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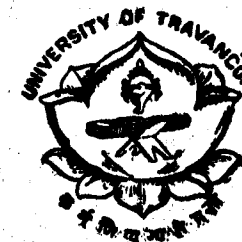
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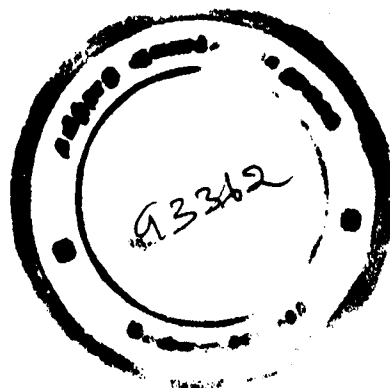
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The Malaya Mountain

By

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,

Trivandrum

The Mahēndra, Malaya, and Sahya mountains of South India, and the rivers Kāvēri, Krtamāla (=Vaigai), and Tāmraparṇi in their regions, all six of which are mentioned in the Puranas, the Ramayana, and Kalidasa's works, could be only *very conspicuous* physical features visible to those in South India or those from the North, who travelled by land in ancient days in the eastern plains and the east coast of South India below Kalinga, and by sea in ships sailing close to that coast which was divided into the Pearl Fishery and Coromandel coasts. We may assume that none of those travellers, even the Jaina and Buddhist missionaries who were fond of hills, did actually visit those three conspicuous mountains. The heroes and armies mentioned in the Ramayana and Raghuvamsa (except Hanumān) had no occasion to go up those lofty mountains through the dangerous cimmeric forests of the period around 1 A.D. Of the many rivers south of Madras we find only three (Kāvēri, Vaigai, Tāmraparṇi) mentioned by name, and that most probably because the ancient cities and ports (Pukār, Madura, Korkai, &c.) of the Cholas and Pandyas, who were known to Asoka and even to the more remote Greeks and Romans, were situated on those three rivers.

* *

The highest, and therefore, the most conspicuous mountains in South India *below* the Kaveri are three according to the relief maps and relief models. They are—

1. The Nilgiri Hills plus the highest part of the Deccan Table-Land (Mysore) just north of them. The Kaveri flows across this part. Those Hills have the highest peak Dodabetta, 8640 ft. All these are north of the Palghat gap, and bound the northern portion of Malai-Nāḍu (=Mala-bar=Mala-ālam) on the east.

2. Anamalai Hills south of the Palghat gap, with their highest peak Anamudi (8,837 ft.) N.E. of Travancore, and their extensions to the east, and to the south as far as Cape Comorin, the Land's End

of India. These lie in Cochin and Travancore. The highest peaks of the Travancore portion are Agastya-kūdam (6,132 ft.), and Mahendra-giri (5,500 ft.). The whole range is called the Sahya Parvatam (Cardamum Mts.)

3. A detached hemispherical mountain to the east of the eastern spur of the Anamalais. It is between Trichinopoly on the Kaveri and Madura on the Vaigai south of the Kaveri. The Trichy-Madura Railway passes through the plain between the above spur and the hemispherical mountain, to Rama's Setu.

There is another detached mountain consisting of a pair of hemispheres to the east of No. 1 above; but it is north of the Kaveri, and not south of it. It flows between No. 1 and this double hemisphere.

* *

The Kula Parvata Malaya mentioned in the Puranas and other Sanskrit works written in North India must be No. 1, the Nilagiri Mts., although most authorities identify the Malaya Mt. with "the southern end of the Western Ghats." But according to geographers "the Western Ghats run almost without a break from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin.....and the Eastern and Western Ghats may be said to meet in the Nilgiri Hills", No. 1 above. So the southern end of the Western Ghats is near Cape Comorin, with the Agastya and Mahendra peaks (see No. 2) close to it. If by "the southern end" is meant the meeting point (No. 1) at the Nilgiris there is no mistake in their identification. (See Dr. Kunhan Raja and Dr. D. C. Sircar in *IHQ* for Sept. and Dec. 1946).

Nīla-giri, a Sanskrit name, must be a translation of the local Tamil name *Nīla-Malai*, and the appellation "Malayah" is no doubt the Sanskritised form of Tamil *Malai*. From *Malayah* the compound word *malayaja*, and the *taddhita* form *mālēya* (coined by Malabar Brahmins) have been formed to signify sandalwood. It may be noted that the 'e' in the Malabar form *mālēya* is a vestige of the colloquial pronunciation *malei*, the pedantic form being *malai* (with *la* and not *le*). The northern Sanskritists would have formed *mālāya*, and not *mālēya*, from *malayah*. These names for sandalwood indicate that there were sandalwood trees growing in the Malaya Mountain, even if we have not the descriptions of such trees and the snakes on them, found in Sanskrit works. And we recall that Mysore just north of this Malaya Mt. is now famous for its sandalwood, and not any part of the Ghats south of that Mt.

Kalidasa's description of Malaya as full of sandalwood and snakes, and as south of the *Kaveri*, and also as adjoining the Pandyan plain agrees with the situation of the Nilagiri Hills and their neighbourhood, and the trees peculiar to that region.

* *

The Kula Parvata called in Sanskrit the Sahya (evidently formed from a Tamil name, perhaps *cheyya-malai*, the red mountain, or the mountain of the red, rising sun) is undoubtedly the Cochin-Travancore Ghats (No. 2) south of the Palghat gap, although one or two Malabar poets have wrongly called it Malaya Mt. (No. 1). Anamalai at the northern end of it seems to have been given that name because from a distance it looked like an *ānai*, elephant. Unsophisticated folk call the Sahya (the red, rising sun's mountain, the *udaya parvata* in Sanskrit) the *Kizhakkā Mala*, the eastern mountain, Sanskrit *Pūrva Parvata*.

The *Periplus* (60 A.D.) mentions a *Purrrhon* Mountain in Travancore, which scholars like Schoff have identified with the "Red Bluffs of Warkala and those below Anjengo", both on the coast of South Travancore. But these low bluffs cannot be called mountains. It is probable, therefore, that the *Purrrhon* (=red) Mountain which the 'peripluser' saw at a distance from his ship, as flooded gloriously with the red rays of the rising sun is the red Sahya. Or, he might have been given the Sanskrit name *Purva Parvata* (meaning the eastern mountain) by the North Indian guides in his ship, and he must have noted it down in his log book as *Purrrhon* assimilating the unwieldy Sanskrit name to his Greek word *purrrhon* meaning red, thus unwittingly combining the idea in the name Sahya (=cheyya, red) with the sound of the name *Pūrva* (parvata).

* *

It seems that the notion of Kalidasa and other ancient authors of North India, who never visited the south, was that the Malaya Mountain extended down to Rama's Setu (now Adam's Bridge) beginning from Dhanushkodi in Ramnad, on the South East coast. See Kalidasa's—

vaidēhi, paśyāmalayād vibhaktam
matsētunā, phēnilam amburāśim

in his *Sandesa*. To them India extended 'āsētu himācalam'—i.e. from Rama's bridge to the Himalayas.

Nor are these to blame. For the ancient western geographers too had the same wrong notion. For instance Hecataeus of Miletus (born C. 540 B.C.), Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian Librarian (276-196 B.C.), Pomponius Mela the Spaniard (C. 40 A.D.), the author of the *Periplus* (60 A.D. or C. 75), and Ptolemy (C. 150). These mention Kory (=Kodi) as the southernmost point of India. This Kory is not Cape Comorin, which they mention separately as Comaria, or Comari. It is Dhanush—Kodi, Greek *r* being usually written to represent the un-Greek cerebral *ḍ* or *ṭ* found in Indian languages. It is surprising that even the author of the *Periplus* who came at least as far as *Bakare* (=Purakkad near Alleppey, and not Vayakkara as usually interpreted), and *Nelkynda* (=Nākkiḍa on the river Pampa, the *Baris* river, Boat river, of Pliny, 77 A.D.), entertained the same notion.

Kalidasa, we know, mentions two South Indian mountains "*Malaya-Dardurau*", the Malaya and Dardura as the twin breasts "*stanau*" of the southern region. Malaya we have already identified with the Nilgiris. Dardura seems to be the hemispherical mountain east of No. 1 in the list at the beginning of this article. Dardura (Skt.) means a frog, and that mountain was perhaps so called because it looked like a frog or toad from a distance.

* *

The Mahendra mountain, one of the seven Kulaparvatas, from which Hanuman leaped to Lanka must be some high mountain near Ceylon, and Rama's bridge. It cannot be the Mahendragiri near Cape Comorin, as it is far away from Ceylon

* *

Now, corresponding to Malaya of Sanskrit derived from Tamil Malai (*vulgo* Malei) there is in the *Christian Topography* of the Alexandrian Greek monk and traveller Cosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 520-25) the name Male (two syllables) for Malei-Nāḍu, (Mala-bar, Mala-ālam) thus in two places:—

1. Omoīōs kai eis tēn legomenēn Male, entha to peperī ginetai (Book III).
2. legō dē tē Male, en ē to peperī ginetai (Book XI).

This Greek name Ma-le (Tamil *ma-lei*) for Mala-bar (Kerala) must have been derived from either Nīla-Malei (Nilgiris, Malayah), or Sahya-Malei, or more probably from both, i.e. the Malabar portion of the Western Ghats. Cosmas heard the lengthy local name Malei-nāḍu, and must have curtailed it into simple Male, dropping even the final *i*, and giving it a Greek desinence. This perhaps occurred, let us note, long before the same land was called Mala-bar and Mala-ālam by the Arabs as translations of local Malei-nāḍu. The Portuguese, we find, called it the Serra (mountain), translating *Malei* (after 1498).

Before or after Cosmas another name Mala-n-kara (used exclusively by the ancient Syrian Christians of Malabar) was given to the Malabar Diocese of the Christians, probably by some Persian or Syrian bishop who ruled the Malabar Diocese. The name Mal-ānkara seems to have been coined by adding the Greek word *chora*, or the Syriac word *khere* (both meaning land) to Mala (mountain). This Mala-chora, or Mala-khere was easily assimilated by the Malabar Christians to their intelligible word Malankara, meaning the Mala-land, or Mala-shore. There was, otherwise, no chance of such a newfangled name being adopted when there was the usual name Mala-nāḍu in vogue.

Medieval Trade, Craft, and Merchant Guilds in South India*

By

(PURAVRITTAJYOTI :—K. R. VENKATARAMA AYYAR)

The produce of the land and its resources were able to sustain foreign trade between South India and the countries of the west and of the east for many centuries. The origin of this commercial intercourse is lost in the mist of antiquity, and its progress could be traced with ever expanding volume from very early times to practically the establishment of English rule in South India. Our sailors and traders settled in far off lands, establishing trading marts and colonies, which were as much centres of exchange of culture as of merchandise. Yavanas, by which term our ancestors referred to the Greeks, Romans, Jews, and even Arabs, established colonies in our land, both on the littoral and inland. All this naturally presupposes the existence not of adventurers and free lance traders and explorers, who simply could not sustain centuries of growing trade, but of a network of organisations—some devoted to production and others to distribution.

The organisation of South Indian local administrative institutions is a very fascinating subject of study. Social life in the past, practically in all its aspects, expressed itself in innumerable groups where the individual did not by any means lack opportunities for self expression. The *Nagaram* is one type of local assembly, the counter part of the *paura* of Sanskrit literature. It was a primary assembly of merchants functioning as one of the local assemblies in important trade centres, working in co-operation with the *ūr* or *sabhdā*, and was probably the only assembly in towns populated mainly or mostly by merchants. Caste was no barrier to the admission of members. That Brahmins took to the profession of commerce is clear from a record at Enṇāyiram,¹ a large Vaiṣṇava centre and Collegiate town in the modern district of South Arcot.

*Abstract of an address delivered before the History Department of the University College, Trivandrum, on October 1st, 1947 under the Presidentship of Professor Narayana Pillai.

1. A.R.E. 343 of 17.

Hoysala records² make frequent reference to merchants of Brahmin descent, who carried on trade in horses, elephants and pearls, and in the words of these records 'transported goods from the east to the west and from the north to the South and vice versa'.

The *Nagaram* and other mercantile corporations were not constituted exclusively by the natives of South India. There are frequent references to the *Tennilāṅgai Valāṇḍiyar* or trading merchants from South Ceylon. There is a reference in a Hoysala record³ of the reign of Vīra Rāmanātha to *Paradēsi sāvāsi* merchants, a member of which community bore the name of Sākala Bhaṭṭa. The *Sāvāsis* or *Sahavāsis* could be identified with the *Sāha*, a class of merchants from Deogiri (Daulatabad) mentioned in Ibn-Baṭṭūta's memoirs, whom Fahien at an earlier age referred to as *So-Po*.

The term *Valāṇḍiya* (*Baṇāṇjika*), so frequently met with is derived from the Sanskrit *Vanij*, and means trader (rather export trader). The *Valāṇḍiyar* are therefore traders in general, and belonged to several corporations. They are said to follow the *Baṇāṇjudharma* or *Valāṇḍiya Samaya* or the code of mercantile conduct. This explanation of *Valāṇḍiya* is borne out in the Kōṭṭayam Plates of Vīrarāghava, which have the expression *Valāṇḍiyattitanic-cettum*. *Cettu* in Tamil means trade; *taniccettu* is exclusive trading; and the expression means monopoly of trade in certain exports. Some of the *Valāṇḍiyar* were styled *Virabalaṇjika* or *Viravalāṇḍiyar*, probably because they were not mere traders but armed traders, who could fight for the protection of their wares whenever attacked.

The term *Valāṇḍiyar* (*Balaṇjika*) was later corrupted into *Bāṇia*. There were also Brahmin merchants in the guild. Marco Polo calls them *Abraiaman*.⁴ "These Abraiaman", he says, "are the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for any thing on earth. If a foreign merchant, who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases

2. cf. E.C. V. Arsikere 22.

3. A.R.E. 70 of 31. Skt. vāṇija: Prakrit Baniya.

4. Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India* pp. 176-7. Also Appadorai: *Economic Condition in South India* I. p. 382. Appadorai identifies the *Abraiaman* with *Banias*, but Sastri's identification is the only acceptable one.

to bestow. They eat no flesh, and drink no wine, and live a life of great chastity; nor would they on any account take what belongs to another; so their law commands. And they are all distinguished by wearing a thread of cotton over one shoulder and tied under the other arm, so that it crosses the breast and the back. These are idolaters; and they pay greater heed to signs and omens than any people that exists". I need hardly apologise for quoting this passage from an observer who was not much of a sympathetic critic. It will thrill every Indian heart to contemplate the general integrity and high character of our traders in the medieval period.

There are frequent references to *Kudiraicettis*⁵ or dealers in horses, who no doubt imported horses from abroad,—from Arabia and perhaps from Pegu, and distributed them among the rulers and nobles. A reference to some very ancient sculptures and to *Paṭṭinappāllai* will convince us that the import of war horses began very early—even in the early centuries of the Christian era. This trade assumed importance in the period of Cōla imperial rule when cavalry played an important role in the Cōla army and the armies of the other South Indian powers opposed to them. This extensive trade is described by Sulaiman (C. 850 A.D.) Ibne-Rusta—(C. 900 A.D.) Abuzaid (C. 950 A.D.) and Marco Polo (C. 1293) and Wassaf (in the beginning of the 14th century). The *Kudirai Cettis* are often said to come from Malai-nāḍu (Travancore and Cochin), where the horses were first imported from Arabia.

The Kōṭṭayam Plates of Sthānu Ravi⁶ and of Vīrarāghava⁷ have references to the *Maṇigrāmam*. In Vol. IV of the *Epigraphia Indica*, the editor wrongly thought that *Maṇigrāmam* was a title conferred upon a donee. But later when epigraphists met with such expressions as *Maṇigrāmattār* and discovered that the term was associated with a number of towns, they easily concluded that it referred to a group or corporation of merchants. In *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla*, an old Malayalam song, it occurs as the name of a trading corporation. The great commentator Naccinārkinīyar explains it as a *Kuḷuvitpeyar*—a collective name for a community, and following his lead, the author of *Nēminātham* uses the word as an instance of *Kūṭiyarpeyar*. The form used by the first commentator namely *Vanikagrāmam*, not necessarily a mislection, possibly explains the origin of the word *Maṇigrāmam*, which denotes

5. Sastri: *Colas* II. p. 438.

6. T.A.S. Vol. II.

7. E.I. IV.

a *grāma* (guild) of merchants. *Vāḷaramānikkam*, the name of a village in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, is a corruption of *Vanīkar Maṇi-grāmam*. Like the Sanskrit *Śrēṇi* it is a corporation of men of different castes (*Jāti*s) functioning or doing business like men of the same *jāti*, *nānājātinām eka jātiya karmōpajīvinām*). *Tālakkaḍ* (Cochin) and *Kollam* on the *Kēraḷa* coast and *Tittāṇḍattānapuram* (Tonḍi) and *Kāvēripattanam* on the east coast were *Maṇigrāmams*. Towns bearing this appellation existed all over the interior. *Kuttālam* in the far south and *Baligāmi* in the Deccan, *Uraiyūr* (Trichinopoly) and four places in the modern State of Pudukkōṭṭai, viz., *Koḍumbālūr*, *Kīranur*, *Ponnamaravati* and *Vāḷaramanikkam*, deserve special mention. Certain Nayar families of Quilon are still known as *Maṇigramakkārar*, and some Hindu families of Tonḍi also bear that name.

From these evidences one may reasonably conclude that this corporation was a highly honoured group of merchants and traders, and they might well be described as merchant princes who set the standard for guilds. In some contexts the term is applied not only to the guild but also to the town where the guild was organised, even as the modern term *Municipality* refers not only to a group of men, but also to the town that has been constituted a Municipality. Even settlements in distant lands colonised by South Indian merchants were constituted *Maṇigrāmams*, for instance *Taku-ape* in modern Siam, where a tank and temple of *Nāraṇa* were constructed by Tamil merchants and placed under the protection of the *Maṇigrāmam* of the town, during Pallava Nandi Varman III's reign.

So much for the guilds; and now to the craft guilds. In his *Mitākṣara*, *Viñānēśvara* defines a *Śrēṇi* as a guild of persons earning their livelihood by the same kind of labour, whether belonging to the same caste or to different castes. In the early centuries the bond of union in the guild was adherence by the members to the same occupation though they might otherwise belong to different castes, but later the guilds became rather stereotyped, and birth in the same *jāti* counted as the only unifying factor in the guild. Sulaiman, a careful observer, states that in all the kingdoms that he had seen the profession never went out of caste, Barbosa remarks that sons of washermen perforce followed their father's trade. An inscription of the reign of an unidentified *Kulōttunga*⁸ tells us that the occupation of the *Rathakāras* went by heredity. Sometimes

8. A.R.E. 479 of 08.

however the same craft was pursued by men of different castes, and such guilds included every member following the profession without strict reference to caste; in such cases there was also a caste guild distinct from the craft guild.

The *Kōṭṭayam* plates of *Sthāṇu Ravi* and of *Vīrarāghava* and the *Cochin Plates* of *Bhāskara Ravi Varman*⁹ were probably the earliest records which drew the attention of scholars to the meaning of *Añjuvaṇṇam*. Some scholars thought it to be a Tamilised form of the Arabic word *Añjuman* meaning an association, while others took it to refer to the Jews or the early Christian merchants who settled in the west coast. Discovery of epigraphs in the interior where there were no such Jewish or Christian settlements made it clear that an indigenous corporation was referred to by this term. It is now clear that the term *Añjuvaṇṇam* means the 'five artisan classes'; the same as *Hañjama* in a *Basrūr* record,¹⁰ *Pāñcāhanam-vāru* or *Pāñcālavāru* in the Telugu, and *Pāñcalattār* in the Tamil Inscriptions. Two records,¹¹ one from *Elavānasūr*, and the other from *Tiruvānaikōvil* (Trichinopoly) clinch the point when they describe it as the *Añjujāti Pāñcalattār*. A *Kriṣṇāpaṇam* record¹² mentions a street by name *Añjuvarṇatteru*, where the artisans of this corporation lived. These artisan classes should have had a corporate existence from very early times since even the earliest records that mention them indicate that they were taxed collectively and acted in their corporate capacity when they made grants often in association with one or other of the trading and mercantile corporations.

Apart from this combination of artisan classes, distinct groups of artisans are also mentioned in inscriptions such as carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, oilmongers, *kaikkolar*, gardeners, stone-

9. E.I. III.

10. A.R.E. 406 of 28; also A.R.E. 1928 paragraph 36.

11. A.R.E. 493 of 38, and 46 of 38.

12. A.R.E. 8 of 28. Tamil *Anjuvarṇattōn*=weaver, and *Timilian Muslim* weavers in South Travancore are now, or even now, called *Ancuvannakkār*. In a South Travancore Tamil song (c. 1635) *Ancuvannam* (or ... *maṇṇam*) people form one of the 72 units of the *Vēṇāḍ* king's army. Could *ancu-varṇam* be five colours used in dyeing? *Varṇam*=colour; *ancu*=five.

In the *Cochin Jew's plate* *ancuvannam*, used thrice, means the headship of *ancuvannam*, the Jewish community. In the earlier (c. 880) *Quilon plate* too it means the Jewish community there, or its leader. It is unlikely that these *Cochin* and *Quilon Jews* were weavers or dyers.—Ed.

cutters, braziers, rope-makers, jewellers, shoe-makers, drawers and tailors. Goldsmiths including coiners blacksmiths, carpenters and masons designated themselves *Virapāñcālattār*.

To capture the popular imagination these organised industrial communities invented mythological origins for themselves.^{12a} The *Virapāñcāla*, for example, traced their origin to Viśvakarma. Legends soon grew round them, and to this day, these legends constitute an interesting field of study for the students of Social Anthropology.

We may next consider the producers—the cultivators of the soil. The *Siḷappadikāram* speaks of the old flourishing villages peopled by the *Vellālar*-men, who by their tillage relieved the wants of beggars and contributed to the prosperity of kings. The *Vellālas* were an honoured community, and their leaders were honoured with such titles as *kāvidi* and *ēnādi*. *Vellāla* nobles married their daughters to princes and enjoyed special privileges at court. The *Sanḡam* works refer to local *Vēlir* chieftains—those of *Mīlalai* and of *Koḍumbālūr* and the *Āyvēlirs*. The commentary on *Tolkāppiam* states that Agastya brought with him 18 sections of *Vellālar*, who long before the Christian era expelled the *Kurumbār* from the fertile regions of the South, and established themselves as *nilattaraśu* or 'rulers of the soil' to distinguish them from the *nāṭtaraśu* or 'rulers of the *nāḍu*'. They were practically independent save for the general control of the king. *Vellāla* means 'he who rules the *vellam* or floods'; one class of them constituted the *Kārāla Vellālar*—'the rulers of the *kār* or clouds'. They cleared the jungles, brought the land thus cleared under the plough, built dams and anicuts, excavated tanks to collect the precious drops of rain, and channels by which the tanks could be fed by rivers. They had the faculty amounting almost to an instinct of tracing the existence of underground springs, and were thus able to dig wells with a perennial supply of water. There were frequent streams of migration of these communities until about the 8th or the 9th Century when they settled into *nāḍus* all over the south. Tamil classics always associate the *Vellālar* with lordship over the artisan castes, whom they largely supported.

These *Vellāla nāṭtārs* and others engaged in tillage constituted themselves into a corporation called *Citramēli*. (*mēli* in Tamil means 'ploughshare'). They worshipped the ploughshare which

12(a). See Appadorai: op. cit. for more examples.

was also their standard. They enjoyed special privileges granted to them under royal charters called the *citramēli śāsanam*. A Veṅgūr record¹³ describes them as *bhūmiputtirar* and *nāṭtamakkal*. A *Vira Pāṇḍya*¹⁴ (unidentified) had this surname as he was a patron of this community. This corporation of tillers bore the name of *citramēliperiyanāṭṭār*.

Members of other castes associated with the *Citramēli* corporation or were supported by them also bore their name, or one or other of their surnames. We hear of a goldsmith¹⁵ named *Citramēli*, of a dancing girl¹⁶ named *Citramēlināṅgai*, of a Brahmin of the *Kāśyapagotra*,¹⁷ *Citramēli-Baṭṭan* and of a district administrator¹⁸ *Citramēli-maḷaiarayan*. Groups of villages under this organisation were called *Citramēli-periyanāḍu*,¹⁹ for instance *Tirumuruganpūṇḍi*, *Tiṭṭaguḍi* and *Tirupūkkūḷi*. *Pañcarai Tīrullār* was known as *Citramēlinallūr*.²⁰ Viṣṇu temples at *Nellore*,²¹ *Valarapuram*,²² *Vijayamaṅgalam*,²³ *Tiruviḍaikaḷi*,²⁴ *Sēndamaṅgalam*²⁵ (in *Pudukkōṭṭai*), *Tirukkōilūr*²⁶ and *Ambil*²⁷ were called *Citramēlivinṇagaram*; the idol of Śiva at *Koḍuṅgalūr*²⁸ (North Arcot) *Citramēlivitaṅkar*, and another at *Tirupūkkūḷi*²⁹ *Citramēlināyanār*. Brahmin villages under the protection of the *Citramēli* corporation were called *Citramēli Caturvēdimāṅgalam*.³⁰ I have chosen these places at random, and the list is by no means exhaustive. The *Citramēli* organisation is indeed a grand attempt at organising production in the districts (*Citramēliperiyanāḍu*) and villages (*Citramēlinallūr*) under the purview of this corporation and consolidating holdings to facilitate cultivation and the pooling

13. A.R.E. 209 of 37.

14. A.R.E. 75 of 03.

15. A.R.E. 16 of 11.

16. A.R.E. 215 of 30.

17. A.R.E. 6, 8 and 31 of 23.

18. cf. A.R.E. 211 of 30.

19. cf. A.R.E. 21 of 03; 177 of 00; 209 of 37.

20. A.R.E. 421 of 22.

21. A.R.E. 197 of 94.

22. A.R.E. 28 of 11.

23. A.R.E. 547 of 05.

24. A.R.E. 117 of 90.

25. P.S.I. 171.

26. A.R.E. 117 of 00.

27. A.R.E. 122 of 00.

28. A.R.E. 139 of 24.

29. A.R.E. 182 of 16.

30. cf. A.R.E. 100 of 33.

and selling of the produce, so as to ensure large scale production and good profits for the members.

Overshadowing all these guilds by its organisation, influence and authority was the corporation called the *Nānādēśiya Tisaiyāyirattu Aiññūṟruvar*. The most satisfactory rendering in English of the name of this guild is that of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri of Madras—“The Five Hundred of the Thousand directions in all countries”. The earliest known records relating to this guild are a Kannaḍa inscription³¹ in characters of the early 8th Century in the Lādhkhān temple at Aihole, and two Tamil inscriptions³² at Munasandai, a village in the Pudukkōṭṭai State, one dated in the reign of Parakēsari Vijayālaya and the other in that of the Parakēsari Parāntaka (9th Century). This league comprised indigenous (*svadēśi*), foreign (*paradēśi*) both (*ubhaya*) and itinerant (*nānādēśi*) members. An inscription from Pirānmalai³³ gives a detailed account of the *Aiññūṟruvar*. They claimed to be the children of the gods Vāsudēva and Mūlabadhra or Virabadhra, and worshipped the goddess Bhagavatī called in the Tamil inscriptions *Aimpoḷil Paramēśvari* or *Aiyāpoḷil Nācciyār*, also referred to as Kandali (the supreme one according to the *Tolkāppiyam*), Padmāvatī or *Paramēśvari*.

They had many sub-divisions coming from the ‘1000 districts’ of the ‘4 quarters’ (*nānādēśatisaiyāyirattu*) the ‘18 districts’ (*padineṇbhūmi*) or (*padineṇviśayam*), the ‘32 prosperous coastal cities’ (*valarapurams*), the 18 *pattinams*, the 64 trade assemblies (*ghatikaitavaḷam*), etc. They visited all the countries in India from Cēra, Cōḷa, and Pāṇḍya in the South to Nēpāḷa in the north, and by land and sea penetrated into the six continents (cf. the Tamil Inscriptions at Taku-apa in Siam, at Labae Toewa in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma, and in Ceylon). They were praised in 50 *vīrsāsanas* (*pañcāsāt vīrasāsana*). They were extolled as the lords of Aihole (Ahicchattra-Bijapur district), from where they emigrated all over the Deccan (*Ahiccatra vinirgatarum-Aiyāvaḷepura paramēśvararum*). Their *biruda* speaks of them as ‘the 500’ renowned over the whole earth, possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy and intelligence, pure in the maintenance of the *Virabalañja* code (*dharma*), of which they were the protectors, shining with the banner of a hill,

31. I.A. VI, p. 138n.

32. P.S.I. 61 and 67.

33. A.R.E. 154 of 03.

exalted for their valour, embraced by fame, their breasts the dwelling place of the goddess of victory, lofty in prowess, and the scions of the race of Vāsudēva, Kandali and Mūlabadhra. They were the merchants of the four dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam), who were wedded to the pursuit of Dharma, Artha, and Kama by the sale and purchase of articles; whose sole delight was the distribution of food to the needy, the orphans, and suppliant beggars, who looked upon others’ wives as their mothers, etc.

The articles in which they traded, included salt, paddy and rice, beans, red gram, green gram, castor seed, arecanut, pepper, turmeric, ginger, onions, cumin, mustard, gingelly, iron, raw cotton, yarn, cloth, wax, honey, gunny bags, silk goods and yarn, yaktails, camphor oil, perfumes, cattle, horses, and elephants. Another record³⁴ adds to this list musk, saffron, beads, tiger skin, lead and tin. Obviously such a list indicates an advanced state of commercial progress and economic prosperity. ‘The 500’ maintained mercenary armies, the leaders of which resembled the *condiotteri* of the medieval Italian City States. They were designated *munaivīrar* (*mummudidanda*), *erivīrar* etc. A Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription³⁵ refers to the *Paḷiyili aiññūṟruvar* ‘the flawless 500 battalion’. The guild included Gavaras, Gatugas, Śeṭṭis, Śeṭṭiguttas, Anakāras, Śeṭṭiputras, Viravanigar, Nānādēsis, Nāḍu, Nagara, Erivīrar, Munaivīrar, Iḷaṇjiṅgavīrar, Koṅgavāḷar, Kandalis, Gavunḍas, Valaṅgai castes, etc. They carried their goods on packbulls, asses or horses. They conferred special privileges upon some of the cities in which their members resided. Two instances may be cited here. They converted the village of Śirāvalli³⁶ into a *nānādēśiya dāsamuḍi erivīrapaṭṭinam*, probably a fortified mart with a regiment. At a meeting of the members at Mylapore³⁷ they converted Ayyāpuḷalkāṭṭūr into a *Vīrapaṭṭinam*.

From their original home at Aihole (Aiyāvaḷe) these merchants spread over the south. Inscriptions speak of 18 Aiyāvaḷe cities north of the Kāvērī, and another 18 south of it. There are numerous inscriptions in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and in Ramnad relating to their charities. At Kaḷlampatti in the Pudukkōṭṭai State is a temple dedicated to Aiyāpoḷil nācciyār. From inscriptions relating

34. A.R.E. 15 and 16 of 17.

35. P.S.I. 125.

36. A.R.E. 342 of 12.

37. A.R.E. 256 of 12.

to 'the 500' extending from the 8th to the 17th Century, we learn that their activities extended from Kolhāpūr, Mirāj and Bījāpūr in the Deccan to Tinnevely in the South, and it should not be forgotten that they left colonies of their men in charge of fortified marts protected by troops in Siam, Burma, Sumatra and Ceylon.

"The 500" were the protectors of the *Valaṇṇiyar*.³⁸ They also called themselves *Citramēḷiśa*³⁹ or 'the lords of the Citramēḷi corporations'. They supported the different groups of artisans. In one word they formed a federation as it were controlling all the chambers of commerce in the Deccan and South India carrying on immense banking business and controlling production and industries but chiefly engaged in their distribution.

Their charities were numerous. They built places of worship and made liberal endowments to temples irrespective of religion or sect. Christian churches, Jain bastis, Vaiṣṇava and Śiva temples shared their munificence. They constructed assembly halls and maintained irrigation works. They imposed taxes amongst their members, and were invested with authority to collect taxes in cities which belonged to them. A Travancore inscription refers to the right of guilds to collect customs and to punish defaulters. They exercised the right to collect tolls, and instances are on record of their endowing such collections for the maintenance of charities. They were the recipients of special privileges from the king, and often sat with the local assemblies to make gifts. Cities, streets and temples were named after one or other of the surnames of 'the 500'. We hear of *Deśiyugantapaṭṭinam*, *Aiñṇūṛṛuvanallūr*, *Aiñṇūṛṛuva maṅgalam* and *Aiñṇūṛṛuvarteru*. There are three villages in the Ramnad District, Śivapuri, Māttūr and Nāṭṭaraśan-kōṭṭai, the god in the temples of which is still called *Aiñṇūṛṛu-varīśvarar*, the patron deity of the Nāṭṭukkōṭṭai Cheṭṭiyār families of Pudukkōṭṭai and Ramnad, who to this day make votive offerings to these temples whenever they conduct an auspicious ceremony or start a new business. Some Viṣṇu temples bear the names of *Padinenbhūmi Vinṇagaram* after the '18 districts' of 'the 500'. *Aiñṇūṛṛuvaperumpallī* was the name of a Jain monastery at Tiruvenṇāyil⁴⁰ (Pudukkōṭṭai State) built in the reign of Rāja Rāja Cola I.

38. A.R.E. 259 of 12.

39. A.R.E. 154 of 03.

40. P.S.I. 1083.

The *Mitākṣara* enjoins upon kings the important duty of preserving and protecting the peculiar *dharma* or rules of conduct of merchants and craft guilds, which they did in the characters that they issued, and the privileges that they granted. Any falling off from the *dharma* meant the punishment of the members. A far more effective sanction in case of dereliction of *dharma* lay in social ostracism. A striking instance of the ostracism of the offending member of a guild is a record published in the Travancore Archaeological Series.⁴¹ An extreme case is recorded in an inscription from the Nellore district⁴² of the merchants of the 18 *samayas* granting the privilege to trade in certain articles without paying duty to a *ṣeṭṭi* for having killed a merchant who had become a traitor to the guild.

Prof. Sastri in his inimitable work "*The Colas*"⁴³ quotes the following extract from Hudson's *Europe and China*. The great chartered companies of Europe had monopoly rights and State backing. They sinned against the light of free trade, no less than the Chinese guilds, but they stood for the self organisation and autonomy of the merchant class, not the mere rapacity of government officials. In China the merchant was powerless against officialdom; politically he was nothing, there was no tradition of city state commercialism to teach him his potential strength. In Europe the bourgeois was rising to be master of the State; in China he was the servile agent of the mandarins. "In South India", remarks Prof. Sastri, "the merchants had certainly more freedom and scope for initiative and a better capacity for voluntary organisation than in China. They were less at the mercy of government officials and exercised a great deal of autonomy in the regulation of their affairs. The State seldom interfered in their transactions and would not do so except on invitation. On the other hand the State did not, it could not, give the strong backing to its merchants engaged in foreign trade that the European State provided. Neither the merchants nor the State in South India had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism. Trade to them was an end in itself; it never occurred to them that foreign lands could be compelled to buy and sell at the point of the bayonet." Yes, the South Indian guilds were free from ideas of economic imperialism. This was at once their glory and the cause of their decline. They

41. Vol. III.

42. A.R.E. 1918-9, App. A. No. 10.

43. Vol. II, pp. 422-3.

traded because of the love of trade, and wherever they went they carried the culture of their motherland and implanted it in the lands they colonised. But when foreign European trade backed by all the resources of the State came into the scene, and there was no organised central authority in South India but a congeries of States warring against one another, as in the years succeeding the fall of Vijayanagar, they naturally went under, leaving but a faint memory of their great achievements, which have to be deciphered from the fast fading epigraphs on the walls of old temples.

Sidelights on the Annals of Tarikere*

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Some interesting dealings between the chiefs of Tarikere and the East India Company are mentioned in a few despatches of 1832, the main details of which are as follows.

1. Sarjappa Nāyaka's activities in 1832.

The province of Nagar was seething with discontent after 1831, despite vigorous attempts to end the disturbances.¹ In the following year Būdi Basavappa Nāyaka of Bednūr was pre-occupied in mustering a militia in the 'Mughlāi' (Nizam's) country.² He assembled at Sūrapura a party of Arabs and a cavalry, which he sent towards Nagar under Siddhakāmayya. This enterprise however failed on the capture of Siddhakāmayya at Sāvanūr, and the detachment was obliged to return precipitately. Būdi Basavappa Nāyaka was annoyed by this event and, with his connivance, some of these men were confined by the Pāleyagāra of Kankēri. At this time a transaction with Tarikere Rangappa Nāyaka having intervened, Būdi Basavappa Nāyaka commissioned Bagrikaṭṭe Hirēmaṭha Basalingayya, a native of Nagar, to raise troops on his behalf in the 'Mukhlāi' territory. He also promised to supply the sinews of war and join personally with 4 to 6,000 men on the day after Yugādi. He further addressed a circular to the

*Based on the records in the custody of the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Tarikere is in the Kadur district of the Mysore State.

Secret Consultation, 17 December, 1832 (19), appendix I (16). This appendix, contains 18 letters, with their enclosures. The references in this paper are to these letters. Letter No. 16 has not been utilised, as Dr. B. A. Saletore has made use of it elsewhere.

1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (1876), I, 301-3; II, 417.

2. No. 15 'Examination of Bagry Catte Heeramut Basalingiah taken by the Ooragainy Mamlutdar'—utilised *passim*, except where other references are given.

Paṭēls and Kulkarnis enjoining on them to abide by the directions of Basalingayya.³

This person accordingly selected and employed peons from Lakshmeshwara, Hanṇi, Agri, Dēvagēri and Karajgi. Sometime later Sangayya, the *Kārkūn* of the Nagar Pāḷeyagāra arrived at Kumṇūr and Hanchihāl, Basalingayya summoned him and asked for the funds promised by Būdi Basavappa Nāyaka. As Sangayya had no money, he agreed to send it later when the Rāja had disbursed him. This prolonged Basalingayya's stay there by another 2 or 3 months.

About this time Nañjappa, the *Kārkūn* of Sarjappa Nāyaka went there for recruiting men. He introduced him to a Marāṭhā of Miraj, and despatched them both to collect volunteers, with instructions to leave them at Miraj. 3 other Marāṭhās, had also assembled 1,500 men at Miraj. Then at Lakshmeshwara they found that another Marāṭhā, Padmōji Pawār by name, had raised 500 men. The party then returned to Miraj, mustering by that time an infantry of 200 and cavalry of 1,000, whom they engaged at the rate of Rs. 2/- per infantryman and Rs. 4/- per cavalryman. The recruits included Sikhs and Rohillas, "a confederacy at Benares," who had once destroyed 5 British battalions and were just then stationed within 12 *cos* of Miraj. Chintāmaṇ Rāo had gone to join them and was collecting horse and foot, which occasioned his delay for 15 days. It was expected that he would also join the party at Miraj. The 4 Marāṭhās of this place then assured Sarjappa Nāyaka of their fidelity and determination to oppose the British, if they obstructed their passage, desired him to supply funds through Basalingayya for paying the recruits and promised to lead the army to him. They then handed to Basalingayya two letters for being transmitted to Sarjappa Nāyaka.⁴

Basalingayya fell ill on his journey and remained at Hamri (?) for 1½ to 2 months. At the end of this he promised Padmōji to return within 15 days together with the funds and a clerk, from Sarjappa Nāyaka.⁵

3. No. 15 (1)—'The command of Boody Bassapah Naick to Bagry Catte Heeramut Basalingiah'.

4. No. 15 (3) and (4). The second letter (4) adds: "Please to send a letter stating what horse you want and on what condition"—Devjee Chakore, Neelohagadho Deojee, Bhonj Dhalavaee, Padmoji Pawār and Hyder Khan.

5. No. 15 (2)—'Bagrycatte Basalingiah to Padmoji'. Basalingayya was suffering from a tape-worm.

It was at this time that the Pāḷeyagāra of Nagar sent two messengers Murjiayya and Erayya, with instructions to Basalingayya to raise fresh levies. This was done, with the help of the messengers, in May 1832. The force from the Dharwar district totalled 85—Dēvagēri, 60; Hanṇi 10; Agri 15. Besides these one Moṇḍaganni Kūvappa had rallied 300 men. Basalingayya advanced Rs. 20/- for his 85 recruits, but they, along with 300 others, declared that they would muster after the Muharram on payment of Re. 1/- each. They were however told that Murjiayya and Erayya knew a clerk of the Nagar Pāḷeyagāra, who was busy in the forest in Nagar raising men; and that, as his name and movements were not known, people had been sent for obtaining Rs. 100/- from him. Basalingayya also informed them that the recruits already collected by him with the help of the Paṭēls of Chikṇūru, Sātēnhaḷli and Hansangi (?) had promised to come when the Muharram was over. Basalingayya then promised to give them, on return to duty, a good share of the plunder from the forests.

Having nothing particular in view for the moment, Basalingayya remained there with the idea of conveying the letters from the Marāṭhās to Sarjappa Nāyaka. Meanwhile the Māmlatdār of Urugaṇi heard of these proceedings and detailed two persons to spy on Basalingayya. These, Phōkru and Yellappa by name, entered Basalingayya's service, and after 8 days offered to transmit the letters to Sarjappa Nāyaka, promising to do it quickly and return with the money. The letters were then given to Phokru, who immediately departed. Basalingayya next took Yellappa to Sātēnhaḷli, where guided by Phōkru, the Māmlatdār of Urugaṇi and one Abdul Nanwand (Nawait?) arrived and took him into custody.⁶

2. A mission to the Commissioners

In January 1832, when the disturbances continued the Pāḷeyagārs of Tarikere opened negotiations for terms with the Commissioners, and deputed *Vakīl* Nāraṇappa to Bangalore. The Commissioners referred the case to the Government. As the orders were expected in a short time the *Vakīl* was sent back with some road expenses, and a message to the Pāḷeyagārs to desist from committing any depredations. When the orders arrived, a Proclamation was issued on 7th February to the rebels to surrender to the Commissioners within 6 weeks and disperse to their homes. The Pāḷeyagārs

6. No. 15.

of Tarikere did not commit any commotions after receiving this *Kowlnāmāh*. But they failed to appear before the Commissioners in time.

The Pāleyagārs again sent *Vakīl* Nāraṇappa to the Commissioners in April. The objects of this mission were as follows. First, that since the *Kowlnāmāh* had reached the Pāleyagārs they had abstained from committing any havoc, and restrained their followers. Secondly, they were oppressed by the Rāja's officers, who from the beginning were ruining the country, preferring false charges against them. Thirdly, they did not extort the revenue from the ryots. This charge had been brought forward to prejudice the Commissioners but it was groundless since the Tālukdārs, Māmlatdārs, Killedārs and Army officers were merely conspiring to continue the disturbances. Because of these oppressions the Pāleyagārs took refuge in the jungles and were rendered homeless. Fourthly, they had to support 2 to 300 dependents, including women and children, but all their possessions—gardens, dry-lands, houses, cattle etc.—were in Government hands. Their ancestral homes in Tarikere were stored with sandalwood belonging to the Company. Fifthly they evinced willingness to serve the the company and asked for an interview in this behalf. Sixthly, they demanded a jāgīr in order to eke out an honourable livelihood. And lastly, they pointed out that many of their relatives had already been killed. Others, including women and children, who were in captivity at Seringapatām were to be released and given to the charge of *Vakīl* Nāraṇappa.⁸

Before the Commissioners granted an interview to this *Vakīl* however he was obliged to quit in a most dramatic manner.

Vakīl Nāraṇappa reached Bangalore on 24th April and delivered the letter of the Pāleyagārs to the Commissioners. He was asked to wait for the reply for a period of 8 days (according to Bhīmarāo, who accompanied him, it was 6 days). But no reply was given till 10 days. In the meantime Diwān Venkaṭaramaṇayya came to know about Nāraṇappa's mission and instituted a house to house search to seize him. Moreover this Bhīmarao was confidentially informed by Banghy Subbarāo's youngest brother

7. No. 10—J. Briggs, Senior Commissioner, to Surjapah Naick and Nunjapah Naick Poligars: 27th May 1832.

8. No. 1—Terikery Poligars Santa Bedinore Surjapah Naick and Nunjapah Naick to Col. Briggs Bahadur Commissioner: Nandana 5 day of Caitra (1832)'.
9. Nos. 5, 6 and 7—Statements by Bhīmarāo, the late Sirastedār of Tarikere; Nāraṇappa, *Vakīl* to Sarjappa Nāyaka; and Anwar Beg, a dependant of the Tarikere Chieftains.

Lakshmi Nāraṇappaṇayya, the late Amildār of Shimogā and Hoḷehonnūr, that the Diwān was considering him, and Nāraṇappa, as agents of the Pāleyagārs. It was unwise for them to stay in Bangalore any longer, especially because the Diwān was very powerful. And lastly the Pāleyagārs sent a messenger (Anwar Beg) Amīr-ud-Dīn to Nāraṇappa recalling him immediately, as the Rāja's officers had obtained news of Nāraṇappa's activities and were harrasing them. The message also stated: "We cannot place confidence in the Government any longer. It appears from the intelligence we got from Bangalore that affairs do not go on there with any regularity." Nāraṇappa therefore decided to leave for Tarikere. He however first went to the house of Col. Briggs. But when it was noticed that the secret agents of the Diwān were trailing him, and it was also heard that "there was no unanimity in the Sirkar," considering that it was useless to stay at Bangalore, Nāraṇappa returned to Tarikere on 30th April. Anwar Beg (Amī-ud-Dīn) accompanied him, while Bhīmarāo remained concealed for 4 or 5 days, when he too left.⁹

The Pāleyagārs informed Nāraṇappa through Amīr-ud-Dīn that "the object of his Mission is not at all answered and that it appears to be of no use his remaining there any longer."¹⁰ This seems to have been partially correct, as Nāraṇappa was distracted by the events mentioned above and left abruptly before he obtained a reply. In fact Col. Briggs adverted to this circumstance in his letter to the Pāleyagārs of 27th May and enclosed a copy for their information. He also wrote: "You will comprehend how well disposed the Sirkar is to receive the penitent submission of those who have rebelled against the state".¹¹

While expressing satisfaction at the changed demeanour of the Pāleyagārs, the Commissioners rejected most of their demands as improper, because they had openly rebelled against the Rājā. The Company was not inclined to obtain any satisfaction from them, and proposed to condone the bygone injuries. As a gesture of good-will towards the Pāleyagārs however the Company at once released the women and children of their family, as well as two of their relations Rangappa Nāyaka M(?)obleydār and Ranga

10. No. 7.
11. No. 10.

Nāyaka, who were conveyed to Tarikere. They were afforded the means of subsistence and escorted by two peons, who also carried a letter to the Pāleyagārs calling upon them to render their submission immediately. The European officers commanding the detachments there received instructions to receive their submission and send them to Bangalore under guard.¹² The same orders were given to Anṇappa Faujdār of Shimogā, who was further directed not to attack the Pāleyagārs unless they plundered the country and assembled their followers. He was asked to inform his subordinate officers about this arrangement.¹³

These instructions were deliberately disregarded by the Faujdār, who immediately launched an attack on the Pāleyagārs on hearing about Nāraṇappa's negotiations at Bangalore.

The Pāleyagārs appeared to be unwilling to submit to the company till May. This fact and the necessity of giving confidence to the people by effecting the settlement of the Rāja's territories induced Col. Briggs to undertake a tour in the disturbed area. He informed the Pāleyagārs that proper measures were contemplated against the high-handedness of Anṇappa Faujdār. In the meanwhile they were asked to come and surrender to him at Shimogā or on the way, assuring that they were entitled to the same considerations as were envisaged by the *Kowlṇamah*.¹⁴

3. Anṇappa Faujdār's expedition to the Bābā Buḍān hills.

Civil disorders having increased in the Nagar and Shimogā districts during the early half of 1832, the inhabitants of these places approached the Company seeking protection against the marauders and the mutinous Mysore troops serving there. To restore order the British despatched 6 Companies of 24th Regiment Native infantry from Harihar to Shimogā and 5 Companies of 36th Regiment Native infantry from the French Rocks to Sakkrepatnā.¹⁵ Anṇappa Faujdār was appointed to the charge of the Shimogā division and ordered to stop the commotion within 30 days before the monsoon set in. He had to take measures for the protection of the country and supply the officers commanding at the Regiment Headquarters

12. No. 2—Commissioners J. Briggs and G. D. Druny to Sarjappa Nāyaka and Nañjappa Nāyaka.

13. No. 3—Commissioners to Anṇappa Faujdār.

14. No. 10.

15. No. 3.

of Shikārpūr, Shimogā and Luckapatnā with all information of the places which needed their help. He was asked to report to the Commission on his proceedings and, as already seen, particularly directed not to attack the Pāleyagārs.¹⁶

The Faujdār captured 2 or 3 robbers, posted sentries in the jungles and restored some order. As a result he claimed that the revenue for the year Khara was being duly collected.

In order however to realise the collection of the ensuing year Nandana "as may be more advantageous" to the Company, he made attempts to locate the place where the Pāleyagārs Sarjappa, Nañjappa and Coṇḍabet Hanumappa were hiding.

At this juncture Sarjappa Nāyaka was attacked by a bilious complaint. He had called in for treatment one Jangama Doḍḍayya, an expert in medicine and charms, and an inhabitant of Abindahalli in the Shikārpūr tālukā. Anṇappa kept armed guards around his house and on his return from the visit to the Nāyaka on 2nd May, this Jangama was seized. It was then gathered from him that the Pāleyagārs were at Gurupura, a village 3 miles off Bankipura, where they were living, guarded by 100-150 Korchywars in a hut on the bank of a stream. Their grain supply was obtained from the countryside by Guru(?) Mallayya, the Paṭel of Gurupura, aided by 20 peons.

Anṇappa then summoned the ryots and Paṭels of Tarikere, Shimogā and Bankipura to obtain further particulars about the Pāleyagārs. According to them no disorders had been created by the Pāleyagārs since the *Kowlṇamāh* was issued. On the other hand they prohibited all adherents from doing any atrocities, punished such delinquents with death and threatened to send them to the British. As to their place of concealment, it was possible to discover it and seize them. But were they to escape in this attempt, no safety was guaranteed to the inhabitants and the Korachas would be at large laying waste the countryside. The Korachas were a wild nomadic tribe wont to perpetrate "atrocious individual outrages for upwards of 20 to 30 years, notwithstanding all the endeavours that have been used to prevent them." About 1829 some 100 or 125 escaped from the Shimogā jail and joined the Pāleyagārs. For overcoming these unruly people two ways were

16. No. 3.

possible. The Pāleyagārs could induce them to disperse peacefully. But in order to effect this a fresh *Kowlāmāh* from the Company appeared desirable, guaranteeing some maintenance to the Pāleyagārs. If this was not possible the Pāleyagārs had to be seized. For this however the Korachas had to be kept calm, a task which their chief Korchywar Goondah (Gowdah?) alone was capable of achieving. This chief had lately been released from the Mysore jail and he deserved to be sent as a secret agent for this purpose. If this was arranged, it was possible to capture the Pāleyagārs within 3 days. When the Āmildārs apprehended the ryots, who supplied grain to Guru Mallayya, they promised to seize him in a friendly manner on a suitable occasion, but denied that Mallayya had resorted to any extortion.

On 3rd May Anṇappa Faujdār informed the Commissioners of the foregoing details and solicited their orders to seize the Pāleyagārs. It was his intention on obtaining this permission to "instantly penetrate into whatever recess of the Jungles they may be living and attack them within 60 days with the view of preventing the Korchywars from committing depredations, and in order to restore tranquillity and peace into the country." He then made preparations for this impending attack. Jakrai Drug Rāmarāo, who was on duty in the Chennagiri and Umrāṇi jungles, was recalled and posted at Bankipura. A detachment was stationed at Tarikere under Kṛṣṇarāo. Several peons were amassed at Yaduhalḷi and Anṇappa Faujdār himself kept near him a detachment in case of emergency.¹⁷

Immediately afterwards he attacked the Pāleyagārs. The date of this event can be ascertained from the following account of (Anwar Beg) Amīr-ud-Dīn. "....I set off to Bangalore and reached it in 5 days and told Naranapah what was passing in the Jungles and delivered the message with which I was entrusted. I then with Naranapah left Bangalore and in 5 days more came to the Jungle where I had left the Poligars. We did not find our Masters there for Annapah Faujdār had made an expedition against them and Surrounded Goorpoor and Driven them away after which he returned to his own place".¹⁸

As seen earlier, Nāranappa and Amīr-ud-Dīn left Bangalore on 30th April. They arrived at Gurupura on 5th May. Anṇappa Faujdār applied to the Commissioners on 3rd May, asking for

17. No. 4.

18. No. 7.

permission to lead an attack.¹⁹ But by 5th May, before he received the orders from the Commissioners, he launched an offensive and compelled the Pāleyagārs to retire from Gurupura.

A despatch vividly describes the situation of this stronghold. "It lies near a Hill and a thick wood surrounds it, and a Nullah passes close by it. The Wood forms the boundary of the Baba Booudan Hills for the space of 30 miles in circumstances there is nothing but jungles, rocks, and ravines." There was no regular road to that place and persons having occasion to go thither, made their way by cutting away the bushes of the Jungle".^{19a} In the vicinity of this region was the province of Tarikere.

Anṇappa Faujdār received a communication from Māmlatdār of Lackawallī²⁰ that the Pāleyagārs had come to that place.²¹ On reaching there he found that they had not arrived or committed any trouble that night.²² Anṇappa then marched into the jungle of Gurupura and thoroughly combed it without success. He then returned, leaving at Gurupura 3 persons of Lackawallī, one of whom was killed by the "thieves". The other two Shaik Imām, son of the Luckawallī Kāzi, and "Goopoor" (Gafūr?) were captured by the Pāleyagārs "for plundering in their names".²³ The motives for this invasion were mentioned by Anṇappa to the Commissioners: "as these Poligars have murdered the Sirkar's servants and destroyed and plundered several villages, I went according to your orders to punish them".²⁴ On the following night he again went from Luckawallī to Gurupura. His spies led the way into the jungle which was again searched in vain. Some of the enemy party fired on his followers from behind the trees, but no damage was done. Anṇappa then formed his line and attacked, but these random shots produced no effect. However he marched with Jakrai Drug Rāmarāo's artillery and the rest of the army to their place of hiding. But the enemy had already retreated. The invaders then searched the neighbourhood, the Nullah, thickets etc.

19. He also appears to have written another letter to the Diwān Venkatarāmanayya on 3rd May that it was "advisable to conciliate the Poligar", and requested "clear instructions respecting how he is to act." No. 11 (3).

19a. No. 3.

20. No. 8. The contents of the Māmlatdār's letter are not given in this despatch.

21. No. 11 (3).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid. Also No. 8.

24. No. 8. Actually he was acting without any order.

The Army being fatigued a halt was made to replenish. During this period the Pāleyagārs' adherents continued firing, upon which Annappa decided to search the entire forest at night

On the night of 10th May Annappa received a packet containing two letters from the Pāleyagārs addressed to the Commissioners and the Officers Commanding. The letters had been conveyed by one Dher Govinda to Zilladār Venkappa, who transmitted them to Kṛṣṇarāo, the Peṣkar of the Tarikere Māmlatdār. As Annappa had no orders to reply to the Pāleyagārs, he detained the messenger, asking the Amil to watch his movements and produce him when required by the Commissioners. He forwarded the letters to the Commissioners with a comment that the Pāleyagārs had written as they were panic stricken by his efforts. But if he now desisted from attacking, their havoc would commence again. He also informed the authorities that his "design was frustrated". He further proposed that in case the Pāleyagārs were allowed to surrender, the Commissioners should make a demand on 6 persons—Guru Mallayya, who had withheld tax to the Government since 2 years, and the 2 inhabitants of Luckawalli captured by the enemy; and also Mallanāyaka, Ōba Nāyaka and Singathalli 'Julye Bonemah' (?) of Tarikere. The Pāleyagārs entertained many Korachas in their service.²⁵

Meanwhile Sarjappa Nāyaka addressed a letter to Annappa reminding him that the Pāleyagārs were entirely innocent. They had already sent a *Vakīl* to Bangalore for obtaining terms for them. If he was attacking them, encouraged by indiscreet persons, there was little doubt that an inquiry would follow and result in his disgrace. In any case he was setting aside the orders of the Commissioners which required him not to disturb the Pāleyagārs, and that his behaviour would be reported to Bangalore.²⁶

This expedition achieved nothing. Annappa merely destroyed the dwellings of the Pāleyagars, sacked their property and drove away their cattle. Unwilling "to fire or defend" themselves the unfortunate Pāleyagārs fled with their families when attacked by "troops acting under the British Government".²⁷

For alarming the Pāleyagārs, to conciliate whom the Senior Commissioner had marched to Nagar, "and thereby giving them

25. No. 8.

26. No. 9. Sante Bednur Sarjapah Naick to Annapah Fouzdar.

27. No. 12.

the idea that the Sirkar was not to be trusted," the Commissioners suspended Annappa on 9th June, and Drug Srinivāsarāo was appointed to the *Faujdāri* of Shimogā. Generally conduct of this nature was punished by imprisonment. But the Commissioners took a lenient view. Annappa however was soon charged with insubordination as after his suspension he declined to hand over the seal till he obtained a second order, and failed to return to Drug Srinivasarao the public papers, *Hukumnāmas* and *Nirūpas* up to 9th June. The Commissioner warned him that it was not their intention to prosecute these charges, but he was required immediately to return all public letters and property. He was however asked to bring forward in his defence any evidence on the following charge—That though it was the object of the *Kowl-nāmāh* to conciliate the Pāleyagārs, which he himself had acknowledged in his letter of 3rd May, yet on 11th May he attacked them without waiting for the orders of the Commission on this matter. As a result the efforts of the Government were frustrated. For investigating this a *Pañchāyat* was formed to take into "consideration the time and the circumstances under which Annapah acted and to determine whether at such a time and under such circumstances he was justified in making the attack upon the Poligars." The members of this *Pañchāyat* were Jiwanrāo Bakṣi of Kandāchār; Bālājirāo, late Bakṣi of the Rāja's Bodyguard; Chanderrao Rānori, Regimentdār; Subbarāo Ancha Bakṣi; Gōla Venkaṭarāo; Toṣakhānā Annappa and Kṛṣṇarāo, Regimentdār. They were asked to elect their own President and report on Annappa Faujdār's conduct.²⁸

Of these members Jiwanrāo Bakṣi and Kṛṣṇarāo Regimentdār were alleged by the Faujdār as his personal enemies. The *Pañchāyat* therefore excluded them and after reading the relevant correspondence it delivered on 20th June, the following verdict. First, that the Pāleyagārs did not submit immediately on receiving the *Kowl-nāmāh*, which necessitated his apprehending them within a month of the order he had first received. He then wrote to the Diwān on 3rd May advocating a conciliatory policy. But before orders to this effect were sent, he started an offensive on his own initiative. Secondly, he went to Lackawalli and made a search for the Pāleyagārs when they had not committed any depredations.

28. No. 11. 'Proceedings of a Panchayat held to investigate the conduct of Annapah Fouzdar'. (1) 'Charges against Annapah Fouzdar'. (2) 'Order to the above mentioned persons appointed to sit on Panchayat to investigate the conduct of Annapah Fouzdar'.

Anṇappa was aware of this fact, but still persisted in his attempt. Thirdly, he received information from Nagar Dawl Khān and Risāldār Gulām Muhammad and others from Tarikere that Guru (?) Mallayya was prepared to submit. In order to give the confidence to the rebel, the Faujdār was requested to withdraw but he failed to do so. Fourthly, there were inconsistencies in Anṇappa's statement regarding the persons killed and captured at Gurupura. In one place he declared that the person was killed by the Pāleyagārs' adherents, while in his deposition of 31st May he said that the people of the village were responsible for this and yet again on 11th May he stated that certain thieves murdered him. In the letter of 11th May he further avowed that he, was informed by the local people that Shaikh Imām and 'Goopoor' (Gafur?) had been captured and punished by the Pāleyagārs for plundering in their names. The correspondence of 3rd May indicated that the Pāleyagārs were not responsible for any outrages, but on the other hand they seized and despatched to the Āmīl of Lackawalli other culprits who traded on their names. All evidence pointed out that the Pāleyagārs were inclined to submit, but that Anṇappa, without authority and ignoring entirely the nature of the case, attacked them—a conduct which was "highly reprehensible".²⁹

4. Submission of the Pāleyagārs

On 27th May, when Col. Briggs was on his way to Shimogā the Pāleyagārs had not decided to accept the *Kowlnāmāh*. 5 days later however they again sent Nāraṇappa with a Memorandum dated 31st May for favour of the Commission's approval.

The terms of the Pāleyagārs were as follows. First, that their houses and property in the hill-forts having been destroyed, their ancestral house at Tarikere may be cleared of the Company's sandalwood and other property and handed over to their management. Secondly, that their gardens in the tālukas of Tarikere and Yekty may also be restored. Thirdly, their cattle and kine already seized, and the cattle lifted by Anṇappa Faujdār and other property captured by him may also be restored. And lastly, that they had abided by the *Kowlnāmāh* originally issued through Jīwanrāo Bakṣi and had fled with their kith and kin, when ousted by Anṇappa. They were now willing to come on receipt of passes,

29. No. 11 (3) Decree of the above mentioned Panchayat.

30. No. 10.

if they were granted a maintenance allowance of 3,000 Hūns or in lieu of it a jāgir worth 6,000.³¹

Since the Pāleyagārs had already been intimated on 10th May that their submission was imperative, the Commission gave them no other reply, except that Col. Briggs was prepared to await their arrival at Tarikere up to 3rd June, after which the time would be barred for further correspondence and no liability would be accepted by the Commission on their behalf.³²

Nañjappa Nāyaka thereafter arrived in the camp of Col. Briggs and gave a declaration of his own will. He pledged to bring Kengappa and 'Annapah' (Hanumappa?) within 4 or 5 days and Sarjappa within 1 month. He also accepted the responsibility for any attacks by his followers on the inhabitants of the country.³³

It will appear from this that Sarjappa and the others were still reluctant to submit themselves on this occasion.

The Commissioner's reply of 2nd June is silent as regards the claims of the Nāyakas for a monthly allowance or Jāgir. A despatch of this period shows that Nañjappa Nāyaka subsequently died and Rs. 100/- were paid by the Commission towards his burial charges. Other members of the family who gave themselves up received sundry benefits.³⁴ The monthly stipends allowed to Sarjappa

31. No. 12—Sarjappa Nāyaka and Nañjappa Nāyaka to the Commissioners: 31 May 1800. The maintenance of a monthly sum of 300 Hūns was claimed for the following—Sarjappa 120; Nañjappa, 60; Kṛṣṇappa, 20; Kenkappa, 20; Puttrad Rāmappa, 20; Hanumappa Gōpāla, 20; Sammanda Lakṣmappa, 10; Sarjappa, 10; Vakil Nāraṇappa, 10.

32. No. 13—J. Briggs to Sarjappa Nāyaka and Nañjappa Nāyaka: 2 June 1800.

33. No. 14—Engagement entered into by Nanjappa Naik Poligar of Terrikerry.

34. No. 17—Memorandum. Some of the details are reproduced below.

Nañjappa Nāyaka's burial	.. Rs. 100
Kengappa Nāyaka	.. " 106
For the mourning ceremonies	.. " 100
Hanumappa Nāyaka	
His clothes	.. " 106
His road expenses to Bangalore	.. " 100
Sarjappa Nāyaka	
1 horse purchased for him	.. " 100
His clothes	.. " 155
For the mourning ceremonies of his lately deceased relatives	.. " 100

Nāyaka and the sons of Rangappa Nāyaka on 23rd July were however of a most trifling nature. The amount was disbursed from the Huzūr treasury subject to their good conduct and they were ordered to attend constantly at the "Seat of the Commission" to receive this pittance.³⁵

<i>Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka</i>	
His clothes	.. Rs. 85
His road expenses to Bangalore	.. " 100
To the Agent (Nāranappa) employed in the Negotiations	.. " 290
To the 2 Minor Agents do.	.. " 39
To 'Pall Naig' (Gōpāla Nāyaka?) and followers for enabling them to reach their homes	.. " 178
35. No. 18—Memorandum.	
Monthly stipends paid to the Nāyakas :	
(1) <i>Sarjappa Nāyaka</i>	.. " 90
(2) Children of the late Rangappa Nāyaka :	
(a) Kenkappa, Pattrad Rāmappa and Lakṣmappa ..	" 67
(b) Kṛṣṇappa since his submission after 23rd July ..	" 23
(3) Hanumappa Nāyaka	.. " 23

The First Encounter of Shivaji with the English*

By

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13. "Instructions for Mr. Thomas Niccolls to be observed in his with Shivaji :

Mr. Thomas Niccolls was deputed to Shivaji to treat with him and to receive his replies regarding several "matters of import". After frequent and long-drawn negotiations for a peaceful settlement of differences, both parties had "come almost to a conclusion". Shivaji had accredited one of his envoys, Pillaji by name for this purpose. But, unfortunately, the Dutch fleet under Reickloft Von Goens arriving just at that time, obliged the English to suspend the treaty until a better opportunity offered itself. It was agreed that after the departure of the Dutch ships Pillaji, on hearing from them, should return to conclude the treaty. Though several letters were addressed to Pillaji, he did not reply them at all. However, the English at length received a cordial letter from Shivaji himself wherein he seemed "very desirous to conclude the treaty" and had given Pillaji full instructions to end the controversy. In the meanwhile, events took an unexpected and unhappy turn. Shivaji's army surprised and ransacked the city of Hubli and had seized and plundered a considerable part of the company's property. This act of violence roused the suspicion of the English regarding the good intentions of Shivaji. The violent attack on the English factory complicated the matter beyond expectation. The English envoy was directed to inform Shivaji "tis our desire and we doe expect he doe immediately make restitution of what hath been plundered from the English if he doth desire to keepe friendship with us ; but if otherwise, wee desire to know his mind that

*Continued from Vol. XXV, p. 120.

LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS

1. F.R. Rajapore :. Factory Records Rajapore.
2. F.R. Surat : Factory Records Surat.
3. F.R. Miscel : Factory Records, Miscellaneous.
4. Orme Mss : Orme Manuscripts.
5. F.R. Bombay : Factory Records Bombay.

wee may take a course some other wayes to doe the Company and Nation right."¹

The English factors laid an embargo on a vessel belonging to a merchant of Shivaji's dominion in the harbour of Rajapore which was coming from Muscat with a view to make good the loss incurred at Hubli by his surprise attack on their factory there.² The English envoy was advised to communicate to the Maratha ruler that they did not admit Siddi to winter in the harbour of Bombay and they had no intention or desire to take sides in his war with the Moghuls. They wished to make it clear that they did not give any more assistance than "the pure necessity and freindship to Mogull require." Shivaji was to be further informed that though salt had been supplied to him his officers at Bombay refused "to pay the money due for the said salt." It was promised to pay half the cost at Bombay and the other half on delivery of the commodity. They wished to convey to him that the contract had been violated totally.³

Besides this, the envoy had been entrusted with letters addressed to Shivaji, Annaji Pandit and Pillaji which he was to deliver to them, with his own hands and to procure prompt answers.

In the absence of Shivaji, he was directed to wait upon his son or deputy and to return before the onset of rains. He was to bring to the notice of the great Maratha ruler that customs were demanded for firewood and timber which were exempt from such levy. He was required to inquire what customs would be taken for the goods passing through his dominion to the Moghul territory or the Deccan kingdoms and to obtain his orders to his officers for the passage of commodities at the lowest rate.

In the mean time, the Bombay Council informed the Surat Council of their decision of sending Mr. Niccolls to Shivaji for making a treaty with a view to secure reparations for the losses incurred at Rajapore and Hubli and intimating him of the necessity of resorting to retaliatory measures against him if they failed to obtain the desired satisfaction.⁴ The Surat Council pointed out that the English were at war with the Dutch which prevented them from falling out with Shivaji at that time and, therefore, they were

1. F.R. Surat, Vol. 106, Fols. 109-110, dated 14th May, 1673.

2. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, p. 47, dated 14th May, 1673 (Consultation in Bombay).

3. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3788, dated 17th May, 1673.

4. *Ibid.*

to make efforts to secure reasonable satisfaction for their losses and to obtain security from interruption and interference with their trade thereafter. They decided to postpone the use of force and violence against Shivaji till the end of the war with the Dutch.⁵ The Bombay Council finally wrote to the Surat Council on the 6th June, 1673 (Orme Mss., Vol. 114, Section 2, p. 82) that in case of Shivaji's failure to give them satisfaction for the abovementioned losses they would have recourse to retaliation rather than adhere to peaceful negotiations for the settlement of their dispute. It is worthy of note that the Carwar factors concurred in this view and expressed it in very vehement terms. They uttered, "now every pittfull Governor thinks he may fleece us like patient sheep, and never have anything said to him for it." The reason for this exasperation was that Carwar was looted by Shivaji at this juncture, and though the English had escaped unhurt, they apprehended danger sometime or other if Shivaji could not be impressed of the power of the English.

14. *The Outcome of Niccoll's Mission:—*

Niccolls started from Bombay on the 19th May, 1673 and, in two days, that is, on the 21st May, he arrived at the foot of Raigarh. On arriving there he learnt that Shivaji had gone abroad for absolution to a tank and was expected to return in a few days. On the 23rd, he saw Sambhaji Raja in the absence of Shivaji but the former could promise nothing to the English ambassador. On the 30th May, Niccolls received the news that Shivaji intended to stay long abroad. On the 31st May, he went to Pillaji to inquire whether he should extend his stay or leave the place as it was uncertain when the Raja would return. Niccolls, it may be borne in mind, was instructed to return to Bombay before the commencement of rains. On the 2nd June, in the afternoon, he received definite information about the Raja's arrival in his mother's castle about a mile from there. On the 3rd June, he went up the hill to speak with the Raja. He was admitted into the Raja's presence at about 5 o'clock. He brought home to the Raja that when the English showed their eagerness and earnestness to maintain friendly relations, their factory at Hubli had been plundered. It was inquired whether the plunder "was done by his appointment or command" or "whether he did approve of the action".

He answered that he never gave orders to disturb the English in any way in their factories. In respect of the loss incurred at

5. *Ibid.*

Hubli, he gave a definite and positive assurance to investigate into the matter before agreeing to make compensation therefor. When further pressed by the English envoy for a promise of satisfaction for this loss, he gave an evasive reply. As regards the several points raised by the English envoy the following replies were returned by Shivaji to Niccolls :

(1) As regards the non-payment for the purchase of salt, he said "it should be done to our content".

(2) As regards the customs in the neighbouring ports for timber and firewood, he said "I will give my order you shall pay none hereafter".

(3) As regards the rate of customs for the commodities to be transported through his dominions, he answered that he would consider that matter.

After this, he gave the envoy some betelnut and betel leaves (pans) in the customary Indian fashion on the eve of parting company with the English visitor. The Raja intimated Pillaji to tell the envoy that he might go down the hill and leave Shyamji, the interpreter of the English embassy, for the letters promised by the Raja.

The English envoy records in his diary that Shivaji did not speak to him about either the wintering of Siddi's ships or the detention of a merchant vessel belonging to his subject, although he received a letter from her owner. Shyamji stayed for about two days at the court of Shivaji. After two days, Shyamji returned with the Raja's orders regarding the customs-duty for firewood and timber. Further, Shivaji sent word that he would answer to the President through Bhima Pandit and the envoy was free to proceed to his headquarters. The English envoy left a peon to accompany Bhima Pandit and he left for Rairi to go to Choul.⁶

The question about Hubli talked of between Shivaji and Mr. Niccolls has been repeated in a letter⁷ from the Surat Council to Mr. Chamberlain, dated the 21st June, 1673. There is an additional factor mentioned which reads as follows :

"He (Shivaji) further declared that he prosecuted a just war in his enemies country, if his army in plundering any of the enemys towns doth unknown to him meddle with and sieze any English

6. *Ibid*, dated the 6th June, 1673.

7. Orme Mss. Vol. 114, Sect. 2, p. 87, dated 21st June, 1673, Surat to Mr. Chamberlain at Karwar.

goods he cannot help it, for in that hurry and confusion which either his soldiers plundered for themselves or the Country people siezed on, he is no ways liable for answer—further as a friend advises us that we trade as little as we can into Deccan because he is determined to make a sharp war there so soon as the rains are over".

15. Fresh Negotiations :

On the 23rd June, 1673, Consultation was held at Bombay⁸ for conducting fresh negotiations for the pending treaty after the return of Mr. Niccolls. It was suspected at this time that on account of Siddi's wintering in Bombay Shivaji sent spies to the island and had designed to capture it. Therefore, all necessary precautions against such an eventuality were ordered. The next day (that is, the 24th June, 1673) consultation was held at Bombay regarding the fresh negotiations to be carried on for the treaty with Shivaji. It was decided that Narayan Shenwi brother of Ram Shenwi, a trustworthy person well-qualified for the mission, should be appointed to accompany Shivaji's envoy to Rairi and "instructions be drawne out for him to observe in the management of the treaty with Seavagee". The Bombay Council harked back to the instructions given to Captain Ustick by the Surat Council which fixed the demand for compensation at 15,000 Pagodas initially and afterwards to accept 12,000 Pagodas. After further debate, the Governor and the Council of Surat came to the decision that if Narayan Shenwi "could bring Seavagee to allow 8,000 Pagodas to be paid in ready money or goods and five years, or at least three years free custom trade at Rajapore, that he should so conclude with him and not accept of anything less without further order".⁹

Shivaji's envoy was received twice by the Governor and a talk regarding the treaty took place which may be summarised as follows :

- (i) The English were to settle in Shivaji's territory again.¹ Shivaji agreed to offer the sum of 10,000 pagodas "which he says is the full amount" of what he plundered from the English at Rajapore. This sum was to be paid "to the company in customes" "whenever the English" had a mind to settle in his country".

8. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I., pp. 57-8.

9. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, p. 61.

- (ii) As regards the plunder of Hubli, he declared he knew nothing nor did he give any order to his army to disturb the English—"it was done by the King of Decan's souldiers and the Governor of Hubely himself, so that he is no wayes liable to answeare for it".
- (iii) The envoy made a complaint in Shivaji's behalf in respect of giving shelter to his enemies' shipping and taking part with them.
- (iv) Shivaji desired to be supplied with 2 or 3 big guns.
- (v) Lastly, the envoy demanded the restitution of the vessel belonging to Rajapore which had returned from Muscat.

The President commented on the offer of the sum of 10,000 pagodas by declaring that it was in no way proportional to the losses sustained by the English. He tried to convince Shivaji's envoy that "it was more consistent with Sevagees advantage then the company's to give them satisfaction and end the difference". It may be noted that the President wanted to make the most of their bargaining power by exploiting the situation to their best advantage. The envoy assented to prevail upon his master to make further satisfaction.

In the consultation held on the 25th June, 1673 it was resolved to send some Hindu or Muslim and not an Englishman with the envoy to Shivaji.

16. *"Instructions given by the President for Naran Sinay (Narayan Shenwi) to be observed in the treaty between the Hon'ble Company and Sevagee Rajah":*

The instructions to Narayan Shenwi may be mentioned in brief as follows under various heads:

- (i) *The Rajapore losses:—*

Bhimaji Pandit, Shivaji's envoy, declared on behalf of his master that the Maratha ruler agreed to pay 12,000 pagodas. This sum fell much short of the actual loss which amounted to 90,000 pagodas. This was wholly repudiated by Shivaji who maintained that he did not receive so much. Besides this, individual Englishmen lost nearly 20,000 pagodas. Narayan Shenwi was directed to impress upon Shivaji of "an expresse order from his Majestie of Greate Britaine not to agree in the Treaty of peace with the said

Sevagee untill the said summe of 20,000 Pagodas of the Englishmen be resored yett the President and Councill to manifest their good will have granted, for the consideration of friendship with the said Sevagee Rajah, to accept, instead of 20,000 Pagodas, the sume of 12,000 Pagodps, to be paid for the said particular English, which summe is to be received in ready money or in goods". As regards the compensation for the East India Company's losses at Rajapore, Shivaji was to grant the English the privilege to carry on trade without any customs-duty for seven years or at least for five years at that place which they hoped to bring great advantage and profit to the Maratha ruler. If Shivaji might say that the period of customs-free trade for seven years, was too long, it was to be told that other merchants would pay customs for their goods and this was likely to increase his receipts from customs-duty and develop the trade of the port. Manifestly, the English tried to inflate their demand for compensation beyond imagination and to prevail upon Shivaji to recognise the importance of their commercial activities as they thought that Shivaji was in sore need of their friendship.

- (ii) *The supply of arms and ammunition:*

As regards the supply of two guns, Shivaji was to be informed that his request would be complied with after the conclusion of the treaty of peace and thereafter he might obtain more guns and other things which he might require.

- (iii) *The return of the vessel of Rajapore:*

Regarding this, it was communicated to Shivaji that as it was customary the vessel could not be returned as it had been driven by storms. This practice obtained in the territories of Shivaji as well as those of the Portuguese.

- (iv) As regards the plunder of Hubli, a statement of loss incurred there was to be submitted to him for his information and scrutiny.

The envoy was instructed to accept 10,000 Pagodas at first and 8,000 Pagodas afterwards, in case Shivaji did not agree to approve of the payment of 20,000 Pagodas and custom-free trade for four years.

On comparing the consultations of the 24th and 25th June, 1673, the instructions issued to Narayan Shenwi, it is evident that the English began to increase their demands thinking probably that Shivaji could not do without their friendship and trade in his kingdom. The above instructions also make it clear that the English factors were a very shrewd people and knew how to profit by the circumstances.

In the meanwhile, the Bombay Council took the advice of the Surat Council on the above question. They pointed out in reply that the war with the Dutch, the dependence of the island of Bombay for wood on Shivaji's dominions and the likelihood of their trade being adversely affected obliged them to accept a small sum of 8 or 10,000 Pagodas. The consideration that was uppermost in the mind of the English was "safety and prosperity of the island" though the sum named was not "¼ part the damage the nation has sustained in Rajapore; were it not the Island, we should (think) it dishonourable to the Nation to receive less than full satisfaction." The Rajapore vessel was to be made over only after receiving the compensation as stated above. As regards the plunder of the Hubli factory, they decided to lodge a strong protest for collateral security for the loss there. Moreover, they resolved to include a list of debtors in the letter addressed to Shivaji.¹⁰

The Surat Council seems to have adopted retaliatory attitude for obtaining satisfaction for their losses from Shivaji. On the 19th July, 1673, it held consultation and resolved to take "what vessels belongs to his ports; and hearing there are some expected to returne from Mocha to Rajapore the end of next month, the Councell thought it requisite to advise their President that he give commission to the commanders of the frigates hee shall send downe to Carwarr to look out and to make prise of them."¹¹ But in the consultation held at Bombay on the 15th August, 1673 it was decided that Captain Jonsons should refrain from attacking Shivaji's vessels as Narayan Shenwi had been deputed to carry on negotiation for a treaty of compensation for the Rajapore losses.

Strangely enough, in contradiction to the above, the Bombay Council gave to Captain Bass, the Company's admiral, on the 16th August, orders to seize any merchantile vessel belonging to the port of Rajapore.¹² However, these instructions were cancelled and withdrawn probably the very next day.¹³

One can perceive from the above narrative that the English people of Bombay wanted to avoid conflict with Shivaji as far as possible and would resort to retaliation as a last measure to obtain satisfaction for their losses at Rajapore and Hubli.

10. F. R. Surat, O. 13, p. 21 (3d set) dated 10th July, 1673.

11. F.R. Surat, Vol. 3, p. 22.

12. Orme Mss., Vol. 114, Sec. 2, p. 114.

13. *Ibid*, p. 115.

17. *Proposals to give up their design :*

In the mean time events took an unexpected turn. The factory of Carwar was besieged by Shivaji's forces. The English found themselves in a strange predicament at this juncture and decided to give up their previous design. They were greatly anxious to load their ship for embarkment to England at Rajapore. Realising that the Rajapore vessel seized by the English belonged to the innocent and poor person, orders for its release were given by the President and the Council of Bombay and Shivaji was to be informed to this effect.

They further decided to buy goods at Rajapore to be despatched to Europe.¹⁴

Accordingly on the same day, a letter¹⁵ to the above effect was despatched to Surat. The proposals were repeated in another letter sent from Bombay on the 26th August, 1673. The main reasons for these proposals were the Dutch war and the want of necessary cargo for despatch to Europe on account of the disturbed conditions at and about Carwar.¹⁶ The Surat Council, however, signified its disapproval of the above proposals.¹⁷ Before this disapproval arrived from Surat, the owner of the captured vessel of Rajapore petitioned to the President in Council at Bombay to return his vessel and goods; but it was agreed that "nothing concerning this affaires should be determined untill wee receive the sense of Deputy President and Counsell of Suratt into whom wee have already wrote about it". For the information of the reader, it might be added here that the President of Surat was also the Governor of Bombay, of which the permanent resident officer was called the Deputy Governor, and at Surat there was a Vice-President also.

18. *The return of the captured vessel to the owner :*

Though the Surat Council expressed its disapproval as regards the surrender of the Rajapore vessel at the petition of its owner, the Bombay Council debated the matter and resolved :

14. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 74-5, dated 21st August, 1673.

15. F.R. Surat, Vol. 106, Fol. 184, dated 21st August, 1673.

16. Orme Mss., Vol. 114, p. 119.

17. F.R. Surat, Vol. 3, Part III, Fol. 33, dated 30th August, 1673.

"That the said vessell and her goods be delivered unto the owner.....".¹⁸

The main reasons cited for the above decision were that it was inexpedient to offend Shivaji whose power was daily on the increase at the time when Holland was at war with Great Britain in Europe and trading concern should not care for "the opinion which censure the surrender of this vessel to be done out of feare." Incidentally, they have also explained why orders regarding retaliation were so often "reversed or confirmed as occasion offers" and have said "nor doe wee as yet lay aside our demaunds against Sevagee, but the field is still left open to reason, with due respect to the Companys interest, shall hereafter direct us."¹⁹

19. *Fresh prospects of a treaty:*

There is also a reference in the letter that Narayan Shenwi, after a long stay, saw and held a discourse with Shivaji on the Rajapore affair. Shivaji declared on the occasion that he was willing to compose the difference with the English but that he could not, "by reason of the present war, pay any ready money towards satisfaction, but so much as he had received of the Company's which was 7,000 pagodas; he did offer to make good to them in the customes of Rajapore when the company settle there".²⁰ In the company of Narayan Shenwi came an envoy from Shivaji. The envoy was first received by the President and then a Committee was appointed to hear his objections to certain accounts of the Rajapore losses. The envoy, Bhima Pandit, tried to show that Shivaji's soldiers were small in number and as they were persued by the Bijapur army, they could not have the grandoes as they require 2,000 men to remove them. Secondly, as regards debts of the Rajapore merchants the envoy repudiated the responsibility of his master by stating that it was not possible to inquire of the Company's debtors, who could be spared from robbery when engaged in a war against an enemy. Thirdly, he stated the value of the plundered property could not exceed 4,000 pagodas after specifying the articles robbed at Rajapore.

In conclusion, the envoy impressed the English factors that "...his master hath robb'd several Kings and Princes and many merchants but never made aney satisfaction, and what he now

offers to us is purely out of a desire of friendship with the English who beare so good an esteame in all nations and not aney private interest of his owne." In reply to this, the English acknowledged the friendly attitude of Shivaji and pointed out "he may remember his Master's salt fleet might have been disturbed here to his no small detriment, and his owne trading vessels, as well as those of his merchants, if wee once had begunn to seize, might soone require (sic ? requite) our loss and possibly wee have endeavoured all faire meanes and cannot procure anything of satisfaction".

On the occasion of the second meeting, Bhimaji had offered 5,000 pagodas for the losses. At the third meeting, he made an offer of 7,000 pagodas and thereafter he increased the offer to 9,000 pagodas to be paid in goods and out of the customs when the English resettled at Rajapore, and finally a higher offer of 10,025 pagodas was made by him with the remark that he had already exceeded the powers vested in him and the terms of payments would be as follows: 2,500 pagodas to be allowed in the customs at Rajapore, and three instalments to cover the remaining: the first instalment immediately after the resettlement at Rajapore, the second one after a year and the remaining instalment in the following year. For the debts of the Bijapur ruler, Rustam Jemah and others, Shivaji would do his best to cover them for the company.

On communication of the aforesaid stipulations of peace to the President and Council, they gave their assent to then with a sense of satisfaction that it was "an Honourable Agreement and consistent with the Company and M(N)ations interest and honour". Narayan Shenwi was ordered to conclude the treaty and to carry a present for Shivaji worth Rupees 500 or 600.²¹

The Bombay Council informed the East India Company in London that the treaty of peace referred to in the letters of the 23rd October had not been signed and confirmed by Shivaji himself due to his absence contrary to the facts mentioned therein.²² From the perusal of the "English Records on Shivaji", the reader cannot but be convinced that the English factors in India generally gave an exaggerated account of their achievements. For on the 6th March, 1674, the Bombay factors reported that Shivaji stood to his previous agreement and was willing to confirm it.²³

18. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 83-86, dated 15th September, 1673.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Original Correspondence, Vol. 33, No. 3758, dated 6th October, 1673.

22. *Ibid.*, 3910, dated the 15th December, 1673.

23. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 17-18, dated 6th March, 1673-4.

Narayan Shenwi arrived at Raigarh on the 24th March, 1674 but could not see Shivaji till the noon of the 3rd April as he was in mourning on account of the death of one of his wives. Narayan Shenwi was welcomed by Niraji Pandit and brought in the presence of Shivaji who ordered his scribes to pass orders regarding the Rajapore affair, namely, compensation of the loss in three instalments: 2,500 pagodas out of customs at Rajapore, 2,500 pagodas to be paid in the first monsoon commencing from the first of September, and 5,000 pagodas to be paid within the space of two years. Shivaji informed the English envoy that it would require 3 or 4 days to issue the written orders. The envoy wrote to the company's factors to relieve him of his duties at Raigarh as the water was not wholesome there and to send Mr. Henry Oxinden for his ensuing coronation.²⁴

In reply to Shivaji's proposals, President, Aungier, wrote to him, "I doe onely to please your Excellency accept of the summe of 10,000 pagodaes, though our losse was greater, to be paid as followth (vizt), 7,500 pagodas in ready money and 2,500 to be discounted in the customes at Rajapore".²⁵ Shivaji wrote back, "I shall not say more but desire you that there may bee noe difference in our friendship for I am very well acquainted of your Honours prudence I send your Honour a present which I desire you to accept off".²⁶

20. *A Fresh difficulty in the way of the treaty:*

On receipt of the letter from Narayan Shenwi, Messrs. Henry Oxinden and Stephen Ustick were ordered to proceed to Shivaji's court and to report all the developments there. It was also decided to address a letter to Narayan Shenwi to ascertain how many persons of Shivaji's Council were to be given presents.²⁷

Accordingly, the Bombay Council sent information²⁸ to the Surat Council to make the necessary purchases for presents on the occasion of the treaty and Shivaji's coronation. The Surat Council

24. F.R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 83, dated Rairy 4th April 1674. This letter contains a detailed reference to the preparations Shivaji made at the time of his coronation.

25. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3951.

26. *Ibid.*, No. 3952. Both of these letters are undated; but it seems that they must have been written towards the end of April and beginning of May, 1674.

27. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, p. 24, dated the 10th April, 1674.

28. Orme Msa., Vol. 114, Sec. 3, p. 98.

held consultation on the 16th April 1674 and decided to make the necessary purchases in accordance with the advice of the Bombay Council.

However, at this time, Shivaji remonstrated in the following strong and threatening words against the practice of the English in allowing Siddi's fleet (the Moghul admiral) to winter in the harbour of Bombay: "he will make war with, and use his utmost to burn the King's ships in our port, and we are in no condition to secure them, in regard our ships are gone for England; and besides he has sent word that he will supply the Dutch with 10,000 men to take this Island, so that we can by no means admit it".

The Bombay Council lost no time in sending a letter²⁹ to the Surat Council for the Governor of Surat, explaining why they could not allow Siddi's fleet to winter in the Bombay harbour. The Surat Council, realised the dependence of the island of Bombay on Shivaji's territory adjoining it for the supply of provisions, traffic and trade. The English gradually became bolder than in the past and cared more for the attitude of Shivaji than for that of the Moghul Emperor, and therefore tried all means possible to see that the admiral, Siddy Sambool, departed from the Bombay harbour into which he had entered partly for his customary ravages on the Maratha dominion and partly on account of storms. They made up their mind to "tell him plainly and boldly that you are willingly to leave the port, and trade of Surat rather than be subject to great inconveniences".³⁰ The English had become aware of the growing importance of Bombay. Accordingly, on the 27th April, 1674, the Bombay Council again decided to deny entry to Siddi's fleet in the Bombay harbour to avoid giving offence to Shivaji. It was decided to suspend the visit of Mr. Oxinden to Shivaji's Court for the time being until Siddi's fleet left the harbour.³¹

But the circumstances were too strong for the English to allow them to put their threat into practice. They were quite alive to their dependence on the Moghul Empire for their trading activities, specially, at Surat, "... Though Sevagee was at first offended at his wintring here, yet the President haveing given him the reason of his proceedings, he was highly satisfied therewith".³² However,

29. Orme Mss., Vol. 114, Sec. 2, pp. 102-3.

30. *Ibid.*, Sec. 3, pp. 104-6.

31. F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 26-7 (2nd set).

32. Original Correspondence, Vol. 34, No. 3918.

they did not relax their efforts to expel Siddi's fleet out of the harbour. The Bombay Council in its meeting held on the 30th April 1674 decided to depute Captain John Shaxtion, Deputy Governor, Mr. John Child, Mr. Henry Oxinden and Mr. Stephen Ustick to turn out the Moghul fleet under Siddi Sambool by peaceful negotiations and persuasion.

The Moghul admiral was to be told that Shivaji was mightily incensed and might burn his fleet, and declare war against the English. It was decided that after the lapse of 3 days the Moghul fleet was to be cut off from supplies of victuals and water, to be shut in the harbour not allowing the men to go ashore nor any provision sent to them and to make a "publique protest in the presence of all the Moors there present that if any evill, damage or loss doth happen to the King's fleete, or if any quarrell, breach of peace and amity doth fall betweene the King and the English on this score, that they are the cause of it and let the evill light upon their owne heads".³³

There were pertinent reasons for the resolution. Siddi's men had begun their usual ravages of looting, plundering and burning in Shivaji's territory and killing men and outraging women. The English could not, however, turn out the Moghul fleet.

21. *The proposed articles of peace :*

In the mean time, "The Governor having received a letter from Naransinay, wherein he presseth very much for Mr. Oxinden to proceed in his journey to Rairee, in regard Sevagee intends very shortly to be crowned and to sitt on his throne, and likewise, it being necessary that a speedy satisfaction touching the Sidyes fleete being here be given unto him, least it should prove disadvantageous to the concluding of the peace now in treaty.

ORDERED That Mr. Oxinden prepare himselfe with speed to goe to Rairee with the present, and that Mr. John (Child), Mr. Oxinden and Mr. Ustick doe meete this afternoone and put the present in order, and to consider how it must be disposed, and to bring an account thereof to the President next Councell day.

ORDERED also That Mr. George Robinson and Mr. Thomas Mitchell doe accompany Mr. Oxinden for his assistance in this affaire."³⁴

33. *Ibid.*

On the 8th of May 1674, the Bombay Council discussed the articles of peace as drawn up by their servant, Narayan Shenwi, on the 6th April 1674 in the course of his negotiation with Shivaji. Then (sometime in May itself) they seem to have drawn up a fresh document containing the "articles of Peace, Union and Friendship between the Noble Prince Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. English East India Company." To give an idea of them, they are given below in full.

1. THAT from this day forward, there be a true firm and inviolable peace and amity between the noble Prince Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. English East India Company their Successors and assigns and between the lands, countries, subjects and inhabitants of both parties of what degree and quality soever.

2d. THAT all acts of enmity, hostility and discord, shall cease and be abolished, and that both parties shall abstain and forbear from all plunderings, depredations and injuries, whatsoever, public and private, in all places both by sea and land.

3d. THAT the said Sevagee Rajah and his subjects and all other inhabitants in his Dominions, shall use and treat the English kindly and friendly and with respect and honour due to them as friends and confederates, so that they may freely pass by land and water into the countrys, cities and towns belonging to Sevagee Rajah, and there continue so long as they please and buy provisions and likewise trade and traffick in goods and commodities of all sorts, paying the usual duties and obedient to the Civil Government of the respective places, the same kindness to be reciprocally interchanged to subjects of Sevagee Rajah on the island Bombay.

4. THAT in case any ships or vessels of the subjects of either nation shall by storm or pirates or any other necessity whatsoever be dirven into any of the ports of Sevagee Rajah or into Bombay, that they may depart at their pleasure without paying custom or any other duty, except they break bulk or land their ship or vessel shall be so cast away or driven on shore, but rather each nation shall be obliged to help and assist the distressed in the recovery of the said vessel and goods and restore the same to the owners thereof.

34. F.R. Surat, Vol. 88, Fol. 122, pp. 107-8; dated 20th April, 1674.
Orme Mss. Vol. 114, Sec. 3, p. 110, dated 6th May, 1674.
F.R. Bombay, Vol. 88, p. 29 (2nd set).
F.R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.

5. THAT the officers of the respective custom houses, searchers or any of their ministers of either party shall regulate themselves by the laws of justice and equity, and demand no more customs or dutys or force from the merchants for presents or otherwise, more than is just, or usual.

6. In case any English or subjects belonging to the Island Bombay shall be wronged or abused in the Dominions of Sevagee Rajah, the said Sevagee, or the Governors of his respective towns and ports, shall take care that speedy justice be done, according to right and equity, and that due punishment be inflicted upon the persons, who have committed the offence and injury, the same justice also to be exercised by the Governors of the Island Bombay to all subjects of Sevagee Rajah in the like cases.

7. THAT no private injury of any sort shall weaken this happy peace or beget any quarrell or dissention between the said Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. Company, but every one shall answer for their own actions and be prosecuted thereon, neither shall one person suffer for the offence of another by reprisal, confiscation or other unjust proceedings unless justice be denied or unreasonably delayed by either side.

8. THAT in case it shall so happen that Sevagee Rajah having warrs at present, or her(e)after with the countries of the Magull and King of Deccan, or other Prince whatsoever, shall make inroads and plunder any town where the English any factory settled it shall not be not lawfull for the General or officers or soldiers of Sevagee Rajah to plunder, molest, or disturb any house, warehouse or factory, belonging to the English, or seize upon any of the persons of their servants or brokers upon any pretence, or design whatsoever, but rather the said General or principle officer shall be obliged to secure the said English factors from the violence of soldiers, in case any of the goods or estates belonging to the English or their brokers, shall be embezzled or plundered, the said Sevagee Rajah shall be obliged to make full satisfaction for the same.

9. THAT in case the armada or ships of war, belonging to Sevagee Rajah, shall make seizure of any vessell belonging to the ports of Indostan or Deccan wherein any English goods are laden, tho' the said vessell or other goods be made prize yet whatever goods belong to the English, shall not be confiscated, plundered or imbezzled upon any account whatsoever, provided they are made

appear by sufficient proof, and testimony, that the same belonged to them, and in the same nature, if the English shall make seizure upon any vessell, wherein are any goods belonging to Sevagee Rajah or his subjects, though the said vessell and other goods be made prizes, yet whatever goods belong to Sevagee Rajah or his subjects, upon sufficient proof thereof made, shall not be confiscated or embezzled, but restored unto them again.

10. THAT the English during their pleasure, shall reside at the port of Rajapore or any other ports in his Dominions, with all freedom and liberty; the Rajah at his own charges, giving them convenient house to live in, and not suffering any to molest them and that they may at their pleasure, journey up and down in the country and voyage from place to place in persuance of their trade, without any let or hinderance, paying custom for their goods once, and that in port only, when imported or exported.

11. THAT whatever goods or merchandize the English shall import or export they are to pay custom, at the rate of 2½ per cent, and if any goods are landed not sold, but reshipped for other places, no customs to be paid for the same, nor for any sort of provisions or timber whatever.

12. THAT it shall not be lawful for any Governor Droga of the custom house, or any person power to obstruct by public prohibition or private menances, the sale of any English manufactures, or hinder them in buying the commodities of the country upon any pretence whatever, but that the English shall have free liberty to buy their goods of and dispose of their merchandize to whom they please.

13. THAT if any English merchants buy any goods of the natives or contract for any of the natives commodities to be delivered them and the natives shall either neglect to pay their debts or pay their contract, Sevagee or his Governors shall use means to force him or them to make satisfaction, and on default thereof, it shall be lawfull for the English to detain such persons in their house till the debt be cleared, or the contract accomlished.

14. THAT whereas the English factory house at Rajapore is fallen much to decay, they may have liberty to repair the same and build such conveniencys thereto as shall be necessary and what charge they are at, to be defrayed out of the Customs.

15. THAT in case any war should happen between the English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, or others, it shall not be lawfull

for Sevagee to assist any of them, or on any pretence whatever to seize or deliver up or suffer to be seized or delivered up any part of the estate, belonging to the English, or any of their persons or servants, but he shall be bound to protect, and if any of the Company's or particular mens estate be seized, he shall be bound to make it good.

16. THAT no person of what quality soever, shall enter forcibly into the English factory, or warehouse, but if any difference happens between the English and the natives, it shall be amicably composed betwixt both parties, and in case (which God forbid) any quarrel should arise, so that by heat of blood either party be wounded or killed, Sevagee or his ministers shall do justice on the natives, if it appear to be his fault, and the Englishman (if culpable) be kept in irons, till order shall come from the Governor of Bombay, concerning his punishment, and if any difference shall arise in accounts, or otherwise betwixt any of the English servants, or brokers, and the country merchants, the Chief of the English is to be acquainted with it and to determine the controversy according to the justness of the cause.

17. THAT if any of the Company's servants, of what quality soever, should absent himself from his duty and retire to any part of Sevagee's country, upon notice given, he shall use his endeavours to return and surrender him.

18. THAT the English, and other inhabitants upon the Island Bombay, shall have free liberty to fetch firewood from the adjacent islands opposite to the main, without any obstruction from Sevagee's people, or any custom to be demanded or paid for the same, to whom strict prohibition is to be given to prevent any misunderstanding.

19. THAT for the better management of the intended trade and commerce, between these islands and Sevagee's Dominions, and for the mutual encouragement of the respective inhabitants to apply themselves thereunto the more vigorously, all manner of coins, made and used on the Island Bombay, go current in Sevagee's Dominions to which effect Sevagee's order is to be given to his Soubidars, Havildars, etc., accordingly, and also all sorts of coins made in Sevagee's Dominions shall pass freely on the Island Bombay.

20. THAT whatever privileges, favours and immunities the Said Sevagee Rajah shall think good to grant unto the English

nation, or to any inhabitants of the Island Bombay, the Governor of the said Island shall be obliged to grant the same unto all subjects and inhabitants of the countries and Dominions of the said Sevagee Rajah."³⁵

22. Instructions to Henry Oxinden :

On the eve of his departure, Mr. Henry Oxinden was given instructions for his work. These are set forth in "Original Correspondence", vol. 35, No. 3963 dated Bombay, 11 May 1674. The main items of the same are extracted here in short. First, it was pointed out "we judge it necessary and prudent in this conjecture to be somewhat more freehanded then otherwise wee should bee, that wee may the better prevaile with him and his ministers of state to gratifye the Company with their reasonable demands and to procure the better esteeme and endearment of our nation and trade among them. . . ." "In the contract signed by Sevagee wherein he promiseth to pay 10,000 Kings Pagothas for satisfaction of the companys loss sustained at Rajapore, there are some things mentioned which are more then we agreed to in our Treaty with his Envoy, (vizt) that in the first payment of 2,500 Pagothas worth of goods it is to be discounted out of 5,000 Pagothas worth of goods which wee are to buy of him, and soe consequently in the rest of the payments, which was not resolved upon agreed to possibly by us, but rather that wee are to endeavour to press him unto ; but in case he declares that he can not spare ready money and that he will force goods upon us, you are to bee carefull that you doe not take any old or unmerchantable goods, and that they bee not overprized."

"Secondly, in that the last clause wherein he admits the English liberty to settle factories in any parte of his dominions, wee find that Negotanna and Penn and those partes lying over against Bombay are not expressly included, wherefore wee would have you make that one of the Articles, that wee may settle and build warehouses in any of those partes, declareing that it will bee a great conveience to his owne occations, and a meanes to bring downe trade to that parte of the country.

"Thirdly, in the last clause he limits the English that they shall buy and sell only in port and not transport any goods in the inland countryes. This, you may tell him, is a great inconvenience and discouragement to trade, and that which noe King or Prince

35. Orme Mss., Vol. 114, Sec. 3, pp. 124-8.

ever hitherto imposed upon us, for in all Industan, Decan, Persia, Arabia, and the South Seas, and other partes where wee trade wee have liberty to transport goods, paying custom at port only. Wherefore you must press him by all reasonable arguments to make an alteration of that clause and to graunt us the same priviledge which wee enjoy in other partes, otherwise wee shall bee very much discouraged and not trade soe much as otherwise wee shall doe."

As regards the wintering of the Siddy's fleet in the Bombay Harbour, it was to be pointed that this had to be allowed in spite of their desire and willingness, as they had factories in the Moghul dominions. "And you may further declare that he also hath vessells wintering here as well as they, and wee could not in reason and prudence denye the Sidy the same kindness though it be very much against our will and inclination."

"Amongst Sevagees chiefest Ministers of State you must particularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Pundet, who hath expressed extraordinary kindnesse and affection to the Company's interest, and therefore you are to communicate unto him all our designes and proposals before they are presented to Sevagee, that you may take his advice and approbation therein desireing him to intercede and mediate with Sevagee Rajah for the speedy conclusion thereof. You are also to pay all civil respects to his Peshaw or second Minister of State Mow (Moro)—punt and likewise to Anagee Pundet, with whom we may have frequent occasion of correspondence, soe that the nearer intimacy you gaine with him the better."

He was also promised the mediation of peace between Shivaji and English, "declaring that what the President design is onely to keep peace with his neighbours but that his neighbours keepe peace also one with another."

"In the agreement made with Sevagees Envoy, Bhimagee Pundett, touching the satisfaction to be paid the Company for their loss at Rajapore, in regard Naragee Pundett, whom wee have before recommended unto you, did prove the only mediator to bring Sevagee to soe faire and good accomodation, wee thought good to promise him, for his encouragement, 500 Pagothas to bee paid him out of the said money, thereby to obleige him the more to doe the Company further service in their trade hereafter; and also wee promised to Bimagee Pundett the Envoy, for his effectuell service therein 100 Pagothas; wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirm our promise but endeavour to put it of to the

2d or 3d payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first, you are not to denye them, for it is necessarie for us to keepe them our friends."

"You are to discourse with Naragee Pundett touching the opening a way for the merchants to convey goods betwixt Ballagall (Balaghat) and the inland mart townes of Decan and Negottanna, and the maine over against Bombay, declaring unto him that will be a great means to enrich his country and secure those partes for when trade is once settled there wee shall bee better able to assist him in the strengthening those partes against any enmys; wherefore wee desire you to press him earnestly thereunto, for that it will bee a notable advantage to his country."

"You are also to advise Naragee Pundett that he use his interest to perswade Sevagee to encourage all merchants to trade and bring downe goods from the neighbouring partes of Decan, to which end it is necessarie that he causeth his officers to use them with great kindnesse in moderate customs, and freedom from unjust exations, for nothing doth more advance trade then that, and he will find his revenue to encrease more by such a way then hitherto he hath taken."³⁶

23. *The attempts of Henry Oxinden and treaty at last:*

An account of Henry Oxinden's attempts and his success in getting a treaty signed between the English East India Company and Shivaji is available in his letters (F. R. Surat, vol. 88, Fols. 138-141, dated foot of Fairy Gurr 21 May 1674; F. R. Surat, vol. 88, Fols. 141-143, dated Rairy Gurr 27 May 1674; F. R. Surat, vol. 88, Fols. 144-48, dated Rairy Gurr May 1674) to the Bombay Council and Oxinden's narrative (original correspondence, vol. 35, No. 3965, dated 13 May to 13 June 1674). Some references are also available in the letter of further instruction to Mr. Henry Oxiden (F.R. Bombay, vol. 6, pp. 139-141, 2nd set) dated 5 June 1674.

Writing in his letter of the 22nd May, Oxinden informed that he learnt from Niraji Pandit that Shivaji would not accept the offer for peace between him and Siddy, as he was bent upon taking Danda Rajapuri. In this very very letter, he writes:—

"Discourseing further with him concerning the opening the wayes Ballacat (Ballaghat) and encouraging the merchants to

36. Original Correspondence, Vol. No. 3965.

bring downe their goods to the sea ports and carry on their trade, which would be to the Rajahs greate profit and increase of his incomes, he answered he doubted not but both would be shortly effected, for that the King of Vizapore, by the Rajahs often incursions and spoyling of his country, was sencible that a peace with him was far more advantageous then a warr, and therefore had sent severall Embassadors to treat with him, and he doubted not but this raines it would act more a King by taking care of his subjects and endeavoring to advance trade and commerce, on which he well knows depends the happines and flourishing estates of the Prince."

In his letter of the 30 May, Henry Oxinden writes to Bombay :—

"He hath graunted all what we demanded except our money goeing currant in his country and the restoring unto us what wracks may happen on his coasts. To the first he says, If you make your money as fine and as weighty as the Mogulls money it shall goe in his country if his people will take it, but he cannot force them, neither will he hinder its being current, which wee have experimented to be true in the time of our being here, for sending our money to change, wee find among the pice they bring us abundance of Bombay pice, but no bugrookes. To the other they say that should they graunt us our wracks, the French Dutch and other merchants would demand the same, which they cannot graunt, being possitively against the Lawes and constitutions of their country now, and formerly the Nisamshay Kingdome by which they are still governed. They do likewise scruple at our desires to pay custome no where but in port, but as to that they will insert in the articles that whatever custom wee paid and priviledged wee enjoyed at Rajapore in Adell Shah time wee shall retine still, and not be deprived thereof, which if I am not mistaken, were large enough."

On the 5th June 1674 (F.R. Bombay, vol. 6, pp. 139-141, 2nd set), the Bombay Council repeated most of the previous instructions, but warned Oxinden against being very much insistent upon them.

With the above exceptions the treaty, as given above, was signed by Shivaji on the 11th June 1674 and by the "ministers of state" the next day. Henry Oxinden departed from Raigarh on the 13th, and arrived at on the 16th and "delivered his Honour etc., the article of Peace signed and ratified by Shivaji and his ministers of State."

The Substance of Ramanuja's Sri Bhashyam

(Continued from page 173, Part II)

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IV

The first Sutra, "Athāto Brahmajijnāsā", has been interpreted by the Viśiṣṭādvaitin as conveying the idea that the consideration of the nature of the Brahman follows that of Karma or conduct. Both Karma and Jñāna are regarded as necessary for Moksha. That the Śāstra, which reveals the nature of Karma, and that which speaks of Jñāna are but the two sections of one whole is the Viśiṣṭādvaitic view. The Advaitin's interpretation of the Sutra, being different, maintains that the consideration of the nature of the Brahman would come after the fourfold preparation for the dawn of Jñāna, i.e. "sādhana çatusṭaya sampatyanantaram", that Jñāna is the only necessary and self-sufficient means for Moksha, that there is no use for Karma and that the two Śāstras, the Purva-Mimāmsa and the Vedānta, are independent of each other. It was in order to show that, of these two interpretations, Rāmānuja's was the more appropriate one that the discussion on the philosophy of Advaita was entered into. As a result of the discussion it emerged that neither the Brahman is attributeless (nirviśesham) nor the world unreal. If the unreality of the world had been established, there might be justification for arguing that Karma is of no avail, or that Purva-Mimāmsa and the Vedānta are two different and independent Śāstras. But when the illusory character of the Jagat has been disproved, the position that there is no use for Karma becomes untenable. That in the attainment of Moksha there is necessity for Karma has been maintained in the section known as Laghu Siddhānta by the author of the Śri Bhāṣhya, and the arguments adduced by him in this behalf may be briefly stated as follows. Like the Advaitin who regards dispelling avidyā as effecting Moksha the Viśiṣṭādvaitin also holds that the dispelling of Avidyā is Moksha. But the Viśiṣṭādvaitin's conception of Avidyā is different from the Advaitin's. Owing to the difficulties inherent in the conception of Avidyā as expounded by Śri Śaṅkara

it is unacceptable. Avidyā as interpreted by the Viśiṣṭādvaitin is the result of a confusion between Śareera (body) and Ātman (Soul); and it manifests itself in three ways,—(1) that the Śareera is the Ātman, (2) that the Ātman, though different from the Śareera, is a Swatantra (free agent) and (3) the view that anything belongs to man, when as a matter of fact everything is God's. "Anātmān-ātma buddhirya aswésamitiyamatiḥ", says the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. That such an Avidyā is dispelled by Paramātmajnāna is also accepted by the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, but with the difference that the Paramātmajnāna is not the Advaitin's "Jīvātmaikyajnāna" or the jñāna that the jīva and the Brahman are one and the same.

Now, is the Paramātmajnāna which dispels Avidyā something that is born out of Śabda or out of dhyāna (meditation)? If Śabdājñāna were itself capable of dispelling Avidyā the injunction in the Vedānta vākyas that one ought to do dhyāna would become purposeless and superfluous. Anyone who is intelligent is able to grasp the meaning of what he hears. He who has intelligence and understanding can have Śabdājñāna by merely listening to the Śabda. There would then be no need for any injunction or command in the Vedānta vākyas. Expressing this view that there is no need for the Vedānta vākyas to enjoin on us the duty of dhyāna, if the highest type of knowledge could come directly from a mere hearing of certain śabdās Śrī Rāmānuja says, "Tasya vidhānam antarenāpi vākyādeva siddheh".¹

The knowledge that we get from Vedānta vākyas does, however, help us in dhyāna or meditation. Dhyāna is compared to the flow of a continuous stream of oil from a vessel. It is a constant, unbroken current of recalled memory (smritisantati) and an act of concentration. Now remembrance and recall (smriti) imply prior experience (anubhava). The meditation on the Paramātmān is said to be in the form of smriti, and as such it must have a prior experience as its basis. The Paramātmān itself must be the object (vishaya) of such an experience, and the experience is not had through Pratyaksha or Anumāna. From Upanishad vākyas (Śabda) comes the experience. If the initial experience has come from them the individual who has had the experience may subsequently enter into dhyāna. Only in this manner can we find use for the jñāna arising from Upanishad vākyas in the attainment of Moksha. The śabda jñāna does not straightaway give Moksha, but through dhyāna it leads to that end. This fact is ex-

1. Śrī Bhashyam—1: 1: 1.

pressed by the Upanishad itself, which says "Anuvidya Vijñāti² and "Vijñāya Prajñām kurvita".³

The Paramātmān as described in the Upanishads is Himself the proper object of one's Dhyāna. The Vākyas speak of Him as the one perfect Being, who removes all imperfections (heya-pratyanikah), the abode of infinite excellences or Kalyāṇa Guṇas, the possessor of a divinely beautiful, non-prakritic form or Divyamangāla Vighraha and the Supreme Lord of realms known as Vibhūti. They further say that He is different from the three kinds of Ātmās, viz. the bound, the liberated and the eternally free souls, who are all part of His Śareera, He being their Śareeri. It is, therefore, such a Being that would be the object of Dhyāna.

It is at this stage that the question, whether the celebrated Śruti, "Tattvamasi" reveals difference or absence of difference between the Jīva and the Brahman, is taken up. In order to answer the question we have to consider the meaning of certain Vākyas in the section in which the Śruti appears, and this takes us on to the story of Śvetaketu, son of Uddhālaka, narrated in the Upanishad. Uddhālaka was the son of Aruna, and a great Paramātmajnāni. As directed by his father, Śvetaketu, the twelve-year old boy—already past the age of Upanayana⁴—went forth and found his Guru, under whose guidance he passed through the discipline of Brahmaçarya,⁵ living the life of the student-celibate and studying the sacred texts.

When after a period of twelve years Śvetaketu returned to his father, he did seem as if he had acquired a great deal of knowledge. But his father, the great jñāni that he was, could discern that Śvetaketu had no Brahmajnāna (the knowledge of the Supreme), and with a view to enlightening him put him the question, "Utata-mādeśam, aprākshyah, Enāśrutam śrutam bhavati, Amatam matam, Avijnātam vijnātam"⁶ The question means, "Oh, Śvetaketu, have you heard (from your teacher) of the Paramātmān, who is the Lord and Ruler of all,—of that, by hearing of which one may be said to have heard everything, by thinking on which one would have thought on everything, by meditating on which one would

2. Chandogya Upanishad.

3. Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.

4. Means literally the admission to the presence of an Açārya, Stands for the ceremony of investing the initiate with "sacred thread".

5. First of the four Āśramas or stages in a man's life, implying study, service to the teacher and celibacy.

6. Chāndogya Upanishad.

have meditated on everything? Have you heard of such a Being"? Śvetaketu, who heard this question put to him, was at a loss as to how he could call anything so comprehensive, so universally inclusive in reference. In actual experience, he thought, we find that things are different from one another. How, then, may we say that by knowing something everything would have been known? Perplexed, he asked his father as to how it could be so. The father knowing well his son's difficulty replied, "Yathā somya ekena mritpindena sarvam mrimmayam vijnātam syāt"⁷ which explained: "Out of clay are made the pot, the pan and other things of use. By knowing the substance, clay, we may be said to have known its several modifications, such as the pot and the pan. The Brahman, like the substance of clay, is the cause of its several modifications constituting the myriad things of the jagat. Hence by knowing the Brahman one knows everything". Śvetaketu's doubts were not, however, set at rest by this answer. He had learnt that for an effect (kārya) to follow there must be three kinds of causes (Kāraṇa) viz. Upādāna or material cause, Nimitta or efficient cause, and Sahakāri or auxiliary and instrumental cause. (In the making of the pot the clay is the Upādāna kāraṇa, the potter is the efficient cause and his wheel, the auxiliary cause). Although we speak of clay as a cause of the pot we do not take the two to be identical. "If the cause and the effect were the same", thought Śvetaketu, "what has been said may be true, but they are not". Realising the doubt in the mind of his son, Uddhālaka proceeded to show how an effect and its upādāna kāraṇa may be the same. "Vācārambhanamvikāro nāmadheyam, mrittiketyeva satyam"⁸ the idea expressed in this vākyaṃ uttered by the father may be stated as follows: It is the same substance, clay, that becomes the pot, the pan and other things. The upādāna, clay is transformed into several varieties of things, each acquiring a different name and form, in order to enable us to denote and specify the objects as and when we require them. There is, as a matter of fact, no difference in substance between the clay and its modifications. In a similar manner does the Brahman fashion itself into the jagat. The Brahman is the Upādāna kāraṇa, and the Universe its effect. By knowing the Brahman one knows the whole jagat.

In response to his son's request for a fuller elucidation of the nature of the Brahman, Uddhālaka said "Sadeva somyédamagra-

7. Chāndogya Upanishad.

8. Do. Do.

āseet Ekamevādvitīyam", and "Tadaikshata Bahusyām prajāyeya"⁹. The first of these quotations means that before creation this jagat existed merely as "sat", the One Ultimate Being. There was no one to command or control it. "I shall become the manifold objects of the jagat", resolved the Sat. With this end in view the Sat first resolved to become the three elements, Tejas, Ap, and Annam corresponding to Fire, water and earth. "Séyam devataikshata hantāham imāstīro devatāḥ anéna jivéna ātmanā anupraviśya nāma roopé vyākaravāni"¹⁰ expresses the next resolution of the Sat. ("Adopting the soul (Jīva) as the Sareera or body I shall enter into the elements¹¹ and give them wonderful varieties of form and name"). Thus two stages are indicated in the resolution for self-manifestation of the Sat. The first is that it would become the manifold objects of the jagat, and the second is that it would become the three primeval elements. (The corresponding acts of creation are known as "Vyashti Srishti" and "Samashti Srishti"). Having thus shown that all the non-sentient things are the creation of the One Original Being, Uddhālaka proceeded to express that the sentient things were also His creatures. In this connection it is significant to note that the following quotation by Uddhālaka conveys the Sareera-Sareeri Bhāva of the jagat and the Brahman (their body-soul relationship). "Sanmoolā somya imāḥ sarvā prajāḥ sadāyatanāḥ satpratishṭhāḥ"¹². "This whole universe including all the jīvas has issued from the Brahman (Sat), who is its origin in creation, its refuge in dissolution (pralaya) and its sustainer always". In the vākyaṃ quoted certain words call for special attention, for their interpretation is significant. "Prajāḥ" implies the jīvas of the jagat in association with non-sentient objects; "Moolam" means origin; "Pratishṭhā" indicates the return of the whole jagat at the time of its dissolution (pralaya) to its original source; and "Āyatana" connotes the sustainer. When we say that the Brahman is the sustainer of the jagat we mean that, just as the individual soul of man sustains his body so long as it is in the body, which ceases to live the moment the soul leaves it, even so the Brahman as the Soul of all things, sentient and non-sentient, sustains and animates them. It is evident from this that the Brahman and the jagat stand in the relation of Sareeri (soul) and Sareera (body). Having thus explained the nature of the

9. Chāndogya Upanishad.

10. Do. Do.

11. The elements are here referred to as devatas (or deities).

12. Chāndogya Upanishad.

Brahman, the creator and sustainer of the jagat, Uddhālaka sums up his teaching in the vākya, "Aitadātmyam idam sarvam, Tatsatyam, Sa Ātmā, Tattvam-asi, Śvetaketo", which may be translated as "all this (jagat) has for its Ātman¹³ that which is called "Sat". That the Sat is the Ātman of the whole jagat with its jivas is true. The "Sat" is the Ātman (soul) of the jagat. Oh, Svetaketu, thou art that".

The following points in the dialogue between Uddhālaka and his son deserve attention:—(1) The meaning of the expression Ādeśa in the opening question by Uddhālaka; (2) the statement that by knowing the One a person would have known everything, and that the Brahman being the Upādāna kāraṇa (material cause) of the jagat, which is its effect, is the same as the Jagat; (3) In the vākya "Sadeva somyedam agra āseet, Ekamevādvitīyam", the meaning of the expressions "Agre" and "Advitīyam"; (4) In the vākya "Tadaikṣhta Bahusyām Prajāyeya", the expression "Aikṣhta"; (5) the significance of the expression "Anena jivenātmanā"; (6) the full force of the words "Sanmoola" and "Sadāyatana", (7) the implications of the final vākya, "Aitadāmyamidam sarvam Tatsatyam, sa Ātma" excluding "Tattvamasi", and (8) whether in the light of the discussion on the foregoing seven points the vākya "Tattvamasi, Śvetaketo" reveals the difference between the jīva and the Brahman or their identity.

(1) In the interpretation of the word "Ādeśa", Rāmānuja and Śankara differ. Both the Āgāryas regard it as a modification of the root "Disi" and its combination with the prefix "A". But Śankara interprets the root "Disi" as implying "Upadesa" (Dis, to instruct). Ādeśa accordingly refers to that which constitutes the subject of instruction or upadeśa; it is the thing taught, the Parabrahman. Rāmānuja interprets "Ādeśa" as connoting the Supreme Ruler, the Parabrahman, who commands all.¹⁴ The main point in the difference between the two interpretations is that, while Rāmānuja considers that the word refers to a Saviśesha Brahman, Śankara interprets it so as to denote a Nirviśesha Brahman. If we say that the Brahman is the ruler, we necessarily imply that besides the Brahman there must be realms and subjects to rule over and that the quality or attribute of rulership is in Him. The Brahman as indicated in the expression "Ādeśa" is qualified by attributes. Śankara's interpretation of the reference to the Brahman is a

13. Chāndogya Upanishad.

14. Adīśyate Anena iti Ādeśa (Rāmānuja).

bare denotation, i.e. as just "that" which is taught, without implying any quality or attribute.

This divergence in views deserves closer scrutiny. As the question put to Śvetaketu by his father stands, its object is clearly to refer to the Parabrahman by means of some special, distinguishing mark, some unique quality or attribute (Asādhārana dharma). Rāmānuja's interpretation that the question implies reference to "the Brahman as one who rules or commands" mentions such a special, distinguishing mark, while, if we say with Śankara that the reference in the question is to "the Brahman who constitutes the subject-matter of instruction", we would be mentioning only a sādharana dharma or a common attribute, which does not exclusively refer to the Parabrahman. It is pointed out that the Śrutis as well as the Smritis clearly reveal that the Asādhārana dharma or distinguishing attribute of the Parabrahman lies in that He is the Lord and Ruler of All. This interpretation is consistent with the object, which Uddhālaka had in mind while interrogating his son. To say that the Brahman is what constitutes the subject-matter of instruction or upadeśa is not to mention a distinguishing feature of the Brahman. Karma, for instance, may also be the subject-matter of instruction. To mention a Sādhārana dharma or quality common to Brahman as well as to karma is not to imply an exclusive reference. And yet it is the Brahman that is referred to in the question, as the progress of the dialogue unambiguously reveals. In the light of the context, therefore, Rāmānuja's interpretation is the more appropriate one.

Again when we take common usage into account, the word "Ādeśa" is far more widely employed in the sense of "rule" or "command" than in that of upadeśa or instruction. In addition to citing popular usage in support of his view Rāmānuja takes up a question of grammar in the light of one of Pāṇini's Sūtras, and argues that the requirements of grammar are also in no way overlooked or disregarded by the Viśiṣṭādvaitic interpretation. Thus from every point of view, Rāmānuja concludes, the word "Ādeśa" in the text implies reference to the Supreme Lord, the Ruler of all realms.

When once it is admitted that the Paramātmā is the Ruler, it must follow that He is Saviśesha and not Nirviśesha or attributeless. Neither is it possible to maintain that the entire Jagat, of which He is the Lord, together with all His subjects, is an illusion.

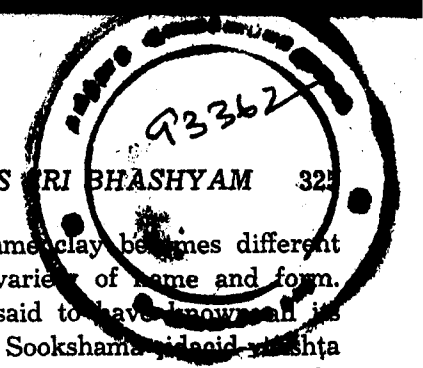
(2) The statement that by knowing the One a person would know everything does not quite fit in with the Advaitic system.

There are two ways open for the Advaitin in the interpretation of the statement, and both would be out of tune with pure Advaita. The alternatives are: (1) that the Brahman is the only Real and the jagat is not. So by knowing the One we would have comprehended the Only Real, and, there being nothing else we could claim to have known all that is; (2) that the Brahman (the One) and the Jagat (the many) are one and the same. On account of this identity between the two we would have known All if we knew the One. As regards the first alternative, if the jagat, the world of variety and multiplicity were unreal we may by knowing the One Brahman claim to have known only about the *Unreality of the jagat*, and not about the jagat as such with all its wonderful variety of myriad details. The unreality of the jagat as a whole does not bring out the force of "Ekavijnānena sarva vijnānam". When the "All" is dismissed as unreal where is the room for saying that the "all" is grasped by the "one"? If, following the second alternative, we say that, because the Brahman and the jagat are identical, we know all that is to be known by knowing the one, there arises a serious consequence. If the Brahman, which is the Real, were said to be the same as the jagat, which is unreal, it would only prove that either the jagat itself is *real* or the Brahman itself *unreal*. Of course, neither of these inferences would be acceptable to Advaita.

The Viśiṣṭādvaitin is, however, free from having to face these consequences in his interpretation of the vākyam. It is really the second of the alternatives that he would also adopt. But when he says that the Brahman and the jagat are the same he means it in a different sense altogether, that is that the Upādāna Kārana (material cause) of the jagat is the Brahman, even as the material cause of the many utensils in clay is clay. Before creation (the state that is described as Pralayaśā) all the sentient and non-sentient things of the world were in a subtle, unexpressed state in the Brahman. The Parabrahman of such a state is known as "Sookshma-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman". By "Sookshma" is meant "not having name and form," unmanifest. The expression as a whole means that the Brahman before the act of creation or Sṛiṣṭi is qualified by the çit (sentient) and açit (non-sentient) entities, which exists then in a subtle state without name and form. At the time of creation the same Brahman becomes "Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman". "Sthoola" here means "having name and form". This "Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman" is the jagat. What was in a subtle state prior to creation assumes the varieties

of name and form in creation. The same clay becomes different utensils by acquiring the appropriate varieties of name and form. Just as by knowing clay we may be said to have known all its modifications, even so by knowing the "Sookshma-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman" we have known the "Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman" as well.

In this interpretation by the Viśiṣṭādvaitin there is just the possibility of an objection, which he foresees and answers suitably. The Śrutis refer to the Brahman as "Satyam" which has been understood to imply that He has no vikāra (or that He does not undergo any change or modification). If we say that the Sookshma-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman becomes the Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman, our description would appear to contradict the Śrutis. The Viśiṣṭādvaitin is thus obliged to show how his description is not a contradiction of the "Śruti vākyam". There are both the vākyas in the Śrutis, that the Brahman is the material cause of the jagat and that He undergoes no vikāra or modification. These have to be reconciled, for both are Pramānic. That the Brahman is the material cause of the jagat is evident in the description that the Sookshma-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman becomes the Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman. That He remains really unchanged, while the çit and açit entities become manifest through the acquisition of name and form, is proved in the following manner. When we intellectually analyse the constituents that go to make up the cause as well as the effect we get three fundamental varieties, viz. the çit, the açit and the Brahman. The açit becomes part of the effect by getting modified through the acquisition of form. When the açit becomes part of the effect it gets modified in respect of its essential nature, that is jñāna or sentience. The jñāna of the çit is in a subtle, unexpressed, function-less state prior to creation, and becomes expressed and begins to function during creation. In regard to the other variety Brahman, it neither changes in respect of its essence (as is the case with çit) nor gets modified by acquiring varieties of form (as is the case with açit). The expression "Brahman" in the "çidaçid-viśiṣṭa Brahman" refers to that fundamental part of it, which, as an unchanging substantial ground for all modification to inhere, remains the same. Even as the jīvātman (the finite soul) is distinct from the body, with which it is in association, and remains changeless in spite of the vicissitudes of the body, the Paramātman, who is the Soul of souls, although associated with the çit and açit entities, that form His śāreera remains likewise changeless in spite of the transformation in the



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śareera. The *çit* and *açit* entities constitute His *śareera* both before and during creation, but while creation means a change in the *śareera*, the *sareeri* is essentially unaffected. Thus the *Śruti vākya* which implies that the Brahman is "Satyam" in the sense of "Nirvikāra" remains uncontradicted, and the statement that by knowing the One we know all clearly reveals the meaning that by knowing the *Sookshma-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa* Brahman one knows the *Sthoola-çidaçid-viśiṣṭa* Brahman which is the whole of the *jagat*. It also follows from this that the Brahman is always *saviśesham* (with attributes), as both in creation and before it the *çit* and *açit* entities constitute His *śareera*. What *Śrutis* like "Yasya ātmā śareeram yasya prithvī śareeram"¹⁵ clearly express is this relation between the Brahman and the *çit* and *açit* things.

The Advaitin adduces another argument in this connection to show that, of the two, "cause" and "effect", the effect is unreal and the cause alone is real. This truth, it is pointed out, is contained in the *vākya*, "Mrīṭṭiketyeva satyam,"¹ which means, according to Advaita, that between the clay and the pot the clay alone (being the cause) is real. Although the illustration is that of the clay and the pot, the aim of the *Śruti* is to emphasise the sole reality of the one cause as different from all the effects. As between the clay and the pot the clay alone is real, and as between the clay and its ultimate cause (the Brahman) it is the Brahman that is the real. The Brahman being the One cause of everything else, is the One Real. There is no justification for maintaining that the *jagat* is also real, concludes the argument.

In reply to this argument the *Viśiṣṭādvaitin* draws pointed attention to the force of the expression "iti" present in the *vākya* "Mrīṭṭiketyeva Satyam". "Iti" means "thus" or "as this". If the *Śruti* sought to convey the reality of the cause alone, as between the cause and the effect, it must have read "Mrīṭṭikeiva Satyam," not "Mrīṭṭiketyeva Satyam". "Mrīṭṭika" refers to the clay, that is the cause of the pot. If the force of the expression "iti" is not to be lost the sentence must mean, "it (the pot) is real only as the clay". The *vākya* unmistakably conveys that the pot in essence is the clay. It is just this kind of identity between the cause and the effect that the sentence implies, and nothing else.

(3) The *vākya* "Sadeva somyedamagra āseet—Ekamevādvitīyam" is interpreted by the Advaitin as conveying the idea that

15. Brihadāranyaka Upanishad.

the Brahman is the Only Real, and it is absolutely unqualified and attributeless. The expression "ekam" meaning that the Real is "One Only," is reinforced in significance by "Advitīyam", which is taken to mean that the Real, which is One, has no qualities or attributes.

Rāmānuja says that "ekam" in the context does not imply the absolute negation or exclusion of other things than the Brahman, but that they are all in the Brahman in a dissolved state, as the salt is in the sea. That is why the Brahman is referred to as "ekam" or one. There is nothing that has name and form. Here, again, it is the truth that the Brahman is the material cause that is being expressed, and it is in the light of this idea that we can maintain the *Satkārya vāda*, or the view that the effect exists in the cause. The expression "Advitīyam" does not mean that the Brahman is even without *guṇas* or qualities. "It means that the Brahman, who is the *Upādāna Kāraṇa* (material cause), is also the *nimitta Kāraṇa* (efficient cause), of the *jagat*, and that there is no other factor than the Brahman to share the responsibility of causation or creation of the *jagat*. What we find in our ordinary experience is that the material cause and the efficient cause are not identical but different. Clay, being the stuff out of which the pot is fashioned, is the material cause, and the potter supplying the intelligence for fashioning it, is the efficient cause. Neither the clay nor the potter can be both. Having no intelligence or skill, the clay cannot become the efficient cause, and lacking the power or the ability to manifest himself in several ways or transform himself into the material of clay, the potter cannot become the material cause. The Brahman has both the ability for self-manifestation and the intelligence for efficient production. That the Brahman is both the efficient and material cause of the *jagat* is implicit in the first *vākya* of *Uddhālaka* "Utatamādeśam Aprākshah" etc. and in others such as, "Tadaikshata Baahusyām Prajāyeya" and "Sanmoolā Somyaima" etc. already quoted. Because of these qualities in Him it is again evident that the Brahman is *saviśesham*.

If, following the Advaitic interpretation of the *Śruti*, we say that "before creation there was only the Brahman, and even the Brahman had no qualities" we should have to overlook the clear significance of a number of other *Śrutis*, such as, "Nityonityānām çetanasçetanānām, Sko bahūnāmyo vidadātīkāmān".¹⁶ In this

16. Svetāśvatara Upanishad.

śruti a relation with an underlying distinction is implied between the jīvātmas (the finite souls) who are many in number, eternal and sentient and the Paramātman, who is One, eternal and sentient. The latter grants to the former the several objects of their desire, says the vākyam. In the face of this śruti (which reveals the eternal character of the jīvātmas) it is impossible to maintain that before the act of creation there was nothing existent other than the Brahman. Other śrutis equally clearly reveal that the Brahman has many kalyāna guṇas, and that these guṇas are eternal.

To sum up, the Advaitin's interpretation of Uddhālaka's vākyam is inadequate for (1) it contradicts many other Śruti vākyams (2) endangers Satkāryavāda, and (3) altogether overlooks the force of the word "agre" (which refers to a time "before creation"). In the Viśiṣṭādvaitin's interpretation based on the view that the Pramānas reveal not Śuddha Brahman (the Pure quality-less Brahman) but Saviśeṣa Brahman these difficulties are not present.

(4) That the Brahman (described as the Sat) resolved upon creation is evident in the vākyam "Tadaikṣhta Bahusyām Prajāyeya". That the resolution (or Sankalpa) is distinct from the Brahman, that it is a dharma or attribute of the Brahman and that it is real, are all equally evident; for where is the difficulty in admitting that the resolution of the Brahman to create the jagat was a real dharma belonging to the Brahman? This would obviously be undeniable, especially when it is admitted that there was the Brahman before creation. Further, in the Sutra "Ikṣhaternā Śabdām"¹⁷ Vyāsa clearly says that the ability to resolve is a real dharma, and it belongs to the Parabrahman. All this shows that the Brahman is Saviśeṣam.

(5) Does the Śruti "Anena jivenātmanā"¹⁸ express the absolute oneness of the jīvātman and the Paramātman or does it convey the idea of body-soul relation between the two? Rāmaṇuja's view is that it does not express that the jīva and the Brahman are absolutely identical. When we examine the Śrutis as a whole this fact is unambiguously revealed in them. Witness such vākyas as "Yasya ātmā śareeram, yasya prithvī śareeram", where that distinction is clearly drawn. What is, however, relevant to us in this section is that, though the jīvātman and the Paramātman are different from each other, they are related as śareera and śareeri, and hence the Parabrahman is Saviśeṣam.

17. 1-1-5.

18. Chandogya Upaniṣad.

(6) In the expression "San moolāh" we read that the cause of the origin of the jagat is the "sat". The word "moolāh" refers both to the material and the efficient cause, but the reference to the latter would by itself serve our purpose. It is a matter of common experience that in the production of a cloth the skill and intelligence of the weaver are necessary. If the weaver lacks these necessary qualities he cannot produce the cloth, i.e. he would not function as its efficient cause. If in the light of this illustration we consider the Brahman as the cause of the whole jagat it must be self-evident that the Brahman must have all the qualities of skill and intelligence necessary for the creation of the amazing variety and vastness of the jagat. That the Brahman has these qualities must, therefore, be undeniable. And what is more, when in this connection we look into the other Upanishads also, we would meet with a number of vākyas that clearly reveal the Brahman as the abode of many qualities.

From the expression "Sadāyatana" we gather that the jagat has the Sat (Brahman) as its sustainer (ādhāra). If we did not admit the sentient and the non-sentient things of the world as real and regard them as forming the śareera of the Brahman, the force of the expression "Sadāyatana" would go altogether unrecognised. The Advaitins may argue that the sentient and non-sentient things of the world are real only in the vyāvahārika daśa (i.e. within the limits of practical experience) and unreal as things-in-themselves (in the pāramārthika daśa). But in all the Upanishads there is no vākyam, which we may consider to be the basis of a distinction between the vyāvahārika and pāramārthika daśas. Hence in determining the significance of the expression "Sadāyatana" we note that the sentient and non-sentient things are real, and that the Brahman being their sustainer is Saviśeṣam.

(7) The final vākyam, "Aitadātmyam idam sarvaṃ; Tat-satyam" means "all this jagat including the jīvātmas has the "sat" (or the Brahman) as its Ātman. That is true". The vākyam itself clearly and emphatically expresses the relation of śareera and śareeri between the jagat as a whole and the Brahman. In the assertion "That is true" "that" refers to the entire statement, which has preceded the expression, and not merely to the Brahman who is the Ātman of the jagat; and the assertion means, "that the jagat has the Brahman as its Ātman is a fact". If we said that the expression "that" referred to the Brahman apart from the jagat, the real significance of the "that" would be lost.

In the light of the several vākyas considered it must have become abundantly clear that the jīva is different from the Brahman, and that the Brahman is saviśesham. Our interpretation of "Tat tvamasi" must be in harmony with this conclusion and not in disregard of it.

(8) The Advaitin's interpretation of "Tattvamasi" is as follows: "Tat" in the vākyam refers to the "Pure quality-less Parabrahman"; "Tvam" refers to the "Jīva" or the "Jīvātman", and the vākyam as a whole means that the Jīva and the Brahman are one and the same.

The Viśiṣṭādvaitin's interpretation of the vākyam is that "Tat" refers to the Saviśeṣha Brahman, the Brahman of divine qualities, and that "Tvam" which directly denotes the jīva, extends in reference to the Paramātman, who has the Jīva as the Śareera. The vākyam as a whole expresses the abheda (or the absence of difference) between the Saviśeṣha Brahman and the Paramātman, who has the Jīva as its Śareera or body. To say that the word "Tat" refers to the Brahman without attributes is not correct. When we considered the several vākyas already quoted in this chapter they clearly pointed to the truth that the Brahman is saviśesham; and the expression "Tat" marks the first sentence of the whole section with its series of vāyas, elaborately describing the character of the Brahman as saviśesham. We interpreted the word "tat" in the assertion "Tat satyam" in the light of its preceding sentence. Now, the "tat" in "Tat tvam asi" must be interpreted in the light of the whole section, which unmistakably reveals it as referring only to the Saviśeṣha Brahman. To the question what kind of Saviśeṣha Brahman it is that is described in this chapter the answer may easily be summarised as (1) that it has the upādāna kāranatvam (the quality of being the material cause) of the jagat (2) that it has also the nimitta kāranatvam (the quality of being the efficient cause) of the jagat, and (3) that it has in accordance with its nimittakāranatvam (or its function as the efficient cause) the qualities of omniscience (Sarvajnatvam) and omnipotence (Sarvaśaktitvam) and (4) that it is further qualified by possessing the jagat as its śareera. The Brahman, to whom these attributes belong, is the Brahman referred to by the expression, "Tat". "Tvam" directly refers to Svetaketu, that is the jīva. It cannot, of course, be maintained that these attributes of omniscience, omnipotence etc. belong to the jīva. On the contrary, the jīva is revealed to be an individual of extremely limited knowledge (Alpajña) and equally limited ability (Alpa śakta). How can it

be argued that the vākyam expresses the absolute identity of the Brahman, who is Sarvajña and the jīva, who is but a kinçitjña? If we said that the two were identical, we must perforce admit that the qualities like Sarvajnatvam and Sarvaśaktitvam and those like Alpajnatvam and Alpaśaktitvam, which are mutually exclusive, are in one and the same individual; and that would obviously be untenable. Hence the vākyam under consideration does not express the identity of the jīva and the Brahman.

Only when we interpret the "tat" as referring to the Saviśeṣha Brahman, which is the abode of qualities like Sarvajnatvam and Sarvaśaktitvam, do we bring out the full significance of the expression in relation to its context. The word "tvam" does not indicate the jīva alone, but also the Parabrahman, who possesses the jīva as śareera. That the expression, which refers to the Śareera, does also indicate the soul or Ātman within may be seen both in the Śāstras and in our everyday experience. In the statement "I am stout" the "I" primarily refers only to the body. In "I am intelligent" the reference is to the Ātman and not to the body, for intelligence belongs to the Ātman. Thus the same expression may indicate both the body and the soul. Now as the body, which is composed of the five elements, is the śareera of the Jīvātman, the Jīvātman is the Śareera of the Paramātman. The "I" which refers to the jīvātman may refer also to the Paramātman, who is the Soul of souls. This fact is well emphasised in the Kaushitaki Upanishad, where Indra (the Lord of the Devas) advising Prataardhana says "Worship and be devoted to me." That the word "me" in this statement refers not merely to Indra but to the Paramātman, who is the soul of the Jīva called "Indra", is shown by Vyāsa himself. Thus it would become evident that the expression, which denotes the Śareera may also refer to the Ātman. Although "Tvam" in the context under reference directly indicates "Svetaketu", the Jīvātman, the Jīva being the śareera of the Paramātman the reference includes the Paramātman as well. Now, the Brahman, who has such qualities as omniscience and omnipotence is the Brahman, who has Svetaketu as part of His Śareera. Both the references being in respect of the same Brahman "Tat tvam asi" which literally means "That art thou", indicates the same saviśeṣha Brahman by means of both the terms "That" and "Thou". It is the fact of the Śareera-śareeri relation as existing between the Jīva and the Brahman that "Tat tvam asi" apparently conveys. In thus interpreting the vākyam the Viśiṣṭādvaitin is able to claim a double

appropriateness for his meaning as follows: (1) In "Aitadātmyam idam Sarvam" it was the relation of Śareera to Ātman as existing between the jagat as a whole and the Brahman that was expressed in general terms. The general proposition is now applied to the particular instance of Svetaketu; and (2) the vākya "Tat tvam asi" when interpreted as in Viśiṣṭādvaita may well be called a Sāmānādhikarana vākya, which it really is. It would be difficult to maintain its Sāmānādhikaranyam if we confined ourselves to the philosophy of Advaita. For the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, however, this is quite easy. In the Mahābhāṣya vākya "Bhinna Pravritti nimittānām śabdānām ekasmin arthe vrittih, sāmānādhikaranyam" the characteristic of Sāmānādhikaranyam is clearly laid down, and it has been accepted as such by all the commentators. The meaning of the vākya may well be expressed by means of an illustration. Take the word "Nilopaṭaḥ" which means "black cloth". Here the reference is to a cloth with a certain colour (black). The expression "Nilopaṭaḥ", therefore, conveys the fact that the object which possesses the quality of black colour and that which has the quality of being a cloth (or cloth-ness) are one and the same. This reference to an identical thing, having two different qualities (bhinna dharmas) is known as Sāmānādhikaranyam. Such an identity of reference underlying a distinction in qualities belonging to the same thing may be shown to be appropriately present in the vākya "Tat tvam asi". As the illustration shows that the object, which is qualified by the "black colour" is the same as that, to which the attribute of cloth-ness belongs, the "Tat tvam asi" reveals that the Brahman, who has qualities like Sarvajnatvam, is the same as the Brahman, to whom the jīvātman stands related as Śareera to Śareeri. Because the vākya reveals the identity of reference involved in the distinction between qualities belonging to the Brahman, it deserves to be called Sāmānādhikarana vākya. The interpretation of the vākya as given by the Advaitin referring merely to the identity between the pure, quality-less Brahman and the unreal jīva cannot bring out the feature of Sāmānādhikaranyam inherent in "Tat tvam asi".

It may be asked, how does the verb in "Tat tvam asi", whose reference is only in the second person (thou art), imply the identity between the Brahman, who has qualities like omniscience and omnipotence and the Brahman, who is the soul of souls. Is it not proper to express such an identity in the third person? Is not the verb "asti", then, more appropriate than "asi"? The answer is that when the expression "tvam" combines with its verb we get only

the second person "asi", and not the third person "asti", although the meaning may stand for the third person as well. What in English is referred to as "thou" may in Sanskrit be expressed by either of the two words "tvam" and "bhavān". When "bhavān" combines with its verb, the predicate always *sounds* like the third person as in "bhavān āgaṇchati" which, when we consider the *meaning*, is only in the second person. Similarly, in regard to the other word "Tvam" the verbal ending will always *sound* as if it were in the second person, although its *meaning* may extend to the third person also. Even if we have to express a reference in the third person by means of the word "tvam" it must be only as "Tvam asi" and not "Tvam asti".

Viśiṣṭādvaita thus establishes that "tat-tvam-asi" reveals difference, and not identity, between the Jīva and the Brahman.

V

The discussion relating to the meaning of Tat-tvam-asi was intended to show that the Parabrahman and the Jīvātman are different, though related. It is this fact of difference that is expressed in the Sūtras, such as "Adhikantu bheda nirdeśāt" (2-1-22), "Adhikopadeśāt" (3-4-8) and "Netaronupapattēh" (1-1-17). Now the question is, when the Jīva offers himself in devotion to the Brahman, should it be in the light of this difference, or should his attitude be governed by any other idea? If the teaching of Tat-tvam-asi had been properly understood, it must have become quite clear that the difference between the Jīva and the Brahman necessarily implies a most intimate connection between the two. It is the idea of this intimate bond—the knowledge of the Śareera-Śareeri connection between the finite and the Infinite—that must guide the Jīvātman's life of devotion. The Sūtra, "Ātmeti tu upagaṇchanti, grāhayantiṇa" (4-1-3) expresses this truth beyond doubt.

It has been said that Dhyāna or meditation is a continuous memory-stream concentrated on a definite object, and that it must be like an uninterrupted flow of oil from a vessel. Now the Paramātman is the object of the Dhyāna; all thought flows towards Him in unwavering concentration. The practice of such concentration of memory on any object results in a certain vividness of recollection and clarity of perception, which renders it equivalent to direct visual experience of an unmistakable fact.

Rāmānuja illustrates this truth from the great epic Rāmāyana, by a reference to the experience of Mārīça, the Rākshasa, who having once known the force of Rāma's arrow kept constantly thinking of him out of fear, and felt his unmistakable presence all around him. Mārīça's experience was born out of fear, and fed by it. But, if the Jīvātman, whose attitude is one of love and devotion to the Paramātman, keeps unswervingly meditating on his vivid experience, the meditation would itself get transformed into an experience of love. The Paramātman with His divine qualities (kalyāna guṇas) is such as to evoke nothing but the purest love and highest adoration, and meditation on Him would be a matter of love and delight. This uninterrupted memory-stream (smritisantati) in the form of an intense love for the Paramātman is Bhakti.

Citing the Upanishad-vākya, which says "Āmāvāre drashavyah, srotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyah"¹⁹ Rāmānuja explains the importance of Bhakti as implied in the vākya, which means literally that it is the Ātman who deserves to be seen, heard and thought about and meditated upon. In order to grasp the full force of this vākya we must devote a little thought to it. The Śāstras do not enjoin what one would of one's own accord do in response to one's own essential needs. They do not lay down, for instance, that a hungry man should take food; he would do it quite of his own accord. The Śāstras, on the other hand, enjoin that a boy (belonging to the first three castes) should in his eighth year go through the ceremony of Upanayanam and get himself invested with the sacred thread, and then study the Vedas and the Vedāngas. One who comes within the scope of these injunctions in the Śāstras would accordingly study the Vedas and their angas; and by so doing he might just know their superficial meaning, which will be more a source of doubt to him than enlightenment. The state of doubt being one of profound discomfort, tension and suffering for an intellectual he would naturally seek to get relieved of it, and would of his own accord approach a proper teacher and learn from him the real meaning of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Śāstras do not specially enjoin that he should go to an Ācārya, but he does so of his own accord and is not in need of an adventitious injunction, even as a hungry man needs no extraneous compulsion to convince him of the necessity for food. Now, having heard the meaning of the Vedas from his Ācārya the seeker after jñāna would

19. Brihadāranyaka Upanishad.

try to assimilate and retain what he has learned. He would, therefore, bring to bear sufficient thought on what he has heard (the expressions, "Śrotavyah" and "Mantavyah" merely point out what he would of his own accord do). Hence the Śāstras do not specially enjoin that he should think on it. What is specially mentioned as an injunction is the dhyāna which is equivalent to direct vision (darśana samānākāra). It is this dhyāna that is referred to in the expressions "Drashtavyah" and "Nididhyāsitavyah", and leads to Moksha.

Let us consider a vākya or two from another Upanishad, bearing on this context. "Nāyamātmā pravaçanena labhyah, na medhayā, na bahunā śrutena : yamevaisha vrunute tena labhyah tasyaisha ātmā vivrunute tanoom swām".²⁰ When we read the first sentence it would seem to suggest that the Paramātman is not to be attained by mere hearing or by reasoning or even by meditation (na medhayā). Is not this Upanishadic vākya in apparent contradiction of the Śruti, which enjoins dhyāna (meditation) for the attainment of Moksha? It does appear to be so, but the contradiction gets resolved the moment we grasp the real meaning of the second sentence, beginning with the words "Yamevaisha vrunute", which means, "only by him, whom the Lord chooses, will the Paramātman be attained, and to him the Paramātman reveals His divine form". Here the expression, "Whom the Lord chooses" carries with it a double reference. Firstly, it implies that the Lord's choice will fall on that sentient being, for whom He has extraordinary love (adhikapreeti). It is extraordinary, for the Lord of His own accord chooses the person, and does not wait for the latter to reach Him. Secondly, it is he who on his side cherishes the utmost love for the Lord that becomes the object of the Lord's extraordinary preeti. Now, with these facts in mind if we read the two sentences side by side, the real significance of the first sentence would emerge in clear terms. It means that in the absence of intense love, mere śravaṇa (hearing), manana (thinking or reasoning) and dhyāna (meditation) are of no avail. The Paramātman will be attained only by that Śravaṇa, Manana and Dhyāna, which is intimately bound up with the highest love. Thus the two vākyas are seen to be quite consistent with each other, and it further becomes evident that the dhyāna which is cast in the mould of intense love is the means for Moksha.

20. Kaṭa Upanishad.

The several stages leading up to the perfection of Bhakti may be summarised as follows: (1) hearing of the Paramātmān and His divine qualities as described in the Vedas and the Upanishads; (this is the stage of Śabda janya jñāna) (2) meditating on the Paramātmān and His guṇas (as revealed through the Śabda) in the form of an unbroken memory-stream (3) the smṛiti or recollection acquiring vividness and clarity and making it equivalent to an object of direct visual experience (Pratyaksha samānākāra) and (4) the smṛiti-santati or the memory-stream itself being filled with love. Bhakti implies all these stages. It is an attitude of love and adoration in which an initial memory born of scriptural knowledge acquires distinctness and clarity in perception and intensity of emotion through unremitting meditation, which endows it with the authenticity of a direct experience (Pratyaksha samānākāra preeti roopāpanna smṛiti santati). Such bhakti effects Moksha; not a mere intellectual awareness of the scriptural texts or an analytical understanding of their meaning (vākyārtha jñāna), which may mark the beginnings of Bhakti, but not its subsequent stages.

This precious gift of Bhakti is not ordinarily attained by all. Only to him, who has a predominance of the Sattva Guṇa in his constitution will this gift come. The Sattva-Rajas-Tamo Guṇas are three fundamental qualities that emerge from, and are inevitable concomitants of, the soul-body combination, necessitated by Karma. It is not always that we find the Sattva Guṇa dominating, as the other two keep constantly competing for dominance, so long as one's Karma remains un-worked off. The way to work off one's Karma is to follow the path of Dharma, which consists in doing one's duty without aspiring for the fruit of action and in accordance with one's station in life, as specified in the Śāstras. Karma in the sense of conduct may yield merit (puṇya) or demerit (pāpa). As meaning conduct in conformity with the Śāstras or Right Conduct, karma functions as a subsidiary feature (aṅga) of Bhakti. The Śāstras lay down that right conduct consists in the performance of sacrifice (Yajna), the practice of charity (dāna), penance (tapas) and fasting (anaśana).

On the question of the importance of karma the views of Rāmānuja and Śankara differ. Śankara's view is that sacrifice, charity, penance and fasting are not the immediate means for the attainment of Brahmajñāna. There must be the desire for this Jñāna before the Jñāna itself dawns. Only he, whose heart and mind (antahkaraṇa) are pure, would feel the urge for Brahmajñāna. In him who lacks the inner purity there may be no desire for divine

knowledge. The performance of one's duty without longing for the fruit of action is the way of inner purification. When the antahkaraṇa becomes cleansed of all impurity the desire for Jñāna arises. Sacrifice, charity, penance and fasting may be the means for the dawn of the desire for Jñāna, but not of the Jñāna itself. Neither are these of any direct use in the attainment of Moksha, which is the immediate outcome of Jñāna. Jñāna comes to enlighten and liberate one, whose heart and mind have been purified by the performance of Śāstraic duties.

Rāmānuja's interpretation shifts the emphasis from the dawn of the desire for Jñāna to that of Jñāna itself, for which sacrifice, charity, penance and fasting are the means. What the Śrutis say is that man desires to attain Jñāna through sacrifice, charity, penance and fasting, and this is different from saying that these cause the desire. When we compare the interpretations of Śankara and Rāmānuja, we see that both the Āçāryas accept karma as a necessary preliminary to Jñāna. But Rāmānuja would add that even after the dawn of Jñāna one ought to continue performing one's duties (varṇāśrama dharma), so long as one's association with the body lasts. Such karma would however be a subsidiary feature or "aṅga" of the individual's life of devotion and detachment. The Śrutis unambiguously say that at the same time the Jīva reveals Jñāna and performs karma, and there need be nothing incompatible between the two. His association with the body keeps the possibility of a recurrence of inner impurity always open. It is this liability to revert to an impure state of the citta that makes karma imperative. In the attainment of Moksha, as well as in that of Jñāna, which is the means for Moksha, karma has its own part to play.

Śrutivākyas may be found supporting the suggestion that karma cannot be the means for Moksha or that Jñāna alone is the means. One of these would say, for instance, that karma perishes and does not last (antavadevāsyā tadbhavati), and another that, just as the fruit of our efforts in this world is seen to perish and pass out of existence, even so all that we earn in the other world through karma is bound to be evanescent. (Tad yattheha karma çito lokah kshiyate, evamevāmutra puṇyaçito lokah kshiyate). Indeed, if we took karma to be the means for Moksha, then Moksha as the fruit of karma would be ephemeral and not permanent. But the state of Moksha being endless, karma does not seem to be the means leading to it. The way out of the difficulty lies through a proper appreciation of the texts as a whole, and not a superficial or

barely literal understanding of isolated lines. Rāmānuja's explanation claims to possess this advantage, as it takes the Śrutis in their entirety, and presents the significance of each in the light of the whole. Jñāna is the primary means or mukhya sādhana for the attainment of Moksha. This does not exclude karma or deny karma its proper place. It is only when karma is performed for the realisation of some specific object in view (such as securing material prosperity in this world or the pleasures of the other world, known as Svargaloka) that it yields a fruit that is bound to perish. Surely, the Śrutis do not proclaim that the better type of karma, the karma that does not aspire for such ephemeral things, must lead to an impermanent state.

He, who adopts karma as a subsidiary feature of a life of Bhakti, must possess the following seven virtues:—

(1) *Viveka*, which literally means discrimination, has here a special reference to the discrimination in the choice of food. Purity of food ensures bodily purity. *Viveka* implies the care, with which bodily purity is preserved through the avoidance of impure food of all kinds. Through purity of food the *sattvagunā* grows and becomes pure, and inner purity paves the way for the practice of meditation. (*Āhāra śuddhou sattva-suddhiḥ, sattva-śuddhou dhruvā smritih*).

(2) *Vimoka* implies freedom from deep attachment to objects of desire. Excessive attachment to objects of desire necessarily leads to sorrow and suffering. There is only one object that ought to absorb all the attachment of which a devotee is capable, and that is the Paramātmān. Other things ought not to be allowed to dissipate his will and emotion. The practice of meditation presupposes mental composure and freedom from attachment to objects of desire. (*Sānta upāseeta*).

(3) *Abhyāsa* refers to the practice of directing one's thoughts constantly towards the Paramātmān and His infinite excellences, so that, even when one is not actively engaged in dhyāna, one keeps thinking of Him and is never unaware of His presence or His qualities. (*Sadā tadbhāva bhāvitah*).

(4) *Kriyā* indicates the performance of rites and sacrifices enjoined by the Śāstras, such as the Devayajna and the Pitru yajna. He who does not swerve from the observance of rites is the best among those that meditate. (*Kriyāvān esha Brahmadevīḥ*).

(5) *Kalyāṇa* includes five distinct qualities, viz. truthfulness, implying the expression of that which is not merely true but productive of good, integrity and uprightness implying perfect concord of thought, word and deed, charity, harmlessness and freedom from the tendency to regard what does not belong to one as one's own and to forget the help, which one receives from others.

(6) *Anavasāda* indicating strength of mind in the face of adversity or failure, and

(7) *Anuddarsha* indicating freedom from the sense of elation in prosperity and success.

Possessing these qualities and not aspiring for inferior gifts like wealth, longevity and personal triumph in this world or for the pleasures of the other world, Svargaloka, he who follows the path of karma carrying out the Śāstraic duties suited to his station in life, acquires Bhakti, which leads to Moksha. The life of the devotee is one of careful self-control, involving control of the senses and their withdrawal from external objects. This withdrawal is necessary for one, who longs to see the Ātman within, rather than be led away by the objects without. It does not imply any justification for abandoning rites and sacrifices laid down by the Śāstras, or carry with it any suggestion that the Bhakta is necessarily above all karma. Control or withdrawal of the senses does not mean absolute restraint justifying inaction or countenancing abstention from duties. The kind of objects and pursuits from which the senses have to be withdrawn is different from those in which they ought to be employed. There is no incompatibility between the Śrutis that enjoin activities involving the use of the senses and those that prescribe control over them.

Rāmānuja's view as to the importance of karma is not in agreement with Śankara's, which holds that it is not karma but the four-fold preparatory practice (*sādhana-çatusṭaya sampatti*), the cultivation of the four cardinal virtues, that would lead to Jñāna. These qualifying virtues are the discriminative ability to discern the permanent from the impermanent, the practice of self control through the withdrawal of the senses from their objects, the suppression of the desire for the pleasures of this world or of the other world, and a genuine longing to be freed from the cycle of birth and rebirth. Rāmānuja argues that the qualities mentioned in the four-fold preparation, viz., discriminative ability, self control, disregard of pleasures here as well as hereafter, and longing for emancipation, would themselves be acquired as the fruit of the study of the

Vedas as a whole and their meaning as expressed in all the twenty adhyāyas or chapters, and not merely as a preparation for realising what is contained in one section of the Vedas. He does not, therefore, admit that the word "atha" in the first sutra means "after the fourfold preparation, etc." The emphasis in the word is distinctly upon karma, and it must be interpreted as meaning "after the consideration of the nature of karma".

Rāmānuja's position on the question of the significance of karma may be summed up as follows:—(1) Karma in the sense of duty done in a spirit of non-attachment to the fruit of action does not lead to an impermanent result in Moksha. (2) Pramānas such as "Kriyavān esha Brahavidām varishṭah" clearly bring out the importance of karma in a life of meditation and devotion. (3) The function of karma does not cease with inner purification, but it is supremely important throughout the duration of one's association with the body, as a prophylactic against relapse of the state of impurity. (4) Lastly, the cultivation of self-control or control of the senses does not involve or imply the abandonment of karma, but is quite compatible with it. It follows from these that Jñāna in the form of Bhakti is the means for Moksha. Karma has an important and indispensable part to play in it. Knowledge of the nature and significance of karma is thus a necessary preliminary to the consideration of the nature of Brahman and of Brahmajñāna. It is about karma that the Purva-kānda, consisting of the first sixteen adhyāyas, treats, while the remaining adhyāyas treat about Jñāna. Hence the word "atha" in the first Sutra referring to the commencement of the second part implies "karmaviçārānantaram".

Rāmānuja's interpretation of the Sutra is based on the following passage from the Muṇḍaka Upanishad:—

"Parikshya lokān karmaçitān Brāhmaṇo nirvedamāyāt nāstyakritah kritena tadviññānārtham sagurumevābhigaççhet samit-pāṇih śrotrium brahmanisṭham. Tasmai sa vidvān upasannāya samyak praśantaçittāya śamānvitāya, enāksharam purusham veda satyam provāçatām tattvato Brahavidām".

It describes how one, who having studied all the Vedas and understood the significance of the various karmas prescribed in them and having also discerned the impermanent character of the worlds to which they lead, is disturbed by a profound discontent, for the Paramātman is not attained straightaway by these karmas. Impelled by an urge from within to know the nature of the Brahman he goes with the sacred Samit in hand in search of a proper teacher,

who is great alike in learning and in Bhakti, and who, finding him truly intent on acquiring the highest wisdom and observing in him the qualities of self-composure and self-control, imparts to him the Brahma Vidyā, the knowledge of the Real and Everlasting Purusha, the Parabrahman. This Upanishadic quotation clearly draws a distinction between karmaviçāram and Brahmaviçāram, and shows the logical transition from the former to the latter.

(To be continued)

Reviews

THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM AND THE MUGHAL ARMY. By Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, Published by the Author, 1, Davis Road, Lahore, pp. XXIV+242—Price Rs. 6/-.

Mr. Abdul Aziz has been working on the subject from 1930 ; and he has made an objective study of the history of the mansabdari system whose main frame-work was brought into shape in the latter half of Akbar's reign. He has cleared several doubtful points raised by previous writers like Irvine, Horn, and Blochmann and contemporary observers like Monserrate. The double rank of *zat* (self) and *suwar* had its beginnings towards the end of Akbar's reign. Under Jahangir, an officer with a particular *suwar* rank, maintained, on the average, only a contingent considerably below 25% of his rank. Shah Jahan tried to improve matters by insisting that the mansabdar should maintain a contingent numbering 1/3 of his *suwar* rank, if he served in the province where his *jaghir* was situated and not less than ¼ of his *suwar* rank, if he served elsewhere. Again he introduced a rule by which the salary varied with the remount. While the number of horsemen remained constant, the number of horses maintained by them varied. Later, under Aurangazib, *zat*-rank holders from 300 down were to have no *suwars*, those on duty and zamindars being excepted. In later times no *suwars* were given to *mansabdars* under 500.

The *Zat* rank of the mansabdars did not entail the maintenance of so much infantry. On the whole, the system produced an interesting social institution. Its expansion could bring about a larger total of estates assigned, a larger total of cash expenditure from the treasury and a bigger army in case of need.

The Mughal army was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery. The cavalry was the chief factor in determining the fighting strength of the empire and its greatest part consisted of the *mansabdars* and their *tabins*. The *ahadis* or gentlemen troopers had miscellaneous duties and were more efficient than the average type of *mansabdari* horsemen. The artillery was not an important branch prior to Aurangazib's time and elephants served several purposes both in field and in siege warfare.

This study is heavy with tables and figures of the changes in ranks, emoluments etc. of the mansabdars, the pay of the troopers, establishments and salaries corresponding to the *zat* rank and other details regarding the *mansabdari* peerage. It displays an intensive study of all kinds of source-material of the system in its historical background and evolution.

C. S. S.

LACHIT BARPHUDAN AND HIS TIMES. By Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, Gauhati—Published by the Government of Assam—1947—pp. 221—Price Rs. 4/-.

Lachit Barphukan was a great national hero of Assam and boldly struggled against the Mughal power in 1667, recovering Gauhati and Lower Assam and repulsing all the attacks of Rama Singha, the Mughal general, against the great fortress. The peace negotiations that the latter attempted were equally fruitless. Lachit Barphukan died soon after his great victory of Saraighat which compelled Rama Singha to commence his retreat. Dr. Bhuyan exclaims:—"Lachit Phukan, like Lord Nelson died in the lap of victory; and the battle of Saraighat was Assam's Trafalgar". Rama Singha remained at Rangmati till 1676 (five years after his defeat) waiting for an opportunity to invade Assam. The Sikh Guru, Tegh Bahadur had accompanied Rama Singha on his Assam expedition and his son, the even more famous Guru Govind, was born at Patna, when he was with the Rajput general at Dubhori. Lachit's master, King Chakradhwaja Singha was a most patriotic leader and laboured hard to obtain the co-operation of the neighbouring chiefs for help in resisting the Mughals. The King, General Lachit and the minister formed a most formidable triumvirate of national resistance against the foreign aggressor. Rama Singha frequently characterised the Ahom fortifications as having the shape of *yantras*; and he failed in all his efforts to corrupt the Barphukan and his officers. Dr. Bhuyan very appropriately equates Lachit with Shivaji, in their ideals and achievement and he has made the narrative of this biography as broad-based as possible in order to lay out an accurate background and perspective and construct the proper scaffolding for the war efforts of his hero.

C. S. S.

ANNALS OF THE DELHI BADSHAHATE. Being a translation of the old Assamese chronicle *Padsha Buranji*, with Introduction and Notes. By Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam—Government of Assam, Gauhati, 1947.

A class of Assamese chronicles deals with peoples outside Assam and they furnish the necessary background of Assamese relations with the Mughals, with Tippera and others. The text of the *Padsha Buranji* was collated from the available manuscripts, arranged in chronological order and translated into English by Dr. Bhuyan; and it was then published serially in the *Islamic Culture* in the years 1933-34. The Assamese text was published by the Kamarupa Anusandhan Samite in 1935. The four different manuscripts that have been used in collating the text are discussed in the introduction; and the main bulk of the present text has been obtained from Manuscript A. Dr. Bhuyan has also given a bird's-eye-view of the information derived from the *Padsha Buranji* whose sources of information, he ably discusses. He further holds that the main bulk of the book was compiled between 1663 and 1685 A.D. and the anonymous author could not have been a Muhammadan on the ground of the fundamental Sanskritising of the vocabulary and construction resembling the Assamese Vaishnava works of the period. But there were Muhammadan officers in the Persian department of the Ahom Government who could easily master the Assamese prose style. Likewise there were Hindus conversant with Muhammadan history and culture; and the *Padsha Buranji* might have been conceived and written by one of either variety. The *Buranji* gives several significant confirmations of and also deviations from hitherto accepted facts of Mughal history. Thus the *Buranji* confirms the view that Ram Singh Kachehwaha's deputation to Assam was a punishment for his connivance at the escape of Shivaji from Agra and for his support of Tegh Bahadur. Raja Man Singh's conquest of Bengal and Mir Jumla's career from his desertion of the Golconda Sultan to his Assam campaigns are detailed. Man Singh is always referred to in this and other *Buranjis* as Mandhata and sometimes as Makunda. We learn that Mumtaz Mahal Begam is said to have swallowed poison and died. Numerous other interesting details are given in the text for which exhaustive editorial notes on doubtful or abstruse points are furnished.

C. S. S.

ASSAM BURANJI or A Chronicle of Assam from the earliest Ahom Kings to Swargadeo Gadadhara Singha—with Preface, Analysis and Introduction in English. Edited by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Published by the Government of Assam (D. H. A. S.)—Gauhati, 1945.

The Manuscript of this *Buranji* was obtained in 1912-13; and its original title was Sri-Sri-Swarga-Narayana-Deva-Maharajar-Janmachrita, as the first chapter gives the genesis of that ruler who was the progenitor of the Ahom Kings of Assam; and his name was shortened into Swargadeo which became the title of all the Ahom Kings. This chronicle was obtained from the family of Sukumar Mahanta; and it is divided into chapters, chronologically arranged, for the convenience of readers. Its first section deals with the Ahom rulers down to the reign of Gadadhara Singha. The later sections have been omitted, as having been reproduced in other published *Buranjis*.

There are 13 chapters and 286 paragraphs, prefaced with a running analysis in English which will enable non-Assamese students to get a view of the reigns of the Ahom sovereigns from Sukapha (1228 A.D.) to Gadadhara Singha (1696 A.D.). From the English Analysis we know of the traditional origin of the Ahom Kings; a chapter is devoted to each Ahom ruler; and chapter XII describes the ministerial usurpation of sovereign power in the years 1672-81, when the situation worsened by Mughal occupation.

The Editor also gives a valuable account of the historical worth of the Assamese *Buranjis* in general. They reveal the fact that historiography formed part of the Bargohain's portfolio under the Ahom monarchs and the state archives were under the management of the Gandhia Phukan. The nobles prepared transcripts of the original records, abridged or enlarged according to the requirements of individual families. A convention grew up by which it was taboo to compile *Buranjis* of a dynasty or ruler still in power. In addition to general histories, chronicles were also compiled on different subjects like Ahom relations with Jayantia and Cachar, Ram Singh's wars in Assam and Accounts of Mughal rulers who came into conflict with the Assamese, known as *Padsha Buranjis*, besides chronicles of diplomatic relations with foreign powers known as *Kataki Buranjis* (*Kataki* = envoy). Anonymity is the rule with the *Buranji* compilers. They have given glimpses into the ideology of the people and sidelights into their life; and among their subjects are many topics of all-India interest, like Timur's invasion of India,

Sher Shah and Humayun, Jahangir and Mansingh, Shah Jahan and Jai Singh, Mir Jumla, Shayista Khan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Ram Singh, Jai Singh Sawai, etc., particularly valuable for Mughal history. A good summary is given of the factual revelations of this *Buranji* under review, specially the conflicts with the Mughals under Mir Jumla and Rama Singha. The date of its compilation is some time in the first half of the reign of Gadadhara Singha (1681-95).

C. S. S.

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS. By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Vijayakrishna Brothers, Calcutta.

In these days when Indian culture is indeed on the lip of every one the author's book under review is certainly a welcome addition. The book is closely printed and not too good paper has been used. He describes the ancient civilisations from Mohenjadaró period to Harshavardhana's time. Incidentally the Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese and other civilisations are studied in this book. What are the expressions of Indian culture, how it has influenced other cultures and how other cultures affected it are all told in this book with lively interest. That the Hindus have been preserving the historic continuity of their culture cannot be contradicted.

The book is divided into 15 parts of which Arts forms the first section. After tracing the philosophy of the Hindus, the author says that Karma and Maya doctrines are the great contributions of Hindu philosophy with pantheistic monism as its crowning glory. After tracing morals he treats of Hindu and other laws. He also refers to domestic rites. Charaka and Susruta Samhitas, the two important medical treatises are examined as also the astronomical knowledge of the Hindus. According to the author the Hindu religious festivals are usually associated with the movements of the Sun, the Moon, the planets and the position of the stars. The epics and puranas form the subject of the eleventh section. The upper limit of the Mahabharata according to the author cannot be earlier than 3rd century B.C. while the Ramayana of Valmiki is older than the Mahabharata. The dates assigned to the Puranas and dramas are arbitrary and cannot be accepted. The economic life in ancient India, where the Arthasastra of Kautilya figures of course repays reading. The contacts with the Indo-Iranians and the Chinese are certainly interesting. The sex life of ancient India on which the Kamasutra is an important book is dealt with *in extenso*, while the

cultivated plants occupy the last section. The index for a book of this kind is unsatisfactory. On the whole the author has done well in publishing this book on Indian culture.

V. R. R. Dikshitar.

RED SAND: A NEW LIFE OF ST. JOHN DE BRITTO, S.J.,
Martyr of the Madura Mission. By The Rev. A. Sauliere,
S.J.,—1947—De Nobili Press, Madura—pp. 497.

This is a very readable account of St. John de Britto, Martyr of the Marava Country, published appropriately enough, to coincide in point of time with his canonisation. Born of an aristocratic Portuguese family, St. John became a Noviciate at the early age of 15 (1662), and three years later, a scholastic at the Jesuit University at Evora and a teacher in Lisbon. Then when Father Balthazar da Costa, Superior of the Madura Mission, landed at Lisbon in 1670 to recruit workers for his Mission field, Brother John formed one of the recruits for the Malabar Province. By the end of the long voyage to Goa, more than half their number had perished. Then the Goa Fathers had a European outlook, while those of Malabar were more Indian and aimed at Christianising their flock and not Europeanising them. St. John travelled from Goa to Ambalakat and thence across the ghats to Satyamangalam and Dharmapuri, into the Gingee country wherein, at Kolei, near the Coleroon frontier, he served his apprenticeship of mission work and then became the *Pangu Swami* (parish priest) of East Tanjore. From here he established a new mission at Kuttur. It was now that he brought back into the fold of the Church a Christian Mudaliar of Madras whom our good author identifies with Lazar de Motta, who subsequently became the *Dubash* of Governor Francois Martin of Pondicherry and the head of the Indian Christian community at that place. He then passed on into the Province of Pandanallur in the Tanjore kingdom and was befriended by the Poligar of Udayarpalayam. Even in the midst of the prevalent anarchy, Father John visited Pondicherry to meet Governor Martin (1681) and also San Thome which he desired to be strengthened as a mission centre. Then came other experiences and achievements whose narration is shrewdly interspersed with many passing, but useful, remarks on the political condition of the Gingee, Tanjore and Madura countries. It has been well remarked by the author that it was not within the power of the Fathers to suppress caste no more than it was in the

power of the Apostles to suppress slavery; and the Church could only supply the spirit which would corrode whatever was wrong in these human institutions. The 'Brahmin' Sanyasis, as de Nobili (1656) and his immediate followers were called, as they strove to rehabilitate Christianity in the eyes of high-caste Hindus, were now followed by the Pandara Swamis, who affected the manners and customs of the Vellalas and who were headed by Balthazar da Costa. The Brahmin disciples of de Nobili remained however, as the backbone of the mission for many years. The 'old' Church was always the Church of the low castes and of the Paranghis Britto found that in the Gingee, Tanjore and Marava countries the missionaries had no official standing, nor recognition and protection by the rulers, and had to be at the mercy of their enemies. His expedition to Marava brought him a foretaste of his coming martyrdom, at Pagani (1686). After a short stay in Portugal, the Father returned to his field of labour among the Maravas, and though befriended by the Poligar of Siruvalli, he suffered increasing persecution and final martyrdom at Oriur at the hands of Raghunatha of Ramnad (4th Feb., 1693). The Marava Parish field numbered no less than 20,000 Catholics, soon after the martyrdom. St. John de Britto was essentially a priest of the rank and file of the mission and a model for all missionaries; and he has left behind him "a garland of red roses of heroic sacrifices" demanded by the daily life of a missionary of those days—symbolised by the red sand of the scene of the martyr's death and believed to have been stained red by his blood.

The narrative is very readable and at the same time free from the heaviness of pedantic treatment.

C. S. S.

COINS OF MARWAR FROM 400 B.C. TO 1945 A.D. By Mm. Pandit B. N. Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur (Government Press, Jodhpur—1946).

Coins are an index of a country's religion, civilisation and economic conditions; and this brochure on the coins of Marwar, illustrated from the coin cabinet in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, covers the available numismatic history of that land for over two thousand years from the epochs prior to the rule of the Western Satraps down to the present day. The *Dramas* of those Satraps with their 'corrupt' Greek legends, the *Gadhaiya* coins which were of three kinds, the *Pratihara* and *Chauhana* coins, those of the early

Arab invaders of Sind and of the Muslim Rulers of Delhi (mainly *Firozi*, *Shershahi* and *Mughal*) besides the coins issued by the Sultans of Jaunpur and Malwa—these precede the coins minted by the present ruling dynasty of Marwar, Tod maintaining that Ajit Singh struck his first coin in 1720 A.D. at Ajinere, and the available evidence showing that Maharaja Bijay Singh first struck his own coin only in 1780 A.D. The name of the British sovereign was substituted for that of the Mughal emperor in 1859 and the legend, *Shri Mātāji* in Nagari was added in 1869.

The special features of the coinage history of Jodhpur are detailed by the learned Mahamahopadhyaya, like a description of the mints in the State from 1638 A.D., the different coins minted and the transliteration of the legends struck on them. The three appendices are very useful and instructive and the author is to be congratulated on this, his latest contribution to the historical literature of *Marwar*.

C. S. S.

EVOLUTION OF THE KHALSA: VOL. II—THE REFORMATION. By Dr. I. B. Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, Calcutta University.—A. Mukerjee & Co., Calcutta—1947 pp. 199.

This volume, though coming out more than a decade after its predecessor, on account of press and other difficulties, traces the evolution of the Sikh Khalsa from the execution of Guru Arjan to the death of Guru Govind. The crisis of Guru Arjan's martyrdom was precipitated by the one mistake of his life, which however proved a turning point in the character of the Sikh movement. Sikh records are mostly silent about the long attachment of Guru Hargobind to Mughal service till the early years of Shah Jahan's reign. The Guru had by now clearly acquired some solid military strength which was not to the liking of some Sikhs of the old school, like Bhai Gurdas. The Jats now came to form the most preponderant element in the community, and the learned *excursus* of the author into the origins and character of the Jats is interesting as explaining one side of the conduct of the Sikh community later on.

A period of disintegration set in under Guru Har Rai who, according to the *Khulasatu't-Tawarikh* of Sujan Rai, actually joined Dara, on his flight. His son, Har Krishan had a small and insignificant pontificate. Guru Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Hargobind had an adventurous life and fell finally a victim to Aurangazib's

religious bigotry, though it was given a political colouring by Muslim historians. Details are given of the rise of rival sects like the Udasis, the Ram Rajees, of the elimination of caste and tribal predilections and of the manner in which the contradictory and conflicting forces were synthesised under the banner of a common ideal by Guru Govind by means of a number of prohibitions and innovations, like his action against the disruptive masands, the introduction of *pahul* and the simultaneous abolition of pontifical *guruship*—leading to a military commonwealth with full democratic freedom. The ideology was new, but the structure was built on old foundations. Our author refutes the assumption that Guru Govind had in any way given up the essentials of Guru Nanak's teaching and the core of Sikhism; he united the religious fervour of the Sikh with the warlike temper of the Jat; but, after his synthesis, the creed became more uncompromising and consequently more sectarian in character, which was inevitable as a reaction to the hostile environment in which the Guru and his followers found themselves and which could not be helped. The Guru's relations with the Himalayan hill-chiefs and his end in the Deccan in 1708 are detailed, with a dissertation on his services. It is stressed that he was, first and foremost, a great religious leader, and besides a great general and builder. The Khalsa wrested the Punjab up to the frontier from the Afghans and thus geographically recovered them for India. The exposition of the chronology of the pontificates of Hargobind and Guru Govind is useful; and the notes on the *Bachitra Natak* (which may be regarded as an autobiography of the latter) and on the principal sources form valuable equipment to the book. We eagerly expect from the learned author the next volume dealing with the achievements and failure of the Khalsa.

C.S.S.

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS Vol. II (1858-1945), edited with Introduction and Notes. By A. C. Banerjee, Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta, 1946, Rs. 12/-.

Etymologically the term document means something which teaches or informs, and the editor of the volume under review interprets it from the point of view of the student of history rather than from that of the constitutional lawyer. He is thus enabled to include in the volume a number of extracts, which would have been

omitted by constitutional pursuits, though from considerations of space he has excluded documents bearing on strictly administrative questions, as well as extracts from the Government of India Acts, 1919 and 1935. Some documents relating to the Indian states, however, have been relegated to an appendix. The constitutional history of India from A. D. 1600 is an allotropic form of the constitutional history of England, and, like the latter, it is documented history *par excellence* and a striking illustration of the continuity of history.

The volume contains not only the basic documents but also extracts from parliamentary speeches, Viceregal pronouncements, Congress Presidential Addresses, Report of the Simon Commission, the Cripps proposals, the Wavell Plan, etc. Such an exploitation of the sources of constitutional history gives the student a realistic picture of the milieu, and he is assisted in getting at the roots of problems, tendencies, developments, and policies. The first document in the present volume deals with the portfolio system explained in Lord Cannings letter to the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, early in 1861. In his speech on the Royal Titles Bill, 1876, Disraeli said that the imperial title of the Queen was desired in India. Curzon's speech on the Indian Councils Bill, 1892, defines the people of India as "the voiceless millions who could neither read nor write their native tongue who had no knowledge whatever of English, and who were not perhaps universally aware that the English were in their country as rulers. The people of India were ryots and peasants" (p. 81). Seven years later he described the result of red tapism as "a sort of literary Bedlam.... This vile system... has seated itself like the Old Man of the Sea upon the shoulders of the Indian Government." In 1901 he regarded the tyranny of the pen as more real than the tyranny of executive authority (pp. 128-29). In his Farewell speech (1905) he described the duties of the Viceroy, and said that "he must be prepared to speak about everything and often about nothing" (p. 133). Such passages save the volume from being dry-as-dust.

The Introduction is brief and to the point. The marginal headings and summaries are very helpful. The notes on documents give additional references. The index is good. In the list of books there are however a few omissions like Dr. A. Appadorai's *Dyarchy*. The documents do not contain Gokhale's political testament. The editor may well have made a few extracts from J. S. Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* in order to exhibit his appreciation of the Governor-General's Executive Council and his analysis

of the consequences of one people ruling over another people. We cordially welcome the present volume and its predecessor as the best that may be put into the hands of our under-graduates for their careful study in the new epoch of our national life which started on August 15, 1947.

R. Sathianathaier.

THERAVADA BUDDHISM IN BURMA. By Nihar-Ranjan Ray, University of Calcutta, 1946, Rs. 7/8.

Much importance is attached nowadays throughout the world of thinkers to the *Buddhavachana* or the original teaching of Buddhism. The Maha-Bodhi Society founded at Colombo in 1891 attempts to go back to the word of the Light not only of Asia but of the world. The great German scholar, George Grimm, regards the pure teaching of the Buddha as the only cure for the spiritual ills of the West. H. G. Wells underlines the fundamental teaching of Gautama, because it is simple, clear and scientific, it is in perfect harmony with the teaching of history; he thinks that the *Buddhavachana* "may yet play a large part in the direction of human destiny." There are more than 500 million Buddhists in the world today, and the claims of Buddhism as a universal religion are by no means negligible.

In spite of the attempts of some scholars to find out the word of the Buddha, distinct from what is attributed to him in the *Tripitaka*, we have to take Theravada Buddhism or Hinayanism (which prevails today in Burma, Siam and Ceylon) as the greatest approximation to the Master's teaching. "If... anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself as far as Samgha life goes, one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma." (p. 262). By about the first century A.D. Indian colonies or influence had been established throughout Burma, and by the fifth century A.D. Prome and Thaton had become great centres of Buddhism (Mahayana and Hinayana), Saivism and Vaishnavism. The dynasty of temple-builders, who ruled over Burma from 1044 to 1297 with their capital at Pagan, established Hinayanism, "one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known" (G. E. Harvey), as the religion of the united kingdom of Burma.

Dr. Ray discusses the origin of Buddhism in Burma, and concludes that the story of Asoka's mission under Sona and Uttara

cannot be set aside as mythical, though its historicity cannot be proved. If the Buddhist emperor had no connection with Burma, it may well have heard the *Buddhavachana* first from the Buddhists of South India (pp. 17-18, 86). The tradition of Buddhaghosha invigorating Buddhism in Lower Burma cannot be dismissed as unreliable. The author discusses thoroughly the history of Buddhism in Burma from the eleventh century A.D. down to the reign of Mindon (1853-78), who followed in the footsteps of Asoka and earned the title of "Convener of the Fifth Council." The religious relations between Burma and Ceylon were close, and the Buddhist monks of Burma regarded the Mahavihara of Ceylon as their Mecca, and in the nineteenth century the Amarapura School influenced Ceylon—Burma's return gift to the island. The author emphasises what Buddhism has done for Burma in the spiritual, political, social, and literary spheres.

The volume contains a select bibliography of original and secondary sources and two indexes (bibliographical and general). A map is a desideratum. The list of errors is by no means complete; *vide* convener, p. 249. Still we are much indebted to Dr. Ray for his lucid narrative and for the fresh light he has thrown on the subject, particularly on the early history of Buddhism in Burma.

R. Sathianathaier.

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA, 1784-1826. By A. C. Banerjee, Second Edition, 1946, Published by A. Mukerjee, 2, College Square, Calcutta, Rs. 10/-.

Wading with remarkable success through a mass of historical materials, published and unpublished, Prof. Banerjee has produced a detailed and critical account of the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26) and of its historical antecedents, and his point of view differs from that of the older historians like Sir Edward Gait, Sir Arthur Phayre, and Mr. G. E. Harvey. The author's narrative is fresh, up-to-date, and readable, and throws light on many long-forgotten events.

The first chapter is a geographical, ethnological, and historical introduction dealing with the states on the eastern frontier of India—Cooch Behar, Assam or the Ahom Kingdom, Manipur, Arakan, and Burma. Special attention is bestowed on the Ahom administration and religion, as well as on the Government of Burma under

Bodawpaya (1782-1819), who left 122 children and 208 grandchildren. He was perhaps the greatest of the Burmese sovereigns, and the internal condition of his kingdom is well pictured by Fr. Sangermano, an Italian missionary who resided long in Burma and enjoyed splendid facilities for observing the various aspects of Burmese life. Burma was "in the zenith of her power and prosperity, virile, audacious, proud in her isolation, ignorant of the angry world outside, carelessly gliding into a conflict with the mighty Kalas from beyond the seas" (p. 81). The next chapter deals with Captain Welsh in Assam and the policy of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. "No one could imagine in 1794 that Assam would be absorbed in Burma and that, for Bengal, the Burmese would prove to be worse neighbours than the Assamese." (p. 125). The Burmese conquest of Arakan is followed by a survey of the British commercial missions to Burma during 1795-98 under Captain Symes and Captain Cox and of their failure. The author discusses Lord Wellesley's policy towards Burma and his futile plan to bring Bodawpaya into a subsidiary alliance. The circumstances leading to the first Anglo-Burmese War are explained at length, and Lord Amherst's moderation was in marked contrast with the policy of Dalhousie which precipitated the second war in 1852.

The last two chapters examine the events of the first war, the causes of Burmese defeat, and the peace treaties of 1826. The British policy towards Burma was so far "essentially pacific and defensive." The four appendices contain the commercial treaty of 1793 with Assam, the treaty of Yandabo, the commercial treaty of 1826, and some contemporary notices of the economic resources of Burma. The maps and plans are attractive and well executed; the bibliography is good; and the Index is analytical and adequate.

R. Sathianathaier.

THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR FREDERICK CURRIE (1846-48). Edited by Jagmohan Mahajan, Published by S. H. Latif, Hospital Road, Lahore, 1947, Re. 1/-.

The first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46) during the Governor-Generalship of Sir Henry Hardinge (1844-48) was brought to a close by the treaty of Lahore in March, 1846. A second or supplementary treaty was made in December—the treaty of Bhyrowal—"at the request of the Sirdars", in order to prolong the British

occupation of Lahore beyond the stipulated year 1846. Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) reached India in January, 1848 and declared in October that "if our enemies (the Sikhs) want war, war they shall have, and with a vengeance." In the course of the second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49 two great battles were fought early in 1849 at Chilianwala and Gujarat; while the former is mentioned by most British historians as a drawn battle, some writers like Mowat describe it as a British defeat.

During 1846-48 Sir Frederic Currie was in succession Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and Resident at Lahore. Here are published the letters to him by Lord Hardinge and Lord Dalhousie and his letters to Lord Dalhousie and Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief. The coyness of the Durbar and the Sirdars is very natural; but it is very important that the proposal should originate with them (p. 17) . . . The moral effect of the Sikh Chiefs entreating the B(ritish) Government to become Guardian of their Prince, by the continuance of a British Garrison at Lahore, and our consent to undertake the responsible charge must be felt throughout Asia in raising the reputation and extending the influence of the B(ritish) character. . . . Personally I may regret that it has not been my fate to plant the B(ritish) standard on the banks of the Indus (Hardinge to Currie, p. 23.) . . . I think we may quietly annex the Punjab districts to the British Provinces, making a suitable provision for the state and comfort of Maharaja Dhuleep (Currie to Dalhousie, p. 31)." The remarks of Ludlow, the historian of British India are significant: "We 'protected' our ward by annexing his whole country within six months. . . . It was a mockery to punish him for the faults of his subjects" (p. 34). The published letters under review increase the shady transactions of the British in this country, and necessitate a thorough revision of the story of their annexation of the Punjab.

R. Sathianathaier.

BOOKLETS ON SAIVA SIDDHANTA Issued by the Dharmapuram Adhinam.

1. *Siva Jnāna Bodham* of Maikanda Deva, translated with notes and introduction by the late Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillay—published by His Holiness Srila Sri Subramonia Desika Gnāna Sambanda Paramāchārya Swāmigal, 25th in the holy line of the Dharmapuram Adhinam. This is the basic work on Saiva Siddhanta.

Saint Meikandar, the author, is the reputed "infant-seer", who is known to have flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. "He inaugurated the renaissance of the Saiva philosophy and put it in a nut shell". The two great Siva Adhinams—Dharmapuram and Tiruvaduthurai—were founded by the direct descendents of the line of holy teachers originating from Meykanda Deva himself. The history of the two Adhinams will mainly consist of spiritual experiences of Siva jnanis. The mystic experiences, as well as the secrets revealed to them by their gurus, are collected and embodied in what are known as Pandāra Sastras. Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai was a profound scholar in Tamil and accepted as one of the correct interpreters of Saiva Siddhanta to the English speaking world. His works had gone out of print for some years, and the present edition is a reprint of the translation. The publication is made on the occasion of the thirty second birthday of H. H. The twenty fifth Swamigal of the Adhinam.

2. *Siva Prakāsam* of Umāpathi Sivam—Text in Tamil and translation in English by the late K. Subramonia Pillai Avergal, Professor of Tamil in the Annamalai University—published by H. H. The Twenty-fifth Swamigal of the Dharmapuram Adhinam. This is one of the fifteen authoritative original works, which treat of the philosophy of Saiva Siddhanta. Its author, Umapathi Sivacharya, is a traditional priest of the Chidambaram temple. "Siva Prakasam" is generally studied as a companion-volume to "Sivajnanabodham". The aim of this work is to "give in a clear and succinct manner a plain summary of the central truths of the Saiva philosophy as expounded in "Sivajnana bodham" and "Sivajnana Sidhiyar". It deals with such topics as the Godhead, Maya, Karma, the nature of souls and their different states of existence, spiritual progress and tranquillity, Divine wisdom and descent of Grace, and claims to contain "the crowning truths of Upanishadic scriptures."

3. *Tiruvarutpayan*, also by Umapathi Sivam, seeks (as the very title indicates) to explain "the Furits of Grace". It consists of ten chapters, of ten couplets each,—two hundred lines of high class poetry, giving a brief, but clear account of the fundamentals of Saiva Siddhanta in Tamil.

The get-up of the books is attractive, and the print is free from errors.

K. Seshadri.

Select Contents from Periodicals

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XII, Part I, 1947.

Two Manichaen Magical Texts, by W. B. Henning.
Notes on Ptolemy, By J. Ph. Vogel.
Dravidian Studies (linguistic) VI, by T. Burrow.
Lilātilaka (on Malayalam Grammar and Poetics), by J. Brough.
Phonology of the Sinhalese Inscriptions up to 10th century, by P. B. F. Wijeratne.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. VIII; Part II, December 1946, issued August 1947.

New Discoveries, 1946, by A. S. Altekar:—A new variety of punchmarked coins with two new symbols—arrow strung to the bow, and a knob with dots all round; Hermaios—Kadphises coins showing that the two rulers were not contemporaries, though usually regarded as such.

By Prin. Mirashi:—Coins of king Satavahana, of the Sebaka (Andhra-Bhritya) dynasty, and of a new king Kasikiputra Satakarani; rare Indo-Sassanian coins, with legends; *Dravya Pariksha*, a new work on numismatics; a new hoard of Gupta gold coins, "the most sensational discovery of the year."

NOTE:—A hoard of about 188 punch-marked silver-alloy pieces was discovered in a Travancore hill in 1945. One of these has the legend JULIAN in English capitals incised on it. This legend is puzzling. It cannot be the Roman Emperor's name. The Director of Archaeology, Trivandrum, is examining the coins.

Ancient India:—Bulletin No. 3, of the Archaeological Survey of India, January, 1947.

Stone Age of India, by V. D. Krishnaswamy.

Harappa 1946, by R. E. M. Wheeler.

A New Prehistoric Ceramic from Baluchistan, by Stuart Piggot.

Perspective, Vol. 2, No. 1, January, 1947.

Cultural Relations between China and India, by P. C. Bagchi.

Influence of Indian Art on Central Asia, by O. C. Gangoly.

Syrian Christians of Malabar, by C. P. Mathew.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, July, 1946 : Vol. XXXVII, No. 1.

Ethnology for India, contd., by Indu Bhushan Ghatak.

The Pravāsin (Traveller) in Sanskrit Literature, contd. by S. V. Srinivasa Raghavachar.

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Certain Basic Principles in Indian Temple Architecture, by P. Sama Rao.

A Supernatural Phenomenon (apparition, 1945), by Narendra Nath Law.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXII, Parts III & IV, September and December, 1946.

Extracts from a Contemporary Dutch Chronicle of Mughal India, by Brij Narain and Sri Ram Sharma.

Research Notes on the Pandavas, by S. C. Sarkar—a new explanation of the "Pandavas and Kauravas" of the Mahabharata.

University of Ceylon Review : Vol. V, No. 1, April 1947.

Chronology of the Early Pali Chronicles of Ceylon, by G. C. Mendis.

The Buddhist Sects, by A. P. Buddhadatta.

Do. October, 1947.

A New Interpretation of the Nataraja Concept, by O. H. de A. Wijesekera.

The Year of Commencement of the Buddha Era, by B. M. Barua.

Journal of the Bombay University, July 1947, Vol. XVI (New Series) Part I.

King Suraka—an Historical Study, by B. A. Saletore, (Sudraka, the author of *Mricchakatika*).

Indian Songs and their Social Setting (concluded), by Mrs. S. Kotak.

Nagpur University Journal, No. 11, December 1945.

Origin of the Songs of the Rigveda, by P. S. Sastri.

Historical Data in Dandi's *Dasamumāra-Charita*, by V. V. Mirashi.

Visva-Bharati Annals, 1945, Vol. I, Cheena Bhavana.

The first Pārājika of Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, and the Pali Sutta-Vibhanga, by P. Pradhan.

A Note on Avadānasataka, by P. C. Bagchi.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Poona.
2. *Annual Bulletin of the Nagpur University Historical Society*, Nagpur.
3. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala Quarterly*, Poona.
4. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
5. *Britain To-day*, London.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona.
8. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
9. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
10. *The Calcutta Review*.
11. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
12. *Concord*, Calcutta.
13. *The Federated India*, Madras.
14. *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Baroda.
15. *Half-yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
16. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
17. *Indiana*, Gandhigram, Benares.
18. *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.
19. *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
20. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
21. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
22. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
23. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of Bombay Historical Society*, Bombay.
25. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
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28. *Journal of the Sadula Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
29. *Journal of the Sri Venkiteswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
30. *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
31. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
32. *The Karnataka Historical Review*, Dharwar.
33. *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika*, Bangalore.
34. *Man in India*, Ranchi.

35. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta.
36. *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh.
37. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha Patrika*, Benares.
38. *Perspective*, Delhi.
39. *The Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
40. *Poona Orientalist*, Poona.
41. *The Punjab University Journal*, Lahore.
42. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, Rajamundry.
43. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Pondicherry.
44. *Sino-Indian Studies*, Calcutta.
45. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.

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