. Among the appendices those on mensuration, division of time and head-hunting in Formosa will repay perusal. The index is fairly exhaustive and useful.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

EASTERN RELIGIONS AND WESTERN THOUGHT by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Oxford, 1939. Price 15sh.

When the whole European world is enveloped by dark clouds of war, a war that threatens the very existence of civilisation and of social organisations, it would be a refreshing relief to go through the pages of Sir S. Radhakrishnan's new book. The book can be at once said to be a historical survey of modern civilisation whose moulding forces are to be traced to the Greek art and culture, Roman law and organisation, Christian religion and ethics, and scientific enlightenment. The present position of this civilisation is all uncertainty, a fundamental agnosticism and a sense of restlessness leading us confusedly to unknown ends. A secular view of life, humanistic spirit and scientific temper are cutting at the root of age long customs and conventions. To call a halt to this unending drifting and to revive a new-born faith in spiritual values seem to be in short the object and purpose of this learned and excellent work.

If the smoke screen of the materialistic view of life is to be broken through and a clear vision of the humanity as such is to be presented to Europe Sir Radhakrishnan stresses very aptly the deepest need for the emphasis of the Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism. The superiority of the Hindu spiritual ideal is treated not in the pedantic style as many scholars are prone

to treat such subjects, but in a simple and lucid style so as to carry it home to the minds of even laymen. It has been well said that religion has two sides, individual and social, and the one is defective if it neglects the other. In giving a history of the Hindu spiritual ideal Sir Radhakrishnan examines its genesis in the Indus Valley civilisation, its growth in the Rigveda and its zenith in the Upanisads. In the history of this great ideal, prominence is given to the work of the Indian mystics who have kept burning the torch of the fellowship of humanity. In this connection the influences in recent times of Indian religions on the West are pointed out, also the fact of outstanding importance that the new Renaissance in the West is mostly due to close contact with the East and Eastern ideas. After reviewing the social order in Hinduism in its proper perspective, Sir Radhakrishnan concludes this masterly survey of a great subject thus: "The ideal man of India is not the magnanimous man of Greece, or the valiant knight of mediaeval Europe, but the free man of spirit who has attained insight into the universal source by rigid discipline and practice of disinterested virtues, who has freed himself from the prejudices of his time and place. It is India's pride that she has clung fast to this ideal and produced in every generation and every part of the country from the time of the Risis of the Upanisads and Buddha to Ramakrishna and Gandhi, men who strove successfully to realise this ideal."

We offer our respectful felicitations to the learned Professor for this useful and valuable publication at a gloomy moment in the history of the world. This is bound to provoke ideas and ideals and bring about what all the world over require.....Peace.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

SUVARNA-DVIPA (SUMATRA) by Swami Sadananda with a foreword by O. C. Gangoly, Calcutta.

One of the fascinating fields of Indian History is a study of the various elements that go to make up Indonesian culture. There has been a difference of opinion as to what was the centre from which Indian civilisation in Indonesia spread. Some fix it at Sumatra, some at Java and others at Śrī Vijaya in the Malaya States. This brochure is devoted to a study of this expansion of Indian civilisation in Sumatra. The author writes with first hand information and his inferences are therefore acceptable. The monograph begins with the life led by the Bataks who were a fighting race before they came under the influence of the Dutch. Then the other aboriginal tribe Minangkabaus is treated. From the different monu-

ments discovered one sees the Hindus and Buddhist influences from India through the ages. The Sumatran Śailēndras were the first to give up the use of Pallava script and substituted Sanskrit as the court language. The closing pages deal with the downfall of Śrī Vijaya and its causes.

V. R. R.

RELATION BETWEEN INDIAN AND INDONESIAN CULTURE

by Mr. O. C. Gangoly.

This is a reprint of an article contributed by that wellknown scholar and prolific writer Dr. Gangoly. The paper begins with a critical examination of the views of Louis Finot on the question of Indian 'colonisation' and the spread of Indian culture overseas, and points out that there is no force in the arguments adduced. Dr. Gangoly shows how Sanskrit learning was kept up at a high level in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java, and how even in the field of architecture and plastic arts, the ideals of Indian art predominated. He also accepts the identification of Kālagam in early Tamil literature with Kaḍāram.

V. R. R.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE: His personality and work by Prof. V. Lesny with a foreword by C.F. Andrews (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1939). Price 8sh. 6d.

We have had occasion to read a number of biographies and life sketches by devoted pupils of Tagore's works including the one published about 25 years ago by one of our countrymen Mr. (now Dewan Bahadur) K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. But no sketch is so interesting and so delightful as the one under review. The reasons are not far to seek. Dr. Lesny came to Santaniketan, learnt the Bengali language, read all the works not in translations but only in the original Bengali and moved with the poet at very close quarters. These are advantages not possessed by every writer on Tagore. As has been aptly said Dr. Lesny had the background of the personal knowledge of the whole atmosphere of Tagore's plays and poems.

The first chapter deals with the intellectual and literary tendencies before Tagore in Bengal and the succeeding chapters are devoted to a study of the poet in enriching Bengali literature with lofty themes of a popular and national character. Then follows his trip to Europe and the starting of the Viśvabhāratī University.

His other trips to Malaya, China, Japan and other countries are also brought out vividly. By his writings and addresses, Dr. Tagore's fame shot up and his is of an international renown. Very recently the University of Oxford conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature for his valuable services not only for literature and art but also for the fellowship of humanity.

Dr. Lesny has done his work well and deserves our warm congratulations.

V. R. R.

INDIAN STATES AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT. By

K. R. R. Sastry. Published by the author, University, Allahabad. Pp. 142. Rs. 5 Inland; 7sh. 6d. Foreign.

To constitutional lawyers and political thinkers the future of the Indian States present a difficult problem. Time was when people took very little interest in the affairs of the Indian States. But now things have changed, and their problem is receiving the earnest attention of many thinkers. Though there are over 640 states in the country they widely differ from one another in their size, population, resources and progress. Their relations with the paramount power are governed by treaties, engagements and sanads into which they have entered with the paramount authority. Further the questions of constitutional and administrative reforms in them have been agitating the minds of the people; and the book under review by Mr. K. R. R. Sastry is a timely and useful publication inasmuch as it examines the constitutional position of the Indian States in relation to the Paramount Power, and deals with the implications of the grant of responsible Government to the people. The author has written the book in the hope that the States voluntarily moving with the times, like Aundh, Cochin and Mysore will be assisting in the birth of a renascent federal India. He regrets that the Princes as a class have not realised that the establishment of responsible government in the States is the only way of "restricting paramountcy in its proper field of action."

A good part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the constitutional position of the States and the nature of the treaties engagements and sanads into which they have entered with the Paramount power. Mr. K. R. R. Sastry examines in the first chapter the quasi-international status of the Indian States and holds the view that looked at internationally "from the outside by foreign powers they are British; looked at however from within they are not British". In the second chapter he describes the constitutional

characteristics of the States and the implications of Paramountcy. As the Indian States Committee held "the States are *sui generis*; there is no parallel in history to their position; they are governed by a body of conventions and usages not quite like anything in the world. They fall outside both municipal and international law. There is a paramount power in the British crown of which the extent is wisely left undefined." The chapter also contains a short review of the constitutional and administrative changes made in some of the leading Indian States. In the third chapter Mr. K. R. R. Sastry discusses the interpretation of the treaties, engagements and sanads and feels that "excepting with regard to specific rights or prerogatives which have been specially granted to individual princes these treaties which have been entered into at a time, when the political status of both the British Government and the Princes, was far different from what it is at present have to be interpreted according to the political relationship that exists at present in practice."

In the next two chapters the author examines the legal implications of the introduction of responsible government in the Indian States. He discusses the significance of the statement made in the House of Commons that the Paramount power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance in the Indian States and applies the same to States like Cochin, Mysore and Travancore, which, under the terms of their respective treaties with the Paramount Power, are obliged to secure the consent of the latter before making any change in their administration and strongly feels that strict law requires the revision of the terms of such bilateral treaties before the inauguration of constitutional reforms. But one is tempted to question if, in view of the official statement in the British Parliament regarding constitutional reforms in the Indian States the Princes cannot initiate reforms without at the same time relieving themselves from the responsibility to discharge their obligations to the paramount power. A broader interpretation of the important utterance of the Earl of Winterton and a liberal outlook on the subject may remove many of the difficulties raised by the searching lawyer.

On account of the wide diversity in the conditions of the Indian States, a constitutional machinery suitable to one state may not be suitable to another. There are bound to be different types of constitutional experiments in them. One of them, largely based on village republics is being tried in the small state of Aundh. Cochin makes an experiment with dyarchy, which was tried in the British Indian Provinces for seventeen years. Mysore will soon try a con-

stitution according to which the Cabinet will be an undivided one responsible to the ruler and will contain some members chosen from a popularly elected legislature. One would wish that the author had discussed the merits and defects of the different types of constitutional experiments and examined their suitability to the Indian States.

T. V. M.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TAMIL POETS: தமிழ்ப் புலவர்கள் வரலாறு (17th century), by Somasundara Desikar (Sadasivan Bros., 16, Nachiyappa Chetti Street, Mylapore, Madras, price Re. 1-4-0).

The lives of many of the ancient Tamil poets is still enveloped in mystery. Though some attempts have been made in setting the chronology of the poets of the Sangam and post Sangam epochs, yet the chronology of many of the poets who flourished in the subsequent period has not been definitely fixed. Among the few who have made an attempt in that direction is the late Mr. Somasundara Desikar. In 1936 he published a book on the Tamil poets of the sixteenth century which was well received; and the book under review, attempts to give as its successor an account of some Tamil poets who flourished in the seventeenth century. It would have been followed by others covering the subsequent centuries; but while the book under review was still in the Press Mr. Somasundara Desikar passed away to the great regret of all who knew him.

Mr. Desikar tries to portray in the book the lives and works of some forty six Tamil scholars who flourished in the century. Many of them were Śaivas while some were Vaiṣṇavas, and they were authors of *Ulās*, *Pillaittamils*, and *Purāṇams* relating to particular places of worship. Owing to the lack of much historical information about them Mr. Desikar has utilised on a large scale the traditions and miracles current relating to their lives. Their chronology and date he has tried to fix with the available data.

Mr. Desikar thinks that Maṇavāladāśar was the same as Pillai Perumāḷ Aiyangar and that he lived in the middle of the seventeenth century on the strength of the tradition that he was a contemporary of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura. The author feels that Antakak Kavi Virarāghava Mudaliyār was a younger contemporary of Tiruvenkaṭanātha of Kayattār and dedicated his work *Tirukkalikunṇapurāṇam* to one Timmayappa Ayyaṇ, a chieftain in the modern

Chingleput district in the seventeenth century. But it appears that the poet was a contemporary of Pararājasēkhara of Jaffna who lived in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Mr. Desikar says that there were many who went by the name Śivaprakāśa and gives an account of Śivaprakāśasvāmigaḷ, who, he thinks lived in the middle of the seventeenth century and wrote the *Prabhulingalilai* in A.D. 1652. Kaḍigai Muttupulavar was a notable poet of the period who could write verses with double meaning. A distinction is correctly made between Kāvai Vaḍamalaiyappar and Iraśai Vaḍamalaiyappar who lived at two different periods. Of them the later lived in the seventeenth century and wrote his well-known work *Pulavarārṇuppaḍai* in K. A. 868 (A.D. 1692). It is interesting to note that in the period also flourished Muslims who were scholars in Tamil. Of them mention is made of Umaṇu Pulavar.

This interesting little book is a welcome publication and will add to the slender stock of knowledge we have of the Tamil poets of the seventeenth century.

T. V. M.

Select Contents from Periodicals

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London)
—Vol. X—Part 2, 1940.

Another Ancient Tribe of the Punjab by L. D. Barnett I (indicating the allied state of the Aggācas perhaps identifiable with the Agalasseis of the Greek writers)—An addendum notes that the personal names, Sāta and Sāti can be traced in the appellations of many places in Bellary, Mysore and the Kanarese areas of Bombay.

Dravidian Studies II by T. Burrow (Notes on the interchange of short o and e with i and u in South Dravidian).

The Secret Committee of the East India Company by C. H. Philips (The Committee had its origin as early as 1683).

Dated Chinese mss. in the Stein Collection by Lionel Giles.

Rāma by H. W. Bailey (the text of the Khotanese Rāma poem, akin to the Tibetan fragments of the Rama story and taken from the Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale).

Azervanite Apocalypse I by R. C. Zachner.

Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi'at—Tahtāwī, The Egyptian Revivalist—by J. Heyworth-Dunne—(his literary out put).

The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj by V. Minorosky (an aberrant dialect of the khalaj tribe living in the heart of Persia, who are putative cousins of the Khilji kings of India and the Ghilzay, Afghans of Qandahar).

Journal Asiatique, (July-Sept. 1938) (1940). Tome CCXXX
La Chronique Abrégée D'al-Azimi par C. Cahen.

Acta Orientalia. Edited by Sten Know, Vol. XVIII; part II.

H. Geotz—Late Indian Architecture (the two centuries following the building of the Taj Mahal have not been a period of decadence; but followed the spirit of the times).

The date of Asoka's Rock Edict, XIII, by P. H. L. Eggermont. (holding that Magas of Cyrene died between 253 and 256 B.C., Alikasundara must be identified with Alexander of Epirus who died before or in the year 255 B.C.; The Rock Edict XIII was published before or in the year 255).

Indian Art and Letters. Vol XIV, No. 1, (1940).

Græco—Buddhist Art in the Swat Valley, by P. R. T. Wright, (stressing on their value towards the elucidation of a clearer Gandharan chronology and the contact of the art with Mediterranean traditions.)

Shahr-i-Gholghola (Afghan legend), by Madame J. Hackin and Ahmed Ali Khan Kohzad.

An Artist's Impressions of the Caves and Temples of Badami, by Marquerite Milward—(The temples of Badami, Hihole and Patadakal link up in a straight line all the greatest achievements of Hindu art: the caves of Elephanta, Ellora and Ajanta with Mamallapuram.

Indian Patterns in Silk, by Germaine Merlange, Asoka, Heir of the 'Way', by Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids; (the edicts showing Asoka as a true heir of Gotama's 'Way of the Worlds').

Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 60. No. 2, (June 1940).

C. C. Torrey—The Letters prefixed to Second Maccabees.

V. Müller—Types of Mesopotamian Houses (indicating that highlanders and lowlanders lived and mingled in the region from the earliest times and a new great invasion of the highlanders took place at the beginning of the Uruk and of the Early Dynastic Period).

Sāmādhi "Hostage" and Related Matters from Kautilya, by F. Edgerton, (*sāmādhi* means concretely hostage on the act of giving hostages and *Sāmdhimokṣah* is clearly a corruption of *sāmādhimokṣah*).

Langdon's Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur, by S. N. Kramer (corrected from the fragments located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient of Istanbul).

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XVII, Part III, January 1940.

A History of Malay Literature, by R. O. Winstedt (including modern developments in the XX century).

Journal of the Burmah Research Society. Vol. XXIX, Part III. (Dec. 1939).

Denmark's Interest in Burma and the Nicobar Islands, by J. L. Christian (from 1620 and tracing the history of Danish enterprise in the Nicobars).

Europeans in Burmah in the Fifteenth Century, by J. S. Furnell, (noticing N de Conti, Niiikin (Nikiten?), Santo Stefano, Hieronimo de Santo Stefano).

Admiral Luard, by B. R. Pearn, (noticing his part in the second Burmese War).

The State of Burmah in 1790, by B. R. P.

Journal of the University of Bombay, (July 1940, Vol. IX, (New Series) Part I (History, Economics and Sociology Section).

Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat, by M. S. Commissariat (mainly issued in favour of Shantidas Jawahari of Ahmadabad, by the Mughal Emperors. Shantidas was a famous banker, the Nagarsheth of Ahmadabad got farmans granting toleration to Jain Monks and to Shri Vithaleswar, the second son of Shri Vallabhacharya.

H. M.'s. Warships against European Pirates in the Indian Seas 1721-24, by A.G. Pawar.

A sociological Study of the Kolis of Kathiawad, by B. L. Mankad.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. XII part II (Dec. 1939).

Lord William Bentinck—Dr. T. G. Percival Spear (indicating the underlying principles of Bentinck's measures).

The Revenue Organisation of the Empire of Delhi (1206-1290 A.D.), by M. Aziz Ahmad.

A Historical and Comparative Study of the Practice of Religions Recital (Japa), by N. N. Sen Gupta.

Some Newly Acquired Antiquities in the Mathura Museum, by M. M. Nagar.

Early Revenue Policy of the E. I. Company in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1801-1815), by R. R. Nagar.

Shah Alam at Allahabad (1767-69), by Dr. Nandlal Chatterji.

Humayun Back to Sind and His March to Sibi and Mashtang, by Dr. S. K. Banerji.

The Political Situation in Magadha in the Third Century, A.D., by Jagan Nath (Scytho-Kushana domination did never exist in Magadha; and the Kushan as had been ousted from the neighbourhood of Prayaga before the 3rd Century A.D.)

A Note on the New Mathura Head, by V. S. Agrawala (assigning it to the early Gupta period).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—Letters. Vol. V, 1939, No. 1.

Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology, by Girindrashekhara Bose, (establishing four points of contact between the Puranic and the inscriptional data on series of Andhra Kings and discussing the origin of the Saka era).

Conquest of Sholapur, by Burhan Nizam Shah I, (1508-13 A.D.) as described, by Shah Tahir, by M. Hidayat Hosain. Manuscript copy of the Diwan of Dara Shikoh, by Zafar Hasan. The Nagas in the 3rd-4th centuries, A.D., by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

The Vaghers of Okhamandal.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XX, Parts III & IV.

The Kinship usages and the Family Organisation in Rigveda and Atharvaveda, by Dr. Mrs. I. Karne.

Sane verses about the Kāyastha—Prabhus composed, by Kesava Pandita, by the order of King Sambhaji, son of Shinaji about 1675 A.D., by P. K. Gode.

The Āśvalayāna—Mantra Samhita, by Dr. V. M. Apte.

The Script of Mohenjo-Daro and Eastern Island, by N. M. Billimoria.

New Lines of Investigation in Indian Linguistics, by Dr. S. M. Katre.

New Light on the Vedic God, Savitru, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Lankavatāra Sutra on Non-vegetarian diet, by P. C. Divanji.

Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, Vol. IV. (1939-40), Part II.

Women Characters in Kalidāsa's dramas, by Dr. V. Raghavan. Place-Name Suffixes in Tamil, by R. P. Sethu Pillai.

Jaina Tradition in Telugu, by S. Lakshmi pati Sastri.

Karuvur Tōṭṭam (describing the birth of Ganesa as a forest-deity, and interesting to the antiquarian), by Dr. C. A. Menon.

Hindi, High Hindi, Urdu, Dakhni, Hindistani, by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar (developing the features in the growth of Hindi and Urdu, Hindistani should develop and avoid excessive use of Persian and Hindi words).

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVI, Parts 1 & 2.

Maharaja Kalyan Singh, Shiq, "The last native Governor of Bihar", by Syed Hasan Askari, M.A.

- Terra Cotta Plaque of Vighrahaladeva (with plate), by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.
- The Administration of Justice in Bihar and Bengal during Verelst's Governorship, by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.
- An Account of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur (1534-57), by Prof. K. K. Basu, M.A.
- My Experience in Tibet, by Capt. V. D'Auvergne, M.C., D.C.M., M.S.M.
- Mauryan Sculptures from Lohanipur, Patna (with plates), by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D. Phil.
- Angiras, by Ranjit Singh Satyasraya, M.A.,
- A Stone Inscription From Maksudpur (with plates), by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., D.Phil.
- Supplementary Note on Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins, one found at Ramna and one at Machhuatoli, by E. H. C. Walsh, C.S.I., I.C.S., (Retired).
- Two Hero Stones of Bankura, by Adris Banerji, M.A.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 1.

- Hyder Ali's Relation with the Marathas (1766-67), by Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.
- Durlabhram a Prominent Bengal Officer of the Mid-eighteenth Century, by Dr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M.A., Ph. D.
- Parijata-dhvaja of the Maratha King Sambhaji, by P. K. Gode, M.A.
- The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India (1206-1290 A.D.), by Dr. Mohammad Aziz Ahmad, M.A., Ph.D.
- Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, by Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A.
- Benares Plate of Govindacandra, King of Kanauj: (Vikramasamvat, 1171), by R. K. Ghoshal, M.A.
- Siva and his Emblems on Early Indian Coins and Seals, by Jitendra Nath Banerjee, M.A.
- The Quilon Inscription of Jayasimha Vira Kerala Varma, by Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A., and A. G. Warriar.
- Sher Shah's Parganahs and their Administrative Officials, by Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.
- The Silver and Copper Coinage of Pre-Moghul India, by Rev. G. L. Schanzlin, M.A.
- The Vatsagulma Copper-plate Grant of Vakataka Vindhya-sakti, Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A., Ph. D.

The Adyar Library Bulletin, Vol. IV, parts 1.

- Jivanandanam of Anandaraya Makhi, Edited by Vaidyaratna G. Srinivasa Murti, B.A., B.L., M.B. & C.M., and Vaidyaratna M. Duraiswami Aiyangar.
- Samavedasamhita with the Commentaries of Madhava and Bharatasvamin, Edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon).
- Sangitaratnakarah with the Commentaries of Chaturakallinatha and Simhabhupala, Edited by S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

The Journal of the Greater India Society, Vol. VII, No. 1.

- The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan, by J. Hackin.
- Recent Advances in Kambuja Studies, by B. R. Chatterjee.
- Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture, by O. C. Gangoly.

The Poona Orientalist, Volume IV, No. 4 and Vol. V, No. 1.

- On the Origin of the Doctrine of Samsara, by H. G. Narahari, M.A.
- Agni and Soma, by Fatah Singh, M.A.
- Bhartrhari Not a Buddhist; Evidence from Nearer Home, by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.
- Date of the Works of Kayastha Camuda, by P. K. Gode, M.A.
- Agni and Soma, Fatah Singh, M.A.

New Asia, Vol. II, No. 2.

- Creative Democracy, By John Dewey.
- Constitutional Government in Turkey, by Prof. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.

Man in India, Vol. XX, Nos. 1 & 2.

- An Enquiry into the Racial Elements in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Neighbouring Areas of the Hindukush, by Dr. B. N. Datta, A.M., Dr. Phil.
- The Yanadis of the Madras Presidency, by P. C. Reddy.

The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Vol. XV, No. 1

- The Place of Geography in National Planning, by Shibaprasad Chatterjee.

Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 & 2.

- The Conflicting Political Philosophies of Our Age, by P. Nagaraja Rao.

Butchireddipalem Plates of Simhavarman II, by M. Somasekhara Sarma.

India and China, by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

The Battle of Soremadi, by M. Venkataramayya.

Kopperunjinga and the Villianur Record, by S. R. Balasubrahmanyam.

The Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Vol. IV, No. 3.

Can We Reconstruct Pre-Bharata War History?, by A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B. D.Litt.

The Hindu Samskaras of Childhood, by Raj Bali Pandey M.A., D. Litt.

Hindu Toleration of Early Islam in India, by Krishna Kumar, M.A.

The State, King and Some Other Incidents of Polity in Kalidasa, by Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya.

Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol. VIII, Part 1.

A Note on the Historicity of the Grampaddhati, by Dr. B. A. Saletore.

Ravi Varma Kulasekharadeva (A Note), by Prof. K. R. Pisharoti, M.A.

Studies in the Musakavamsa, by A. Govinda Warriar B.A. B.L.,

The Vanci Problem, by T. K. Krishna Menon.

Kulumur—The Perumal's Agrasala, by A. G. Warriar.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXX, Nos. 3 & 4 & Vol. XXXI, No. 1.

The History of the Visnukundins, by K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

Private Life of the Peshwas, by V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A.

Pallava Perunjinga and the Yadavas, by K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

Poligars of Mysore and their Civilisation: A Study, by P. B. Ramachandra Rao.

Balaji Baji Rao and the South, by V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A.

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