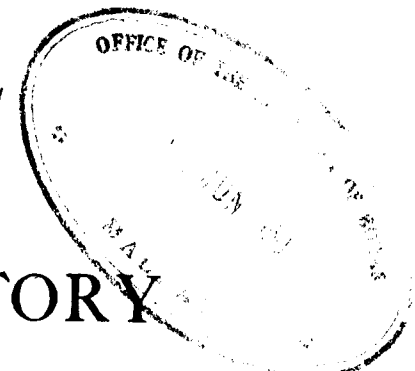


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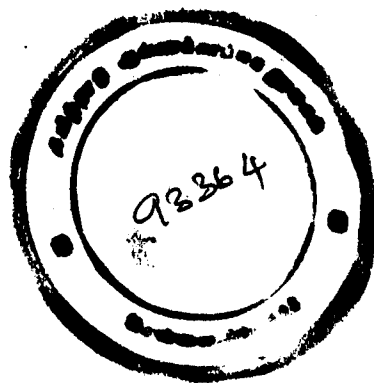
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CONTENTS

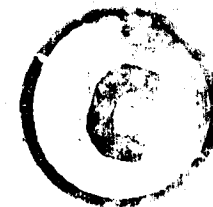
CONSTANTINE AND INDIA — by T. K. Joseph ..	1
ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS IN INDIA PROPER—THE EARLIEST PHASE 1602-27 — by T. I. Poonen ..	9
INTERCOURSE OF INDIA WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE DURING THE OPENING CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA — by Jean Filliozat ..	23
KAMANDAKIYA NITISARA — by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar ..	45
ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS — THE RED JUDGE — by K. Narasimha- chari ..	49
REVIEWS :—(1) Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab, 1846-1849 (A Historical Revision) — by Jag- mohan Mahajan, (2) Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, edited by Surendranath Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India ..	67
BOOKS RECEIVED ..	70
SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	71
OUR EXCHANGES ..	77

Journal of Indian History

1950

April - 28 - 82.

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Constantine and Indias

BY

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

Trivandram

1. MALABAR

Malabar Hindu documents about the Christian king Paḷlivāṇavar (317 A.D.), of Cranganore, Malabar, were dealt with in this *Journal* for April 1948, (pp. 27 — 44). Was he one of the kings who sent to Constantinople (founded in 330) an embassy to Constantine the Great in 336 — 7? That emperor was then well-known, and even worshipped in our India (as in Italy, North Africa and other places.) For Eusebios (ca. 325) in his *Greek Life of Constantine IV.* 50 (Ed. Migne, 1857) says :—

“ At the same time (that is to say, when the marriage of him, the Emperor's son, took place) arrive there the Delegates of the Indians who live in the East (Eastern regions), carrying with them gifts, many kinds of pearls of great effulgence and price, and beasts of peculiar shape and character, which differ from those of ours. While offering all these to the Emperor, the delegates stated, first, that his empire was extended as far as their own ocean, and, secondly, that the princes of the Indian people recognise him as their King and Emperor by erecting painted tablets and statues in his honour. And as in the beginning of his reign the Britains, who live in the western ocean were the first to subject themselves

to his reign, so now the Indians who live in the East do the same".¹

"They told him too of pictures and statues dedicated to him by the Princes of India", says Priaulx in his *Apollonius*, 1873, p. 181. The original Greek given by him (p. 180) has *eikonōn graphais*. These icons must have been set up in temples erected mainly on the W. and E. Coasts (rather than the interior of India), and in Ceylon. There were then in India and Ceylon, traders from Greece, Asia Minor, Alexandria of Egypt, and from other parts of the Roman empire, who used to worship the Roman Emperor as divine. To the Hindus the divinity of the king was no novel idea, although after his conversion to Christianity Pallivāṇavar must have (in obedience to Christian and Jewish doctrine) discouraged the worship of icons, as King Gondophares of the Panjab, St. Thomas's convert, had preferred the title "*Deva-vrata*" (= devoted to God — singular) to the then usual titles "*Deva-putra*, and *Dēvānām priya*" (= son of god, and dear to the gods — plural), and also adopted what historians call his "*characteristic symbol*" — viz. a small v surmounting a large circle ○ standing on an inverted capital T (⊥) as its base. The three combined looks like a big wine cup (chalice), such as the chalice used by Christ at His Last Supper with His 12 disciples, and ever after that by all Christians at the Eucharist. St Thomas celebrated the Eucharist in the Panjab as *The Acts* (ca. 220 A.D.) tells us. And the chalice, and not the cross, is the earliest known Christian symbol. See *Ency. Brit.*, s. v. Chalice.

The cult of the divine Roman Emperor ("*Caesar, Divi Augusti Filius Augustus, Imperator*") had perhaps been prevalent in

1. Here we recall that about 350 years before, i.e. ca. 25 B.C., Poros and the Pandyan king whose territory extended, in the days of the *Pertplus*, ca. 60 A.D., to the south of the Chera's, and had on the West Coast the sea-port Bakare (Purakkād), and the Pampa river port Neakynda (Nākkida) — see this *Journal* for Aug. 1948, pp. 122-4, Nos. 11-13 — sent Embassies to Caesar Augustus. They reached the Emperor at Samos in 22 or 20 B.C. according to Dion Cassius (194 A.D.) via Antioch in Syria, where Nikolaos Damaskenos personally met the survivors (three) of the combined embassy. Strabo's words (ca. 5 A.D.) —

kakeithen o' aph' henos topou kai
par henos basileōs Pandionos
kai allou Pōrou (or ē kat' allous)

are usually taken to refer to one embassy. But it seems that the Pandyan's starting from Bakare port joined the North Indian Poros' embassy at Broach and both sailed on together.

Cranganore, Cochin, since the days of Augustus, whose temple in Cranganore seems to be mentioned in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. In 333 A.D. or later a cult of the *Gens Flavia*, the Emperor's family, was established by Constantine at Hispellum (Spello), and it spread to Africa. The above Malabar temple of Augustus might have (as in Rome) enshrined an icon of his, or in later days a serpent also. For the Greeks and Romans believed that the souls of the dead were incarnate in the bodies of serpents and revisited the earth in that form. And the Romans used to keep serpents in every household, as the Hindus kept, and even none keep, the images of serpents, and in some cases, live serpents in their houses. (Vide Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. IV. 74.)

2. THANA

Now, "in the year 1564 at the town of Tana of the Island of Salsete, near the city of Baçaim in India" (= Bassein, Bombay), there was accidentally dug up "a statue, which being cleaned and examined, showed perfectly in the dress and make of a Dominican Friar," supposed to be Bishop Jordanus of ca. 1330. This was a statue "of black wood, one palm high, and held its hands under the scapular; the hair reached the middle of the head," according to *Or. Conquistado* (1650 A.D.). But *Catholic Encyclo.* IV, 610c. says it was a bronze statue. Was this perchance a statue of Constantine?

3. METRODORUS-CONSTANTINUS-CONSTANTIUS

Cedrenus of the 11th century says of one Metrodorus that "he was a Persian-born and pretended to philosophy; that he travelled to India and the Brahmins, and made for and introduced among them water-mills and baths, - - - (from their temples) he stole pearls and other precious stones. These jewels, together with others - - - for the Roman Emperor, he offered to Constantine as gifts from himself, and gave him to understand that the Persians had seized and appropriated a parcel of other jewels which he had sent overland. On this, Constantine wrote curtly to the Persian king, and receiving no answer, put an end to the peace between them." (— Priaulx, *op. cit.*, p. 182).

But Ammianus Marcellinus (361 A.D.), a contemporary, in defending Julian (born 331) against those who charged him with having instigated the Persian war (of 357, and not of 336-7 A.D.), asserts that it was brought on by Constantius (317-361), who too

rashly gave credit to the falsehoods of Metrodorus. So the presents must have been given to Constantius (317-361), and not to our Constantinus (died 337). Cedrenus appears to have read the emperor's name wrongly.

The India to which Metrodorus came in or before 357 may or may not have been our India. But the "ulterior India" that he had (acc. to Rufinus) visited before 326 (say, about 320 A.D.), and before the visit to that India by Meropius and the boys Frumentius and Edesius in Constantinus' days (as Rufinus says) was Ulterior Arabia west of Parthia. Pace Priaulx (pp. 183-4) we do not regard Rufinus' and Marcellinus' Metrodoruses as two different persons, but as one, who (according to the dates found in documents) flourished from about 315 to 357 A.D., and visited both Arabia (miscalled India) and our "India of the Brahmins," also distinguished from other Indias, the pseudo-Indias west of the Indus, as India "Orientalis," India "which makes an end," or India "in the confines of the world."

4. CONSTANTINE AND THEOPHILUS THE INDIAN

The Arian Philostorgius (H. E. III, 4: Photius' Bibliotheca) says that Theophilus was born at Dibous, an island of the "Indians," that when very young he was sent by his people (the Indians: the Blemmyes) as a hostage to our Constantine, and was educated in a monastery (at Nicomedia?). Later on Constantius, the next emperor, in about 354, sent him as an Arian missionary to the Sabaeans of South Arabia and to Abyssinia. Several authors have regarded Theophilus as a real Indian, and identified his Dibous with Diul off the mouth of the Indus (by Valesius, Shrockh, and Assemani), the Maldives (by Gibbon), Socotra (by Moberg), Diu, or Saka-Dveepa, the estuary of the Indus (both by myself).

But Priaulx (*op. cit.*, p. 188, and notes 41 and 43) says that "Theophilus is often called the Blemmyan, and his mission points to an Arabian origin, and I incline to think that Dibous is some Arab island or promontory connected with the Debai or Dedebei of Agatharcides" (148 B.C., *ibid.* p. 248). Is Dibous Jibuti?

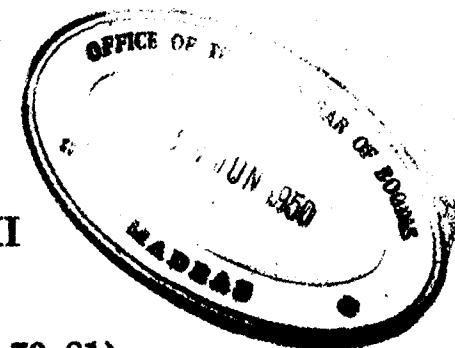
The above mentioned Blemmyes were "a fierce people whose heads once did grow beneath their shoulders (Pomponius Mela I, viii, 60) (who) infested the neighbourhood of Berenice --- (and) seem to have occupied Coptos and Ptolemais, for Probus (A.D. 279) is said to have recovered these towns from them." (Priaulx, pp. 166-7). Berenice and Ptolemais were on the African shore of the Red Sea, and Coptos, N. W. of Berenice, was on the Nile.

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Vol. XXVII—1949

Parts 1—3 (Nos. 79-81)

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND REVIEWERS

	PAGE
ANDERSON, BERNARD (Libraries in Ancient India) ..	165
BHARGAVA, DR. PURUSHOTTAM LAL (Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan Chronology, Puranic) ..	171
CHAUDHURI, DR. S. B. (Continental Notices of the Divisions of India) ..	237
DHARMA, DR. (MISS) P. C. (The Status of Women During the Epic Period) ..	69
GAI, G. S. (Talagunda Inscription of Kakusthavarma) ..	161
GANDA SINGH, S. (Some Correspondence of Maharaja Duleep Singh) ..	1
GURTY VENKET RAO, PROF. (Date of Foundation of Andhra Dynasty by Simukha) ..	243
HANUMANTHA RAO, S. (Madhwacharya, 1238-1318) ..	25
JAGADISH NARAYAN SIRKAR, DR. (Indian Merchant Ships and their Skippers in the Red Sea Ports, 1611) ..	109
JAIPAL SINGH, DR. (Development of Judiciary—in Bengal, 1774-1803) ..	121
JOSEPH, T. K. (Antu and Etirantu, or Year and After-year) ..	55
JOSEPH, T. K. (A Travancore Inscription in Greek Script) ..	179
KRISHNA KANTA MISHRA (Adventurous Career of Ghasiti Begam) ..	253
MAHALINGAM, DR. T. V. (Pasupatas in S. India) ..	43
NANDALAL CHATTERJI, DR. (Case of Mr. J. S. Buckingham) ..	141
NARASIMHACHARI, K. (Annals of Old Madras) ..	155
POONNEN, T. I. (Early History of the Dutch Factories of Masulipatam and Petapoli, 1605-1636) ..	261
SESHADRI, K. (Substance of Ramanuja's Sri Bhashyam) ..	59
SRINIVASACHARI, DEWAN BHADUR C. S. (Reviews of 18 books) ..	91, 185, 297
VENKATARAMA SARMA, PANDIT V. (Pattai Grant of Venkata-pati I, of Saka, 1508) ..	211
VIJAYAKANTA MISHRA, SHRI (Short Note on Mithila as found in Prakrit Literature) ..	295

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	PAGE
ADVENTUROUS CAREER OF GHASITI BEGUM—By Krishna Kantha Mista	253
ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS—By K. Narasimhachari	155
ANTU AND ETIRANTU, OR YEAR AND AFTER-YEAR—By T. K. Joseph	55
CASE OF MR. J. S. BUCKINGHAM—By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji	141
DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF ANDHRA DYNASTY OF SIMUKA—By Gurti Venket Rao	243
DEVELOPMENT OF JUDICIARY IN BENGAL, 1774-1803	121
EARLY HISTORY OF THE DUTCH FACTORIES OF MASULIPATAM AND PETA-POLI—By T. I. Poonen	281
INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPS—IN THE RED SEA PORTS, 1611—By Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar	109
LIBRARIES IN ANCIENT INDIA—By Bernard Anderson	165
MADEWACHARYA, 1238-1318—By S. Hanumantha Rao	25
MAURYAN AND PRE-MAURYAN CHRONOLOGY, PURANIC—By Dr. Purushottam Lal Bhargava	171
REVIEWS OF 18 BOOKS—By Dewan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasa-chariar	91, 185, 287
PASUPATAS IN S. INDIA—By Dr. T. V. Mahalingam	43
PATTAI GRANT OF VENKATA-PATI DEVA I, S. 1508—By V. V. Sharma	211
SHORT NOTE ON MITHILA AS FOUND IN PRAKRIT LITERATURE—By S. Vijayakanta Mishra	295
SOME CONTINENTAL NOTICES OF THE DIVISIONS OF INDIA—By Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri	237
SOME CORRESPONDENCE OF DULEEP SINGH—By S. Ganda Singh	1
STATUS OF WOMEN DURING THE EPIC PERIOD—By Dr. (Miss) P. C. Dharmia	69
SUBSTANCE OF RAMANUJA'S SRI BHASHYAM—By K. Seshadri	59
TALAGUNDA INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHAVARMA—By G. S. Cai	161
A TRAVANCORE INSCRIPTION IN GREEK SCRIPT—By T. K. Joseph	17

After pointing out Theophilus' founding churches among the Homeritae of South Arabia, his going even to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, his visit to his own "Dibous and other parts of India", and his work among the Ethiopians living at the entrance of the Red Sea, and finally his return to Rome from Auxume in Ethiopia, Priaulx asks: "Does not all this show mere travel in Arabia up to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea?" And we now know for certain that the Ethiopians and South Arabians were wrongly called Indians. E.g. Pseudo-Kallisthenes, 4th cent., calls the king of Ethiopia an Indian, Aphrahat the Syrian (275-345 A.D.) calls the Ethiopians Indians, and *Itiner. Alex.* (345 A.D.) regarded India as a whole as extending eastwards from Egypt and Ethiopia.

5. A THEBAN SCHOLAR IN CRANGANORE

We may here note that some time after Theophilus' travels in S. Arabia and Ethiopia, a Theban scholar, a lawyer, came by the Red Sea to "India," i.e., to Ethiopia and South India. At Auxume, the capital of Ethiopia, "he met with some Indian, i.e. Arab, merchants about to proceed for India: he joined them, and together they crossed the Ocean. After several days' voyage they reached Muziris, the chief port on this side of the Ganges and the residence of a petty Indian rajah" (a successor of our Pallivānavar of the first half of the Constantinus-Constantius-Julianus century.)

At Muziris he stayed some time studying its soil and climate and the customs and manners of its inhabitants. But if he narrated or wrote anything about Pallivānavar and other Christians there it has not survived. There he "heard of the Ceylon markets thronged with merchants from Ethiopia and Persia," i.e. Arabs and Persians. Some of them must have been found by that scholar in Pallivānavar's Muziris too, and the Baghdad missionaries who had come to Pallivānavar in 317 were Syrians or Persians from the Baghdad region. See this *Journal*, 1948, pp. 27-29.

The explorer then penetrated into the interior of the country and got as far as the Besadae, a dwarfish, large-headed people who occupied themselves with gathering pepper from the low and stunted trees on which it grows. "*Piper ibi nascitur in magnâque colligitur copiâ*"—in Malabar, and not in Ceylon, as the Latin account wrongly suggests.

The Besadae seized on the poor scholar, and their king gave him as a slave to a baker. I think he was not one of the "Besadae," but a civilized "baker" from near Muziris who used to barter salt, food, and sweet-meats for pepper and other forest produce.

"With him I stayed six years, and in this time learned their language" (= Tamil of Cochin) "and a good deal about the neighbouring nations. At length the great king of Ceylon² heard of me and out of respect for the Roman name and fear of the Roman power" (known in Muziris from at least the days of Palli-vānavar and the embassy of 336-7) "ordered me to be set free, and severely punished the petty rajah (of the Besadae) who had enslaved me." The king of Ceylon had no authority over Malabar to issue such an order.

The name Besadae does not appear in the Latin version of the Theban's report, but in the Greek original it appears also as Thebads, Bethsiads, and Bethsads, all likely to be wrong renderings of the name of some Travancore-Cochin forest tribe like the Vēda or Veshava, confounded with the Tibeto-Burman "Bisadae", of whom the scholar had the chance of reading in the Greek works of Pseudo-Kallisthenes (III, 8: "Bisadae", clever climbers and leaf gatherers), or in the Periplus (§ 65: "Besatae", gatherers of "malabathrum" = *tamāla-patram*, cinnamon leaf).

6. CONSTANTINE AND QALONYA

Archbishop Severus of Antioch (512-39 A.D.) mentions the following incidents about "the merchant Qison, a fire-worshipper, who coming to Qalonya, in the country of the Philippos, somewhere in India, made the acquaintance of the Christians there and of their bishop; he goes home by sea and brings his family to the bishop for baptism. He goes home again, and dies. His widow, Helena and her four sons, John, Stephen, Joseph and Daniel, come to "India", to the capital of a king where there are no Christians. So many miracles happen on their account that John and the king write for a bishop to Constantine the Great. John, bishop of Ephesus (sic), comes to "India", baptises the king and his people, and consecrates John, one of the four brothers, as first bishop of that city."—See *Indian Antiquary*, 1928, p. 120, and 1927, pp. 150-151.

2. This cannot be Ceylon, because the king of that island had no authority over the king of Muziris to order the latter to set the Greek scholar free. Ceylon, therefore, must be the result of the wrong reading by the Latin translator of the Greek version, of either (a) *cēram* = Kerala, or (b) *cigalam*, *sigalam*, *cingli* which are some of the forms of the long name *Tiruvan-cikalām*, found in European and W. Asian documents. It was the name of the Cera king's capital, Muziris being a river-port of his.

Is the India in the above passage our India? If the country of the Philippos is that of the Apostle Philip's Christians it cannot be in our India, but may be Phrygia assigned to Philip by some writers. Then Qalonya cannot be Quilon in Travancore, or Kalyana of Bombay or Kalawan (= Kalamina of St. Isidore, d. 636 A.D.) of the Panjab.

Let us note that Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch's contemporary, describes a "happy India" ironically in *Celaenis Phrygiae Orat.* XXXV, II. In his oration to the Alexandrians, the *Celaeni* (II, 72) are mentioned. There was a place called *Celaene* in Phrygia.

If after their baptism in Qalonya of Phrygia the widow Helena and her four sons came (from Persia) to another India, whence the son John, wrote to Constantine for a bishop, it may have been Muziris (in Cochin), or some other place in India proper that they visited.³

3. Recent excavations near Jerusalem in ancient Judea have revealed (1949) the remains of a city close to Kolonia, which name looks like Qalonya above mentioned Judea's old spelling was Iudea, in which form it had every chance of being wrongly read as Indea, and construed as India. Kolonia is believed to have been "built by the Roman legion when it conquered Palestine," - - (and) "the scene of many fierce battles." Kolonia may be Latin *Colonia*, colony.

Anglo-Dutch Relations in India Proper (The Earliest Phase-1602-27)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A.

I

"The very points of resemblance in the racial characteristics of the English and the Dutch¹ brought them into collision in almost every part of the world. Born colonisers, traders and explorers, each people was instinctively conscious that its destiny was upon the water and that the mastery of the sea was a necessity of national existence. Hence a rivalry which was unavoidable, inexorable, a rivalry which could eventually have only one of two issues, either the voluntary submission of one of the rivals to the other or a trial of strength by ordeal of battle."²

INTRODUCTION

EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THE EAST

1. Since the discovery of the sea-route to the East, India has been the scene of the commercial activities of several European nations. The Portuguese were the first to enter the field. For long they maintained the monopoly of the maritime trade with India. Their monopoly rested on the armed might of Portugal and the spiritual sanction given by the Pope. The Portuguese kept the charts of the Eastern seas secret and thus prevented leakage of information regarding the route. In 1605 Philip III of Spain who was also ruler of Portugal strictly prohibited the Hollanders from trading with Spain or the Indies. The port of Lisbon was also closed

1. The word "Dutch" is an English rendering of the *Deutsch* or *Diutsch* of Germany and Holland, and was originally employed to indicate Germany and the Germans. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, English writers generally indicated the Dutch of Flanders and Holland as "Flemings". It was only in the seventeenth century after the northern Flemings had acquired their independence of Spain and had joined with the Western Frisians to form the United Provinces of which Holland was the principal part that the English took to calling them "Dutch" and the lands of the Holy Roman Empire "Germany".

Sir Harvey Johnston: *Pioneers in India* (Blackie: London 1913), page 172.

2. Edmundson: *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*.

forget the havoc wrought on Dutch trade by the English intervention in the herring and whale fisheries.⁹ Having once tasted the bitter fruits of English commercial competition in Europe, the Dutch naturally had the liveliest apprehensions of the possible consequence of English competition in the distant east. The Hollanders were determined that England, with its better situation, should not attain to a superior position in commerce. It took time for the Englishmen of the seventeenth century who regarded the Dutch as being in a measure dependent upon the British Crown to realise that Holland had stepped definitely into the circle of nations and that gratitude for the grudging help doled out by Elizabeth and her successor had its limits. "The Dutch stood firmly on the rights given them by their treaties and complained of the unreasonableness of the English in expecting to share free of cost in a commerce which had been snatched from the Portuguese by force of arms at a vast expense and was safeguarded by the same means."¹⁰

COMMON ADVANTAGES OF THE TWO NATIONS FOR FOREIGN TRADE

4. Considerable advantages for foreign commerce were shared by both nations.¹¹ Their useful hands were not shut up in convents nor were they compelled to celibacy. Religious festivals and processions did not interrupt them from following their lawful employments. Religious toleration invited to their land refugees from the civil wars of France and Germany. While the union of the seven united provinces of Netherlands gave political stability to Holland, the Tudor monarchy welded England into a compact national kingdom. The strong and popular rule of Elizabeth was a remarkable source of strength to England. The Netherlands appeared to be the most potent republic the world had seen since that of old Rome and the greatest maritime and commercial power known till that day. The people of both England and Holland were known to be industrious and enterprising. Amsterdam became a great entrepot of the world's trade. The natural strength of their country improved by their many sluices for overflowing it rendered it inaccessible to land armies. The free constitution of their government and the safety, security and convenience furnished by the Bank of Amsterdam with its nonviolated credit, immense treasure and its extensive usefulness were also precious assets. The invention of the telescope in 1590 made unprecedented progress in astronomy possible. The fuller knowledge of the heavenly bodies

9. Anderson—see f. n. 3.

10. Introduction to the Journal of John Jourdain.

11. Anderson: Introduction, page VIII.

facilitated by the telescope brought navigation and therefore commerce to a degree of perfection impossible for the ancients. The pride, covetousness and religious intolerance of the Portuguese precipitated their ruin. Finding much profit in Brazil, they slighted East India and neglected to send thither sufficient supplies even for preserving what they already possessed and much less for making new conquests there. Their conquests in India had already been too many and too far asunder to be effectually succoured. And they had to face the Dutch at the same time in Brazil and India. These circumstances made it easy for the Dutch to overpower and replace the Portuguese in India, and consequently to take a bold attitude to the English.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

5. The century in which the Dutch and English inaugurated their commercial activities in the East bears a close resemblance to modern times. During the course of that century (the seventeenth) commerce was gradually advanced almost to its very zenith of perfection. Navigation arts, mathematical, manufactural, nautical and mechanical, agriculture, architecture and plantations were almost marvellously improved. Commercial banking and metallic companies were established in Europe and helped the growth of commerce in England and Holland. The Hanse towns lost their trade more and more to the Dutch and English who brought to great maturity the trade from the several countries of Europe to East India. To the close of the century these nations possessed much the greatest part of the naval commerce of Europe. Naval architecture was brought to greater perfection. The importance of commercial treaties began to be appreciated. The significance of the low interest of money and the true intrinsic value of coin were better understood. Manufacture, commerce, and shipping began visibly to prosper. Thus it was in a century eminently suited for commercial expansion that the Dutch and the English turned their attention to Indian trade.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS

6. The first holders of the office of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies were practically endowed with autocratic authority. They were all men who had risen to the position by proving themselves to possess energy and enterprise, being compelled by the distance from home to act promptly on their own initiative. They were able rapidly to extend and consolidate their power to the exclusion of all competitors. It was not enough to oust the Spaniards and the Portuguese from their former positions. The Dutch found that collision with the English was inevitable.

to the Dutch who were accustomed to sell their wares in Lisbon and buy eastern goods from that port. Hence they felt impelled to challenge the Portuguese monopoly. The Dutch being in possession of the market raised the price of pepper in 1599 from 3 shillings per lb. to 6s. 8d.³ This was the circumstance that led to the formation of the English East India Company which was created by a charter of Queen Elizabeth on the last day of 1599. This charter conferred rights of exclusive trading on the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. The Dutch were earlier in the field, but their several independent companies were by their mutual competition creating much disorder and were clashing with each other in their commerce. Hence the several companies were united into one on the 20th March 1602 with a joint capital stock of 6,600,000 guilders (about £550,000).⁴ The *Algemeene Geoeitoyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie* (The General Chartered East India Company) thus formed was invested by the States-General with authority to make peace or war with the eastern princes, to erect forts, choose its own governors, maintain garrisons and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and administration of justice. It had no parallel in antiquity. The creation of such a company with its monopoly of trade and its great privileges including its right of maintaining fleets and armed forces, of concluding treaties and of erecting forts was nothing less than the formation of a state within the state. It served as a model for all the great chartered companies of later times. By the side of the Dutch Company with its enormous capital, the English Company which possessed a capital of a mere £30,000 appeared a puny body incapable of struggling successfully against its powerful competitor.⁵

It is said by competent authorities that India was not the objective of the Dutch in the early days. Pepper could be obtained from Java and Sumatra in exchange of specie. Dutch relations with India developed when they perceived that it was difficult for them to bring from Europe specie or any merchandise readily saleable in the spice Islands, and that Indian piece-goods were the recognised medium of the trade. Consequently they established factories (i.e. trading posts where factors or agents were stationed) in India as subsidiaries to their principal business of supplying pepper and other spices to Europe.⁶ It must,

3. Anderson: *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* (1764).

4. *Reisebeschreibungen* Vol. I. 1 guilder = ½ rupee.

5. Edmundson: *History of Holland*.

6. Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*.

however, be pointed out that the very first naval expedition sent to the East by the United Dutch Company had instructions to launch at Masulipatam for its cloth.⁷

POSITION OF THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

2. Just as Britain and Holland were the two countries which profited in Europe by the decline of the Hanse towns, these were the identical nations to whom fell the large volume of Asiatic trade previously enjoyed by Portugal. While the Dutch were bent on destroying the Portuguese monopoly, they were equally desirous of succeeding to that monopoly and preventing their English rivals from having any share in eastern trade. Thus there was bitter rivalry between the two nations. Towards the English, the Dutch at first showed a more friendly exterior; but, in the end, the English felt that they had more reason to complain of these their supposed friends than their sworn enemies, the Spaniards and the Portuguese.⁸ Anglo-Dutch rivalry is thus an interesting subject for study. Although the subject was the theme of a course of lectures before the University of Cambridge by a competent authority (Edmundson: *Anglo-Dutch Rivalry*), those lectures hardly paid any attention to the bitter rivalry between the two nations within the confines of the Indian peninsula. Eventually, on the mainland of India, what once seemed impossible happened. Holland, despite her good start, had to yield to the superior good fortune of the English, and to-day Dutch commerce in India is simply non-existent. It is proposed to give below a connected account of the early stages of the rivalry between these two Protestant nations in India. Such a study will remove from our minds the erroneous idea that it was only after the massacre of Amboyna (1623) that the English turned their attention to India and that thereafter the Dutch confined themselves to the East Indies. Closer study will convince us that, even before the tragedy of Amboyna, the English had begun their efforts to secure a share of the Indian trade and that, during the whole of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch played a large part in India proper and came into close rivalry with the English although occasional efforts at co-operation were not lacking.

GENERAL CAUSES FOR THE RIVALRY

3. Why the two nations were hostile to each other need not be a matter for surprise. Though grateful to England for the help obtained in her struggle against Spain, Holland could not

7. Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogenheid in Azië*.

8. Danvers: *Introduction to Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*.

The English felt that while the Dutch were industrious, their own nation was supine. Thus in 1603 Sir Walter Raleigh impressed on King James I the following points.¹² (1) The Dutch allowed privileges to strangers and thus drew multitudes of merchants to live among them, thereby enriching themselves. (2) The Dutch erected store-houses or magazines for all foreign commodities wherewith, upon occasions of scarcity, they were enabled to supply other countries, even those from whom they brought those very commodities. (3) The customs, duties of the Dutch were low. (4) The structure and roominess of their ships holding more merchandize and the smaller number of sailors engaged enabled them to carry their goods much cheaper to and from foreign parts than England could. Thus the Dutch gained all the foreign freights whilst all the English ships lay idle and decayed or went to Newcastle for coals. (5) The Dutch got vast returns from their prodigious fishery. Thus the Hollanders became the great carriers by sea for the rest of Europe. Amsterdam became the great store-house for corn for the supply of all Europe in any dearth.¹³ While Holland traded yearly with England in 600 ships, England had only 50 ships for her trade with Holland.

INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

7. The political conditions which prevailed in India during the seventeenth century may now be briefly described. Northern India was a political whole under the strong arms of the Mughals. Though from the Indus to the Ganges the Mughal Empire had been established and reduced to a regular system by Akbar, the frequent civil wars for the succession rendered commercial intercourse difficult, and the tenures by firmans or grants from the Mughals or from their officers precarious and expensive: and those from the inferior chiefs on the Malabar or Coromandel coast still more temporary and uncertain. In the Deccan, Bijapur and Golkonda were the only Muhammadan states which retained their independence. In the south, the Raja of Chandragiri, the titular descendant of the great house of Vijayanagar whose power was shattered by the Muhammedans at Talikota in 1565, exercised some sort of suzerainty over the Hindu nobles called Naiks. Some of these like the rulers of Tanjore and Madura were virtually independent in their own territories. On the pepper yielding coast of Malabar, Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Travancore were the chief states; of these, Calicut was economically the most important. The Portuguese held several busy places, some of the most

12. Anderson, page 462.

13. Anderson, page 463.

important of which were Goa, Diu, Daman, Cannanore, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon, Mannar, Negapatam and San Thome. Goa was their Indian metropolis, the seat of their Viceroy and of all the gallantry of the nation and the general rendezvous of all their forces. Goa had also a large share of trade. Here were the strong sinews that held together the ports of their eastern empire. The strong city and castle of Cochin was favourably situated and had a considerable trade. The maritime supremacy of the Portuguese had not yet been challenged, and even the Mughals took passports for their vessels from the Portuguese and paid tolls. What is called mercantile extraterritorialism prevailed in Southern India. In other words, the rulers of the south were accustomed to permit foreign merchants to form themselves into an autonomous community with laws and institutions of their own. The authorities at Calicut, Masulipatam and Pulicat were thus familiar with the institution of mercantile extraterritorialism. But the Great Mughal had the outlook of Central Asia where such ideas were not known and in his empire the grant of concession was not a matter of course, but even here and in Golkonda the Europeans could on occasions make war successfully on sea because the Indian states maintained no naval forces. Reprisals by Europeans took place when the native powers misbehaved. These measures were acts of war and, because of their efficiency, Europeans were able to exact redress for the wrongs they suffered. Yet, despite their favoured position, the Portuguese power was about to give way.

INTERNAL CONDITIONS WERE FAVOURABLE TO TRADE

8. According to Abdul Fazl, the port duties throughout the empire of Akbar never exceeded 2½%.¹⁴ The duties at Surat in 1600 were 2% on coinage, 2½% on goods and 3% on provisions. Despite perquisites, the whole administration of customs was on the whole very lenient and encouraging for the merchants. Transit duties, however, were still levied by petty chiefs though twice remitted by Akbar.¹⁵ But in the premier state of Golkonda and the states on the Coromandel coast, there were numerous charges which must have depressed industry. Their collection depended very much on the personalities of the revenue officers and the farmers of customs. Princes, however, showed unusual anxiety in encouraging foreign merchants to trade with their country and took immediate steps to check abuses brought to their notice.

ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS IN INDIA PROPER—THE EARLIEST PHASE

(a) Coromandel

While the conditions which prevailed in India in the seventeenth century were favourable for bodies carrying on trade, the relations between new competitors for the trade were by no means satisfactory. Of the four main regions in India where later the Dutch carried on trade, viz., Guzerat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, only Guzerat and Coromandel attained to importance in this period. It was here that the rivalry between the Dutch and English became keen. In Bengal the Dutch already preceded the English. On the 26th of May 1616 the factors at Surat wrote to Sir Thomas Roe at Ajmere "Upon the sea-coast where there is any hope of benefit the Dutch and Portuguese have trade whereby we conceive that the transportation by land thither will be more hazardous and chargeable than the benefit by the sale of a small quantity can cover". In Malabar, neither the Dutch nor the English had any enterprise at hand.

The Dutch who were earlier in the field on the Coromandel coast also were unfriendly to the English. In every treaty the Dutch entered into with native powers, there was a clause stipulating the exclusion of other European nations. Thus, in the treaty concluded by the Dutch at Gingi in March 1610, it was expressly stipulated that the Aya of Gingi was to permit no trade to other European nations who did not bring papers from the Dutch stadtholder. In 1611 the English Captain Hippon sailed up the east coast of India and touched at several ports occupied by the Dutch but found that trade with them was impossible. The first efforts of the English at Masulipatam were hindered by native authorities, incited thereto by the intrigues of the Dutch. They touched at Pulicat, but the Dutch effectively prevented any trade being conducted. When Hippon and the merchants of the seventh voyage of the English East India Company went to speak with the Shahbunder (Harbour Master) of Coromandel, Jan Van Wesick, President of the Dutch Company on the coast of Coromandel, met them and, after both sides had exchanged some compliments, the latter showed a copy of the Cowl of the King wherein there was a clause which stipulated that he (the King) should forbid all European nations other than the Dutch from carrying on trade in his country. Sharp words with each other followed.¹⁶

It was some years before the English began to prosper on the east coast. They had real grievances against the Dutch. While reporting on the 13th October 1613 the payment of 1000 pagodas to the Dutch Governor Andres Sere for 3000 pieces of long cloth to be delivered at Masulipatam in nine months, Matthew Duke, the English Merchant at Masulipatam, regrets that the monopoly of this trade wherein the Dutch invest 2/3 of their funds was not in English hands. In 1613-14 the Dutch seem to have done all they could to obstruct the favour shown to the English of Masulipatam by the king of Vellore whose ambassadors had brought excuses for the offences given to the English at Pulicat. The influence of the Dutch was not however great enough for the purpose. How bitterly the English felt their relatively inferior position is amply brought out by English letters. "I fear I shall get but small quantity this year" wrote Lucas Artheunis from Masulipatam in February 1615 (1616) to Sir Thomas Roe about the purchase of cloth, "the time being so far past by coming too late and the best bought up by the Dutch." The Dutch were also charged with opening English letters which fell into their hands and evading to hand them over to the English. On the other hand even English writers admit that they had not much real ground for complaint against the Dutch. "I must confess that I have found hitherto good quarter on the Dutches' part, but till now we have not had to do with them in matters of moment but in friendly society."

Since 1617 the English had a factory at Masulipatam. (Macleod, Page 213) "Masulipatam is a city", says Macleod, "situated near a large river where the English and the Dutch have

"On the eleventh, John Van Wesick, the Dutch President on the Coast of Choromandell, shewed us a Caul from the King of Narsinga, Wencapat Raja, wherein was granted that it should not be lawful for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patents and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of England, and would therefore do what we could. Hence arose high words, which the Sabandar Calmed, telling of the Governesse, her coming hither within three days.

On the seventeenth came Conde Maa and Captain Hippon coming on shore, wee were readie to go to her, when we received word to the contrary and that the next day shee would send for us. We suspected the Hollanders close dealing, and the next day sent to Sabandar (no man coming for us) who answered the King had made grant to the Hollanders, and wee must go to him (the dispatching of which business would have cost us two months space and hazarded monsoon for Patanes if we would procure libertie. The Hollanders also had made readie two Elephants to send to the King. Wherefore, we resolved to prosecute our voyage for Petapoli and Masulipatam.)

their factories ; it is very populous, and the residence of a governor who pays a certain yearly tribute to the King of Golkonda which he squeezes out of the inhabitants, the *Gentives*; these people are sorely oppressed by the Persians and Moors who farm all the weaving trade from the great persons : wherefore there is scarce any trafficking here without profit unless you have a patent from the King which is not easy to be obtained because the Governors who pay 14,000 pagodas of annual tribute to the king constantly oppose it. It is a difficult matter to approach the king without purchasing their favour or of some other great men at court. For the rest, the city is a place of great traffic where most of our commodities as also those transported hither from the Moluccas, China, etc., are sold at a very good rate. Here is also a great concourse of merchants from Cambay, Surat and other places under the jurisdiction of the Great Moghul as also from Goa, Orissa, Bengal and Pegu. Here is likewise a considerable traffic in diamonds and rubies. Among the commodities which are transported from Masulipatam, indigo is none of the least." Four English ships under Thomas Sale who died five days after arrival came to anchor by Narepili, 20 miles north-east of Masulipatam. De Haze, the Dutch Chief, considered this a great fortune as he suspected that they had no other aim than to clear the coast of the Dutch as their store of merchandise was too little even for a ship. On the whole in 1617 the Dutch were stronger in the Indies than the English who complained of the Dutch inciting the natives of Masulipatam against the English. "Your factors certify likewise of their ill usage by the inhabitants caused through the instigation and perfidious dealings of the Hollanders residing in those parts and that divers of the English merchants are dead."

In 1618 Matthew Duke wrote from Masulipatam "These butter boxes are grown so insolent that if suffered but a whit longer they will make claim to the whole Indies so that no man shall trade but themselves or by their leave, but I hope to see their pride take a fall." As an example of Dutch unfriendliness is mentioned the case of a broker who had deceived the English two years ago being permitted to take service under the Dutch when he was discovered and fled. Thereupon "as well for satisfaction of the money he oweth us as for retaliation of some part of the many sums he has cozened and to prevent his discovery of our secrets to the Dutch," the English factor apprehended him.¹⁷ But the Shahbandhar released him and, in defiance of the English, the party served the Dutch. While Andries Souriy, the Dutch Governor-designate of Coromandel, was unloading his cargo

17. Foster : *English Factories*, Vol. IV, page 351.

at Vizagapatam, he had his eyes on the English ships lying at Masulipatam of which De Haze had been so much afraid. This fear was superfluous as Colonel Pring, the successor of Thomas Dale, was already waiting for news from Surat about the union of the Dutch and English companies. There were as many as ten English ships waiting apparently with the aim of laying hold on the trade as soon the truce came into operation.

(b) *Surat*

Situated between the Red Sea and Persian Gulf on the west and the Ganges valley on the east, Guzerat was from old time a centre of great trade. Besides, Guzerat was exceedingly fertile. A large number of rivers great and small discharged their waters into the Gulf of Cambay. Widely different crops were grown in the valleys of the rivers. Besides grains, peas, beans, rice and sugar, there were two other wares which were of considerable importance in Indo-European trade, namely indigo and cotton cloth. The indigo was required for European consumption, but the cotton cloth was sent to the Archipelago. In this region Surat situated at the mouth of the Tapti was the most important place for European trade. A great deal of goods was consumed by the Mughal Empire, the Moslem Deccan states and the decaying Vijayanagar chiefs. In the Mughal Empire, unlike the territories on the East Coast where princes were numerous and comparatively weak and unable to resist European attempts to build fortified places, no European nation would be allowed to obtain a strong position by establishing forts.¹⁸ At Surat, where the English had already a start, efforts were made by Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador to the Great Mughal, to prejudice the latter against the Dutch. These failed as the Indians gained by the mutual rivalry of the Europeans, and as the Mughals who had no navy were apprehensive of the safety of the pilgrim ships to Arabia unless friendly relations were maintained with the new-comers.

On his arrival in Surat, Sir Thomas Roe received a friendly visit from Van Ravesteyn the Dutch officer who had been sent from Masulipatam in quest of the goods left in Guzerat seven years ago by the deceased Dutch factor, Van Deynsen, when he committed suicide. Admiral Keeling who was in charge of the vessel that brought Roe to India was now requested that, on payment of proper freightage, the recovered Dutch goods and samples might be carried in English vessels to Bantam. The Commander was not unwilling. First, he tried to buy the goods, but when he perceived that such

18. Terpstra : *Surat*, page 5.

titors. They would, it was feared, "both outpresent, outbribe and outbuy us in all things." Yet Roe was unwilling for many reasons to show open hostility more especially as the arguments he had used against the Portuguese monopoly would then be turned against himself. He tried to instil into the minds of Asaf Khan the Mogul Governor and Prince Khurram (the future Shah Jahan) a suspicion that the real object of the Dutch was to plunder native shipping in revenge for the injuries previously sustained in Surat and Berhampur, that in any case they would be disordered and unruly, "so that if His Highness could be quietly rid of them, it were a happiness and ease to him."

In the end, Roe also became earnestly desirous of a settlement of the difference between the two nations. In a letter from Van Ravesteyn, the Dutch chief at Surat, to his employer, the writer, after mentioning Roe's courtesy to him both at Ahmedabad and Surat, continues "I found him a very peace-loving man who is very sorry for the differences between us and the English and would gladly see an agreement arrived at."²⁰ Roe had asked him "to recommend the Settlement of these troubles and has undertaken for his own part to do his utmost to bring this about." But this did not prevent Roe from advising his countrymen in Surat "I need not counsel you which way, only advise you never to join any stock to profit and loss for their garrison's charges and losses by negligence will engage you to bear part of their follies for no profit."

In August 1619 Roe complained to Prince Khurram that the Mughals had not commanded the Hollanders to disarm as they had been asking the English. "They did not command the like unto the Hollanders who were crept in and offered no service nor assistance to the King and who in all parts sought to get footing and build forts as was experienced in Masulipatam, Pulicat, Moluccas and other places." Upon this was sent a firman to disarm the Hollanders and that none of them in Surat might wear arms. It was added that other Christians were also subject to this restriction.

(To be continued)

20. India Office Records, *Hague Transcripts*. Series I, Vol. III, No. XV, quoted in Foster's *English Factories*.

Intercourse of India with the Roman Empire During the Opening Centuries of the Christian Era *

BY

JEAN FILLIOZAT

It was more than 80 years ago that the illustrious Arabic scholar M. Reinaud, who combined the genius of a great historian with the consummate experience of a specialist in several fields, devoted a long memoir¹ to the study of Roman relations with India and the neighbouring countries. By a profound study and discussion of the Latin sources he tried to show that the Romans at the beginning of the Imperial period devoted more attention to Indian territories and their rulers than one might believe. It is possible that he had attached too much importance to the brief allusions to India and the Indians in the works of the Latin poets. The fact remains however that historians dealing with the Western World have generally paid scant attention to the memoir of Reinaud, being, in fact, little prepared to understand that India might have played any significant role in the history of the world. But to-day the labours of the historians of commerce and navigation and the studies and discoveries of Indologists go to show that on the whole M. Reinaud's views were correct.

One ought to have felt doubts earlier. Not only are the Greek and Latin evidences numerous and positive; not only do the geographical data of Pliny,² Pomponius³ Mela and Ptolemy testify

* Translated from the original French of the author, by Sourindranath Roy, M.A., and Miss Sneha Roy, M.A., B.T., and published with the author's permission. The translators have added a few notes which will be found enclosed in square brackets.

1. *Relations politiques et commerciales de l'Empire Romain avec l'Asie orientale* (l'Hyrkanie, l'Inde, la Bactriane et la Chine), pendant les cinq premières siècles de l'ère chrétienne. "*Journal Asiatique*" 1863, No. 3.

2. [Gaius Plinius Secundus (A.D. 23/4-79) described India in the 6th book of his *Naturalis Historia*. His account of the Indian coasts, particularly Malabar, appears to have been based principally on the information received by him at first hand from the seamen who visited India in his own days, and is thus generally more reliable than his description of the interior of the sub-continent, which was apparently derived from much earlier authors like Megasthenes, Deimachos and Patrocles. Dr. W. W. Tarn's view that he used the work of a lost Græco-Parthian historian of the Hellenistic East who flourished about 80 B.C. (Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria*

was not the idea of Van Ravesteyn, he agreed to their request. So the Dutch goods which consisted of 30 packets of indigo, a packet of cloth and a chest with fire-locks and pistols were carried in the English ship for Bantam. When the Dutch wanted to pay the freight to the English Commander of the fleet, the latter excused it. The transport of the goods, he said, should be a friendly act which they willingly showed to the Dutch. If such an occasion arrived, the Dutch should also do the same. The goods were actually delivered by the *Dragon* at Bantam in May 1616. Such friendliness was however little appreciated by Jan Pieterse Coen, the Dutch Governor-General, who feared that in return for this small good turn, the English would later make large claims. However, the good understanding between the English and the Dutch in Surat enabled Van Ravesteyn to enjoy the advantage of performing his proposed journey to Berhampore in the company of the English. About the middle of July 1616, Pieter Van den Broecke arrived at Surat in a ship which had already proceeded to Mocha and other places in the Red Sea. He was well received by the Governor and other important persons and received a promise that he might remain there. But the Englishmen who were established there began to intrigue against the Dutch, and Van den Broecke had to face much trouble in his attempt to make the Governor observe his promise. The English factors were much disturbed by the prospect of competition and did their best to induce the local authorities to refuse permission to the establishment of a Dutch factory there. Sir Thomas Roe backed up their efforts by representation at court. He told the Company that he took all possible steps to injure the Dutch. The Dutch, he said, had arrived at Surat from the Red Sea with some money and southern commodities. "I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger. Your comfort is there are goods enough for both." Roe filled the natives' heads with jealousies of the designs of the Dutch and the danger that might arise from them; which was well taken and "being demanded I gave my advice to prevent coming to a rupture with them and yet exclude them the trade of India." But it was to no purpose. Van den Broecke's threat to make reprisals for the treatment of Van Deynsen made some impression, and the natives well knew that the Dutch would make the refusal a pretext for retaliation upon Guzerati shipping. A grudging assent was therefore accorded.

Roe says that in 1616 the Dutch made a voyage under Englishmen's names and had excellent usage and profit. The Surat factors

told Roe that the Dutch had at first been taken for Englishmen, but they did not admit that they had pretended to be so, and Van den Broecke distinctly asserted that he hoisted the stadholder's flag over the Dutch factory at Mokha.

The English merchants at Surat who entertained the Dutch merchants hospitably were evidently alarmed by the prospect of competition from this quarter. Kerridge expressed a strong hope that the expected fleet from England would drive them away, for such, he said, was their practice against the English wheresoever or whensoever they had power to effect it. Roe's reply was "concerning the Hollanders, I have received instruction from England how to deal—not by force as you intended" and, although he spared no pains to secure their dismissal, he was careful to avoid all show of hostility. In a book published in 1648 at Amsterdam Van den Broecke says "The English did their best with presents and bribes to cause our departure." In his letter to the Directors at Amsterdam describing his voyage, he specifies the amount thus given as 800 reals.¹⁹

During the second voyage of Van den Broecke, he was shipwrecked near Surat (1617), and it was a problem how to get out of Surat. A good opportunity seemed to present itself when on the 30th September 1617 an English fleet of seven ships appeared before Surat under the command of Martin Pring. Immediately Van den Broecke went to the English on board and requested that the Portuguese vessel which Pring had captured might be sold to the Dutch or they might be allowed to go to Bantam in their company. Both requests were refused as Roe had sent him a letter emphasising the great danger of Dutch competition and dissuading him from helping the shipwrecked in any way. Hence they made an overland march to Masulipatam. Roe subsequently repented of his callousness.

In 1617 Roe considered the adoption of a vigorous policy in dealing with the native government more necessary as he feared the Dutch might do it first and then he would be a brave man. The prospect of their competition, Roe viewed with indignation and apprehension. "They wrong you in all parts," he said "and grow to insufferable insolence.... You must speedily look to this maggot, else we talk of the Portugal, but these will act a worm in your sides.... If they keep you out of the Mollucas by force, I would beat them from Surat." It was clearly to the interest of the English to get rid of the Dutch who were troublesome compe-

19. India Office Records, *Hague Transcripts Series I*, Vol. II, No. 78.
One Real = two Rupees.

to a deep knowledge of India, but researches which have been multiplying for a long time past also tend to prove that a great number of borrowings were made by India from the Greek and the Hellenistic world. At the beginning of the 18th century P. Pons, one of the greatest Indian missionaries of this period, disclosed the presence of technical Greek terms in Indian astronomical treatises. These terms belonged to the relatively late Alexandrian science and attempts have continually been made to show that India kept herself well-informed about Greek science up to the advanced stages of its development. But what has not been noticed sufficiently is that this knowledge implies relations with the Hellenistic world during the Roman period and that if India had profited from these relations, the Hellenistic world could not have remained blind enough not to know her.

It is true no doubt that different writers have at different times recognised the possibility of reciprocal flow of ideas between India and the West, but they have rarely been paid attention to. The prestige enjoyed by the theories believing in a Greek miracle has prevented any serious investigation into the possibility of the Western world having any relation with the orient. Everything in Hellenic civilisation was believed as being capable of explaining itself by an internal evolution. The 'Greek miracle' consisted in the *ex-nihilo* creation of everything belonging to the Western culture, and there was therefore no reason for studying oriental speculations, which seemed to turn up from a strange and inferior world. Moreover, our knowledge of the Ancient Orient was far from being as advanced as the studies relating to the Classical world. Besides, it was not brought within the reach of non-orientalists. If orientalists were able by their classical studies to acquire some knowledge of the Occident, the classical philologist, being more strictly specialised, did not possess any means to enquire into oriental matters in an adequate manner.

and India) has been refuted in *Trogus' Source, a lost historian of the Hellenistic East*, New Delhi, 1944). For the sources used by Pliny see H. Brun, *De Auctorum indicibus Plinianis disputatio isagogica*, 1856; F. Münzer, *Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgesch.*, 1897; W. Kroll, *Die Kosmologie des ält. P.* 1930; A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie d'klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1893) and also the Translators' forthcoming essay on Pliny's sources for his sections on India.]

3. [Pomponius Mela of Tingentera near Gibraltar, who wrote under Caligula (A.D. 37-41). Book III of his *De chorographia* contains, among other things, a brief account of India and East Asia. See Frick, *Pomponius Mela*, 1880.]

To-day the study of the Orient and of India in particular has made considerable progress. The results acquired so far are sure enough to be incorporated henceforward in the general body of historical knowledge. The importance and influence of the Indian civilisation is so well-established that the necessity of studying the problem of her relations with the West has become imperative and urgent.

About the opening of the Christian era the civilisation of India was not only a long-established one but had already attained to full development. She had effectively organised an immense grouping of societies, had created three great religions, had elaborated or absorbed all the great currents of speculation which she was to go on developing, had constituted a system of mystical technique which was to remain one of her most characteristic traits and had conceived the fundamental elements of sciences that were shortly to be systematised by her into codified treatises. She was ready to show what she was capable of, ready also to direct her expansion towards Central Asia and the Far East.

The far-off times, when the Indo-Aryan tribes, who had bequeathed to her the Vedic hymns, and had invaded the valley of the Indus previously inhabited by more civilised peoples and fought incessantly with them as well as the aborigines, had almost been forgotten. Throughout the Peninsula and the adjoining island of Ceylon hundreds of different peoples had adopted one fundamental common culture, and already almost the whole of India had for over a century been politically united under the leadership of the Mauryas.

During the Achaemenid times the valley of the Indus,⁴ which had been conquered by Darius, remained for two centuries linked to the Iranian Empire, having the same status as Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and it came to have extensive intercourse with these countries. But the centre of the Indian

4. [The valley of the Indus was conquered by Darius some time between 519 and 518 B.C. The Behistun inscription which may reasonably be dated in 519 B.C. does not mention the Satrapy of Hindu (Sind) though it mentions Gandhara and a people called *Thatagush* (Sattagodā?). We know that Darius passed 517 B.C. in Egypt that this and the following year saw the establishment of Persian rule in the African countries and that his famous expedition against the Balkans and Scyths commenced by 515 B.C. The years 517 to 513 were thus fully occupied and the conquest of Sind could not have therefore taken place either before 519 or after 517 B.C. E. Herzfeld, *A new inscription of Darius from Hamadan—Memoir of the Arch. Survey of India*, No. 34, Cal. 1928, p. 2.]

civilisation at that time was in the Ganges valley, where flourished, surpassing all, the eastern kingdom of Magadha. After having traversed the Persian Empire Alexander rapidly overran its ancient Indian satrapies.⁵ He could not push beyond that. The seizure by him of these territories, far from constituting a conquest, had rather the effect of making it possible for Indian civilisation to reclaim these regions within a short period, a development which the Achaemenids had been able to avoid.⁶ The Prefects of Alexander were expelled by the Indians, whose leader Chandragupta had conquered the throne of Magadha and founded the Maurya dynasty in 313 B.C.,⁷ uniting under his rule the two valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, as a result of the expansion of the Maurya Empire in different directions effected under his father and in his own reign, ruled a territory which extended from Arachosia to Bengal and from Afghanistan to Mysore. His numerous inscriptions testify to this fact, because they have been found distributed over a large area, covering, in fact, the whole of India except the extreme south, which remained in the hands of the Dravidian races, who still inhabit the region.

Asoka was the greatest king of his times. He reigned from 264 to 226 B.C.⁸ During this period Rome and Carthage were engaged in a mutual combat. Unlike him, neither the Ptolemies

5. [That is to say, the region covering the course of the Indus from Kalābhāgh to the sea including the whole of Sind and a considerable portion of the Punjab east of the Indus.]

6. Cf. 'Alexandre et l'Inde', in *L'Information historique*, July—October 1947, p. 142.

7. [Scholars are not yet agreed as to the precise date of Chandragupta's accession. The prevailing view that the event took place about 322-1 B.C. was vigorously opposed by Dr. Tarn in his *Greeks in Bactria and India*, (p. 47). But he has since slightly modified his views, and now admits the possibility of the accession having taken place about 321 B.C. The Jain date of 313 B.C. according to him refers to the establishment of the Maurya empire. See Tarn's article on Sandrocottus in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. See also 'The date of the First Maurya Emperor' in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.]

8. [The dates usually accepted for Asoka's reign are 272/1-232/1 B.C. This would be clear from Rock edict XIII, which was published in the 12th year of Asoka's reign, and which mentions Magas as the contemporary king of Cyrene. As Magas is definitely known to have died in 258 B.C. Asoka's 12th year could not have been much later than that date. This means that his accession took place some time before 271 B.C., a date perfectly in accordance with that preserved by the Buddhist tradition. See the article in *Indian Historical Quarterly* already referred to.]

nor the Seleucids had the peaceful possession of so vast a territory where their authority was unchallenged. China at last was made to go through fire and blood by Che-houng, who wove it into a unity. The Maurya Empire broke into pieces shortly after the death of Asoka. Not the least of his achievements was the formation of a unified Indian culture. He illumined the independent Dravidian countries with his pacific influence. Asoka also endeavoured to spread even among the Greek rulers the ideal that he had himself applied in his own empire—the ideal of governing a people conformably to the principle of universal harmony—the ideal of *Dharma*.

To the Maurya period, a period of grandeur and of unified culture of a high order, succeeded a period of troubles. In the second century B.C. the Greeks of Bactriana invaded India and for a while advanced even upto the capital of Magadha. They maintained their position in the Punjab till the arrival of the new invaders, the Iranians of this time, viz. the Sakas and the Parthians. The latter revived in their own favour the ancient domination of the Achaemenid Persians over the Indus region even encroaching a little more on the countries towards the East. The major part of the peninsula nevertheless remained independent. The foreign invaders did not obstruct the natural development of Indian civilisation. They only created a zone for extensive intercourse with her and prepared the way for her outward expansion on the continent.

About 130 B.C. the nomads of High Asia, driven towards the west by a violent whirlpool of events occurring at the Chinese borderland, came into clash with the Parthians and established themselves in Bactriana. In successive waves they drove towards India the populations they had supplanted. They did not have to wait long to raise themselves up for establishing, about the beginning of the 1st century, the great Indo-Scythian Empire, which united with West India the Afghanistan of to-day and a part of Central Asia. Adopting in India the culture of the country and the Buddhist religion they ensured the dissemination of both, not only in the rest of their Empire, but also along the High Asiatic routes which ran towards China.

The Indian territories in the East and the South, which had not attained political unification, included during the same period several very important kingdoms, particularly the kingdom of the

Andhras,⁹ which covered the whole of the Deccan, and the Pāṇḍyan kingdoms, which always flourished in the Extreme South.

Such was the condition of the Indian world at the time of the formation of the Roman Empire. Rome was not, as it has been believed for a long time, the only great centre of civilisation of the period. Beyond the Iranian countries, the Indian world, which had fully developed itself simultaneously with the Mediterranean world, and the great concourse of races which had conquered Eastern Iran and Western India knit themselves step by step into a united organisation which stretched as far as China. The Roman Empire could afford to do without extensive communications and intercourse with a civilisation as full of vitality and extensive potentialities as the Indian civilisation only to the extent to which it would have been possible for her to become an isolated centre of civilisation remaining aloof from the great world-currents. In fact, the contacts between these two worlds which are attested by Greek and Latin texts, are also confirmed by ancient records and recent archaeological discoveries. As regards the interchange of ideas between them that can only be revealed progressively with the progress in the study of India. It is necessary therefore to know precisely what her thoughts were like in order to trace them back finally in their western counterparts.

The routes of communications

For a long time it was the custom to date the beginning of serious trade relations between India and the West from the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus, which took place before the middle of the first century of our era.¹⁰ A famous passage in Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI, 26; 5-11)¹¹ gives in fact a valuable historical account of the discovery of the maritime routes to India. After having recapitulated the itinerary of the fleet of Alexander conducted by Nearchus, he goes on to say, "later on (*postea*) it

9. [More properly, the Sātavāhanas, who had the whole of the Deccan under their sway from the last quarter of the first century B.C. to about the middle of the second century A.D. See Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition.]

10. [W. H. Schroff in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1912), p. 227, fixes the date as c. 45 A.D. while W. Vincent is inclined to date the event about 47 A.D. (*The Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 1809). Warmington is however in favour of dating it in the first century B.C., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 44.]

11. The quotations are all from Littré's edition of Pliny, Paris, 1848.

appeared that one could reach Patala (that is to say, the mouth of the Indus) in all certitude starting from Cape Syagrum¹² in Arabia, thanks to the (Westerly) wind called Hippalus". He says in the next place that the age that followed pointed out a shorter and safer route from the same cape to an Indian port,¹³ and for a long time this was followed until at last still shorter cuts were discovered.¹⁴ After stating that (in his time) voyages were made every year¹⁵ he gives the details of the route from Egypt, while observing that in these one could find for the first time reliable information (*nunc primum certa notitia patescente*).¹⁶ From the indications given in the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea* one easily concludes that the wind called Hippalus by Pliny viz. the South Western monsoon blowing from June to October bore this name for having been discovered by a certain Hippalus shortly before.¹⁷

12. [Modern Ras Fartak 15° 36' N, 5° 12' E. (See Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 133)]

13. [The Indian port is called 'Sigeris' in Pliny's text, which Schoff is inclined to identify with 'Melizigara' of the *Periplus*, and 'Melizegyris' of Ptolemy and with modern Rajapur, 16° 34' N, 73° 31' E. The latter lies at the head of a tidal creek, and is the only port on the Ratnagiri coast to which Arab boats still trade direct (Schoff, *Op. cit.*, p. 201). But it would perhaps be more reasonable to see in 'Sigeris' a corruption of Sanskrit Śrī-Giri and to identify the port with Gheria (Vijayadrug, port in Ratnagiri District, Bombay 16° 33' N. and 73° 20' E.), which may have been formed from Śrī-Giri by dropping the first word. The names *Melizigara* and *Melizegyrus* may well have owed their origin to the prefixing of the word *Malaya* (a name which covers the southern part of the Western Ghats) to *Śrī-Giri*. The Tamil word *Malai* stands for 'hill' (S. N. Majumdar, *Ptolemy's Ancient India*, p. 388). Gheria is reputed to be one of the best harbours on the Western coast, and being without a bar it may be entered in all weathers, and forms a safe south-west monsoon shelter even for large ships. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIX, p. 310]

14. [Pliny's text reads: 'until at last a still shorter cut was discovered by a merchant and the thirst for gain brought India even still nearer to us'.]

15. [The original passage reads: "At the present day voyages are made to India every year, and companies of archers are carried on board the vessels as those seas are greatly infested with pirates.]"

16. [The full passage is "It will not be amiss too on the present occasion to set forth the whole of the route from Egypt, which has been stated to us of late upon information on which reliance may be placed, and is here published for the first time.]"

17. E. H. Warmington (*The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 45) places the event a little after 41 A.D. [Warmington however on p. 45 of his work shows inclination in favour of the view suggested by Kornemann and Chowstow who believed Hippalus as living in the first century B.C. See M. Khvostoff Chowstow *Istorica vostochnoi torgovli Greco-rimskago Egipta* (in Russian, i.e. the *History of the Oriental Commerce in Greco-Roman Egypt*) pp. 346-9, 360, 386-7, 433.

Speaking truly, in order to accept as true Pliny's information one must put sufficiently back the discovery of Hippalus if it really related to the route from Arabia to India, which was successively replaced at sufficiently long intervals by two other more advantageous routes.¹⁸ But whatever may have been the real fact about Hippalus himself, it follows from the testimony of Pliny that if some exact details about the route to India used in his time (he died in 79) were then of recent acquisition in Italy, the route itself along with other routes followed previously had been in use for a long time.

Strabo¹⁹ offers us at one and the same time a decisive confirmation of the point as well as most precise details. His testimony carries us back to the end of the 1st century B.C. and is direct. It was during the time when his friend Aelius Gallus was the prefect of Egypt (24 B.C.) that while tracing the course of the Nile as far as Syène and the frontiers of Ethiopia, i.e. the commercial route from Alexandria to the Red Sea, that he came

Kornemann, *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehman Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstage* Janus Heft I. Warmington gives the same date in his article on Hippalus contributed to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. But see for a different view Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 927, 929, 1556.)]

18. [The successive routes followed according to Pliny appear to have been as follows: 1st—The route from Cape Syagrus to Patala, this is probably to be identified with the route said to have been discovered by Hippalus. 2nd—the route from Cape Syagrus to Sigeris on the Malabar Coast. 3rd—the route from Ocelis (a bay on the northern side of the promontory of Sheikh Said 12° 48' N. 4° 28' E.) on Arabian Coast to Muziris (modern Cranganore) or Bacare (Porakad 9° 22' N. 76° 22' E.) on the Malabar Coast.]

19. Geography II 5.12 ["Again, since the Romans have recently invaded Arabia Felix with an army, of which Aelius Gallus my friend and companion, was the commander, and since the merchants of Alexandria are already sailing with fleets by way of the Nile and of the Arabian Gulf as far as India, these regions also have become far better known to us to-day than to our predecessors. At any date, when Gallus was Prefect of Egypt, I accompanied him and ascended the Nile as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia and I learnt that as many as one hundred and twenty vessels were sailing from Myos Hormos to India, whereas formerly, under the Ptolemies, only a very few ventured to undertake the voyage and to carry on traffic in Indian merchandize. Loeb's edition Vol. I, p. 454-5. Compare also: "In earlier times, at least not so many as twenty vessels would dare to traverse the Arabian Gulf far enough get a peep outside the straits, but at the present time even large fleets are despatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia from which the most valuable cargoes are brought to Egypt. Strabo, XVII, 1, 13.]

to learn that as many as 120 vessels used to sail annually to India from the port of Myos Hormos.²⁰ He states specifically that it was the merchants of Alexandria who had commenced despatching similar ships in large numbers only a short while ago, whereas under the Ptolemies it was only a very few who might have ventured to undertake the voyage.

It was, therefore, about the time when the Roman Empire was founded or even a little before it that the sea-borne trade of Egypt with India underwent that large expansion which continued till the time of Pliny. It was during this epoch that according to all probability began that quest for shorter, more direct and surer roads of which Pliny has summed up the stages.

We may, therefore, very well shift the date of the beginning of Egyptian intercourse with India from the middle of the first century A.D. as far back as the preceding century. We are not sure that it should not be pushed still further back.

In the first place, Strabo in attesting that during the Ptolemaic period the voyages of Alexandrian merchants to India were rare proves that they did take place. Moreover, the information furnished by Strabo and Pliny merely fixes the date of the first acquaintance made only by the Mediterranean people with the maritime route to India. It hardly implies that the route was previously known to nobody else.

The peoples living on the coasts of the Indian Ocean, it is understood, had not to await the appearance on the scene of the Alexandrian merchants to learn about and utilise the monsoons which, as Pliny explains, made possible at fixed times during each year two-way voyages across their seas. On the other hand, not only Scylax,²¹ who was sent by Darius in 519 to explore the

20. [Myos Hormos—'Mussel Harbour', identified by Schoff with "the bay within the headland now known as Ras Abu Somer 27° 12' N. 35° 55' E." (Op. cit. p. 52). Warmington identifies it with Abu Scha'ar (Op. cit. p. 6), while Dr. L. H. Jones is inclined to identify it with Komair (Loeb's Edition of Strabo, Vol. VIII, p. 119). It was also known as 'Aphroditas Harbour' Cf. Strabo, Geog. XVI, 4, 5: 'It is a large harbour with a winding entrances of which lie three islands; two of these are densely shaded with olive trees.]

21. [Scylax, a native of Caryanda in Caria who is reported by Herodotus (IV, 44) to have been commissioned by Darius I to explore the course of the Indus. He started from Caspatyros ('Caspapyros' of Hecataeus, a city still unidentified) and, having reached the sea, sailed west through the Indian Ocean till he found his way to the modern Suez after a voyage of two and a half years' duration. The voyage took place about the same

lower Indus, returned by way of Egypt, but a good proportion of the Arabian trade, well-known from the time of Herodotus and even earlier, imply a traffic between India and Ceylon on the one hand and Arabia and East Africa on the other. The aromatic barks which Pliny considered as coming from the same regions (XII 41-43) are cinnamon and cassia. Some of these at least should be identified with *canna*.²² Herodotus (III, 111) has recorded an improbable story about the manner in which the Arabs used to obtain for themselves cinnamon.²³ Pliny (XII, 42) observes that the stories of this kind were invented to increase the price of the merchandise and that in reality cinnamon and cassia grew in Ethiopia, whose people had quite frequent matrimonial relations with the Troglodytes (or Trogodytes)²⁴ and that the latter

time as Darius' Indian campaign, i.e. between 519-518 B.C. Scylax's account of exploration is referred to by Aristotle in his *Politics* (VII, 14). But the truth of the episode has been doubted by some writers, See *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, p. 200.]

22. [Cinnamon was much prized by the Romans as a perfume, as an incense, and as a condiment. But parts of the cinnamon plant were known to the Romans by different names: *Cassia* stood for the wood split while the tender shoots and very delicate barks reserved for emperors and wealthy classes were known as *canna* or *cinnamon* (Schoff. *Op. cit.*, p. 82-83).]

23. [The story runs as follows: "As for cinnamon they (the Arabs) gather it in a fashion even stranger. Where it grows and what kind of land nurtures it they cannot say, save that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysos was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these sticks which the Proenicians have taught us to call cinnamon and carry them off to the nests built of mud on the mountain crags, where no man can approach. The Arabian device for defeating the birds is to cut into very large pieces dead oxes and asses and other beasts of burden, then to set these near the aeries, withdrawing themselves far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the morsels of the beasts up to their nests; which not being able to bear the weight break and fall down the mountainside; and then the Arabians come up and gather what they seek". Compare also Herodotus III, 107 and II 75 where he narrates similar yarns on the manner of procuring frankincense. "The Arabians gather frankincense", he says "by burning styrax, which the Phoenicians import into Greece, for winged serpents, small in size and various in form, guard the trees that bear frankincenses, a great number round each tree". Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant* IX 6) gives a similar story of cinnamon trees being guarded by winged serpents.]

[*Trog (l) o dytes* (literally, 'cave dwellers') who lived on the Red sea coast, south of Egypt and also on the Iranian and Arabian Coasts, as well as in North-West Africa and on the north side of the Caucasus. Their lands on the Red Sea Coast were explored by the agents of Ptolemy II and III. (Herodotus IV, 183, Diodorus, 3, 32-33, Strabo, 16, 7, 75-6). Although they are described as being nomadic, there are good reasons to believe that

transported the products across vast tracts of seas to the land of the Gebanites²⁵ (the people of Southern Arabia, VI, 32, 11) by whom all the commerce in spices was controlled (XII, 42, 3, 6). The Ethiopia in question cannot be the place of the same name lying near Egypt, in spite of what has been stated of matrimonial relations with the Troglodytes, who are ordinarily located on the east coast of the Red Sea. Otherwise there would not be any point in saying that they had vast seas to cross. Now cinnamon is essentially a product of Ceylon, of East India and South East Asia, of which the majority of inhabitants on account of their dark complexion are 'Ethiopians' in the broad sense of the term, namely, 'men with burnt faces'.²⁶ It is in these regions that one should search for Cinnamommophore, the countries which produced cinnamon, rather than in Madagascar or in South Africa, where cinnamon no doubt exists but is much rarer. This opinion is, moreover, not novel. Strabo reported that, according to some authors the Arabs received from India the largest portion of the cassia they exported (XVI. 4. 25).²⁷ The country of Cinnammophore is consistently well distinguished from Taprobane or Ceylon, but it was never known geographically in a precise manner. It stands, without doubt, for the entire group of cinnamon-producing countries in the Far East and specially for Ceylon, not only because Ceylon is chief among these countries, but because of the fact that the characteristics applied by geographers to both Ceylon and Cinnammomophore are identical. While according to Strabo Cinnammomophore and Ceylon are on the same lati-

they could not have been uncivilised. Plutarch (Antony 27) refers to their representatives being received in audience by Cleopatra VII along with Parthians, Hebrews, Syrians etc., and Strabo (17, 1, 13) alludes to the existence of a thriving trade between the Roman Egypt on the one hand and the Troglodytes and the Indians on the other.]

25. [Gebanites—a desert tribe, tributary to the kingdom of Hadramut, on the south west coast of Arabia. They had their capital at Thoma.]

26. [The land of Ethiopians (burnt-faced men) was a name normally applied by the Greeks to any regions in the far south. Under the influence perhaps of Homer who distinguished between Western and Eastern Ethiopians (*Odyssey*, I, 22) Aeschylus (*Supp.* 284-6) made the Ethiopians extend to India. Herodotus (esp., 3, 17-23, 7, 61-70) distinguished between the woolly haired Ethiopians and the straight-haired ones (Indians). The tendency to confuse Ethiopians and Indians continued through out ancient times.]

27. [See also Strabo XV, 22 where he quotes Aristobulus as saying that the Southern land of India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, bears cinnamon, nard and other aromatic products.]

tude (II. 1. 14),²⁸ and the former is the southernmost country inhabited by man (II, 1, 13),²⁹ Pliny states that Taprobane was for a long time believed to be a different world called the world of Antichthonos (VI. 24, 1), that is to say, a continent counterbalancing the known world. It is thus probable that Taprobane was considered to be identical with Cinnammomophore,³⁰ although the information regarding it gleaned from ancient sources cannot be relied on. Even the reference to marriage between the Troglodytes and the Ethiopians of the cinnamon-producing countries can be explained only if these Ethiopians are taken to denote Indians or Ceylonese. It often happens in our own days that Indians regularly carrying on trade under the favour of the monsoon with South Arabia and the neighbouring regions and spending there several months each year enter into matrimonial relations with native women. This custom can be traced back to ancient times. But in this case, the marriage referred to seems to be rather those contracted by the Troglodytes in India or Ceylon or even in Indo-China than those effected by Indians in the Arab regions, because according to Pliny it was the Troglodytes who transported cinnamon across the seas. We shall moreover show

28. ["Let us pass on to the country that rises opposite to the Cinnamon-producing country *Kinnamomophoron* and lies towards the east on the same parallel (*Toû a'utoû parallélou*). This is the region about Taprobane." Strabo, 2, 1, 14. See also Strabo, 2, 5, 25.]

29. ["The cinnamon-producing country is the most remote inhabited country towards the south as we know and.....according to Hipparchus himself, the parallel that runs through it is the beginning of the temperate zone". Strabo, 2, 1, 13. See also Strabo, 2, 5, 7. "And when you have proceeded about three thousand stadia in a straight line south of Meroe, the country is no longer inhabitable on account of the heat, and therefore the parallel through these regions, being the same as that through the cinnamon-producing country, must be put down as the limit and the beginning of our inhabited world on the south". Again, "But the geographer (i.e. Hipparchus) takes into his purview only this our inhabited world; and its limits are marked off on the south by the parallel through the cinnamon-producing country". (Strabo 2, 5, 34). "But this parallel (i.e. through the cinnamon-bearing country) passes outside the inhabited world, running, on the one side, to the south of Taprobane...." Strabo 2, 5, 34.]

30. [This appears to be suggested by the following passage in Strabo: "And where this (Arabian) Gulf pours outside into the exterior sea is the cinnamon-producing country where in ancient times they used to hunt the elephant" (2, 5, 35). Ceylon, it may be noted was according to the Classical writers the country par excellence where elephant could be found. Dionysios Periegetes spoke of Taprobane as being: the mother of elephants". (709-714); Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. II, p. 481. Strabo quotes Eratosthenes as saying that Taprobane was an island famous for elephants, (15, 1, 14).]

that one more detail given by Pliny³¹ according to which cinnamon merchants brought back as home freight glassware and jewellery appears to be corroborated by archaeological discoveries in South India and Cochin-China.

There is every reason to believe that the Indo-Egyptian trade undertaken by the Alexandrian merchants at the time of the foundation of the Roman empire merely continued, supplemented or replaced a trade which had been organised long ago but had remained confined to the seamen from Arabian regions. It was they, who, without doubt, had acted as guides to the first Mediterranean adventurers in these seas, just as later on an Arab pilot served as Vasco da Gama's guide. It is not even improbable that Indians and Ceylonese actively took part in the great voyages from India to the West. The Buddhist texts brought into prominence by Sylvain Levi³² contain frequent allusions to an extensive seaborne trade of India. Pliny has also collected information on Indian seamen. He informs that (VI, 24, 3) the Ceylonese sailed in boats with two prows and a tonnage of 3000 amphora, (that is to say, approximately 75 tons)³³ without observing the stars (the Little Bear not being visible) and carrying with them several birds which they let fly in order to follow their flight towards the land. He also adds that they sailed only four months in the year abstaining for a period of 100 days after the summer solstice. This information is for the most part confirmed. The two-prowed boats are still in current use in South India though with a much reduced tonnage. It is certain that the Little Bear is very low along the horizon. It is surely an exaggeration to say that the stars were not observed at all, as we know from various ancient Indian literary works what importance was attached thereto. On the contrary, it is still more certain that the Ceylonese sailors served themselves with pilot birds (*tiradassi sakunā* — land-seeing bird) in order to find out that they were near the land and in what direc-

31. [For glass found in India see particularly *Archaeological Survey of India*, XXXVIII, 1, 73, 1911-12, p. 94, 1914-15, p. 24). See also section III of the present article to be published as the next instalment.]

32. 'Les marchands de mer et leur rôle dans le bouddhisme primitif,' *Bulletin de l'Association franç. des Amis de l'Orient*, October 1929, pp. 19-39.

33. [For a picture of the two-prowed boat see Schoff, *Op. cit.* p. 212. Pliny's text reads "The vessels of recent times are built with prows at either end so that there may be no need of turning around while sailing in these channels, which are extremely narrow. The tonnage of the vessels is 3,000 amphora". According to Warmington 3,000 amphora equalled 33 tons.]

tion it was to be found. When they were far away (from land), the birds came back to the boat. We have come to know this through an allusion found in a text of Pali Buddhist canon from Ceylon, the *Kevaddhasutta* (*Dighanikāya*, 11).³⁴ The 100 days at the end of the summer solstice during which navigation was suspended correspond to the season of rains with violent storms.

The data of Pliny are valid for the period preceding the reign of Claudius (41 to 54), as Pliny classes them with those which related to the period previous to the arrival of the Singhalese ambassador to Rome. The latter, as it is known, came to Rome during the reign of Claudius taking advantage of an accidental voyage made to Ceylon by a freedman of the Roman collector of sea customs in the Red Sea.³⁵ This information, agreeing as it does with the Pali canons, is obviously valid for the period of the canons. But we know from the Singhalese chronicles—(*Dīpavamsa*, *Mahāvamsa*) that during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era the Tamils of the Coromandel coast used frequently to disembark in Ceylon with armies capable of conquering a large portion of the island, which presupposes their having a naval force like those which they possessed in later times on the maritime routes of Indo-China and Indonesia. It is not thus impossible that the Indian seamen of South and of Ceylon did participate in company with the Arabs in the voyages towards the West till the Mediterranean peoples themselves found out the route to their countries.

Be that as it may, in Pliny's times and probably from the time when Strabo wrote that one hundred and twenty merchant vessels used to visit India each year the sea-trade with Egypt brought to

34. [The passage is: "Long ago ocean-going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea, on board a ship, taking with them a shore-sighting bird free. And it would go to the East and to the South and to the West and the North and to the intermediate points, and rise aloft. If on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would go, but if not it would come back to the ship again". T. W. R. Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 432. Cosmas Indicopleustes found this same custom in Ceylon in the 6th century A.D.]

35. [The Roman Collector of sea customs was Annias Plocamus. The story is that his freedman while sailing round Arabia was carried helplessly by winds until a fortnight later he reached Hippuros, somewhere in Ceylon, where he was entertained by the King who sent back to Claudius four ambassadors led by one Rachias.]

India fifty million sesterces (Pliny VI, 26, 6)³⁶ being perhaps half of the total sum absorbed by India, Seres (China),³⁷ and Arabia (XII, 41, 2) in exchange for the products of these countries. This fact proves that the West imported much more than it exported and for a long time it has served to explain the frequent finds of Roman gold coins³⁸ in India and the obvious influences exercised by the Roman coins upon those of Indian sovereigns. Nevertheless, the Indian texts, agreeing with the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and the other information supplied by Pliny, testify that the importation of Western merchandise was not absent from the exchange.³⁹ The Indian texts have been recently studied by M. Meile⁴⁰ and he has shown that not only were the Mediterranean products, such

36. ["The subject is one well worthy of our notice seeing that in no year does India drain us of less than 5,50,000,000 sesterces (about £ 600,000) giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully 100 times their price cost". This is strangely enough confirmed by the *Chinsu-Annals* which tell us that the Parthians and Indians used to derive three hundred fold profit from their maritime trade with the Roman Empire. (Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient* p. 42, 45).]

37. ['Seres' in the passage is taken by Warmington to refer to the Chera Kingdom and not China. This seems to be all the more improbable as Pliny is not only known to have used the term *Caelobothra* to denote the Chera Kingdom, but was aware of the fact that it was located in South India, bordering on the Pandya Kingdom (VI, 26).]

38. [On the finds of Roman gold coins in India see Warmington, *Op. cit* pp. 280-2, Sewell *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 623-637, Thurston, *Madras Government Central Museum Catalogue* 2, p. 11-12, Schoff, *Op. cit*, pp. 219-20. The *Periplus* (40) shows that gold and silver coins were a chief article of Roman import at Barygaza and on this "there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country". The same work also attests that a great quantity of coins used to be imported at the ports of Muziris and Bacara, in the Kerala and Pandyan Kingdoms respectively.]

39. For example, Pliny (XXXII, 11, 3) points out that coral is exported into India in such quantities that it became scarce in the Roman Empire. It was not therefore the absence of Roman export but the excess of Indian import which rendered the Roman balance of trade deficient to the extent pointed out by Pliny. [Pliny in the same passage shows that the chief sources of supply of coral were Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearies and the Coasts of Italy, Spain and North Africa and that the supplies were being exhausted due to the demand for it among the Indians. The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* similarly states that coral was exported to Barbaricon, Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda in India (39, 49 and 56). Similarly we are told by Dionysios Periegetes that in the region about Patalene red coral was found everywhere (1103).]

40. 'Les Yavanas dans l'Inde tamoule', *Journal Asiatique*, 1940, pp. 85-123.

as wine,⁴¹ celebrated in the Tamil country, during the period corresponding to the opening of the Christian era, but also the ships of the Greeks were well-known as frequenting the ports of Malabar, such as Muciri (in Greek Muziris, modern Cranganore)⁴² and that even the Yavana (Mediterranean) mercenaries were well-known in South India.⁴³

The route indicated by Strabo is in fact the great commercial road which ran along the Nile and the Red Sea with landings at Myos Hormos⁴⁴ and relay stations at Coptos⁴⁵ (II, 5, 12 and XVI, 4, 24). That described by Pliny is more detailed and a little different and provides for a halt in Arabia. The route passed

41. [The Tamil poet Nakkirar for instance exhorts a Pandya prince to drink in peace the cool and fragrant wine brought by Yavanas in their good ships. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, 37-8. The *Periplus* (49) also attests that Italian, Laodicean and Arabian wines were imported into India of which the Italian was preferred to the rest.]

42. [A Tamil poem speaks of the thriving Muchiri whither the fine large ships of the Yavana (Greeks) came bearing gold, making the water white with foam, and return laden with pepper. (Pillai, *Op. cit.*, 18).]

43. [In the reign of Pandya Aryappadai-Kadantha Nedunj-Cheliyar the gates of the fort of Madura were guarded by Yavana soldiers with drawn swords according to a poem. According to another poem the King's tents were guarded by powerful and stern-looking Yavanas while dumb Mlechhas in complete armour and using gestures, watched in the ante-chamber all night. (Pillai, *Op. cit.*, 12). These descriptions may, however, have been influenced by poetic requirements, as it was conventional for Indian poets to introduce Yavana guards in royal palaces.]

44. ["But at the present time they (the loads of aromatics) are for the most part transported by the Nile to Alexandria; and they are landed from Arabia and India at Myus Harbour; and then they are conveyed by canals over to Coptus in Thebais, which is situated on a canal of the Nile, and then to Alexandria."—Strabo XVI, 4, 24.]

45. [Coptus (modern Keft) on the right bank of the Nile was a station on a well-equipped camel track through the desert to Berenice (now Suakim) or Myos Hormos on the Red Sea. Strabo states: "now all the Indian merchandise as well as the Arabian and such of the Ethiopian as is brought down by the Arabian Gulf is carried to Coptus, which is the emporium for such cargoes" (Strabo 17-1-45). Both the Coptos-Berenice and Coptos-Myos Hormos routes seem to have been established under Ptolemy Philadelphos though in Strabo's time it was the second route which appear to have grown in importance. But it gradually lost its significance, and when Pliny wrote his book it had already been surpassed by the other route (see Müller, *Geographici Graeci Minores* I, 167 ff, 267. Rostovtzeff, 'Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt', *Journal of Economic and Business History* IV, (1932) p. 728. *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 387-388, Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia", *J.E.A.* IV (1929), pp. 9 ff.]

from Alexandria to Juliopolis,⁴⁶ from there, by the Nile to Coptos in 12 days, from Coptos to Port Berenice⁴⁷ on the Red Sea also in 12 days, from Berenice to Ocelis in Arabia in thirty days and finally from Ocelis to Muziris in 40 days. It took therefore in all a little more than three months to travel from Alexandria to Malabar, the halt at Berenice was made at the time of dog days (i.e. at the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius) the return being made on the ides of January (i.e. 13th). The stay in India could not thus exceed one or two months. The shortness of the stay implies that the Indian merchandise intended to be loaded on the ships were collected in advance for this purpose by the authorities of this country in what the *Periplus* calls 'designed ports'.⁴⁸

Jouveau-Dubreuil,⁴⁹ relying partly on E. H. Warmington, has presumed that actual residential quarters and factories were established in the ports in question with Roman official functionaries living there on a permanent basis and receiving orders from home. He claims that what he calls Roman settlements is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Silappadigaram*, as flourishing at Kaviripatnam on the coast of Coromandel, under the name of *Yavanarirukkai*. Agreeing with Sewell he further observes that, Roman copper coins of small value, found along the coast of Coromandel had to be coined in India and were not imported, as were certainly the coins made of precious metals, and this will presuppose the existence of Roman establishments similar to those of Indian companies of modern times.

It appears nevertheless that Jouveau-Dubreuil has gone beyond the evidence. He has interpreted several passages of Ptolemy in an entirely wrong manner. When Ptolemy for instance writes (VII. 1.86): *Pounnata en ē Bérullos*, "Pounnata⁵⁰ where beryl is found," he interprets it to mean "Pounnata factory where we exploited the beryl mines." Now the presence of

46. [Juliopolis, a town, according to Pliny, two miles south of Alexandria.]

47. [For Berenice see Note 45 above. It was a port on the Egyptian Coast of the Red Sea below Ras Benas connected with Coptus on the Nile by a desert camel route, supplied with cisterns and stations.]

48. [See *Periplus*. I (Schoff, *Op. cit.*, p. 22).]

49. *Dupleix Ou l'Inde Conquise*, Pondicherry, 1941, p. 26-29, and "Les ruines romaines de Pondicherry",—*Bull. Ec. fr. d'Extr. Or.*, 1940, t. xi, Fasc. 2 (Hanoi 1941), p. 449-450.

50. [Pounnata is probably to be identified with Punnada of the South Indian inscriptions (See Rice, 'Gangavadi', *Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume*).]

merchants and especially the official functionaries of the Roman Empire residing in the ports were not indispensable either for the purchase of merchandise or for making ready the stock intended for exportation. The Indian merchants were sufficiently interested in receiving the Roman gold in exchange for their own products to become themselves careful to make ready the cargo for the Yavana ships. There was nothing abnormal in some foreign businessmen being either permanently or temporarily settled in these Indian ports or being allotted particular residential quarters. The separation, as regards social life, of the castes, of which they formed one, all the more necessitated this, without implying that these quarters were either autonomous concessions or territorial acquisitions like European settlements of modern times. One other hypothesis relating to a Yavana settlement has already been referred to, but M. Meile⁵¹ has shown that it is not at all an indispensable one. Moreover, it is not impossible that the small Roman copper coins were imported from Rome or Egypt. A large portion of the petty commercial transactions was carried on in India always at a very low price and these coins could have been considered of sufficient value to be imported and to replace the *cawries* which were generally used and were of still less value. It is not thus certain that the Romans coined money in India. On the other hand, if the coins in question were minted in India they may well have been struck by Indians themselves. We have numerous examples in Indian numismatics of coinage made on foreign models without any direct foreign intervention whatsoever. In the same way the discovery of Roman treasures in many places in India does not prove,⁵² as Mr. Wheeler thinks, the penetration of Western traders to the interior. Their journeys to the interior were very probable but the gold which paid for the goods might have travelled without their having to act as intermediaries, being carried

51. L.e.p. 118-123.

52. L.e.p. 19. The Roman coins must have been imported for the most part by the Greeks. The name *denarius* passed, in fact, into Sanskrit and can be found in a number of works of Northern Buddhism under the form *dināra*, the pronunciation of *η* as long *i* being conformable to the Greek way. But this only indicates the great vogue of Roman money and does not imply an installation of a Greek officials of the Roman empire in India. [The word *dināra* in the sense of gold coins can be met with in classical Sanskrit works also, e.g. *Pañcatantra*, *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṃgraha* etc. Other proofs of Greek influence on Indian coinage are supplied by *dramma* which is the Sanskritised form of Greek *drachmae* and *statist*, which is derived from *Stater*.]

by the traders who despatched those goods to the coast for delivery to the former.

From the data that we have we should not therefore infer anything at the moment regarding the status of the merchants of the Roman Empire in Indian ports. In view of the fact that the commerce of India with the West had been established before they entered it with a view to making profit by eliminating the intermediaries there is no ground for believing that they had anything more to do than loading their vessels from the ready-made warehouses and increasing the activities of these warehouses, without having either to organise or to administer them. At the time when, according to Pliny, they made direct voyages to India these merchandises were simply brought for them to the markets they frequented. This is proved by Pliny's information that pepper was brought for the foreign traders to the port of Barace in long boats (*monoxyles*),⁵³ which were certainly not of Roman make (VI, 26, 10); We have not the right to affirm that they intervened in the trade in any other way than as customers.

The study of the land and river routes of Indian trade shows on the other hand, that the activity of this trade depended much more on Indian production than on the enterprise of Western merchants, for we know that Indian products reached the Mediterranean basin by land and river routes without Western merchants having to fetch them there. In the first place, it is known that most of the merchandise were transported by the caravans passing by Petra and the Nabataean land⁵⁴ or by

53. ['Monoxyle' is translated by Schoff as "boats hollowed out of a single tree". (Op. cit. p. 234).]

54. [Petra the capital of the Nabataeans between 312 B.C. and 105 A.D. (30° 18' N. 35° 31' E.) lay in the Wady Musa, east of the Wady-el-Araba, the great valley connecting the Dead Sea with the Gulf of Akaba. It was the great trading centre of the northern Arabs and the junction of numerous important caravan routes running from Yemen northward and from the Persian Gulf eastward. In Persian days the trade was controlled by the Nabataeans, a strong thrifty and well-organised Arab tribe who later became Hellenised under the influence of the Ptolemies who had established control over Phoenicia and Palestine. During the later Hellenistic period the Nabataean State grew rapidly in size and again became the chief clearing house for the Indian and South Arabian caravan trade directing the goods which passed through the Northern Arabian desert either to Alexandria or to the Palestinian and Phoenician ports (Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, pp. 27 ff and 51 ff, Müll, *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 195, 201, 303, 470, 484, 515). Numerous inscriptions found between Forat (a Babylonian city) and Dumatha prove conclusively that a brisk trade was being carried on along the caravan route between Babylonia and Petra before the Romans appeared on the scene.]

Palmyra⁵⁵ long before the advent of the Romans. To reach these great trade-centres they set out from India by several routes. They were first of all led along the seacoast to Leucecome⁵⁶ on the Red Sea, from whence they were transported to Petra and then to Rhinocolura⁵⁷ on the Mediterranean. This route, at the time of the expedition of Aelius Gallus in Arabia (23 B.C.) came into serious competition with the sea-route terminating in Myos Hormos (Strabo XVI, 4, 24). Another route traversed Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Nabataean state. Several routes traversing Mesopotamia and Arabia converged on Palmyra. Since the time of the Achaemenids the Indian articles of trade moved across the Iranian and Mesopotamian countries in order to reach the Greek realm. In one Hippocratic treatise,⁵⁸ which may be, it is true, a little posterior to the fall of the Achaemenids, pepper is mentioned under the name *peperi*, which is stated to be of Persian origin (*Women's Diseases*, 205), but which, in fact, is Indian *pippali*. This proves that the product arrived in Greece through the channel of Persia.

On the other hand our ordinary sources Strabo and Pliny indicate a Northern route by which Indian merchandises easily reached the West before the establishment of Imperial commerce. Strabo (II, 1, 15) indicates that the Oxus, which separated

55. [Palmyra (Aramaic *Tadmor*, meaning 'city of Palmyra') standing in an oasis of the great Syrian desert was from its position a halting place for the caravans between Syria and Mesopotamia. The route lying across the desert appears to have been inherited by the Seleucids from the Persians along with other ancient routes. But it does not seem to have been much used by the early Seleucid caravans, the routes most in use being those leading from Mesopotamia across Asia Minor to the Anatolian harbours via Seleucia. In the troubled period of the second and early first centuries B.C. however the desert route became more convenient and Palmyra became an important centre of caravan trade in the late Seleucid times. This growth can be explained only by assuming a change in the caravan routes (G. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert, Caravans, Travels, Explorations*, 1937. Rostovtzeff, *dans le desert Syrien*, 1939; D. Schlumberger, *Etudes sur Palmyre* Berytos, ii, 1935, pp. 149 ff. H. Seyrig, 'Preliminary report on his excavations of the Palmyrian agora in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1940.)]

56. [Leucecome ('white village') on the Red Sea to be identified probably with Sherm Weh] or El Haura. Nabataean Arabs here received in small ships Eastern ware for Petra and the West. (*Periplus M. Rub*, 19; Plut. 51.)]

57. [Rhinocolura, identified by E. H. Warmington with 'El Arish' on the border of Egypt. (*Op. cit.*, p. 12). See also Strabo 16-1-32 and 16-2-31.]

58. [See Edition of Littré, *Oeuvres Complètes d'Hippocrate* (1839-61).]

Bactriana from Sogdiana is considered so convenient for navigation that Indian wares were easily conducted down it to the Caspian sea from whence they were transported by other rivers to the Euxine.⁵⁹ Pliny, following Varro, states more precisely that it was learnt by Pompey during the Mithridatic war (66 B.C.), that the merchandise from India took seven days to cross Bactria and reach a river which flowed into the Oxus,⁶⁰ that they could after having been transported to the Caspian and being conveyed up the Cyrus be thereafter carried by land in five days to the Phasis⁶¹ which flowed into the Euxine (VI. 19-2). It is evident that during this period this traffic could not have been organised by the Roman traders, the more so as Strabo, repeating in his Book XI⁶² the information supplied in Book II tells us that the information dates back to Aristobulus and Patrocles, and thus to the times of Alexander the Great (XI, 7, 3).⁶³ But it is cer-

59. [According to this statement the Oxus, which now flows into the Aral Lake should be considered as flowing into the Caspian Sea in Strabo's times. Warmington, however, considers it safer to conclude that after a journey down the river wares were carried by land to the Caspian and then across or round it (*Op. cit.*, p. 27). According to the Rostovtzeff there were two routes which traversed the Caspian region—one running along the north coast and ending in the Bosphorus kingdom, the other running along the southern coast and then along the river Cyrus (Kura) to the western coast of the Black Sea.]

60. [The river which flowed into the Oxus was probably the Icharus.]

61. [The Greek city of Phasis at the mouth of the River Phasis was one of the termini of this caravan route (Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 586), the other terminus being Dioscuria.]

62. [Strabo's text reads: "Aristobulus declares that the Oxus is the largest of the rivers he had seen in Asia except those in India. And he further says that it is navigable (both he and Eratosthenes taking this statement from Patrocles) and that large quantities of Indian wares are brought down on it to the Hyrcanian sea, and thence on that sea are transported to Albania and brought down on the Cyrus river and through the regions that come next after it to the Euxine". Loeb. Vol. I, p. 253.]

63. Aristobulus was one of the Greek technicians who followed Alexander's army. His 'history', now lost, was the earliest to have been written on Alexander and was used copiously by Arrian, Strabo and Diodorus (W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, Vol. II). Patrocles was Greek Commander at Babylon about 312 B.C. Under the Seleucids he governed lands from the Caspian towards India. About 285 B.C. he was sent to explore the Caspian, voyaged up its western coast and then its eastern sides and learnt about the Indian trade down the Oxus. (Strabo, II 2-1-2-6, W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI, 10 ff). According to Strabo, Patrocles derived much of his information from the writings of Alexander's officers, which were presented to him by Xenocles, Alexander's treasurer, (Strabo II, 15).

tain that all these routes were frequently used during the Roman Imperial period and that they helped to increase the intercourse with India.⁶⁴

We know the route from Bactria to India well at present thanks to the recent monumental publication of Foucher.⁶⁵ We know also that it conveyed not only the merchandise from the North-west of India but from the whole country, Bactria being connected with the western ports lying to the south of the mouth of the Indus by the usual routes in such a way that by these links the land and river routes passing through Bactria were joined to the sea route terminating in the same ports.⁶⁶ Thus when the Trans-Iranian land route was stopped, as it was often the case during the struggle between the Roman Empire and the Parthians and the Sassanids, one could reach Bactria by way of the Indian ocean, Sind and the Punjab. When, under Antoninus Pius (138-161), the Hyrcanian ambassadors reached the shore of the Caspian sea intending to return home they asked for permission to set sail on Red Sea with the object of avoiding Parthia.⁶⁷

All these positive facts regarding the roads linking India to the Roman Empire show us that they were established long before the Empire. They ran over land and sea and covered the north, the south, and centre of the Middle East.

64. We see from the above how unacceptable is the view expressed by Rostovtzeff in the *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1926, p. 173 (adopted by M. Ghirshman in the book quoted below), that the commerce of India would not have existed without the Alexandrian merchants. [Professor Rostovtzeff however expresses a different view in his *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Vols. I-III, see pp. 78, 79, 83, 84, 173, 455-9, 481, 482, 545, 547, 658, 676, 795, 676, 864, 1165, 1248, 1264, 1318, 1430, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1490. See also his *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*.]

65. A. Foucher, *La vieille route d'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*. Mém. Dél. Arch. fr. en Afgh.; t. I. Paris 1940-1947 (2 vols.).

66. Ibid. p. 221, 238, 327.

67. Cf. L. Ghirshman, *Begram, Mémoires Inst. fr. d'arch. or.*, t. LXXIX and *Mem. Dél. Arch. fr. en Afgh.*, t. XII Le Caire, 1946, p. 128 who cites Tacitus, *Annals*, XIV 25. [The text is reproduced below: "The success (in storming Tigranocerta) was easier, as the Parthians were distracted by a war with the Hyrcanians, who had sent envoys to the Roman Emperor, imploring alliance. When these envoys were on their way home Corbulo (the Roman proconsul in Asia) to save them from being intercepted by the enemy's picquets after their passage of the Euphrates, gave them an escort, and conducted them to the shores of the Red Sea whence, avoiding Parthian territory, they returned to their native possessions."]

(To be continued)

Kāmandakīya Nītisāra *

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The Kāmandakīya Nītisāra belongs to the age of the Guptas. Kāmandaka openly declares that he is summarising the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya, whom he applauds as a great authority on polity.¹ Then is the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka only a replica of the entire Arthaśāstra text? The answer is in the negative. For, if we turn to Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra, we have 180 chapters dealing with the science of politics. In the Kāmandakīya on the other hand there are only thirty-six chapters. An examination of the subject-matter in both the treatises shows that the matter dealt with in four adhikaraṇās of the Arthaśāstra finds no place in the Kāmandakīya. These four books are Adhyakṣa Pracāra dealing with civil administration in general; Dharmasthiyam (civil law), Kṛtakasōdhanam (criminal law) and Aupanīśadikam, secret means such as spells and charms). The first three books cover practically nearly half of the text of the Arthaśāstra. They deal with civil service and legal technicalities.

It is indeed a moot question why Kāmandaka who aimed at an epitome of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra ignored these important topics which are very vital to any administration. One argument put forward is that this celebrated Nīti writer had not the grasp to understand the original of Kauṭalya and in support of this it is contended that Kāmandaka cultivated the habit of literally versifying the aphorism of Kauṭalya in an artificial manner, without understanding the point at issue, and that he gave prominence to court favourites, female attendants and others in the hierarchy of government, which was against the idea of his master.² It is rather difficult to subscribe to this view. A writer who could understand the other parts of the text may well be credited with the knowledge of the whole. He states as a matter of fact that he presents a por-

* A paper submitted to XXI Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris, 1948.

1. Chapter I, verses 2 to 8; Chapter II, verse 8.

2. K. V. R. Aiyangar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 24-25.

tion, *yat kimcit*. His writings do not show that he was an immature youth dabbling in politics. It seems reasonable to suppose that his object was to present to the public a work which would contain general maxims and be popular and catch its imagination. The very fact that he has been quoted as an authority by subsequent writers points out that his work evoked respect from the public. Further it may be that he wanted his work to be a first class Nitisāra where legal and administrative technicalities have no place. No one can deny that the Kāmandakiya takes the first rank among the Nitisāras.

As for the other point of assigning a status to favourites, jesters and others of that stamp, it may be that the Kāmandaki reflects the spirit of its age. True the spirit of the Kauṭalyan tradition pervades all through the Nitisāra. At the same time one or two departures may be due to the environment and circumstances of the times. To quote one or two instances. Both authors disagree regarding the doctrine of the Maṇḍala. It must be noted, as Jacobi admirably puts it that Kāmandaka was not a biassed partisan of his guru or more accurately Paramparāguru. Kauṭalya would agree to the appointment of a court astrologer, though in principle he would condemn astrology and astrologers. Kāmandaka has a definite recommendation to appoint an astrologer to the king. Whatever that may be, the fact remains Kāmandaka has presented what we may call an abridged edition Samkṣiptagrantha of the Kauṭaliya, omitting certain portions, however important they may be to a student of Hindu administration. One notable difference between Kauṭalya and Kāmandaka is that while the former was a statesman, the latter's interest was purely academic.

What is more difficult is to fix his date. Dates ranging from the first to the sixth centuries A.D. have been assigned. The extant Pañcatantra could not be later than the sixth century A.D. It contains as many as fourteen quotations from Kāmandaka. Again, the reference to the Kāmandakiya Niti in the opening chapter of the Daśakumāracarita by Daṇḍin (Circa 550 A.D.) is another positive proof that the Nitisāra had become popular before the middle of the sixth century A.D. Prof. Jacobi, who is an impartial critic, would place the Nitisāra at the earliest in the third century A.D.³ Though there is nothing to say against this date still it will be more acceptable if the date is fixed about a hundred years later. Kāmandaka may be assigned to the close of the fourth century when the Gupta

empire was firmly established and a Pandit like the author of the Nitisāra would have felt the need for a practical manual of politics and he wrote one for the benefit of the imperial Guptas.

The very fact that the author drew all his material from the Arthasāstra of Kauṭalya shows that the treatise was felt too detailed and too cumbersome for the ever-busy monarch to digest. So a handy volume on polity was most welcome and this task fell on the shoulders of Kāmandaka, the erudite Pandit of the time. This also demonstrates beyond doubt that the Gupta emperors followed faithfully the Kauṭalyan tradition of government and methods of administration, perhaps with some modifications here and some transformation there. All the same, the spirit of Kauṭalya pervaded the Gupta atmosphere.

In his introduction to the translation of the Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, M. N. Dutt writes: "From a report submitted by Dr. Frederick to the Batavian society of arts and sciences on the Sanskrit literature of Bali, it appears that the most popular work in that island on polity is entitled Kāmandakiya Nitisāra, and all the Sanskrit books there extant are acknowledged to be the counterparts of purely Indian originals. Further researches in the far-east showed that the Hindus of the place were aware of the Nitisāra of Kāmandaka at a date anterior to the fourth century. It is well-known that the people of Bali were familiar with a Nitisāra and a Kāmandaka, certainly imported from the shores of India to that Island. Thus it can be seen that this is a work of the Gupta times.

This view is further strengthened by the fact that Abu Salih who made an abstract of this book calls the author of this book as Sifar which corresponds in Sanskrit with Śikhara. The Arab writer gives the name of this book as instruction to kings. We know that Śikhara was the prime-minister of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. Kāmandaka was most probably the family title of Śikhara as Kauṭalya was of Vishnugupta. The Arab translation of this work was probably undertaken under the Abbasid Caliphs. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal is right in holding that it was a Gupta production.⁴ The late Gaṇapati Śāstri who edited the Kāmandakiya Nitisāra in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series also holds the view that it was an ancient work at least as ancient as the time of Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin. Both Bhavabhūti and Daṇḍin knew this work and so to become popular during their time it should have been in existence before them.⁵

4. See Hindu Polity, Vol. I, p. 15 and also JBORS. pp. 37-39.

5. TSS. No. 14, pp. 5-6.

3. Ind. Ant. 1918, p. 159.

It is further held that the opening verse of the *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra* gives a clue to the time in which the author flourished, i.e. the reign of Chandragupta II. He calls his patron as 'deva'. We have inscriptional evidence in *Amrakārdava* that the pet name of the king was *Dēva*. Hence Chandragupta II is well-known as *Dēvagupta* which name occurs in the *Vākāṭaka* inscriptions⁶ where *Prabhāvatī Gupta* is described as a daughter of *Dēvagupta*. The identification of Chandragupta II with *Dēvagupta* has been discussed.⁷ We are to understand that Gupta is a surname and not a royal name. The Royal name was however in this case *Dēva* and the opening verse of our *Nīṭisāra* mentions that name as can be seen clearly.

There are one or two internal evidences to show that the author of the *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra* was none else than *Śikhara*, the prime-minister of Chandragupta II. In section 1, verses 7 and 8, the author is explicit when he says that he is giving instruction to the king by his manual. In another verse (Chapter 25, verse 71), he seems to defend the murder of a *Śāka* by his sovereign by strategem when he says: "Morality is not offended by a murder of an enemy through disguise." This was the *Śākādhipati* of the empire of the *Śākās*. He was also *shahanushahi*, i.e., he was not only their emperor but also their religious leader. *Śikhara-svāmin* was so powerful that he made his *Prithvisēna* continue as *mantri* and *Mahābalādhikṛta* under *Kumāragupta I*. Thus we are inclined with *Jayaswal* to identify the author of the *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra* with *Śikhara-svāmin* who was the *mantrin* of *Chandragupta II Vikramāditya*.

Annals of Old Madras

BY

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THE RED JUDGE .

Hail, misty morn, whereon our Law awakes
From slumber, and with clear if veiled eyes
Does from her couch of wool refreshed arise;
Her powdered locks adown her shoulder shakes;
And for her Courts her chamber dim forsakes;
But first her homely aspect must disguise
In coif, and ermine, and those regal dyes
With which rude Force her strength majestic makes.

(*Scintillae Juris* and *Meditations in the Tea Room* by Mr. Justice Darling p. 107).

When the QUARTERLY SESSIONS are held in the High Court of Judicature at Madras in February, April, August and November every year visitors throng to the Sessions Court and round about to witness the procession conducting the Red Judge to the Court. The *Chobdar* carries the silver-gilt mace in front. He is followed by two of the servants of the Sheriff carrying javelins. Next comes the Sheriff clad in his ceremonial dress carrying a silver wand. Then comes the Judge attired in scarlet robes followed by the Commissioner of Police in his official dress. The Jury summoned to serve witness the procession pass along. The members of the Bar and the Apprentices-at-Law are also attracted by the Procession. To all of them this pageantry and pomp and further proceedings in Court will indeed be dull unless they had some knowledge of what all these mean. Particularly the law student and the apprentice-at-law should know something of these matters in order that they may not fare like the law student at his examination "who being required to draw a common conveyance sketched a hansom cab". This procession is but a relic of the old English system of the King's Judges going on Circuit.

In order to understand and appreciate it we have to have a peep into the historical background, the traditional, conventional and judicial sanction accorded to the holding of these Courts, the

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6. Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 235 ff.

7. See IA. 1912, p. 215, JRAS 1914, p. 325.

judicial robes, and the ceremonies connected therewith as they were before they were transplanted into the Indian soil.

The Kings of England had, from a period much earlier than the Norman Conquest, claimed and exercised and still claim and exercise the prerogative of being the fountain of justice. In later laws the King specified the pleas of Criminal Justice which he retained for his own administration and profit. Such a list is given in the laws of Canute.

The King also exercised his prerogative of justice locally by the agency of Commissioners authorized to try peculiar causes and classes of causes in particular places. The cases to be tried and the local limits of jurisdiction were determined by the terms of the Commission. The progress of the Judges under the Commission is commonly called a Circuit.

Under the Norman Kings, the King's Court or Curia Regis, assumed greater importance. It was the great centre not only of business but of Society. The Saxon Chronicle says of William the Conqueror (1066), "Thrice he wore his Crown each year as oft as he was in England. At Easter he wore it in Winchester; at Pentecost at Westminster and at Midwinter at Gloucester; and there were with him all the rich men over all England, Archbishops and Diocesan Bishops, Earls and Thegns and Knights." The pleas followed the person of the King and the machinery of justice went with them.

At the King's Court held at those solemn times of the year, there was placed the throne or sovereign ordinary Court of Judicature, wherein justice was administered to the subjects either by the King or his High Justiciar. With these *barones Curioe Regis* the King consulted in weighty affairs and did many solemn acts in their presence and with their concurrence. They or such of them as ordinarily attended the King's Court by his command, were (together with some of the Bishops and Prelates) concerned in managing the affairs of revenue and in distributing public justice in causes brought into the King's Court. These, in time, came to be called the Concilium Regis or the King's Council.

Then the King's Court came to be divided into two departments, the Curia Regis and the Exchequer. In the one justice was administered, matters of state were debated and public ceremonies of all kinds were celebrated. In the other were managed all affairs relating to revenue.

In the Curia Regis or the King's Court the Norman Kings exercised as well in Criminal as in Civil cases the Original and Appellate Jurisdiction. When the King was beyond the Sea, the Chief Justiciar presided over the Curia Regis as the Chief Judge both in Criminal and Civil cases. William the Conqueror and his sons and Henry II and his sons issued Commissions to their justitarii just as they are issued in the present day to the Judges of the High Court of Judicature.

With Magna Charta (1215) the name Curia Regis ceases to be used. And the pleas are said to be held in *Coram ipso rege*—which expression corresponds to the Justices of our King Emperor assigned to hold pleas before the King himself. It also corresponds to the legal fiction which supposed the King to be in some mystical way personally present in the Court of the King's Bench (it may be in all the superior Courts). The theory of the sovereign's presence has always been kept up. The fiction that all proceedings in the Court are before the King in person has important consequences. "This Court", says Blackstone, "is not, nor can be, from the very nature and constitution of it, fixed to a certain place, but may follow the King's person wherever he goes. It takes cognizance of both Criminal and Civil cases—the former on what is called the Crown side, the latter on the Plea side of the Court."

"The Justices in this Court" says Lord Coke, "are the sovereign justices of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and Conservators of the Peace within the realm".

The Commissions of Oyer and Terminer are found in existence at the same time as the Commissions of Gaol Delivery. The origin of the latter Commission itself is a matter of conjecture. They are probably as ancient as the Gaols themselves and the local administration of justice by royal officers.

From the time of Edward I upto the year 1875 the King's Court has continued to be the Supreme Criminal Court of the realm.

From the time of Edward I Judges are appointed by Letters Patent. The King, who hath himself sat in the Curia Regis, hath distributed all his whole power of judicature to several Courts of Justice. The Justices of the Court of King's Bench have supreme authority, the King himself sitting there, as the law intends. Out of this Court are other Courts derived, as from one fountain

several springs and rivers, in respect of the multiplicity of causes which have increased.

The Commission of Oyer and Terminer was usually opened on a Monday. The real business of the Assizes began with a flourish of trumpets, not necessarily in harmony, which announced that His Majesty's Judges would take their seats in half an hour, and another flourish that they had done so in the Crown Court, which is the great object of attraction. A real judge is a sight to see; he is clad in scarlet; the High Sheriff, in a mysterious costume, sits beside him. As trumpets initiated the Assizes, so they celebrated their termination. The rickety post-chaises were again called into requisition and in another town the judges underwent the same trumpeting and with their last blast each town was left to slumber in its pristine dullness (Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life by S. Ballantine Vol. I, pp. 62-67).

The javelin men now forming part of the procession are but a relic of the olden days. Formerly in England the Sheriff of a County or a Borough had a body of men armed with javelins and known as "javelin men" who acted as a bodyguard for the judges when they went on circuit and presided at the Assizes. Though by an Act of 1574 the Sheriffs were relieved of the burden of furnishing suitable lodgings and cheer not only for the judges on circuit but also supplying the wants of their attendants, they were still bound to attend upon the judges and make suitable provision for the safe conduct of the legal functionaries from Assize town to Assize town—the Sheriff of each county being required to furnish a bodyguard for the protection of the sovereign's representatives. This responsibility lasted till the time when guards of policemen paid by county rates were substituted for bands of javelin men equipped and rewarded by the Sheriffs (A Book about Lawyers by J. C. Jeaffreson, Vol. I, pp. 243-244).

Lord Halsbury once declared when a young man (1875) that "the whole question of Circuits was a mere matter of etiquette sanctioned by usage and guaranteed by custom". "Circuit life," says Claud Mullins, in his book "In Quest of Justice" (1931), "thrived in leisurely days. Today it is but the shadow of what it once was".

"My first view of circuit life," says Gilbert Coleridge, "was from an upper window over a haberdasher's shop which gave on to the square opposite the Assize Courts at Salisbury, where my father and mother lodged. It was ushered in by a blare of trum-

pets and a display of flying pennons attached to the "javelin men", who marched beside the state coach and four horses which conveyed the Judge from his lodgings to the Court House. The mediaeval halberdiers and their gay caparison appealed strongly to the imagination of the small wide-eyed boy who gazed at them, as they should to any with a spark of youth in their composition. I remember them now with regret, for, alas! estates are now so overburdened with taxes that High Sheriffs are no longer the men they were, and it is only a rich trader who can afford a splash when he undertakes the office. I have even heard of a Judge conveyed to Court in a motor, and, if such a degradation be possible, a side-car may be his vehicle in the future! Child as I was, I was taken into Court one day to see my father in his wig and gown conduct a case and address the Judge, whose scarlet and ermine made a great impression upon me. It was Mr. Justice Willes, I believe. The case was a famous one, though I took in little beyond the pomp and circumstance of the Court at the time: it was that of Constance Kent, who was arraigned for the murder of her little brother". (Some and Sundry by G. Coleridge, pp. 167-168).

The trials at the Old Bailey, too, have always assumed something of the nature of a pageant. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their furred robes and chains of office, who attend as part of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer—his Lordship of the High Court in scarlet and ermine, the Sword of State above the Judge's chair, the gaily-coloured bouquets on the Bench—all go to impart that blend of colour so pleasing and picturesque a relief to the drab background of modern life (Famous Advocates and their Speeches by Kelly, p. 21).

The robes of the Judges in England are of considerable antiquity. Antiquaries labour in vain to discover all the facts relating to their origin and history. Judicial costume varied with the fashion of the day or the whim of the sovereign during the 14th and 15th centuries from scarlet to green or violet in grain. Among the State papers of 1625 is a "Discourse on what robes and apparel the Judges are to wear...and when" and on the 4th of July 1635 there was a "solemn decree and rule made by all the Judges of the Courts at Westminster". The costume of the judges of the High Court at the present day differs very little from that given in the order of 1635. The dress worn when trying Criminal cases, attending Church officially, and on "red letter days" in the Courts, consists of scarlet gown, with a broad black belt, a tippet

trimmed with white fur, known by courtesy as "ermine" (this is worn only on state occasions), and a scarlet casting-hood, always worn with the scarlet gown, the end of which is passed under the belt. For summer the robes are of thinner stuff, faced with slate-coloured silk instead of ermine. The full-bottomed wig is worn on state occasions; at other times a wig is worn similar to that of the barristers, except that it has one vertical curl just above the tail of the wig instead of the three rows of horizontal curls going all the way round. The cap is carried in the hand as part of the full dress and only worn when a judge is passing sentence of death. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* XI Edn. Vol. XXIII, p. 411).

The two Geneva-like bands worn around the throats of judges and counsel first came into use after the first quarter of the seventeenth Century and superseded the standing ruff that was in use in the time of James I and after the Restoration assumed a foppish richness in keeping with the French fashions" that crossed the Channel with the Merry Monarch (*A Short History of the English Bar* by B. W. Kelly, pp. 120-124).

At the Restoration in 1660 in Charles II's reign Judges resumed the attire and usages of their predecessors as they wore in the reign of Charles I. Notwithstanding their zeal in reviving old customs, the lawyers of the Restoration period introduced certain novelties into legal life. From Paris they imported the wig which still remains one of the distinctive adornments and an integral part of the legal official dress.

Prior to the introduction of the wig the judges wore in Court velvet caps, coifs or cornered caps, the moustache in many cases adorning the lip and a well trimmed beard giving point to the judicial chin.

The coif cap is still worn in undiminished proportions by judges when they pass the sentence of death, and is generally known as "the black cap". In old time the justice, on making ready to pronounce the awful words which consigned a fellow-creature to a horrible death, was wont to draw up the flat, square, dark cap, that sometimes hung at the nape of his neck or the upper part of his shoulder. Having covered the whiteness of his coif and partially concealed his forehead and brows with the sable cloth, he proceeded to utter the dread sentence with solemn composure and firmness. At present the black cap is assumed to strike terror into the hearts of the vulgar; formerly it was pulled over the eyes to hide the emotion of the judge (*A Book About Lawyers* by J. C. Jeaffreson, Vol. I, p. 284).

At the outset the wig was strongly resented as an unwarrantable innovation. Some of the judges obstinately refused to disfigure themselves with false tresses. Sir Matthew Hale and many other judges refused to wear the foreign headgear. There were yet others who displayed a foppish delight in the new decoration. By the reign of James II both the Bench and the Bar had succumbed to the prevailing fashion. One reason, perhaps, why the wig became so generally popular was because it was found "to lend gravity to the meanest countenance". The kind adopted by the lawyers soon became peculiar to them alone, and was readily distinguished from those worn by the middle and upper classes of laymen. At present the "full bottomed" or flowing wigs of Judges and King's Counsel, are reserved for occasions of state, such as attending royal levees, the reopening of the law courts after the long vacation, and in the case of his "Majesty's Counsel" on being called within the Bar, and when conducting appeals before the House of Lords.

Many are the good stories told of judicial wigs. And here is one recorded by Dr. Burney :

In or about 1720 there lived next door to me in Poland Street and in a private house a capital hair-merchant, who furnished perukes to the judges and gentlemen of the law. The merchant's female children and mine used to paly together in the little garden behind the house; and unfortunately one day the door of the wig-magazine being left open, they each of them put on one of those dignified ornaments of the head and danced and jumped about in a thousand antics laughing till they screamed at their own ridiculous figures. Unfortunately in their vagaries, one of the flaxen wigs, said by the proprietor to be worth upwards of ten guineas — in those days a price enormous — fell into a tub of water, placed for the shrubs in the little garden, and lost all its gorgon buckle, and was declared by the owner to be totally spoilt. He was extremely angry and chid very severely his own children; when my little daughter, the old lady, (Frances afterwards Madame D'Arblay), then ten years of age, advancing to him, as I was informed, with great gravity and composure, sedately says: "What signifies talking so much about an accident? The wig is wet, to be sure; and the wig was a good wig, to be sure; but it's of no use to speak of it any more; because what's done can't be undone".

honours, and my little monkies were obliged to retreat without beat of drum, or colours flying". (Dr. Burney's Memoirs, Vol. II, pp. 170-171).

There is that anecdote which that malicious talker Samuel Rogers delighted to tell at Edward Law's expense. "Lord Ellenborough", says the 'Table Talk', "was once about to go on circuit, when Lady Ellenborough said that she should like to accompany him. He replied that he had no objection provided she did not encumber the carriage with bandboxes, which were his utter abhorrence. During the first day's journey Lord Ellenborough, happening to stretch his legs, struck his foot against something below the seat; he discovered that it was a bandbox. Up went the window, and out went the bandbox. The coachman stopped, and the footman, thinking that the bandbox had tumbled out of the window by some extraordinary chance, was going to pick it up, when Lord Ellenborough furiously called out, "Drive on!". The bandbox, accordingly, was left by the ditch-side. Having reached the County town where he was to officiate as judge, Lord Ellenborough proceeded to array himself for his appearance in the Court-house. "Now", said he, "where's my wig? Where is my wig?". "My Lord," replied his attendant, "It was thrown out of the carriage window!" (Ibid. pp. 291-292).

The visits of the "Red Judge" influence the public mind mainly because he tries murderers and others accused of serious crime. It has a beneficial and educative influence. Red robes on the part of judges of course give an additional air of importance to the court and the criminal classes with that love of the melodramatic, which seems to be one of their marked characteristics, are keenly alive to the "distinction" of being tried by a "Red Judge". Like the "Artful Dodger", they think that if they must "Go off," it ought, at least, to be with a proper amount of "honour and glory". This predilection for colour is largely shared by the public in the gallery who also like to see "His Lordship" in scarlet and strongly resent the black silk gown (A Short History of the English Bar. B. W. Kelly, p. 123).

"India", says Viscount Jowitt, Lord Chancellor, "enjoys the tradition of British Justice". The silver-gilt mace carried nowadays before the Judge is a relic of the Mayor's Court established at Madras in 1688. The beginnings of British Justice at Madras date back to 1678 when Sir Streynsham Master instituted a Court of Judicature consisting of the President (later styled Governor)

a Council. Nine years later an Admiralty Court was erected on July 28, 1687 with Sir John Biggs as Judge-Advocate to deal with interlopers and to hear Admiralty cases. A silver oar to be carried before the Judge-Advocate was made and sent from England (Vestiges of Old Madras by H. D. Love, Vol. I, p. 500). The jurisdiction of this Court was not confined to Admiralty Cases proper. It was the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Settlement and the Judge-Advocate presided at the Quarter Sessions as well as at an occasional Court Martial. In 1688 Sir Josiah Child, Director of the East India Company, followed it up by raising the city to the dignity of a Municipality by bestowing upon it a Mayor and Corporation under a Charter issued under the Company's Seal. The Mayor and Corporation, fully representative of all communities resident in Madras, Englishmen, French, Portuguese, Jews, Armenians and Natives, was intended to be an effective machine to reconcile the inhabitants to a system of local taxation which they not only refused to pay since 1686 but also resorted to strike methods by abandoning their duties, closing up their shops and hindering the passage of provisions to the settlement. The charter of Portsmouth was adopted as the model. The framers of the constitution were not unmindful of what was due to the dignity of this new body. Robes in scarlet serge were ordained for the Mayor and Aldermen and white silk gowns for the Burgesses. Sir Josiah Child further directed by a letter dated September 28, 1687 addressed to the President and Council of Fort St. George, that "for the greater solemnity and to attract respect and revenue from the common people, the Mayor is to have always carried before him when he goes to the Guildhall or other places of assembly, two silver maces gilt not exceeding three and half feet in length and the Mayor and Alderman may always upon such solemn occasions wear scarlet serge gowns, all made after one form or fashion, such as shall be thought most convenient for that hot country". In happy ignorance of the customs of the Hindus, the masterful Chairman of the Board of Directors fondly hoped that the robes of office would be an attraction to the native citizen and lure him on to appear as a candidate for an Aldermanic seat. He little knew that a Brahmin, whose full dress then consisted of a snowy flowing loin cloth and a sacred thread, would have fled to further India sooner than don an Aldermanic robe (On the Coramandel Coast by F. E. Penny, p. 122). He had apparently hoped that the pageantry and semblance of power would cajole the wily Hindoo and careful Geantue into parting with their fanams for public good. The proposal had much to commend it but like many Western innovations,

when transplanted to Asiatic soil, it did not work in the way intended. The Corporation did not raise any taxation or found any institution of the kind contemplated; on the contrary the Governor and Council had to assign the town revenues to it, to prevent it falling into insolvency (The First Century of British Justice in India by Sir C. Fawcett, p. 204). Under that Charter the Mayor and Corporation were also a Court of Record. It had summary jurisdiction in Civil suits not involving more than ten rupees and in Criminal cases anything short of taking away the life or limb of an offender. In the latter cases the offender or Prisoner was to "have the Liberty within three days after such Sentence passed upon him to appeal to Our Supreme Court of Judicature". This Mayor's Court was superseded by a Court of the same name and with the same powers erected under a Royal Charter issued in 1726. It is by this Charter that the Sheriff is appointed for the first time and continues till this day. In 1746 Madras was captured by the French. This put an end to the Mayor's Court. Madras was restored to the English in 1749 under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By a letter to England dated 5-7-1752 it is reported that the place has not recovered itself from the great inhumanity of the French in 1747. So it was not until 1753 that the Mayor's Court was revived under a fresh Charter.

The Insignia of the Old Mayor's Court being reported lost during the French occupation, new Emblems, "the usual Ensigns of State such as the Sword, the Mace, Silver Oar, etc." were ordered from Bombay. It subsequently transpired that, though the Company's service of plate was appropriated as spoil by the French, part at least, of the insignia of the Mayor's Court was preserved, to be afterwards ignobly sold though in a tradesman-like spirit—and the profits credited to the Company.

Since that date the silver-gilt maces have been in use in the several courts that superseded the Mayor's Court, namely, the Recorder's Court in 1798, the Supreme Court in 1801 and the High Court that superseded it in 1862 by amalgamating the Supreme Court—the King's Court—and the Sudder and Foujdari Adawlut Courts—the Company's Courts, their duplicate jurisdiction having caused in the past no little trouble and made the judicial system unnecessarily complicated.

In the High Court each of the Judges has, since 1862 upto date, had a Chobdar carrying a silver gilt mace before him when he comes to and returns from Court. Until 1947 the Chief Justice had

the distinction of having two chobdars and two silver-gilt maces. Just at the time when Sir Frederick Gentle assumed office that year one Chobdar was cut out as a measure of retrenchment. The silver-gilt mace is peculiar only to the Madras High Court. The High Courts at Bombay and Calcutta do not have silver-gilt maces carried before the Judges.

By the Letters Patents of 1726 and 1753 the Governor and Council was constituted a Government Court of Record to which appeals were provided for from the decisions of the Mayor's Court. In causes involving sums under 1000 pagodas the decision of the Government Court was final; if the sum involved was over that amount an appeal lay to the King in Council. The Government Court was further constituted a Court of Oyer and Terminer and was authorised and required to hold Quarter Sessions for the trial of all offences excepting high treason. The Recorder's Court that superseded the Mayor's Court in 1798 consisted of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Recorder, being in fact the old Mayor's Court with the addition of a Recorder to that Court, who was to be appointed by the Crown. It had civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty jurisdiction (History and Constitution of the Courts and Legislative Authorities in India by H. Cowell, pp. 15 and pp. 153-154). As such the Recorder's Court was also a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery and Admiralty with powers to try all misdemeanours including murder. Only it had to reprieve execution of any Capital sentence until the King's pleasure be known for cases may arise wherein it may be proper to remit the general severity of the law. In 1801 this Court was superseded by the Supreme Court established under the Letters Patent issued on the 26th day of December 1800 consisting of a Chief Justice and two puisne justices to be appointed by the Crown and they should be Barristers of England or Ireland of not less than five years' standing. This Court, among other jurisdictions, had also the criminal jurisdiction as the Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery to try all cases of Treasons, Murders and other Felonies, Forgery, Perjuries, Trespasses and Crimes and Misdemeanours. And this jurisdiction has been drafted on to the present High Court along with others in 1862. In exercise of the Original Criminal Jurisdiction so conferred by the Charter of 1862 and the amended charter of 1865, the High Court holds the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty. Act X of 1875 lays down the procedure to be followed in the exercise of this jurisdiction by the High Court. Order XLVI Rule 7 (Crown Side Rules) lays down that the Criminal Sessions shall commence on

the first Monday in February, April, August and November unless such day shall be a holiday in which case they shall commence on the Court day next succeeding and the Court shall sit daily (Sundays and close holidays excepted) unless the presiding Judge otherwise directs.

Under Section 5 of Act X of 1875, the Chief Justice issues through the Clerk of the Crown a precept to the Sheriff to proclaim and give notice that a Sessions will be held on the particular date. The Sheriff issues the proclamation in the following form and it is published in the Fort St. George Gazette.

PROCLAMATION

MADRAS TO WIT

By virtue of a Precept to me directed by the High Court of Judicature at Madras I hereby proclaim and give notice that a Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in and for Fort Saint George the Town of Madras and the local limits thereof and the places and factories subordinate thereto will be holden at the Court House of the Court at Madras aforesaid on (such and such a date) ensuing the date hereof, at 10-45 A.M. for the trial of all crimes and offences done or committed within Fort St. George or the Town of Madras at the local limits thereof and places and factories subordinate thereto and dependent thereon.

And also that at the same time and place will be holden a Session of Admiralty for the trial of all crimes and offences done or committed on the High Seas.

And I hereby require and enjoin all persons bound to prosecute and give evidence at the above Sessions or in any wise concerned therein to attend at the time and place abovementioned and not depart without leave.

Dated this day of 195

Sheriff of Madras.

This form is as old as the days of the East India Company as may be found from the use of the words "places and factories" in the form. Charges against Europeans in Coorg and Bangalore were tried in Madras and they came under "the places" con-

tained in it. The words "The Court House of the Court at Madras" are also a survival of the old days. "Fort St. George or the Town of Madras" is yet another indication. Is not Madras even now a City?

It is in pursuance of this precept that the Sheriff issues the Proclamation giving notice of the Sessions to be held and summons the members of the Jury to be present for the particular Sessions under his own seal: the Seal of the "Sheriff of Madras-patnam" in use upto date since 1745.

When the procession reaches the Court Hall "Silence" is proclaimed. The Judge stands in the middle on the Dais, the Sheriff on the right and the Commissioner of Police on the left; while the Court stands the Court Crier make this proclamation:

"Oyez! Oyez! Oyez!"

All persons having business with my Lord the King's justice in this Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty, in the City of Madras will now give their attention when they will be heard. God save the King and My Lord the King's Justice". The words 'Emperor of India' which were there after the words 'The King' were deleted after the 15th August 1947. The words 'the king' and 'the king's' have been deleted after the inauguration of the Indian Republic on January 26, 1950. These have been carried out in both the opening and closing proclamations. The last sentence reads: God save my Lord Justice.

This done the Judge takes his seat; so do the Sheriff and the Commissioner of Police, after which the members of the Bar and those present in Court take their seats.

Behind the massive Judge's chair, on the top of which was the Royal Crown carved, the Royal Coat of Arms was painted on the wall of the Sessions Court. One could read therein these words:

Honi Soit Qui Maly Pense

(Shame be to him who thinks ill of it)

AND

Dieu Et Mon Droit (God and my right).

Verily the Judge was the King's Justice.

The Royal Crown on the chair has been removed. The Coat of Arms painted on the wall has been effaced.

With the Judge's leave the Clerk of the Crown (now the Clerk of the State) reads the indictment to the accused. If he pleads guilty he is sentenced by the Court under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code having regard to the previous convictions, if any. If the accused pleads not guilty a jury is empanelled for his trial. Under section 275 of the Code of Criminal Procedure the accused has the right to ask for a majority if practicable of Europeans or Indians according as he is a European or an Indian. Under Section 277 he has the right to challenge eight jurors peremptorily and as many as he could show good cause for objecting to. After the nine jurors are chosen and empanelled — before Act X of 1875 it was twelve — they are sworn in. Then the Crown (State) Prosecutor opens the case, that is, reads the section or sections of the Indian Penal Code under which the accused is charged and states the facts of the case and then calls in the evidence for the prosecution. After the case for the prosecution is closed the Judge questions the accused under section 342 of the Criminal Procedure Code and records the statement of the accused, after which the witnesses for the defence, if any, are examined. Unless Counsel for Defence deem it highly expedient, they avoid putting in defence witnesses because the procedure lays down that where the accused does not call any evidence he has the advantage of having the last word. The idea is that the side that closes the case last should begin to address first. Then the Judge delivers the Charge to the Jury, with the direction that they should get a considered and as far as possible a unanimous verdict. That concluded the Jury retire to consider the verdict and are conducted for the purpose by a Bailiff of the Court, to whom the Clerk of the State administers the following Oath before he conducts them to the Jury Room.

"You swear that you will well and truly keep the Jury without meat or drink, that you will not allow any person to speak to them nor speak to them yourself unless it be as to their Verdict. So help you God".

They are not permitted to separate until they have returned their verdict or have been discharged for failure to agree. When the Jury are ready with their Verdict the Bailiff conducts them back to the Jury Box and as he enters the Court Hall he announces in a loud voice: "A Verdict". That duty is cast upon him in the Book of Instructions sent along with the Charter of 1726.

Then the Foreman of the Jury stands up and answers the following questions put by the Clerk of the State.

Q. Gentlemen! Are you are agreed about your verdict?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you unanimous?

A. Yes or No.

Q. If divided, how divided?

A. 5 to 4, 6 to 3, 7 to 2 or 8 to 1.

Q. Do you find the accused guilty or not guilty?

A. Guilty or Not Guilty.

If Guilty the accused is convicted and sentenced. If Not Guilty he is acquitted and set at liberty. When the Jury is divided five to four, under Section 305 of the Criminal Procedure Code the Judge discharges the Jury and orders a *de novo* trial or directs that *no fresh trial* is necessary and discharges the accused. This he does having regard to the particular circumstances of each case.

After all the cases in the Calendar for the particular Sessions are over, that is, at the conclusion of the Sessions, The Court Crier proclaims silence and every one present in Court including the Judge stand and then the Court Crier makes this proclamation:

"OYEZ!

OYEZ!

OYEZ!

All persons having had business with my Lord Justice in this Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and Admiralty in the City of Madras, will now depart, the Sessions having terminated. God save My Lord Justice".

Then the Red Judge bows low and retires and we do not meet him with the pageantry and pomp until the next Quarter Sessions.

One other function with which the Red Judge is associated is the occasion when he is presented with a pair of white gloves by the Sheriff. It is an ancient custom of the English constitution. In England white gloves are presented to the judges on the occasion of a Maiden Assize. A Maiden Assize formerly meant one at which there are no cases for trial. In the High Court of Judicature at Madras no occasion has arisen for presentation of white gloves but instances have occurred in the District Courts, the Sessions there being monthly ones.

The Red Judge presides over the Admiralty Sessions. When the Vice-Admiralty Court was constituted in 1808 under a Special Charter appointing Sir T. A. Strange, Chief Justice, as Commissary of that Court for trial of causes Maritime, drawings of the Seal and Silver Oar of the Vice Admiralty Court at Ceylon were got on September 13, 1808 (MSS. Correspondence: Supreme Court 1808-1811, pp. 29-30) and a silver oar and seal prepared for the use of the Court. The silver oar was to be carried before the Commissary of that Court and placed on the table of the Court during the trial of admiralty causes. There is in the Sheriff's office a silver Oar even to this day. No occasion has, within living memory, arisen for taking it out for use.

When the Supreme Court was established at Madras in 1801 Sir T. A. Strange, Chief Justice, and the two puisne justices had come to the determination of wearing wigs, in addition to the costume which, in everything but the wig was the ordinary judicial dress. In Bombay, in spite of the hot climate and the ill-health occasioned to the Judges by the wearing of the wigs, the judges continued to put on their wigs. "In Calcutta where the climate is much hotter, each Judge has his wig, and it was the duty of the Court to preserve its dignity by the exterior observances of the bench, of which the wig had always been deemed an essential part". The reasoning of the Chief Justice was conclusive with his brethren. Orders were placed for the supply of wigs with Messrs. Ede and Ravenscroft & Co., London and they in due course arrived, all carefully packed in boxes after a long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. Unluckily the cockroaches had found their way into the wig-box of Sir Thomas Strange, Chief Justice, and fed, much to their satisfaction, upon each side of it. Unfortunately after the Judges had seated themselves, each with his new wig, the holes gnawed by the voracious insects began to make way for Sir Thomas' ears, which, in a few minutes, were visible through them. The laughter that ran through

the Court having attracted his attention to the circumstances that afforded so much amusement—in a moment off went the wig indignantly over the heads of the Prothonotary and his Clerks, upon the area of the Court. The example of the Chief Justice was instantly followed by the other Judges, and, one by one, like a leash of partridges, the three wigs flew across and lighted on the floor. This ludicrous circumstance so completely unhinged Sir Thomas that he adjourned the Court till the following day, for it was found impossible to hush the merriment it occasioned. (*Asiatic Journal New Series*, Vol. XV, Part I, pp. 175-176). From that time the Judges have remained unbobbed until Sir Lionel Leach ruled in 1937 in the procedure laid down for the taking of the Oath of office of a Judge in open Court that the dress will be scarlet gown with full bottom wig or turban and white bands and white gloves and black cap should be carried. The Court constituted for the purpose with Judges in their red robes was a sight to see. The practice of swearing in judges in open Court came to an end with his term of office which ended in 1947.

Ceremony has its uses. It is one of the necessary amenities of orderly social life. It is even a strong support for the constitution (In Court and out of Court by E. B. Rowlands, p. 285). 'Apparayle may be wel a parte of maiestie.' That robes and wigs lend a certain dignity to the Bench and the Bar has been acknowledged even by American jurists like Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate. One of these gentlemen has left on record his opinion that "the advantages arising from the use of a distinct costume by judges and counsel in its effect on the public who are in Court and the feeling of responsibility it produces in the wearer, so far outweigh its disadvantages, if it have any, in the shape of personal discomfort". Two decades ago it was prophesied that, judicial robes having long since been adopted by the judges of the Supreme Court at Washington, the custom may in time spread to the whole of America. Whether they will be continued or discarded in India remains to be seen.

Reviews

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB, 1846-1849, (A Historical Revision) by Jagmohan Mahajan, Kitabistan-Allahabad and Karachi, 1949, pp. 136.

This inside view of the British process of writing off the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab from the face of India gives fresh details hitherto untapped, particularly from the Currie Correspondence preserved in the Museum of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute. After an introductory survey of the nightmare of anarchy and confusion which intervened between the deposition of Kharak Singh in October 1839, and the crossing of the Sutlej by the Khalsa army in December 1845, in the course of which the British anxiety to provoke a conflict is well portrayed and the treachery of Raja Lal Singh is depicted clearly as revealed from contemporary records and letters, the Treaty of Lahore of March, 5, 1846 and the supplementary articles of March, 11, are shown to be the outcome of a move to territorially mutilate, militarily enfeeble and financially cripple the Sikh Durbar whose impotence was soon demonstrated in the so-called Cow Row of the following month.

The inwardness of Shaikh Imamu'd-din's resistance in Kashmir leading to the deposition of Lal Singh and the background of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 1846) are next dealt with, disclosing the "Machiavellian duplicity" of Lord Hardinge and the accommodating pliancy of Currie and the effort made to secure, in name, the voluntary request of the Sardars for the continuance and strengthening of British control, which was heightened by the thinly justified segregation of Maharani Jindan.

Chapter V clearly proves that there was not the least evidence to connect Mulraj with the first attack on or the subsequent murder of Agnew and Anderson. From his letters (e.g., to Sir George Couper of May, 10, 1848) Dalhousie is known to have consciously allowed time for the Multan outbreak to develop into a national rebellion which would justify him in annexing the Punjab after a war and in time demanding a heavy reparation for an originally small injury. Dalhousie thus wrote to Henry Lawrence on October, 15, 1848:—"The task before me is the utter destruction and prostration of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjection of its people. This must be done promptly, fully and finally."

Thus the long interval between the first outbreak at Multan and the siege of its citadel was marked by many high-handed and extremely unpopular acts of British representatives in the Panjab which brought about the revolts of Chatar Singh and Sher Singh which were held to justify a war of extirpation, and by a twist of both logic and fact, deemed to have brought about a direct state of war between the Lahore Durbar under the British Resident and the British Government and a dissolution of all existing engagements. Sher Singh's suppression was deemed to justify the British power in its decision to depose the ruler and annex the kingdom of the Panjab. In his justification of annexation to the Secret Committee, Dalhousie could not prove any definite charge or act of treason against the Lahore Durbar except a flimsy charge of inability to pay the stipulated subsidy in time. Thus was subverted a state which was protected and administered by the British power under a treaty which it had dictated, by a war which began as a suppression of rebellion against constituted authority and ended by wholesale spoliation. This narrative of Mr. Mahajan helps effectively in the knocking out of the basis of the hitherto accepted official version of the conquest of the Panjab that "a combination of circumstance and destiny" enabled the British to step into the vacuum created by the death of Ranjit Singh."

— C. S. S.

Indian Records Series (General Editor, S. N. Sen), INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI,—being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of A Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri. Edited by Surendranath Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India, Published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, pp. LXIV and 434.

The learned author who has revived the Indian Records Series and is its General Editor, has first taken up, "The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri," as being of undoubted value as raw material for the social and economic history of seventeenth-century India. The textual matter is available in early English versions which have been carefully compared with the original French and Italian texts. In the Introduction, Dr. Sen gives an accurate and critical estimate of the historical value of the material left by the many European travellers in India from Duarte Barbosa. Thevenot was inspired by his scholarly uncle in his taste for strange lands and languages, and was conversant with

Arabic. Turkish and Persian and was insatiable in his love of travel, despite its discomfort and rigours. His *Voyages*, of which the part relating to Hindustan was first published in 1684 and first rendered into English 3 years later, has a particular value for Indian culture on account of the interest displayed by the author in Indian flora and fauna, among other things. Careri's Volumes were first published at Naples in 1697-1700 and first made known to Englishmen in Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704). The charge of Careri not having travelled at all, but having only pirated from previous travellers is given the lie by Dr. Sen, who says that his detailed description of Kanheri and account of Aurangzib's camp at Galgala in March 1695, should constitute sufficient proofs of the genuineness of his travels and observations. Of course the caution is given that sometimes these two travellers did not rise above the credulity of their age and were not adequately informed about the geography of India. Thevenot tried to give in his account of the Mughal provinces, notes and observations on the curiosities about the respective regions and the habits of their peoples and inadvertently repeated some of the mistakes of his predecessors, particularly Bernier and Tavernier.

Careri has given a graphic and detailed account of Goa. Thevenot's notice of Indian animals like the musk-deer and the elephant, and Careri's description of the "fruits and flowers of Indostan" are worthy of study, though they contain marks of errors of observation and of unreliable hearsay. The Editor has pointed out that these travellers did not and could not pick out the higher teachings of Hinduism, "in the interminable mazes of the polytheistic practices and primitive cults" of popular religion. But their evidence is valuable as and when they record their personal experiences; and the reader is cautioned to judge of their accounts as to the security of travellers and traders by a relative comparison with the conditions prevailing in contemporary Europe. Their limitations and merits are indicated on p. LXIV of the Introduction, and their value is thus critically summed up—this being generally true of all travellers:—"As a contemporary source of Indian History they will always remain indispensable, but what cannot be dispensed with is not necessarily infallible."

Palmyra and coconut liquor, absence of flax in the Indies, the Malabar or Tamil alphabet, and the bamboo (spelt Pambous) are but samples of the width and variety of topics dealt with by Thevenot; and all these are enriched with the exhaustive notes

of the editor whose accuracy is illustrated by such a one as Note 17, Ch. II, Book II of Thevenot. Careri's voyage to Goa and his description of it as well as his account of the Portuguese dominion in India and of the fruits and flowers of Indostan (Ch. VIII of his Book I) have been particularly exhaustively annotated as seen in the identification of the Omlam tree. The chapters devoted to the description of the Great Mughal, his camp, his wealth and his resources are interesting reading, even for the layman.

Thevenot's notice of Amir Jumla (Emir Gemla) has been duly corrected by the Editor with reference to the statement that the Fort of Guendicôt put a full stop to his conquests. The Editor has very correctly identified the word *gazers* (small copper-pieces) current in the Carnatic with *cash* (*Kāsu*) 40 of which did really go to make a *panam*. *Kāsu* in old Tamil meant a coin and we have an adjective prefixed to it to indicate the particular variety noted (e.g., *pon-kāsu* = gold coin). Similarly valuable is the identification of Dacheron on the Northern Sarkars coast. Scores of such difficult points have been explained and the proper sources of information indicated for each one of them, in every one of the chapters containing the text matter. The Nicobar Islands (Chap. V, Book III of Careri) have been known to the Tamils as *Mā Nakkavāram*.

A norm which is satisfactory in every respect as to editing, annotation, introduction and general get-up has been furnished in this book which is to serve as the model for the labour of Indian scholars in this and similar series to be published by the National Archives.

— C. S. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Archaeology in India—Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi.

Explorations at Harad—Bharata Itihas Samshodhak Mandala, Poona.

Annual Report of the Bombay Secretariat Record Office for the year 1947-48—Government Central Press, Bombay.

Annual Report of the University of Travancore for 1124 M.E. (1948-49 A.D.)—University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin — Besant Number, Vol. XIII, Part 3, 1st October, 1949.

- (a) *Liberation or Salvation*, by Annie Besant (from *The Theosophist*).
- (b) *Some Cultural Gleanings from the Jnanakanda of Kasyapasmhita*, by P. K. Gode. On *canaka* (*cicer arietinum*), one of the 17 grains, *tambula* (betel), *tulasi* (holy basil), beeswax moulding, 3 classes of pictures, deities to be worshipped, *pārada* (mercury), *Romakas* (= ? Romans, or people of 'Rume', Constantinople ?, or of Urumiah in Persia ?), flowers to be used for worship, or avoided, many castes arising from five main castes. *Kasyapasmhita* "appears to be later than the first few centuries of the Christian era as it reveals a very advanced condition of Vaishnava religious worship and ritual." See 3 (b) *infra*.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute — Annals of the Vol. XXIX, 1948, pub. 1949.

- (a) *Traces of Short E and O in Rgveda*, by A. M. Ghatage. "Whether short or long *e* and *o* form the same phonemes (in the Rgveda) . . . If this is their real nature, it is easy to bring them in line with other cases of short and long vowels like *a* or *i*, which are found in R. V. Samhita".
- (b) *Juridical studies in Ancient Indian Law, 14, Legal position of Physicians in Ancient India*, by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach. "We do not find in Ancient Indian sources any demarcation line between the three categories of physicians — *Cikitsaka*, *bhishaj*, and *Vaidya* — although a *vaidya* was certainly the highest of all, while the word *bhishaj* was mostly used for the designation of a King's physician. *Bhishaj* and *Cikitsaka* were used indiscriminately." *Salyakṛnta* is another term for *bhishaj*.

All physicians were at first highly esteemed and worshipped, and called *Kaviraja* = king among sages.

But Caraka (2nd cent.), Manu, and others regarded physicians as not worthy of high esteem.

- (c) *Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics-Fried grains in Indian diet* between B.C. 500 and A.D. 1900, by P. K. Gode. Even *canaka* grain (harimanth of Susruta, Greek erebintos, linseed) was parched, and compressed into flakes (Prithuka).

The Hellenistic Greeks introduced the grain to the Punjab (B.C. 190—ca A.D. 20). Laja (puffed grain, white like opened flowers) is formed by mere parching. A large number of articles of diet mentioned in Amara Kosa, Caraka, Arthasastra, Rajavinoda, Indu's Sasilekha, Mahabharata, etc., are listed by the author.

- (d) *The movements of the Pandavas*, by V. B. Athavale. "The Varanavata town is the Barnava village, 10 miles to the east of Baraut, by a road. It is about 35 miles west of Hastinapura. Baraut is a Railway station, 30 miles from Delhi, on the Delhi-Sahranpur line". Hindan, crossed by them at night, is a big river meeting Jamuna (pp. 90-92.)

Ekacakra town in Kicaka (= Bamboo) territory, also called Vetrakiyapuri (Bamboo town) must be somewhere near modern Hamirpur, from which "the nearest point on the Ganges is 25 miles due east". That point may be the place Somasrayayanam, which they reached going "eastward and after walking the whole day and night," i.e. about 25 miles (pp. 94 to 96.)

Kampilya the capital of South Panchala, is modern Kampila Village near Kaimganj railway station on the B.B.C.I. Railway line between Mathura and Farukabad, (p. 98).

Bhargavayana is Bhargain Village, 6 miles west of Kampila; near Bhargain is the village Dhaumapura, which may have received the name from the sage Dhau-myā, the purohita of the Pandavas. At Bhargain they stayed incognito, (p. 98).

- (e) *Some notes on Almond in India, A.D. 100-1900*, by P. K. Gode. "So far I have not traced any references to

Vātāma in Sanskrit non-medical texts, early or late". Iran was the centre from which the almond spread to Europe, (p. 105). The Greeks derived it from Asia Minor, (p. 106). The botanical names are *Amygdalus Communis* and *Prunis Amygdalus*.

- (f) *Parvata in Rig Veda*, by B. R. Sarma. Parvata "primarily means mountain or hill, which is metaphorically applied to the mass of darkness, and also to the dark massive cloud in Vedic Literature" (p. 118). In certain passages (I. 80.7; 168.6) adri (= Parvata) "stands for neither the massive darkness that pervades heaven during the long wintry nights in Arctic region, nor the darkness that surrounds the earth on all sides (p. 119), nor the dark cloud, but the mass of sun-rays which dissipates the darkness pervading the universe" (p. 121). In certain other passages parvata "represents the presiding Genius of mountains" (p. 122). In later Vedic literature the word means invariably the terrestrial mountain.

- (g) *Regional Divisions of Ancient India*, by S. B. Chaudhuri. The celebrated River-Hymn of the Rigveda points to the region from the Panjab to the Ganges (p. 124). By the close of the Rgvedic period the Aryans had already been east of the Ganges and south of the Jumna (p. 128). Holy Brahnavarta lay between Saraswati and Drsadvati. Kurukshetra lay between the Sutlej and Jumna. Later the whole of India was divided into five disis, i.e. desas. The central Gangetic Doab of the Kurus, Pancalas, Vatsas and Usinaras, south of Sewalik range or the hills of Hardwar. The Northern division (Uttarāpatha) of Northern Kurus of Kashmir and Northern 'Madras' was perhaps the region beyond the Himalayas (p. 135). It seems the Aryans had little or no knowledge of the Western coastal regions till about 900 B.C. The Eastern division to the east of Prayaga (in Vatsa) had Samrats (Emperors) of Kosala, Kasi, Videha, and Magadha, and comprised the region from Benares to the farthest eastern limits of India (p. 145).

- (h) *The image of Narayana*, by L. B. Keny (Illustrated). The representation of Siva was slowly Aryanised into Śēṣaśāyi (Vishnu). "We have ample reason to maintain that the so-called image of Anantaśayana (Vishnu on

Ananta Couch), without the Brahma rising from its navel, is the original representation of Siva (Narayana)" (p. 226).

- (i) *Kampeshwar same as Kapeswar*, by Y. K. Deshpande — correct identifications of Kampnagar, Kampeshwar and Ushnodak.
3. *Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society — Journal of the*. Vol. 23, 1947, published 1949.
 - (a) *Early Brahmins and Brahminism*, by D. D. Kosambi.
 - (b) *Saugor Plate of Trailokya Varman* (A.D. 1194-1212), by B. M. Barua and P. S. Chakravarti. The Copper-plate was found underground in 1943. Sana (*canaka*, flax) cultivation is mentioned; also gold, iron and salt deposits in Bundlekhand. See 1 (b) *supra*.
4. *Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society — Journal of the*. Vols. 24-25, 1948-49 (New Series), pub. November 1949.
 - (a) *Varahamihara* (fl. A.D. 505) and *Utpala* (fl. 966 A.D.): their works and predecessors, by P. V. Kane. Contains alphabetical list (with notes) of authors and works (Aryabhata to Yavaneswara) mentioned in the former's works, and another of authors and works (Balabhadra to Yajñavalkyasmṛiti) mentioned in Utpala's commentaries.
 - (b) *Chronological Order of Punch-Marked Coins*: a re-examination of the older Taxila hoard, by D. D. Kosambi. Two groups of 8 and 7 series each, from Ajatasatru to Chandragupta Maurya (8th), and Bindusara to Śaṭḍharman (7th). An equal-armed cross-like sign is found among those on Nandivardhana's coins, 5th from Ajatasatru, on plate.
 - (c) *Prosodical Practice of 28 Sanskrit poets*, ancient and medieval, from Asvaghosha (2nd cent. A.D.) to Rudrakavi (16th cent.), by H. D. Velankar.
 - (d) *Alankara-Tilaka* (continuation), by G. V. Devasthali.
 - (e) *The Avatara Syncretism and Possible Sources of Bh. Gītā*, by D. D. Kosambi. "The gradual rise to pre-eminence

of a substratum in the tradition which is hostile to the general tone of Vedic legend plays a leading part in the syncretism..... This submerged portion of the tradition must have had some historical foundation, and therefore been retained, painful and humiliating though it was, in Brahmanical memory throughout the early period of Kṣatriya dominance" (p. 134).

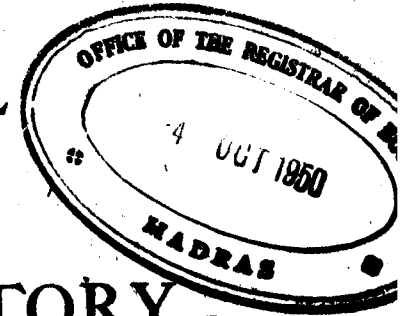
5. *Ceylon University Review*, Oct. 1949, Vol. VII, No. 4.
 - (a) *Titles of the Sinhalese Kings*, 3rd cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A. C., by Mr. C. W. Nicholas. Titles Maharaja, Raja, Devanapiya, Gamani, Ma Parumaka, and Apaya. Devanapiya (= Devanam Priya of Asoka) found in Ceylon from B.C. 247 to A.C. 19).
 - (b) *Palaeographical Development of the Brahmi Script in Ceylon* from 3rd cent. B.C. to 7th cent. A.D. by Mr. P. E. E. Fernando.
6. *India Quarterly*, Vol. V, Oct. December, 1949, No. 4.
 - (a) *The Indian Constitution*, by B. N. Rau.
 - (b) *American Public Opinion about Indian Politics (1918-39)*, by Harnam Singh.
 - (c) *Industrialisation of India and Commonwealth Cooperation*, by Gyan Chand.
7. *Mythic Society — Quarterly Journal of the*. Vol. XXXIX, N. S., No. 1, July 1948.
 - (a) *Local Administration in South India*, by S. S. Santanam, M.A.. (Continuation). Public Health, and Public information and propaganda.
 - (b) *Aryan and Aboriginal Cultures of India*, with special reference to the Soras (Savaras). (Continuation), by Dr. G. V. Sitapati.
 - (c) *Evolution of the Yajñopavita (Sacred Thread)*, (illustrated), by V. Raghavendra Rao.

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- (d) *Symbolism of the Above*, by S. Srikantaya (illustrated).
Dikpālas, and goddesses too wore Yajnopavita.
8. *Venkateswara Oriental Institute — Journal of the Sri*. Vol. X,
No. 1, Jan. — June, 1949.
- (a) *Libraries in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, by Sri N.
Subramania Sastri.
- (b) *Tiruvalluvar*, by Sri T. P. Palaniappa Pillai. Wrong
notions about Tiruvalluvar corrected.
- (c) *Nakkīrar Vākkum Nōkkum* (in Tamil) by Vidvan C.
Venkateswara Chettiar.

— T. K. JOSEPH

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan
Gymkhana P.O., 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 School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*,
Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*,
Bangalore.

CONTENTS

LITHIC MONUMENTS IN EARLY SOUTH INDIA — by Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar ..	79
SOME ANCIENT INDIAN MINOR STATES — by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	87
AYANAMSA AND INDIAN CHRONOLOGY — THE AGE OF VARAHAMIHIRA, KALIDASA, ETC. — by V. Thiruvengkatacharya, M.A., L.T. ..	103
CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN CROSSES IN ANCIENT INDIA — by T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T. ..	111
ANNALS OF OLD MADRAS — by K. Narasimhachari, M.A. ..	123
ANGLO-DUTCH RELATIONS IN INDIA PROPER — THE EARLIEST PHASE, 1602-27 — by T. I. Poonen, M.A. ..	129
REVIEWS : — (1) The French in India, by S. P. Sen. (2) Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development, Vol. I, by Gurumukh Nihal Singh. (3) Ancient Indian Chronology, by P. C. Sengupta. (4) Indological Studies, Part I, by Dr. B. C. Law. ..	145
SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS ..	153
OUR EXCHANGES ..	159

Lithic Monuments in Early South India *

BY

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To a student of ancient Indian archaeology South India offers a virgin field full of monuments, viz., caves and caverns. Some are the natural caves on hill sides and some are monolithic caves. The latter must have been posterior to the natural caves which were used in ancient times by monks of different denominations, Buddhist, Jain or Hindu. Expert archaeologists who have made a special study of the various examples of architecture scattered here and there in several parts of south India are prepared to concede an intermediary stage between the use of natural caves and monolithic ones. This was the period when caverns fit for human habitation were made in the natural ones by introducing necessary changes so as to make them fit for occupation and residence by the monks who always looked for places away from human habitation to spend their lives in penance and prayer. We meet with stone beds and other facilities for a monk to live in peace. Such caves and caverns have been discovered not only in the Tamil country but also in the Andhradeśa. Some of them contain inscriptions of value to the antiquarian. The inscriptions discovered in these monuments are mostly in Pāli language and Brāhmi script thus signifying that they were very ancient monuments used by the monks in the centuries before the Christian era and some after.

South India is well known for its three traditional kingdoms, the Chera, Pāndya and Chola. The origin of these kingdoms is still a subject of speculation and no finality has been arrived at by scholars as to how they originated and developed. But one thing seems to be certain that the Pāṇḍyan country which comprised originally broadly the three districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevely seem to have been the most powerful kingdom of the Tamil country. This is testified to us by the evidence of Megasthenes who was a Greek ambassador in the court of Pāṭali-putra in the fourth century B.C. Our ancient epics which contain a kernel of historical truth viz., the Mahābhārata and the

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Rāmāyaṇa refer in unequivocal terms to the country of the Pāṇḍyas where pearl-fisheries were a speciality. Thus it transpires on the strength of this testimony that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was in a flourishing condition even at least four or five centuries before the Christian era. Of the three Tamil kingdoms of which mention has been already made the Pāṇḍyan country deserves special attention for our purpose for we meet with these early lithic monuments in the shape of caves and caverns in the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and particularly in the district of Madura. This demonstrates palpably the fact that original culture and civilization in the Tamil Nadu perhaps began here in this district unless it is assumed that it was by mere accident we see notices of early life in this part of the Tamil country.

MADURA DISTRICT

The Anamalais near Madura afford an interesting study and it was the Government Epigraphist who discovered a cavern at this place containing an inscription in Pāli. Not far from this place was found a natural cave which goes by the popular name Pañchapāṇḍavar Paḍukkai which can be literally rendered as the bed of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. If one would examine the inner portions of the cavern one is surprised to find three double beds and one single bed. Almost contiguous to the above are four other beds. Outside the cavern one notices also a set of eight beds but these eight beds are in the open. The dimensions of the beds when examined were from about six to seven feet long and one and one-fourth to nearly two feet broad. One portion of the bed was on a high level which shows that it was the resting place for the head serving as a pillow. On the top of the rock overhanging the entrance to the cavern is an inscription in Pāli which consists of only two lines.¹

In the Melur taluq there is a village by name Ariṭṭapaṭṭi on the way to Aḷagarkoil. In that village there is a small hill called Kaḷugumalai. This Kaḷugumalai is interesting in that it possesses four caverns provided with beds and containing inscriptions. A close examination of these beds shows that they are bigger in size than those seen at Anamalai. The script of the inscriptions themselves resembles the Aśokan characters and may be assigned to a date immediately following that of Aśoka. Most of them are in Pāli character and throw side light on the origin and growth of not only the Tamil language but also Vatteḷettu alphabets. If one

1. Vide Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-7, pp. 46-7.

closely examines the examples of architecture found in the Tamil country one has to come to the conclusion that these caverns at Ariṭṭapaṭṭi are perhaps the earliest lithic monuments ever discovered in Tamil land. In his *Buddhist cave temple* Dr. Burgess made the remark in another connection that the stone beds in the early caverns and caves in most part of India must have been the abode of monks, chiefly the Buddhist monks. This view has been adopted by the epigraphist as he has come to the conclusion that originally it was the Buddhist monks who occupied these caves and caverns in early times in the Tamil country. This may or may not be true. We are sceptical about the conclusion on one or two grounds. In the first place we search in vain for any Buddhist remains in the Indian caverns, while there are remains in the Buddhist caverns in Ceylon. Secondly, whatever may be the fact regarding the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country, with the paucity of Buddhist monuments and the preponderating influence of the 'Deva' temples in the words of Hiuen-Tsang together with the scanty references in early Tamil literature one has difficulties in the way of accepting them as Buddhist caverns. On the other hand they suggest the possibility of their having been used by Jaina ascetics and Hindu sanyāsins. Thirdly, this is rendered more difficult by the mention of the Pañcha Pāṇḍava beds to which we have already referred. Students of Indian history know that neither the Buddhist nor the Jains had anything to do with the Pañchapāṇḍavar or simply 'Pañcavir'.

In a place called Muttupatti in Madura taluq there is a spot which even now is called Pañchapāṇḍavar paḍukkai. Of course near the spot there is a Jaina image seated on a pedestal. This may probably point out that when once the Pāṇḍava tradition was there the Jains thought it worth while to establish their image in such places. The Pañchapāṇḍava tradition and the Brahmi inscriptions are found scattered over the length and breadth of Madura district. It may be that the Buddhist monks like their brethren, the Jains, retired to these caves and caverns perhaps to keep *vases*.²

Again there is a place called Kongarpuliyangulam in the Madura district about nine miles south-west of Madura. Down the hill in that place we meet with the image of a Jaina saint in Siddhāsana posture. The inscription down below is in Vatteḷuttu characters and reads that it is the image of the well-known Jaina teacher Ajjaṇḍi. Though it can be accepted without question that Ajjaṇḍi was a Jaina teacher of repute it is difficult to accept that the cave was an early Jain one. The inscription being Vatteḷuttu

2. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1909-10, pp. 66-7.

is itself an evidence to show that the cave in question may not be very ancient. The same view may be taken of the set of beds in a natural cave at Settipodava near Kilakkudi, again in the Madura district. This contains some vestiges of Jaina occupation. The epigraphist seems to think that this place, whether it be a temple or hermitage was presided over by the well-known teacher Guṇasena-peraḍigal. The very name of the teacher and the very nature of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions found therein must show beyond doubt that this lithic monument is not a very ancient one. Perhaps the sculptures in niches with representations of female warrior or lion vehicle may point out that it was one of the sacred spots of Durgā who was worshipped by the Hindus.

Proceeding to another post in the same hill known as Pechipallam one comes across with evidences of Jaina sculptures with a canopy of five-headed serpents. They may perhaps be identified with the seventh Tirthankara Suparsva (IA. Vol. 32, p. 461). The inscriptions found in these places are also in Vaṭṭeḷuttu and there is an interesting reference to the mother of the Jaina sage Ajjananḍi. There is further a reference to Guṇasenadeva, the famous teacher of whom mention has been made in connection with the cave Settipodava. This is not all. There is a place called Kilapalava. In proximity to this stands the Pañchpāṇḍavar hill but what interests us is the existence of various Jaina figures some seated and others standing. There are attendant deities, chowry-bearers and others affording interest to the antiquarian. There is evidence to show that the particular spot was sacred to Jaina and provision was made for daily worship. Again, we find that Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions predominate. There are also one or two Brāhmi inscriptions which can easily point to the antiquity of the place later on occupied by the Jains.

On the hill at Kunnakkudi we find a number of interesting stone beds. Though the place is now converted into a building full of mendicants devoted to one Jnāniyār and though there are evidences of the Hindu cult prevailing still from a damaged Brahmi inscription in the boulder, the whole spot breathes an air of antiquity and must be interesting to a student of cave architecture in the Tamilnād. In the same way we have to treat of the several Brāhmi inscriptions which we meet with at Aḷagarmalai. Here also one finds some figures of Jaina which goes to confirm our view that the Jaina occupation of the place was much later (*Ibid.* pp. 67-70).

While we are speaking about caverns in Madura, mention may be made of the cavern at the village of Mettupatti near Nilakkottai

in the same district. The rural local tradition connects it with Pañchapāṇḍavas and one curious feature about the spot is that it is known as Pañchapāṇḍavapādam, lit. the feet of the five Pāṇḍavas. The famous hill in this place is Siddhamalai where there is a big cavern and five beds are cut in a sloping rock. There we notice one line in Brāhmi writing. This shows the ancientness of the beds and also the cavern. We meet with the same condition in another place about three furlongs south of Varichhiur. Though the beds here show signs of having been meddled with in later times, what interests the student of history is the Brāhmi inscription. The original Brāhmi inscription here is not very clear as it has been mutilated. But two words have been read and they are 'Anātai Ariya'. It has been taken to mean anatai—living and Ariya is perhaps the Buddhist saint Ariyana. But we doubt the correctness of this interpretation which may also mean the arya who was helpless. The term arya under reference may or may not be one of the Buddhist faith. It is also possible that the cave served the purpose of a shelter for the homeless and the destitute.³

TINNEVELLY

Besides the many lithic monuments discovered in the Madura district, caves and caverns were brought to the notice of the archaeologist in some other parts of the Tamil land. For instance, we come across a natural cave which is in the village of Marugalalai some ten miles from Palamcottah in the present Tinnevely district. The hill in this place is named Puvil Udaiyarmalai. In that hill in the midst of a cluster of shrines devoted to one deity or other, a natural cave with overhanging rocks is found chiselled to a length of about ten yards. Here we find a Pāli inscription whose characters roughly approximate to the Aśokan edicts. No doubt the beds which we find in them are very old and must have been used in ancient times.⁴

A similar cavern was found on a hill at Virasikhāmaṇi about eight miles from Sankaranayanārkoil. This cave also tells the same tale and the local tradition is strong in connecting it with Panchapāṇḍavas. It is even believed that the figures of the Pāṇḍavas are cut in it. Close to this is a cave with some beds damaged. One also finds a mutilated inscription in Grantha. The absence of Brāhmi inscriptions in this cavern shows that it must have been a later cave.⁵

3. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1907-8, pp. 46-7.

4. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1906-7, p. 48.

5. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1907-8, p. 46.

These two districts of Madura and Tinnevely are thus very important from the point of view of cave architecture. They afford rich food to the curious antiquarian who is eager to know something about the very early history of architecture in south India. While some of the inscriptions underneath the beds found in different caves and caverns contain the Brāhmi script, the rest contain inscriptions in Vaṭṭeluttu characters. The synchronism of caves with Bhāhmi inscriptions has made scholars believe that originally Buddhist mendicants might have been their occupants. The caves containing Vaṭṭeluttu characters must have been occupied by the Jaina monks who were in point of chronology later than the Buddhist mendicants. Though this may be true to a certain extent, it is difficult to accept the proposition that these caverns were intended to be fit for occupation only by recluses from the Jaina or Buddha fold. One fails to understand why the possibility of Hindu mendicants occupying these caverns should not be thought of. It is said in the Rāmāyana of Vālmiki that Hanumān saw in the Malay Parvata many caves which were the abode of *munigaṇas* among others. Undoubtedly these *munigaṇas* were those Hindu monks who preferred the solitary life with all its charms (Yuddha, Ch. 74, VV, 41-45.) Some of the antiquities with which we are concerned contain the tradition of Pancha-pāṇḍava beds in most of the places. The fact that a Hindu sanyāsin has occupied this cave for his *yoganishta* at Alagarmalai lends support to this view. Whatever this may be, one need not doubt about the antiquity of these structures and their varied interest.⁶

PUDUKKOTTAH

At a distance of four furlongs from the village of Śittannavasal is noticed a cavern in the midst of a hill which is almost inaccessible. In this cavern are noticed stone beds with one end raised. These beds were intended for one to lie down. In the midst of some damaged beds one finds curiously a Brāhmi inscription which is difficult to interpret. Perhaps some are the names of mendicants who lived in these caves. Nothing more is known of them.⁷

TRICHINOPOLY

In the Trichinopoly district, at some distance from the Kulitalai railway station there is a boulder which is nearly 30 ft. in height being unique in itself. On one side is a square entabla-

ture chair which is said to represent a Jain Tirthankara. It is rather doubtful whether it is a representation of a Jain Tirthankara but what interests us is that at its bottom on the rock there are five beds well known to the locality as Pāṇḍavar Paḍukkai. Very near to this there are three inscriptions which are in archaic Tamil. A careful reading of these inscriptions reveals two names (1) Siyamitran and (2) Viramallan. Though these are Tamil names the epigraphist regards them as Buddhist or Jaina names without proper evidence. It is, however, interesting that we have caves and beds in the Trichinopoly district.⁸

CONCLUSION

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer who has made an elaborate study of the inscriptions in these cave monuments believes that the scripts of the epigraphs resemble the characters of Ceylon cave records on the one hand and the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet on the other. He also notes the orthographical peculiarities of these records and believes that they have the characteristic features which are regarded as peculiar to Tamil. He remarks that in the Tamil country the inscriptions were meant to be understood by those who spoke the language and the language was Tamil. He has put the alphabet to a critical analysis and has shown quite a number of examples of Tamil suffixes.⁹ Confirming this position of the language of the inscribed pot-shreds bearing garaffite at Arikameḍu in Pondicherry Dr. N. P. Chakravarti comments as follows:—“The script of the Arikameḍu pottery and the early rock shelters of the Madura and Tinnevely districts seems to be more akin to the ancient Drāvidi script than the regular Brāhmi as found in the edicts of Aśoka and other early inscriptions. We also know that the Drāvidi script must have separated from the main stock of Brāhmi much earlier than the time of Aśoka, at the latest in the 5th century B.C. (Bühler: *Indian Paleography*, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 8). This is undoubtedly the reason why so many archaic forms are noticed in the few inscriptions so far known in the Drāvidi script. The development of forms after separation would not be so fast in Drāvidi as in the regular Brāhmi which continued to be used throughout the whole of India.”¹⁰ We find no difficulty in accepting this position as regards the script and language of these cave records which in our opinion were in active use at least in the first five centuries before the Christian era.

6. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1908-9, pp. 67-68.
7. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1914-15. n. 22.

8. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, 1912-13, p. 84.
9. Proc. of the Third Or. Conference, pp. 275-300.
10. *Ancient India*, No. 2, July 1946, p. 106.

Some Ancient Indian Minor States

(FROM ALEXANDER'S TIME TO 300 A.D.)

BY

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The Aspasians: The Iranian name "Aspa" corresponds to Sanskrit "Áśva" or "Áśvaka". The people called Aspasians by the Greeks may, therefore, be regarded as denoting some western branch of the well-known Áśvaka or Áśmaka tribe.¹ One of the cities of the Aspasian territory is said to have stood on or near the river Euaspla which is supposed to be identical with the Kūnar, a tributary of the Kabul. Besides this we find mention of some other cities like Andaka and Arigaeun.²

Ptolemy refers to Aspakarai with a place of the same name Aspakara. The form of the name connects it with the Sanskrit or Iranian nomenclature. It is doubtful whether they have got any connection with the Aspasiai who are the Áśvaka.³

The Assakenians: The Assakenians correspond to Sanskrit Áśvakas or Áśmakas. Their country lay in Eastern Afghanistan.⁴ According to some it was situated in Suvāstu (modern Swat Valley).⁵ The people are referred to as Assakenoi by Greek writers. The capital town is called Massaga or Maśakāvati. It was the kingdom of a ruler called Assakenos. Śarabha, a king of the Áśmakas, figures large in Bāṇa's account. The Assakenian king, according to Greek writers, is said to have a large army consisting of more than 30,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry and 30 elephants.⁶ The Áśmakas were the first Indian people to bear

1. Strabo (Mss. XV. C. 691; C. 698) calls the Aspasioi Hypasioi which is given as Hippasioi in modern texts. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 352, n. 3.

2. Chinnock, Arrian's *Anabasis*, pp. 230-31.

3. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S. N. Majumdar, ed., p. 304.

4. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 180.

5. Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, p. 197.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

the brunt of Alexander's invasion. Massaga,⁷ the Assakenia stronghold, was stormed by the troops of Alexander. When the town capitulated, a large number of mercenary troops who were assembled there, agreed to join the army of Alexander. The mercenaries who were unwilling to help the foreigner, wanted to evade the obligation. At night they secretly planned to escape. At this the Macedonians spared none of them to live till morning.⁸ The king of this place was in alliance with the king of the Abhisāra country beyond the Indus,⁹ who sent contingents for his help. Assakenos the king personally took the command and fell fighting at Massaga.¹⁰

In the Epics¹¹ and the Purāṇas,¹² the Āsmakas or Assakas are mentioned as a Kṣatriya tribe. Pāṇini refers to the Āsmakas in one of his sūtras (IV, I, 178). They are placed in the north-west by the author of the *Brhatsamhitā*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also places them in the north-west. It seems likely that a branch of the tribe settled later on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Deccan. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the *Purāṇas*¹³ count Assaka among the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of Jambudīpa (India). The *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*¹⁴ mentions Pótana (Paudanya of the Great Epic) as the (capital) city of the southern Assakas. In the *Suttanipāta* (verses 976-77) the Assaka country is associated with Mūlaka with its capital Patitthāna (Paithān) and is located on the southern bank of the Godāvarī. Rhys Davids argues that the country is mentioned with Avantī in the same way as Aṅgā is associated with Magadha and the occurrence of its name between Surasena and Avantī shows that when the list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* was drawn up, Assaka was situated immediately north-west of Avantī.¹⁵

7. It was the seat of the sovereign power which controlled the whole realm. Curtius says that it was defended by a rapid river in its eastern side. When attacked by Alexander it held out for four days against all his assaults. (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 184).

8. Arrian, IV, 27; Diod., XVII, 84; Curtius, VIII, 10; Plut. Alex., p. 59; Polyen, Strateg., IV, 3.20.

9. According to Strabo (H. & F.'s Trans. III, 90) it was situated among the mountains above the Taxila country.

10. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 353.

11. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9, p. 822; Jayadrathavadhaparva, VII, 85, 3049; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1605; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1606; *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 1608; *Ibid.*, VIII, 8, 237; *Adiparva*, I, 122, 4737; *Ibid.*, I, 177, 6791.

12. *Brhannāradiya-purāṇa*, Ch. 9; *Matsya-purāṇa*, Ch. 272.

13. *Padma Purāṇa*, Svargakhanda, Ch. III; *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahā-purāṇa*, Ch. IX.

14. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 235.

15. *Buddhist India*, pp. 27-28.

The Yaunas (Poli Yonas) literally 'Ionians', a people or peoples of Greek descent, may be traced in Indian literature and inscriptions¹⁶ from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. They find mention as a ruling people also in the Achaemenian inscriptions. They were manifestly a factor of no small importance in the political history of northern and western India.¹⁷

As we read in the *Mahābhārata* they took the side of the Kauravas in the Kurukṣetra war along with other tribes of north-western India like the Kāmbojas, Śakas, Madras, Kaikeyas, Sindhus and Sauvīras.¹⁸ The Yavanas (Greeks) were the most esteemed of foreigners but all the Yavanas were regarded as sprung from Śūdra females and Kṣatriya males.¹⁹ The *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 54, 21) refers to the struggles of the Hindus with mixed hordes of Śakas and Yavanas.²⁰ In the *Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa* (IV, 43, 11-12), Sugriva places the country of the Yavanas and the cities of the Śakas between the countries of the Kurus and the Madras and the Himalayas. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 43) the Yaunas are classed with other peoples of Uttarāpatha or Northern India like the Kāmbojas, Gandharas, Kirātas and Barbaras.²¹ In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also we find a list of peoples where they are grouped with some other peoples of northern or north-western India like the Gāndhāras, Sindhu-Sauviras and Madrakas.²² The *Milinda Pañho* refers to the land of the Yonas as the place fit for the attainment of nibhāna.²³ The *Mahāvastu* speaks of the assembly of the Yonas where anything which was decided, was binding on them.²⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar²⁵ observes that there is nothing strange in Pāṇini flourishing in the sixth century B.C. and in his

16. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 343ff.

17. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 225.

18. *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, p. 274.

19. *Gautama Dharmasūtra*, IV, 21; *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, 240 f.n.

20. Cf. *Sakān Yavanamīritān*.

21. Cf. Uttarāpathamanāḥ Kīrtayisyāmi tān api. Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāh Kirātā Barbarāh saha.

22. Cf. Gāndhārā Yavanascaiva Sindhu-Sauvira-Madrakāḥ: *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Chap. 57, 36.

23. *Trenckner Ed.*, p. 327. cf. Silaṃ mahārāja ṭhānam, alipeṭṭhito yoniso manasikaronto saka-yavane pi Cina-Vilāte pi.....pi yattha kettāci pi thito sammāpāṭipanno nibbānam sacchikaroti.

24. Vol. I, p. 171; Cf. Śakayāvanacinaramaṭhapalhava — dādeṣu dasyu-pariṣāyāṃ | Ekavidhamucyamānā sarvaviyaccārīṇi bharhat || pariṣāp nātikramate niscarmāṇā girā naravarāpāṃ |

25. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 29. Pāṇini does not of course mean by Yavanāni any writing but only a feminine form of Yavana. It is Kātyāyana who distinguishes between Yavanāni and Yavanī restricting the use of the first to some form of Greek writing.

referring also to Yavanānī, the writing of the Greeks. The evidence furnished by Arrian's account of Nysa shows that Nysa was a Greek colony long before the advent of Alexander in India.²⁶ In the inscriptions of Aśoka²⁷ the Yonas are mentioned along with the Kāmbojas.²⁸ The existence of a Yona or Greek state during the days of Gautama Buddha and Assalāyana is evident from the *Majjhima Nikāya*.²⁹ It is difficult to determine the exact situation of the Yona territory.³⁰ The existence of a pre-Alexandrian Greek (better Ionian) colony may be inferred from the evidence of the coins similar to those of the earliest type of Athens which are known to have been collected from the north-west frontiers of India. They bear the head of Athena on the obverse and owls on the reverse.³¹ The owls of Athens have also been found in Southern Arabia Felix. But none of the owls found in the east are of the types known from Athens. The coins found in Arabia might have travelled there as a result of commercial intercourse.³²

In the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudrādāman (about 150 A.D.) a Yavana official or a vassal Yavanarājā called Tuṣāspha is said to have been the governor of Surāṣṭra (Kāthiāwāḍ) with his capital at Girinagara (Girnār) during the days of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. B. M. Barua³³ has suggested a new interpretation of "Mauryasyamte". Tuṣāspha is, therefore, to be assigned to a period subsequent to that of the Mauryas. According to Vincent Smith the form of the name Tuṣāspha shows that he was a Persian. Raychaudhuri, however, argues that if Greeks and other foreigners adopted Hindu names, there is no wonder that some of them assumed Iranic appellations. There is no good ground then for assuming that Tuṣāspha was not a Greek but a Persian. After the death of Aśoka, a Yavana army crossed the Hindu Kush which was the northern boundary of Asokar empire on the ruins of which an Indo-Greek kingdom arose. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, a certain Yavana or Greek had

26. Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 32; Cf. Chinnock's Arrian, p. 399.

27. See Rock Edict XIII.

28. Cf. 'Yona-Komboyesu Nabhake Na (bhi) tina Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu Amdhra-Puli (de) ṣu savatra devānaṃ priyasa dhramanuṣasti anuvataṃti (Shahbazgarhi text—Inscriptions of Asoka, edited by Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 53-4).

29. II, p. 149.

30. Raychaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind., 4th Edn., p. 253; D. R. Bhandarkar, Car. Lec., 1921, p. 26—According to Bhandarkar, the Yavanas lived outside the kingdom of Antiochus Theos.

31. Numismatic Chronicle, XX, 191.

32. J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 874ff.

33. Indian Culture, X, 87.

besieged Sāketa or Ayodhyā and another place called Madhyamikā (near Chitor), if we believe the evidence of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.³⁴ Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to a conflict between the Śunga prince Vasumitra and Yavana on the southern bank of the Sindhu. The name of this invader is not given either by Kālidāsa or Patañjali.³⁵ The extension of Yavana power to the interior of India was at first thwarted by the Śungas. In western India the last vestiges of Yavana power were swept away by the rising ascendancy of the Andhras or Sātavāhanas of the Deccan. King Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi boasts in his Nasik Cave Inscription that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. In the north-west of India the Yavanas were finally swept away by the onrush of the Parthians or Pahlavas.³⁶

The Nyseans: Holdich in discussing the site of Nysa which was a Yauna principality shows that the lower spurs and valleys of Koh-i-Mor are where the ancient city of Nysa once stood.³⁷ According to D. R. Bhandarkar Nysa was situated between the Kopphen (Kabul) and the Indus.³⁸

Arrian says that the Nysaeans were not an Indian race but descended from the men who came to India with Dionysus.³⁹ The deputies of Nysa who waited upon Alexander the great told the Macedonian monarch that their city was founded by Dionysus, for the Greeks believed that Dionysus conquered Asia in the old heroic days.

The Nysaeans had a republican form of government with Akouphis as their president and a governing body of three hundred members.⁴⁰ They came to help Alexander and three hundred of them joined the army of the Yavana king and followed him to battle in the plains of the Punjab.⁴¹ On account of the depth of the protecting river Alexander thought it proper to reduce the town of Nysa by blockade. When this operation was in progress the inhabitants submitted to him. Alexander accepted the Nysaeans appeal and exercised "a gracious clemency".⁴²

34. 'Arunad Yavanah Sāketam: Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām.'

35. Pol. Hist. of Anc. Ind., 4th Edn., p. 316.

36. B. C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India, p. 157.

37. Holdich, Gates of India, p. 122.

38. Carmichael Lectures, 1921, p. 32; B. C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India, p. 154.

39. Chinnock's Arrian, p. 399.

40. McCrindle's Ancient India: its invasion by Alexander the great, p. 81.

41. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 354.

42. V. A. Smith, Early History of India, 4th Ed. p. 56.

The country of the Glauganicians: The name of the tribe is given as Glauganikai by Aristobulus. Ptolemy calls it Glausians. Jayaswal restores the name as Glauchukāyana. According to classical writers,⁴³ the region occupied by this tribe lay in close proximity with the kingdom of Poros. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri suggests that the latter portion of the name of this tribe resembles that of the Sanakānikas of the Gupta period.⁴⁴ The country occupied by the Glauganicians is said to have been the most populous with numerous cities.

The Adraistai: They lived on the eastern side of Hydraotes (Rāvi). Pimprama was their stronghold. In the Droṇaparva of the Mahābhārata (Chap. 159, 5) we have the statement: "Yaudheyānadrijaṇ rājan Madrakān Mālavānapi." Here 'Adrijaṇ' has been interpreted by some scholars as signifying a tribe, the 'Adrijas' who are supposed to be identical with the Adraistai of the Greeks. It is reasonable, however, to conclude that 'Adrijaṇ' is simply an epithet qualifying the Yaudheyas (mountain-born). There is no mention in Sorensen's *Index to the names in the Mahābhārata* of 'adrija' used as the name of a tribe.⁴⁵ The Adraistai or Adhr̥ṣṭas are said to have bowed down before Alexander's army.⁴⁶

The realm of Sophytes: The name Sophytes corresponds to Sanskrit Saubhūti. According to Strabo (XV, 30)⁴⁷ the region where Sophytes ruled was marked by the presence of "a mountain composed of fossil salt, sufficient for the whole of India." V. A. Smith is accordingly inclined to think that Sophytes was the "lord" of the fastness of the Salt Range stretching from Jhilam to the Indus.⁴⁸ The kingdom of Sophytes is placed to the east of the river Jhelum by all the classical writers. Curtius records some interesting stories about the strange manners and customs of the people living in the realm of Sopeithes (Sophyytes), who seem to have good laws and customs.⁴⁹ Among them a child from the moment of birth would be subject to careful medical inspection. Parents were not allowed to regard their children as their private property. A good and healthy child was considered as a possession of the State. Pedigree had no charm for them. Graceful looks or physical charms would count most in the matter of choosing one's

43. Chinnock, Arrian, p. 276.

44. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., p. 201, n.

45. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 75, n. 5.

46. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 371 and n. 2.

47. *The Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 94, n. 1.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

49. *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 219.

partner. According to Strabo⁵⁰ even the dogs there were characterised by remarkable courage. According to classical writers Sophytes made an exhibition of the dogs of his realm. His great hunting dogs were noted for their strength and tenacity.⁵¹ He tendered his submission to Alexander.⁵² On the obverse of his coins we have the head of the king and on the reverse the figure of a cock. He was not an independent king but he seems to have been a vassal chieftain or viceroy of some other ruler.⁵³

The realm of Phegalas or Phegeus: Phegelas or Phegeus was the ruler of a region between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias). The name Phegelas corresponds to Sanskrit Bhagala. Curtius (IX, 2, 2) gives the name Phegelis while Diodoros (XVII, 93) calls his Phegeus.⁵⁴ King Bhagala submitted to Alexander (*Journal Asiatique*, XV, 1890, p. 239).

The Agalasso: According to classical writers they were the neighbours of the Biboi, having a formidable army of 40,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. According to Curtius they went against Alexander with the result that they met with a terrible fate. Alexander advanced 30 miles into their country and captured their chief town. At a second town he had to fight hard, which cost the lives of many Macedonians. The inhabitants set fire to it and cast themselves with their families into the flames. The citadel escaped the fire.⁵⁵ According to Diodorus Alexander set fire to their town.

The Sudracae or Oxydrakai: In the writings of Greek historians of the time of Alexander, the Sudracae, Sydracae, Oxydrakai or Hydrakai are associated with a neighbouring tribe called Malli or Mallai or Malloi. These two tribes have long been identified with the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas of Sanskrit literature.⁵⁶ Pāṇini does not actually mention them by name, but this *sūtra* (V, 3, 117) speaks of certain tribes as 'āyudhaṇvī saṃghas' or tribes living by the profession of arms, and the *Kāśika* says that amongst these *saṃghas* were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas. The Kṣudrakas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Droṇa parva, Chap. 10, p. 17; Sabhāparva, Chap. 32, p. 7) in conjunction with other north-western tribes like the Ambaṣṭhas, Śivis and Mālavas.

50. H. and F. tr., III, p. 93.

51. Diodoros, XVII, 91, 92.

52. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 372.

53. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* 4th Ed., pp. 203-4.

54. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 372, n. 3.

55. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., pp. 97-98; Arrian's *Anabasis*, vi. 5; Curtius IX, 4; Diod. XVII, 96.

56. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, p. 23.

As to the geographical position of the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas) at the time of Alexander's invasion, H. C. Ray Chaudhuri opines that they were settled between the Hydraotes (Rāvi) and the Hyphasis (Bias), in the territory probably included within the Montgomery District.⁵⁷ Strabo tells us that on one occasion the Persians summoned the Hydraces (the Kṣudrakas) from India.⁵⁸ According to Arrian the Malloi (Mālavas) had agreed to combine with the Oxydrakai (Kṣudrakas) against Alexander, but the conqueror had advanced so suddenly that their design was thwarted, and the two tribes could hardly have had the opportunity to unite against the common enemy.⁵⁹

The Abastanoi: The Abastanoi, as their name indicates, corresponded to the Sanskrit Ambaṣṭhas who were the same as the Abastanoi (Arrian), Sambastai (Diodoros), Sabarcae (Curtis), and Sabagrae (Orosius).⁶⁰ In Alexander's time the tribe was settled on the lower Akesines (Asikini) and had a democratic government. They had an army consisting of 60,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots under the command of three famous generals.⁶¹ Abastanoi eventually submitted to Alexander.⁶²

According to the Goldstücker, the older denomination of the tribe was probably Āmbaṣṭha and not Ambaṣṭha. The Ambaṣṭhas as a tribe existed as early as the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* when they were probably settled in the Punjab. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21-3), king Āmbaṣṭhya (= Ambaṣṭha) is mentioned as having been consecrated with the Aindra Mahābhiseka along with nine other kings. The *Mahābhārata* (II, 52, 14-15) mentions the Ambaṣṭhas along with the Śivis, Kṣudrakas, Mālavas and other north-western tribes. In the Bhīṣma (Chap. 20, 10) and Droṇa (Chap. 119.14) Parvans, the Ambaṣṭhas are referred to as having taken part in the Kurukṣetra war on the side of the Kurus. In the Purāṇas they are represented as Āṇava Kṣatriyas and are said to have originated from Suvrata, son of Uśinara. They were thus intimately connected with the Śivis and the Yaudheyas and were settled on the eastern border of the Punjab.⁶³ Their country is mentioned in the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*,⁶⁴ where it is

57. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 205.

58. *Ibid.*, 194.

59. McCrindle, *Invasion of India*, p. 236, f. n. 1; p. 150.

60. McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, 292 ff.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

62. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 376.

63. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Hist. Tradition*, pp. 109 and 284.

64. Ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21.

"talked up" to Rs. 18/-. In 1621, when the pepper market in Surat was at less than 15 maunds, the Dutch interfered and raised it to 19 maunds.³⁵ In November 1625, the Dutch and the English factors at Ahmedabad agreed to make no further investment in Indigo without the joint approbation of both. When the Dutch became desirous of buying some, it was agreed that 500 or 600 churls be bought in common and equally divided. On December 31, 1627 the English merchants at Agra wrote that the Dutch were buying indigo without fear giving 35 rupees for old and 33¾ rupees for new which was 3 or 4 rupees higher than necessary; they paid 17,000 rupees beforehand and got together some 700 fardles. The price of Sarkhej indigo could not be brought down while Dutch and English were competing for it. When the Dutch and the Moors were scant of money to make any great investment, the English obtained large supplies of cotton, cloth or calico.

(2) In 1618 Roe had pointed out the danger of continued competition with the Dutch and urged that it should be avoided by dividing the Eastern trade between the two nations. The rapid penetration of the country by foreigners competing for an increasing variety of its produce resulted in a development of very real value to producers. From 1619 onwards the price level of imported goods fell owing to the establishment of the Dutch at Surat as their supplies competed with those brought by the English. In 1625-26 there was a sharp rise as the Dutch brought nothing and price rose to Rs. 100 and even Rs. 120. In 1630 excessive supplies brought by the Dutch brought down the price. The occasional outbursts of excessive competition were of at least temporary benefit to the Indian consumer.

(3) From 1625 onwards the volume of the Dutch trade was larger than that of the English. Produce from the East coast was going to Holland from about 1615, i.e., 30 years before this branch of trade was developed by the English. The Dutch excelled in commercial efficiency as well as in material resources. Their greater command of capital is beyond question. They possessed a monopoly of the spice trade and of the markets of China and into their hands trade flowed from China and Japan. Their system of commercial administration was sound. The Governor-General and his council at Batavia exercised very wide powers throughout the East and constituted the heart and brain of the whole organism. Their commercial machinery was ruthlessly efficient. The competition of the weaker English company usually sufficed to secure

35. Vide letter of Thomas Rastell and others at Surat to the English Company dated November 7, 1621.

mention of Mekhalāmuṣṭa (which is in all probability a mis-reading for Mekalāmbaṣṭha) in the *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII, 14) would seem to prove that the two were neighbouring tribes. The tribe seems to have migrated eastwards as well, for even to-day a class of Kāyasthas known as Ambaṣṭhas Kāyasthas can be traced in Bihar. The Vaidyas of Bengal also claim to be designated as Ambaṣṭhas for they are described as such in Bharata Mallika's commentary on the *Bhṛṅgikāvya*.⁷⁵

The Xathroi or Oxathroi and the Ossadioi: The exact geographical position of these two tribes is at present unknown. According to McCrindle,⁷⁶ the Xathroi were probably the same as the *Kṣatri* of Sanskrit literature, an impure tribe of mixed origin. According to some scholars like Saint-Martin the Ossadioi were probably identical with the *Vasāti* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as being associated with the *Śibis* and *Sindhu-Sauviras*.⁷⁷ The Xathri and the Ossadii were compelled to submit to Alexander.⁷⁸

The Sodrai (Sogdoi) and the Massanois: The Sodrai or Sogdoi of Greek historians of Alexander's time are most likely identical with the *Śūdras* of Indian literature. Greek writers refer to them as Sodrai in association with the Massanoi and Mousikanoi, all of whom occupied portions of modern Sind.

The *Śūdras* as a tribe seem to have played a considerable part in ancient Indian history. In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (1, 2, 3) and in the *Mahābhārata*⁷⁹ they are associated with the *Ābhīras*. According to the *Mahabharata* (79) (IX, 37, 1) they lived in the region where the river *Sarasvatī* vanishes into the desert, i.e., near *Vinaśana* in Western Rajputana.⁸⁰ In the *Harivamsa*⁸¹ we have *Madrābhīrah* (Madras and *Ābhīras*) instead of the usual compound '*Śūdrābhīrah*'. Madra may reasonably be taken to be a misreading for Sudra, for the Madra are hardly anywhere associated with the *Ābhīras*.⁸² M. Langolis reads '*Śūrābhīrah*', evidently following the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and some other *Purāṇas*.

75. Ibid., p. 97, n. 10.

76. *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 156 n.

77. *Mahābhārata*, VII, 19.11; 89.37; VIII, 44.49; VI, 106.8; VI, 51.14; Cf. *Gāndhārāh Sindhu-Sauvirāh Sivayo'tha Vasātayah*.

78. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 376.

79. *Śalyaparvan*, 2119.

80. Cf. *Śūdrābhīrān prati deśād yatra naṣṭā Sarasvatī*.

81. Calcutta Ed. 12, 837.

82. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 350.

83. See his translation of the *Harivamsa*, Vol. II, p. 401; Also Goldstücker's *Dictionary*, p. 299.

According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57, 35) the *Śūdras* were located in the *Aparānta* region or western country, and were associated with the *Vāhlikas*, *Vātadhānas*, *Ābhīras*, *Pallavas* and others. The *Brahma Purāṇa* (19, 17) and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (XII, 1, 36) similarly assign them to the west and associate them *Saurāṣṭras*, *Ābhīras*, *Arbudas* and *Mālavas*. The *Vāyupurāṇa* (II, 3) has '*Śūrābhīrah*' which is evidently a misreading for '*Śūdrābhīrah*'.

The territory of Mousikanos: Mousikanos is possibly a title denoting the chief of the *Mūṣikas*.⁸⁴ Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* suggests Muchukarna.⁸⁵ It is reasonable to suggest that the *Mūṣikas* or *Mūṣakas* were an offshoot of the northern tribe known to Alexander's historians as the Mousikanos. The principality of Mousikanos comprised a large portion of modern Sind. Its capital has been identified with Alor in the Sukkur district.⁸⁶ According to Arrian⁸⁷ "Brachmans", i.e., the *Brāhmaṇas*, seemed to have been very influential in this region. They are said to have been the main agents in bringing about an uprising of the people against the Macedonian invader. But Alexander took them by surprise and they had to submit to him.⁸⁸ Strabo⁸⁹ gives an interesting account of the inhabitants of this territory. They used to eat in public and their food consisted of what was taken in the chase. They made no use of gold or silver, although they had mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age. They studied no science with attention but that of medicine. They never liked to go to law courts by creating constant disputes.

In Indian literature we find frequent references to the tribe called *Mūṣikas* or *Mūṣikas* (*Mṛṣikas*) who are thus spoken of as a people living in the south in both the *Mahābhārata*⁹⁰ and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. The same people are probably referred to as *Mūṣakas* in the *Mahābhārata*.⁹¹

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVIII, 16) speaks of a people called *Mṛṣikas* who are said to be living in the south-east. The *Mṛṣikas* were probably the same as *Mūṣikas* or *Mūṣakas*.

84. *Cambridge Hist. of India*, I, p. 377.

85. Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, 4th Ed. p. 208, n. 2.

86. Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

87. Chinnock, Arrian, p. 319.

88. *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 377.

89. H. & F's Tr., III, p. 96.

90. *Bhīṣmaparva*, IX, 368.

91. Ibid., IX, 366 and 371.

Pargiter⁹² suggests that the Mūṣikas or Mūṣakas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which stands modern Hyderabad. Patañjali also mentions a people called Mauṣikāra (IV, 1, 4) who are probably connected with the Mūṣikas were probably so called because their territory lay in that portion of the north-western trade route which was known by the name of Mūṣikapatha or red tract.⁹³

The territory of Sambos: The Indian equivalent of the Greek name is possibly Sambhu.⁹⁴ H. C. Raychaudhuri⁹⁵ suggests Sām̐ba as a possible alternative. According to classical writers, Sambos ruled the mountainous country adjoining the territory of Mousikanos. There was, however, no other relation save that of mutual jealousy and animosity between these two neighbours. The capital of this country is called Sindimana, which has been identified with Sehwan, a city on the Indus.⁹⁶ V. A. Smith says that Sindimana may or may not have been Sihwān with which it is commonly identified for no better reason than that both names begin with S.⁹⁷ Sambos who fled in terror afterwards submitted to Alexander. Curtius (ix. 3) says that the troops of Sambos used poisoned swords.

A city of Brāhmaṇas⁹⁸ had to be stormed while the operations against Sambos were going on.⁹⁹ Musicanus was urged by the Brahmins to revolt, but he was taken prisoner by Pithon, the Greek Governor of Sind. He was then tried and executed by Alexander. A great and inhuman slaughter of Brahmins followed. Their bodies were hung up on the road side for being devoured by kites and vultures.¹⁰⁰

Patalene: The little state of Patalene, as the Greeks called it, was probably named after its capital city Patala. Patalene is generally identified with the Indus delta, and its capital town Patala (Sir Prasthala) is supposed to have stood at or near the site of modern Bāhmanābād, which was discovered by Bellasis in

1854.¹⁰¹ This site is the most ancient and includes extensive pre-historic remains.¹⁰²

There is evidence to believe that this little state had a non-monarchical, that is to say, oligarchic form of government. According to Diodoros¹⁰³ the constitution of Tauala (Patala) was similar to that of Sparta. There was a Council of Elders vested with supreme authority in the management and conduct of the usual administration. Besides, there were two hereditary kings representing two different royal houses. There were the military leaders of the nation and as such commanded the national militia in times of war. We have the name of one of these kings, e.g., Moeres, who ruled during the time of Alexander's invasion.¹⁰⁴ Moeres is said to have advanced from his capital city Patala to tender his submission and pay homage to Alexander. But the inhabitants fled before Alexander entered the city.¹⁰⁵ According to Strabo¹⁰⁶ Patalene long after Alexander's invasion passed under the rule of Bactrian Greeks along with other coastal localities like Saraostos (Surāṣṭra or Kāthiāwār) and Sigerdis. Patalene or the Indus Delta later on came to the hands of Śaka or Indo-Scythian rulers from the clutches of the Indo-Greek rulers. About the middle of the second century A.D., the geographer Ptolemy notes that the principal Indo-Scythian possessions were Patalene (the Indus Delta), Abiria (the Abhīra country) and Syrastrène (i.e., Kāthiāwār).¹⁰⁷

The Pāradas: The Pāradas seem to have been a barbarous hill tribe and they are associated with rude tribes of the north as mentioned in the Epic and Puranic tradition.¹⁰⁸ According to the *Harivamśa* (XIII, 763-64; XIV, 775-83) they were *mlecchas* and *dasyus*. King Sagara degraded them and ordered them to have their hair-locks long and dishevelled. In the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 43-44) we find that they were Kṣatriyas originally but were later degraded owing to the absence of sacred rites among them.

The Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka gives a list of vassal states including the Pāradas. The Palidas have often been identified

92. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 366.

93. Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Ch. III.

94. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 377.

95. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed.; p. 209, n. 4.

96. McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 404.

97. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed. p. 106, f. n. 4.

98. Diod., XVII, 103, 1.

99. Arrian, VI, 16, 5.

100. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 378.

101. JBRAS., January, 1856.

102. ASWI., *Progress Report*, 1896-97.

103. *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 296.

104. *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 256.

105. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.

106. *Hamilton and Falconer*, Vol. II, pp. 252-53.

107. *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 354; Raychaudhuri, *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

108. E.g., *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparva*, I., 1832; LI, 1869; *Dronaparva*, CXXI, 4819; *Vāyupurāṇa*, Chap. 88.

time by the Cheras but it soon went to the Pāṇdyas and ultimately to the Pallavas.¹²¹

Tambapamni: Tambapamni of Asokan inscriptions is generally identified with Tāmraparṇī. The name Tāmraparṇī was generally applied to Ceylon. It is called Taprobane by Greek writers. Tambapamni i.e., Tāmraparṇī is mentioned in Rock Edicts II and XIII of Aśoka. Vincent Smith¹²² thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tāmraparṇī in Tinnevely. He refers to the Girnar text “ā Tambapamni” which according to him, indicates that the river is meant and not Ceylon. Raychaudhuri contends that the phrase, “ā Tambapamni” in Rock Edict II comes after Ketalaputo and not after Pādā. According to him the expression: “Ketalaputo as far as the Tāmraparṇī” is hardly appropriate because the Tāmraparṇī is a Pāṇḍya river.¹²³ In Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra (II, XI) Tāmraparṇī has been referred to as Pārasamudra. In R. E. XIII, the people of Tāmraparṇī are expressly mentioned as Tambapamniyā i.e., Tāmraparṇyas. In this edict Tāmraparṇī or the country of the Tāmraparṇyas is placed below Pāṇḍya. In the great Epic too the country Tāmraparṇī is placed below Pāṇḍya or Drāviḍa, and Mount Vaidūryaka¹²⁴ is mentioned as its rocky landmark. The āśramas of Agastya and his disciple and the *Gokarna-tīrtha* are located in it. These facts enable us to identify Tāmraparṇī with Hiuen Tsang's Malayakūṭa also placed below Drāviḍa, with Mount Potalaka (Vaidūryaka) as its landmark. By Tāmraparṇī or Taprobane, Ceylon is meant, the word dvīpa or island is associated with it. In one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, Tambapamna is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambapamni.¹²⁵

121. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 193-94.

122. *Aśoka*, 3rd Ed., 162.

123. *Political History of Ancient India*, (4th Ed.) p. 273.

124. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, LXXXVII, 8343; LXXXIX, 8354-61). Here costly stone was available, hence the range was so called.

125. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, Chap. III.

Ayanamsa and Indian Chronology The Age of Varahamihira, Kalidasa, Etc.

AN ASTRONOMICAL PROOF

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Astronomers have played no small part in fixing up the chronology of Indian History; but I consider that the last word on the subject has not been said; this is mainly due to the complexity of the materials dealt with. The late Swamikannu Pillai, having fixed 536 A.D. as the year of zero Ayanamsa, came to the conclusion that Varahamihira lived in the *sixth century A.D.* But his method requires reconsideration on purely astronomical grounds and the object of this article is a reconsideration of the subject in a different light. The results arrived at may not be new, but I am sure that the method adopted is entirely original; I commend this article to the attention of oriental scholars for their critical study.

The Saka of Varahamihira:—In the *Brihatsamhita*, Varahamihira states that the Great Bear, the Saptarshis, was in Magha Nakṣatra when Yudhishtira was ruling over our country and 2526 years are to be added to the epoch of his rule to get Saka-Kala.

Asan makhasa munayah sasathi prdhveem yudhishtire
nrpathaw |
shatdwikapancha dwiyutah saka kalah thasya rajnascha ||

Yudhishtira ruled for 25 years after the death of Lord Krishna, at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, and in memory of Yudhishtira, a Saka was started in the 26th year of Kali. Astronomically, it is stated that the Kaliyuga began at midnight of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. So Yudhishtira Saka or Era was started in 3077 B.C.; and the epoch of Saka-Kala must be 3077 B.C. — 2526 = 551 B.C. elapsed or 550 B.C., current.

So we find that 550 B.C. is the epoch of Saka-Kala mentioned by Varahamihira.

The epoch of Panchasiddhantika of Varahamihira is 427 Saka i.e., 123 B.C. In the same book, he gives some more points for the verification of the correctness of this date.

with the Pulindas. Hultsch, however, does not accept this identification for the Kālsi and Girṇār versions of the Edict have the variants Pālada and Pārimda. H. C. Raychaudhuri thinks that these variants remind us of the Pāradas.¹⁰⁹ If that be so, then the association of the Pāradas with the Andhras in Asokan inscriptions would suggest that in the Maurya period they may have been located in the Deccan. But the matter still remains undecided.

According to the ancient historical tradition contained in the Epics and Purāṇas, the Pāradas were one of the allies of the Haihaya-Tālaṅghas who drove Bāhu, the eighth king in descent from Hariścandra, from his throne.¹¹⁰ According to Pargiter they were a tribe of the north-west.¹¹¹

Satiyaputra: The Rock Edict XIII refers to some territories in the south including Satiyaputra. The Satiyaputras mentioned as a people in the Mansehra version of R.E. II, lay to the west of the territories of the Coḷas and Pāṇdyas and extended along the western sea coast of South India.¹¹² The Satiyaputras had their territory above that of the Keralaputras, who were the independent "Frontagers" or "borderers". Aśoka's *Dharma-vijaya* was also won in the independent territory of the Satiyaputras. According to Venkatesvaraiyar,¹¹³ Satiyaputra mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions is identical with Satyavratākṣetra or Kāñcī-pura. Aiyangar, however, contends that the term *Satyavratākṣetra* is applied to the town of Kāñcī or its localities. Raychaudhuri objects to his identification on the ground that 'vrata' can hardly be transformed to 'puta'. Aiyangar agrees with R. G. Bhandarkar in identifying Satiyaputra with Satpute. According to him Satiyaputra is a collective name denoting the various matriarchal communities like the Tulus and the Nayars of Malabar.¹¹⁴ Vincent Smith¹¹⁵ identifies Satiyaputra with the Satyamangalam Taluk or subdivision of Coimbatore district, lying along the western ghats and bordering on Mysore, Malabar, Coimbatore and Coorg. According to some Satiyaputra is the same as 'Satyabhūmi' of the Keralolpatti i.e., a territory roughly equal to North

Malabar including a portion of Kasergode Taluk, South Canara.¹¹⁶ According to Barnett and Jayaswal the names Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi are derived from that of Sātiyaputa.¹¹⁷ All the identifications based upon the equation of Satiya of Satiyaputra with *Satya* meaning truth are questionable.

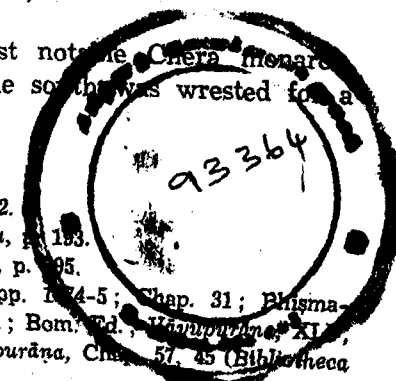
Keralaputra: Keralaputra (variant Ketalaputo) is undoubtedly the Kerala or Chera country. Like the Coḷas the Keralas were one of the earliest tribes of southern India. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (IV, 1, 4th Aṅṇika) mentions Kerala or Malabar. The Keralaputra is the country south of Kūpaka (or Satya), extending down to Kanneti in Central Travancore (Karunagapalli Taluk). South of it lay the political division of Mūṣika. It was watered by the river Periyar on the banks of which stood its capital Vañji (near Cochin) and at its mouth there was the seaport of Muziris (Kranganur).¹¹⁸ According to Barnett¹¹⁹ the Chera or Kerala country comprised Travancore, Cochin and the Malabar District. The Koṅgudeśa (corresponding to the Coimbatore District and the southern part of Salem District) was annexed to it. Its capital was originally Vañji (now Tiru-Karur, on the Periyar river, near Cochin) but later Tiru-Vañjik-kalam (near the mouth of the Periyar). It had important trading centres on the western coast at Tondi on the Agalappulai about five miles north of Quilāndi, Muchiri (near the mouth of the Periyar), Palaiyūr (near Chowghāt) and Vaikkarai (close to Kottayam). Chera or Kerala finds mention in the Epics and Purāṇas.¹²⁰

In his second and thirteenth Rock Edicts, Aśoka mentions the Ketalaputas or Keralas as a people living on the border though outside his own realm. Later on during the age of the *Periplus*, Cerobothra (i.e., Keralaputra) was included within Damirica. Subsequently during the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Karoura was ruled by Kerobothros (Keralaputra).

Senguttavan Chera was the first notable Chera monarch. From the Coḷas the hegemony of the south was wrested from a

109. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 259.
110. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 206, 268 and n.
111. *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 365.
112. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 111.
113. *J.R.A.S.*, 1918, pp. 541-2.
114. *J.R.A.S.*, 1919, pp. 581-84.
115. *Aśoka*, Third Ed., p. 161.

116. *J.R.A.S.*, 1923, p. 412.
117. Raychaudhuri, *Op. Cit.*, p. 343, n. 2.
118. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 193.
119. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 95.
120. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XXX, pp. 174-5; Chap. 31; Bhīṣma-parva, IX, 352, 365; *Rāmāyana*, IV, Chap. 41; Bom. Ed.; *Matsyapurāṇa*, CXIII, 46; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Chap. 57, 45 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), Cf. *Hariṣaṃśa*, XXXII, 1836.



Ayanamsa :—In Brihatsamhita, Varahamihira states as follows :—

Asleshardhath dakshinamutharamayyanam ravērdhanishta-
dyam |
Nunam kadachidaseeth yēnoktham purva śastreshu ||
Samprathamayanam savithuh karkatakadyam yugaditha-
schantyam |
Vukthabhavo vikritihi pratyakshaparikshanairvyakthihi ||

“Old books state that once Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the mid-point of Aslesha and Uttarayana when the sun reached the beginning of Dhanishta. But now the ayanas begin when the sun reaches the beginning of Karkataka and Makara signs. This can be verified by actual observation.” But in Chapter III of Panchasiddhantika, Varahamihira states as follows :—

Asleshardhadaseedhyada nivrththihi kiloshna kiranasya |
Yukthamayanam thadaseeth samprathamayanam punarva-
suthah ||

“Once the sun changed his course from the mid-point of Aslesha; but now from Punarvasu.”

The beginning of Karkataka coincides with the end of the third pada of Punarvasu. So what does ‘from Punarvasu’ = *punarvasuthah* mean? *Punarvasuthah* cannot mean the end of third pada or the beginning of fourth pada. The two statements have to be reconciled. It can be done in one of the following ways :—

(a) Either that the author—even though of the same name—of Panchasiddhantika is different from that of Brihat Samhita.

(b) Or that Brihatsamhita being a non-Karana grantha, Varahamihira gave only a rough position, whereas in the Panchasiddhantika he gave the actual longitude, the end of *Punarvasu* as the point at which the southward motion of the sun began. It is also to be remembered that *punarvasuthah* cannot mean the beginning of Punarvasu, but must mean only the end of it, since otherwise he would have stated definitely the beginning of *Punarvasu* just in the same way he mentioned dhanishtadyam.

So, let us now find what the date of the epoch is when Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the end of Punarvasu; that is, when the Nirayana longitude of the sun was 93° 20’.

This change in the dates of the beginning of Dakshinayana and Uttarayana is due to the well-known astronomical phenomenon, called the Precession of the Equinoxes.

According to Newcomb, Ball and other authorities, the value of the rate of the Precession of the Equinoxes per year, *Ayanagathi* is 50''·2585 in 1909 A.D., while its rate for a year in the past, n years earlier than 1909 A.D., is given by $50''·2585 - n \times 0''·000225$ per annum. Swamikannu Pillai¹ found by calculation, from the nautical almanac that when the apparent vernal equinox occurred at Lanka, the date was March 21·2143 and that the beginning of the Indian Sidereal year at Lanka was April 12·9492. The difference, between the two moments equal to 22·7349 days, is the time taken by the sun to travel along the ecliptic from 0° tropical longitude to 0° Indian Sidereal longitude in the year 1909 A.D. Then Swamikannu Pillai shows that 536 A.D. is the year of zero ayanamsa and therefore the epoch of Panchasiddhantika. There are the following drawbacks in the whole argument :—

(a) It was considered that Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the beginning of Karkataka instead of the end of Punarvasu.

(b) The fact that the modern tropical year goes on decreasing at the rate of 0·53 seconds per century was not taken into consideration.

(c) At least at the time of Varahamihira, the Indian Sidereal year—so designated at present—was really a tropical year and the value for the precession of the equinoxes must be taken as $50''·2585 - n \times 0''·000225$ and not as 54''·7505 as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai.

Calculation of Ayanamsa :—Now 22·7349 days in time-interval for Ayanamsa is equal to 22·4136 degrees and adding 3° 20', the equivalent for Punarvasu fourth pada, we get, on simplification, 25° 45' as the space interval for ayanamsa between the time of Varahamihira and the year 1909 A.D. But the interval from 427 Saka (= 123 B.C. or - 122 astronomical) and 1909 A.D. is equal to 2031 years, and taking the cumulative value for n years as $50''·2585 \times n - \frac{n(n+1)}{2} \times 0''·000225$ and substituting 2031 for n in this formula, we get 28° 15' as the ayanamsa, whereas we

1. Indian Ephemeris by Swamikannu Pillai.

have seen that the value must be $25^{\circ} 45'$. How is this difference to be reconciled?

The ayanamsa for one year is $50'' \cdot 25$ and so it works out roughly to be 72 years for one year. Now $28^{\circ} 15' - 25^{\circ} 45' = 2^{\circ} 30'$ will correspond to about 180 years and are we to shift the epoch of Panchasiddhantika to a date 180 years later, that is, to $180 - 122 = 58$ A.D.? No, that will not be the correct procedure; but unfortunately that has been the method adopted almost uniformly in dealing with Indian Chronology. A different method will now be followed.

The discrepancy resolved:—It has been already noted that Kaliyuga began at mid-night of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. But most of the ephemerides reckon on February 15-579 as the epoch of Kaliyuga, that is, they have used a bija or correction. Since the day begins at mean sunrise at Lanka for Indian Siddhantas, mid-night of 17-18th February 3102 B.C. corresponds to February 17-75 of 3102 B.C. The value of correction used is $17-75 - 15-57 = 2-18$ days and the Indian Sidereal year began in 1909 A.D. not on April 12-95 + 2-18 days = April 15-13. So the interval between the moment of apparent vernal equinox and the beginning of the Indian Sidereal year is 24-91 days but not 22-73 days as assumed by Swamikannu Pillai. The time interval of 24-91 days corresponds to a space interval of $24^{\circ} 30'$ and so the space interval of ayanamsa between the epoch of Panchasiddhantika and 1909 A.D. is $24^{\circ} 39' + 3^{\circ} 20' = 27^{\circ} 59'$, whereas according to our calculation it ought to be $28^{\circ} 15'$ with an error of 16 minutes which falls within the limits of probable error and so can be considered as insignificant. So ayanamsa calculations lead us to the conclusion that the epoch of Panchasiddhantika is 123 B.C. and not 505 A.D. as wrongly presumed hitherto. As Varahamihira makes no mention of ayanamsa, it is presumed that it was zero in his time.

The epoch of Bhattotpala:—Bhattotpala finished his commentary on Brihatjataka in Saka 888, and he mentions that the ayanamsa in his days was 7 days² or to be more accurate $6\frac{1}{2}$ degrees sardhashatkamsah according to one reading. The commentary on Brihatjataka must have been finished in $888 - 549 = 339$ A.D. The interval between the epoch of Panchasiddhantika and the completion of the commentary on Brihatjataka is $888 - 427 = 461$ years. Therefore the value of the annual rate of the precession of the equinoxes

2. Vide Brihat Samhita with Bhattotpala's commentary, Adityachara.

is $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}/461 = 390 \times 60/461$ seconds = 50-8 seconds, which may be considered as a fairly accurate value. The early Indian astronomers are really to be congratulated on their proficiency in astronomical calculations. All these results prove conclusively the unsustainability of the theory that the Indian astronomers were wholly indebted to the Greeks for their knowledge of astronomy. Hipparchus lived about 160 B.C. and Ptolemy made observations between 127 A.D. to 151 A.D.

Some deductions:—It is easy to draw some important and interesting deductions from the above results. Amarasimha (or is it Amaraja?) has stated that Varahamihira died in Saka 509 at the age of 82 years. So he must have been born in 427 Saka, the epoch of Panchasiddhantika. It may be safely assumed that this versatile Hindu astronomer lived between 427 — 509 Saka or 123 B.C. — 41 B.C. This fixes the period of Kalidasa and others from the following slokas of Jyotirvidabharana:—

Kavyatrayam sumathi krdraghuvamsa purvam |
purvam thathasmr̥thi hitham sr̥uthikarmavādam |
Jyotirvidabharanam kalaviḍhanasastram |
Srikalidasa kavithohi thatho bhabhuva ||
Dhanvantari kshapanakamarasimha sanku |
Vetalabhatta ghatakarparakalidasah |
Rhyathovarahamihiro nr̥pathessabhayam |
ratnanivai vararuchi rnava vikramasya ||

In these slokas, Kalidasa states that he was the author of Raghu-vamsa and other kavyas and also of Jyotirvidabharana and that he was the contemporary of Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amarasimha, Sanku Bhatta, Vetal Bhatta, Gata, Karpa and Vararuchi who with Kalidasa formed the nine gems at the court of Vikramaditya.

Kalidasa gives the date of the composition of this book as Kali 3068 or 34 B.C. in the following sloka:—

Varshesindhuradarsanambara gunairyate kalaw samsthithe |
masemadhava samjnithetra vihitho granthakriyopakramah ||

"This work was begun in the Vaisakha month of the year Kali 3068."

This king Vikramarka, the founder of the Saka with epoch 55 B.C. defeated the Saka King of Rumaka and annexed Ujjain

Yorumakesadhipathim sakeṣvaram |
Jithvagrihithojjayinim mahahave |
Aniyasambhramaya mumocha thamthvaho |
sr̥vikramarkassamasahya vikramah ||

This proves that Kalidasa and Amarasimha lived in the first century B. C.

Some more proofs:—The question that next suggests itself is whether the conclusion that Varahamihira lived in the second and first centuries B.C. is quite definite and incontrovertible. Apart from the question of Ayanamsa, there is another point to be considered. Varahamihira has stated as follows in Panchasiddhantika :—

Sapthaśviveda samkhyam śaka kalamapasya chaitrasukladau |
Ardhastamite bhanau yavanapure saumyadivasadye ||

"Subtract 427 from Saka Kala, when the sun was half-setting at Yavanapuri at the beginning of Chaitra Sukla Pratipadi, it was the beginning of Wednesday.

Yavanapuri is 90 degrees west of Ujjain and when the sun is half-setting at Yavanapuri, it must be midnight at Ujjain, Tuesday—Wednesday, at the beginning of Chaitra Suklaprathipadi. Sudhakara Dwivedi has quoted Saumyadivasadye from the manuscript available with him and later on corrected it into somadivasadye "beginning of Monday," in his edition of Panchasiddhantika when he found from calculations that it was not the beginning of a Wednesday on Chaitra Suklavan of 427 Salivahana Saka elapsed, but the beginning of a Monday.

The text of Panchasiddhantika as edited by Dr. Thibaut, which I have consulted gives Bhaumadivasadye beginning of Tuesday."

Sankara Balakrishna Dikshit states as follows³ :—

"The real epoch and initial day of the Panchasiddhantika is Ananta Vaisakha Suklaprathipadi of Saka Samvat 428 current (427 elapsed) which ended on Bhaumavara (Tuesday) 22-3-505 A.D. The Ananta Chaitra Suklaprathipadi 427, Salivahana Saka elapsed, ended not on a Tuesday but on a Sunday." "But when the kshepas in the Panchasiddhantika given in accordance with the original Suryasiddhanta are taken into consideration, neither of these dates, nor any other date, stands the test. It is proved beyond all doubt as will be seen further on that the kshepas are for the Ananta Chaitra Krishna Chaturdasi of 428 (current) Salivahana Saka, when ended on Sunday, 20-3-505 A.D."

3. Original Suryasiddhanta, Ind. Antiquary, XIX, page 46.

So both the week day and the kshepas are not correct if we take 427, Salivahana Saka, (elapsed) as the epoch of Panchasiddhantika. But if we take the Saka with its epoch at 550 B.C., then the week days are perfectly correct both as regards the epoch of Panchasiddhantika and the date of completion of his commentary on Brihatjataka by Bhattotpala :—

Chaitramasasya panachamyam sitayam guruvasare |
vasvashtashtamike śake krteyam vivrthirmaya ||

"I have finished this commentary on Thursday, Chaitra Sukla-panchami, Saka 888."

The week day does not come out correctly if we take either, the Salivahana Saka or Vikrama Saka.

So the Saka mentioned by both Varahamihira and Bhattotpala refers only to the Saka with 550 B.C. as the epoch.

Also at the time of Varahamihira, Dakshinayana began when the sun reached the end of Punarvasu. But later on, the point seems to have been lost sight of by the other astronomers.

Later astronomers:—All the later astronomers, including Bhaskaracharya have given the epoch of zero ayanamsa some year in the fifth century of Salivahana Saka. For example, the author of Ganakanandam gives 421 (499 A.D.) as the year of zero Ayanamsa, with 54 seconds as the rate per year, whereas Bhaskara gives 412 (490 A.D.) as the year of zero ayanamsa but with 60 seconds as the rate per year.

Let us consider the following table as regards the year of zero ayanamsa :—

Varahamihira	..	427 Saka (sapthaśvivedasamkhyā)
Kalidasa	..	445 Saka (sarambhodhiyuga)
Bhaskaracharya	..	412 Saka
Suryadaivagna	..	421 Saka
(Author of Ganakanandam)		

by calculation

This shows that all these astronomers are agreed that some year in the fifth century of some Saka as the year of zero ayanamsa. What is that Saka? Varahamihira, Kalidasa and Bhattotpala seem to refer to the Saka with its epoch in 550 B.C. as their Saka — which I called Andhra Saka in another paper. But the later astronomers thought that the Saka was Salivahana Saka and by actual calculation arrived at the year of zero ayanamsa. That accounts for the

difference in the rates of ayanamsa among the later astronomers. Further this is the only method that can be adopted, as the point with which the first point of Aries coincided during the time of Varahamihira is an imaginary point which cannot be located by the later astronomers, when once the first of Aries had moved away from that point. Again it is to be noted that at the time of Varahamihira, the first point of Aries seems to have coincided with the end of Punarvasu and not at the beginning of Karkata (cancer). This is the only inference I can draw from pure calculations from the available data.

Does Bhaskara Use Salivahana Saka? :—Yes. There is no doubt about it. Let us consider the following :—

gathobdadri nandau (974) mite śaka kale.

"Years 974, 1115, 1256, 1378 of Sakakala are years having Kshaya months and their period is generally 141 years and occasionally with period of 19 years.

On actual calculation, I found that 1052 A.D., corresponding to 974 Salivahana Saka, was a year with a Kshaya month, whereas the Andhra Saka does not satisfy this test. So the proof is unequivocal.

Conclusion :—But the week days mentioned by Varahamihira and Bhattotpala do not satisfy the Salivahana Saka and so the Saka referred to by them cannot be Salivahana Saka, but only the Saka with 550 B.C. as the epoch. Bhaskara and others refer only to Salivahana Saka. I leave it to scholars to judge on their merits the conclusions of this article, in which I have attempted to remove some of the existing discrepancies in Indian Chronology. In conclusion, let me end with a statement of Quetelet, the eminent French statistician "Never reject data, contrary to your theory."

4. Siddhanta Siromani, Madyamadhikara Adhimasa prakarana, Sloka 9.

Christian and Non-Christian Crosses in Ancient India

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I. MOUNT CROSS, MADRAS (FIGURE ON P. 122)

Crosses of the pre-Christian and Christian periods have been discovered in India, the most famous of them being the Pahlavi-inscribed miraculous stone cross, wrongly called "St. Thomas Cross", accidentally dug up by the Portuguese in 1547 A.D. from St. Thomas Mount, Madras, and now preserved over the main altar in the Church on that Mount. After its discovery and attribution to St. Thomas it is said that occasionally, since 1557, it began to sweat and bleed miraculously. So many copies of that sweating, bleeding cross were (as Gouvea says in his *Jornada*, 1606, fol. 60 v, col. 1) made by Christians in Malabar (and perhaps in other parts of India and in Ceylon), and set up in their churches and greatly venerated. Some of those copies with or without a clumsy, unintelligent, reproduction of the original Pahlavi inscription, have been discovered in Travancore, but not in other parts of Malabar, the best known of such inscribed copies being the two in the Valiya Palli Church at Kottayam in North Central Travancore.¹ No such imitation crosses, with or without the Pahlavi inscription, have yet been discovered in localities south of Kottayam or North of Alangād in North Travancore. Copies discovered in other parts of India too are not known. The Alangād copy has no inscription. Why the known copies of the miraculous Mount Cross are confined to the Kottayam—Alangād portion of Travancore has yet to be explained. (The older Kottayam cross is said to have been brought from Cranganore).

1. For details about the original cross and its copies, and about the several interpretations of the Pahlavi inscription see the present writer's *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, 1929. The latest interpretation of the Pahlavi inscription by Dr. W. H. Henning of Cambridge, kindly supplied to me in his letter dated Cambridge, 6th September 1948, received by air on the 13th of that month runs: "My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chaharbukht, son of Givargis, who set this up." See this *Journal* for December 1948, pp. 318-19.

Since the inscription is held to be in "Sassanian Pahlavi", the Mount Cross is usually assigned to the Sassanian period of Persian history, viz. A.D. 226 to 651. But later Pahlavi inscriptions are found in West India, e.g. on the Travancore Sthānu Ravi copper-plate of about 873 A.D. belonging to the Quilon Tarisā (=Christian) church built about 825 A.D. by the Persian merchant Maruvān Sabr-Isō, described in the document as he "who founded this city and obtained possession of it." This was in fact a *rebuilding* of the city after its destruction,² two or three years before. Two later Indian Pahlavi inscriptions also are known, viz., those of 10th October, and 24th November 1009, and that of 30th October, 1021, scribbled in the Kanheri caves in Bombay by Parsi visitors. The Mount Cross and its Pahlavi inscription may therefore be even of a year subsequent to the Sassanian period, A.D. 226-651.

II. A ST. THOMAS CROSS IN CRANGANORE, COCHIN

In his *Jornada* (Coimbra, 1606), fol. 53 r-v, Gouvea describes another so-called St. Thomas Cross thus:—

"Cranganore was anciently a very noble city of the Christians of St. Thomas, where many lived, and very rich ones³ and where

2. This is referred to as "Kollam alintu", கொல்லம் அழிந்து, i.e. Quilon was ruined, in the Tamil work 'Maturaittala Varalāru' (No. 27 of the Chentamil Series). "Kollam alintu 501-ām āntu" is the phrase there, which means the 501st year after Quilon was ruined, and it is mentioned as corresponding to the Saka year 1246.

One version of the Malabar Hindu account called Keralolpatti (= origin of Kerala) printed in 1086 M.E. mentions on p. 35 the digging of a *cirā*, i.e., a tank (in Quilon) by the kings of Kerala and "the Quilon merchant" in 1 M.E. (824-5 A.D.). This was probably the deepening of the Quilon harbour by the Persian merchant Sabr-Iso of the copper-plate, in that year. In later inscriptions and other records Quilon is designated "Kurakkēni-Quilon", to distinguish it from other ancient Quilons in Kerala. The name means Quilon having 'Kural-kēni', குரல் கேனி, a tank with a *kural*, a neck, i.e., a ship-channel leading into the *kēni* (= tank), viz., the deepened part of the harbour.

3. E.g. (1) Thomas Knāy (= the rich man Thomas, in Syriac) who founded in Cranganore the city called in Tamil Makōtai, in about 700 A.D. Makōtai may be the Tamilised form of Syriac *Mahoza*, meaning a city, and there were in Iraq two or three ancient cities called *Mahoza* or *Mahuza*. (2) "Iravi Korttan of the City of Makōtaiyar" (= of the (Chera) king, or of the people of Makōtai), who in 1320 A.D. was granted by the king the status and title of Manigrāmam, i.e. the chief of the merchant guild called Manigramam, correctly Vanik-grāmam in Sanskrit, meaning the village or corporation of merchants. (3) In about 400 A.D. a Greek scholar came and lived in Cranganore for six years, studying its soil, climate, etc., and learned its language, Tamil. See this *Journal* for April 1950, pp. 5-6.

at first they began to have communication with the Portuguese, when presently they came to India. And the Church which exists today" (about 1600 A.D.) "in the fortress is the same which the Christians had anciently" (from the year 50 or 52, &c., A.D. as some say, in which St. Thomas is said to have built it, and erected a cross there). "Wherefore, they have much affection and devotion for it, and also to a cross which is in the same City, which they call the Cross of the Christians, having for tradition that Saint Thomas placed it there and made many miracles, not only for the faithful, but also for the infidels, God wishing the sign of his holy cross to be honoured and venerated by all. The cross is placed in the middle of a chapel, open on one side, and entirely shut off with a grating: and it gives so much devotion to all who with true faith prostrate themselves before it, that there is no person who feels not in its presence newness of spirit and compunction of heart. On arriving in the morning, and after having been taken in procession to the Church, where he prayed to the most blessed Sacrament, the Archbishop" (Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes) "went to this Cross to say Mass. This Cross has sometimes been raised in the air, so high that it almost disappeared [Folio 53 v, col. 1] from the eyes of the beholders; and so full of splendour that it blinded the eyes of those who looked on it. The Gentios have so much veneration for it that they make to it many vows and offerings in their illness or needs, or when they have lost things which they value; and they send oil and wax to light it up, and they say presently that they obtain favours and find what they have lost; and, not long before the Archbishop arrived there, the old king of Cranganore, having lost something which he much liked, sent oil to the cross, and found it presently. Which he attributed to the Cross of the Christians. And, though many Gentios receive daily remedy in their wants, in this divine sign, they do not lay hold of its chief fruit, which is their salvation." — *Jornada*, fol. 53 r-v.

It is likely that this "St. Thomas Cross" was an original Persian or Iraqi Cross (with or without inscription?) like the original Persian cross on St. Thomas Mount, and not one of the numerous copies of it made and set up in Malabar in or after 1551, in which it was solemnly set up in the Mount Church under the notion that it was the cross which St. Thomas had erected, and embraced at the point of death.

Gouvea informs us (*ibid.* fol. 60 v., col. 1) that "all the ancient churches" (of Malabar were) "full, all of them, of Crosses after the manner of the cross of the Miracle of Saint Thomas, which

they call Saint Thomas' Cross; " * * * " And for this Cross it is to be noted that all those which are found in " (the chancels of ?) "the Churches of St. Thomas, ancient ones, or carved on stones, or in the very ancient buildings themselves" (the naves, or out-houses ?) "of the same Churches, are of this shape and made in this form, of the one that sweats" (fol. 79 r, col. 1), since 1557 A.D. in the St. Thomas Mount Church.

And St. Thomas, unlike any other Apostle, or Christian of the first centuries, is said to have set up seven crosses in or outside seven of the 7½ churches built by him in Malabar, the half-church being the crossless one at Thiruvamcode in South Travancore.⁴ But according to the *Ency. Brit.*, s.v. Chalice, the earliest known Christian symbol is the chalice, the sacramental wine cup sanctioned by Jesus.

4. There is, however, no documentary, or archaeological evidence prior to the 13th century for St. Thomas' sojourn and martyrdom in South India. In 1293 A.D. there was a tomb in Mylapore, Madras, which Muslims claimed as that of a Saracen 'avarian' (= holy man; from Arabic *hawāriy* + Tamil suffix *ān*) come from Nubia (in or after the 7th century A.D., of the Prophet Muhammad), while the Mylapore Christians claimed it at the same time as St. Thomas', adding (*quite contrary* to all other extant St. Thomas documents from the Syriac Acts of 200-220 A.D. downwards) that he was killed (not deliberately as a martyr but) accidentally by a Govi (= Pariah) fowler with an arrow aimed by mistake, as Marco Polo tells us in his *Travels*, Vol. II, Bk. III, Ch. 18. His Ch. 17 adds that the Govis of those days (1293) admitted that it was one of their ancestors that had killed the holy man buried inside the tomb.

Moreover, when in 1523 the Portuguese opened from outside the brick-and-granite-slab-tomb, partly outside and partly inside a Church, they found it quite intact, about 9 feet below ground, and took out from its outer and inner portions what remained (after several centuries of decay) of "the skull, ribs, body-bones, thighbone", etc., of the holy man. These could not be St. Thomas', as his *entire* skull and other bones famous in the West from at least 232-3 A.D. were preserved and exhibited at Ortona in Italy in and before that very year 1523, and are now wanted back by Malabar, ignoring or repudiating the bones of 1523 kept in Mylapore, and not sent or taken to Ortona at all. The same person could not die in two entirely different circumstances, or have two skulls and other bones.

In addition to the above repudiation now (and also since some time after 1601 A.D.) of the Mylapore bones, there was, since about 1520, a complete *volte face* by which both Mylapore and Malabar repudiated the age-long (from at least 1293 to ca. 1520) account of St. Thomas' (really the Muslim avarian's) accidental death (not as a martyr) at the hands of a Govi, and substituted the account of deliberate murder as a martyr. The latest of the diverse forms of this account, since 16th century, affirms that St. Thomas was killed by an Emprān Brahmin priest with a lance or spear. The only document anterior to the 16th century which brings in a priest in utter disregard of the soldiers, or king of non-Indian documents of A.D. 200 down-

III. KING PALLIVANAVAR'S 6 CROSSES, TRAVANCORE, 317 A.D.

Almost all versions of the Hindu account of ancient Malabar called *Kēraḷōlpatti* mention that a Chera king of Cranganore whose designation Palli-vāṇavar (= he who resided in, or ruled over, a Palli, a *non-Hindu* place of worship) is variously given as Paḷli-vāṇar, Paḷli-māṇar, Vāṇa Perumāḷ, Bāṇa Perumāḷ, Bāṇa Varman, etc., and whose proper name seems to have been Neelan (= Siva), created a sensation among the Kerala Brahmins by his conversion to Buddhism. See Logan's *Malabar Manual*, *Malabar Gazetteer*, and other authorities for the above details, and for the division of his kingdom among his under-kings, his retirement to another place in Travancore or to Arabia, and his being claimed by Muslims and Christians (but not by the Jews) as a convert to their religion.

Three Cochin copies of *Keralolpatti* and other documents on palm-leaf describe his (subsequent) conversion (to Christianity) by one or two missionaries come to Cranganore from Baghdad, and record the date of their coming, in the chronogram "*rauravam dēvarāṇyam*", which means that in the Malabar Brahmins' opinion "the Kingdom of God" preached by them is really the horrible hell called "*rauravam*" in Sanskrit, and also that the king's⁵ land has been converted into hell of the worst type by his conversion (to Buddhism and then to Christianity) in 317 A.D., on Thursday, 14th February, the date denoted by the chronogram.⁶ At least two other chronograms seem to appertain to this king, viz:—

wards, and of the Govi and arrow of the South Indian account current at least down to 1520, is the *Passio Thomae* of about 500 A.D. The contents of this Latin work could have been made known in Malabar and Mylapore by the Portuguese in the 16th century, in which the above *volte face* took place.

Why was part of the tomb of 1523 left outside the wall of the church? Probably to satisfy the rival muslim claimants? And it was the portion containing the head that was left to the Muslims. For digging from outside the excavators of 1523 A.D. found the skull bones first.

5. Dēva in Sanskrit means god, or king. It was "the Kingdom of God" that Jesus and his followers preached as we see from the Bible and later documents.

6. Chronograms about this king seem to have been current in 1604, for Archbishop Roz of Cranganore recorded in that year that a Cheraman Perumal (= a Chera king in general) "died on 1st March, 1258 years before," i.e. in 346 A.D. Assuming this Perumal to have been the king who granted Thomas Knāy, the founder of Makōtai (see footnote 3) the famous copper-plate charter lost or missing since 1544, the year 345 just before his death has been (after 1604) assigned to that document. But Makōtai is not found mentioned before the 7th-8th century in Tamil works.

1. *Cēramān dēsam prāpa* = the Chera king arrived in the land (that fell to him at the partition of his kingdom, and not in Mecca), the year being 343 A.D.

2. *Bhūvibhāga* = the partition of the land, the year being 343 A.D. itself.

Now which is this land to which that convert was exiled, or retired? It was probably Neelan-pēroor (= the great village of Neelan) south of Cranganore, from which he could exile himself to the former in a boat. The temple outside the walls of which Pallivanavar's grave is located is called Perinjenattu Palli, which means the vihara of Perum-Jina, the Great Jina, i.e., Mahā Buddha. The Buddha too is called *Jina*. Besides, a plot of land very close to that temple and the grave is called Tiruvanchikkalam, which is also the famous name of the capital of Pallivanavar and other Chera kings in Cranganore. The tax on that piece of land north of the grave is paid to the above original capital's temple.

And some 40 years before 1928 (ca. 1888) there was dug up at Nilan-pērūr a bronze statuette with a Greek cross embossed on its chest, from the earth under the floor of a building believed by the Hindus to have been built over the tomb of a Cranganore king, a Chera, known among them as Paḷli-vānā-perumāl, i.e., the Chera King who resided in, or ruled over a Paḷli — a Buddhist vihara, or a Christian church. Photos of this statuette were, in a after 1928, published by the present writer in India and Europe (Warsaw).

On digging deeper the workmen (Christians engaged by the Hindus) struck upon a cross sculptured on a granite slab, and they refused to dig further or lift the slab under which they thought Pallivanavar was resting, perhaps in a sitting posture. No study of the cross on the slab, and the things underneath has yet been made. See this *Journal* for April 1948, pp. 27-44.

Besides the above two crosses, one on the statuette, and another on the granite slab covering the grave, there were four other crosses in the same locality, and associated with the same Buddhist-Christian Pallivanavar. One was at the top of the staff in the right hand of the above statuette. It was broken off in the process of the hurried excavation at night for valuables supposed to be in the grave. The fourth cross was on the chest of a fairly big granite statue of Pallivanavar set up outside the building covering the grave. That statue was plucked up years ago and thrown into a tank there. A granite cross was found also fixed to the slab in the grave, during the excavation of ca. 1888. The original building over the grave was cross-like in plan, and three-storeyed (symbolis-

ing the Triune God?). When it was in ruins the present small building replaced it some decades ago. The above granite cross was about a foot tall.

The years 317 and 343 A.D. yielded by the above three chronograms in the Hindu documents are subsequent to the conversion of Constantine in October 312, and his edict of toleration in 313; and 343 is posterior also to the "Invention of the Cross" in 326 by Constantine's mother Helena. In 315 Papa the first Catholicos of Seleucia, very near Baghdad, held a Synod, and we may suppose that the missionaries of 317 were sent opportunely to the Buddhist Pallivanavar, hated by the Cranganore Brahmins, and therefore ready to abdicate. (See picture on p. 122).

IV. A TAXILA CROSS

A small equal-limbed cross of stone with a hole at the end of one of its limbs "was turned up by the plough in a field in the borders of the ancient city of Sarkap in Taxila in the year 1935, and given to Mrs. Cuthbert King by the Zamindar who found it. The material of the cross is dark stone of the same geological nature as that used for small trinket boxes believed to date from the 1st to 3rd Century A.D. and now in Taxila Museum. The cross was found with a hole bored in it, which is most unusual", as an article on the cross published in North India says.

The hole indicates that the small cross was meant to be hung from the neck as a sacred object. It may, therefore, be regarded as a Christian cross, and assigned to Constantine's (306-337 A.D.) fourth century, or a later one. The Taxila-Sarkap region where, as historians agree, St. Thomas preached and converted King Gudnaphar of India, viz., the Parthian Gudaphar (=Gondophares, A.D. 19 to about 60) was likely to have had Christians in later centuries also. In about 196 Bardaisan the Syrian notices Christians among the Kaishanaye, i.e., the Kushans, and some or many of these Christians may have been among Kanishka's N.W. Indian Kushans. In about 260 the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* says that India (= N.W. India, and not the whole of modern India-Pakistan and Burma) and all its own centuries (in N.W. India) received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from St. Thomas (some countries *directly* from him in the first century, and the rest *indirectly* in the 2nd-3rd centuries after his death.) It is probable therefore that in the days (ca. 260) of the author there were Christians in N.W. India. In the 5th century (420 to 497) there were bishoprics in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and N.W. India close to them was not unlikely to have had Christians and even bishoprics. And in about 500 A.D. Cosmas

found multitudes of Christians among the Huns of N.W. India and "the rest of the Indians." See § VII *infra*.

V. ANOTHER TAXILA CROSS, 3RD CENTURY B.C.

The *Examiner*, a Catholic weekly of Bombay, published in May 1946, the following details: "Only twenty-four miles from Rawalpindi, are the ruins of Taxila, where according to tradition" (recorded in the Syriac Acts of Thomas, 200-20 A.D.), "the Apostle St. Thomas visited the Court of King Condophares, who reigned from 20 to 60 A.D. * * * * On Sunday, 28th April, the Foundation Stone for a new and large Holy Family Hospital was laid there. Some years ago, the local Commissioner, Mr. Cuthbert King, and his wife" (referred to in § IV *ante*) "produced a beautiful drama in the ruins of Taxila, based on these legends."

"Recently at a Red Cross meeting, Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly, Chief Commissioner of the Joint War Association, stated that the Geneva Red Cross with its white background was in existence in India more than 2000 years ago, and continued:—

"Among my treasured possessions has been a piece of carnelian, (a half-inch square), ornamented with a Red Cross on a white ground. This was dug up at Taxila in the Punjab and archaeological evidence shows that it was fashioned there in the 3rd century B.C., more than 2,000 years before the founders of the Geneva Convention adopted this device as their emblem. In view of its historical interest to the members of the Red Cross movement in India, I am giving it to the Indian Red Cross Society."

VI. OTHER PRE-CHRISTIAN CROSSES

"A cross appeared in the earliest remains of * * * civilization, for instance on the Mohenjodaro Seals (in Sind) of the fourth millennium B.C. See Seals No. 108, 528 b, Plate CXIV, Vol. III, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, by Sir John Marshall and Allan's *Coins of Ancient India*, British Museum, 1936, Plate XXXV, where the same designs appear on the cast coins of the third and second century B.C."

A cross appears on punch-marked Indian coins also. For example an equal-limbed cross sign is found among those on Nandivardhana's punch-marked coins, on the plate illustrating Sri D. D. Kosambi's article, "Chronological Order of Punch-Marked Coins" from the earlier Taxila hoard, JBBRAS, Vol. 24-25, 1948-49. The limbs of the cross are broad, like those of the Taxila cross of Section IV, and at its centre is a circle with a dot at the centre.

Four smaller circles with horns touch the four sides of the central circle. This may represent the Sun-god, while the horned circles may each stand for another god (Mercury?), or the Bull of Siva. These are ancient symbols found on other punch-marked coins in the same Taxila hoard, along with a + cross.

VII. BANIA BERI CAVE CROSS IN C.P., 6TH-10TH CENTURY

"In Bania Beri Cave" (within 5 miles from Pachmarhi, a proto-neo-lithic site with rock-paintings, in the Mahadeo Hills in the Central Provinces, and south of the Vindhya and upper Narmada) "is depicted a large Cross around which is a group of men, most of them holding in their hands what may be a raised umbrella (Plate XI). It looks like a 'Cross-worship' scene. The cross represented here may be a primitive or conventionalized form of svastika, a sacred symbol in India (as also in several other countries) from the earliest times. Below the 'Cross-worship' scene are three animals, probably cows The wavy line below these animals may probably represent a stream, on the other side (bottom) of which is a long row of small animals, probably goats. In the same cave is painted another cross (Plate XII A), composed of small triangles, which have a look of having been made out of stencil (?)."

The above is Sri B. B. Lal's description of the Cave-painting, on pp. 47-8, of *Archaeology in India*, published by the Government of India in 1950. On page 49 of *ibid.*, the age of the painting is given as "the period between the sixth and tenth centuries" A.D. From Plate XI in that book it is seen that the cross is at least as tall as any of the men dancing around it. It is an equal limbed cross technically known as the Greek cross, though in the painting the vertical portion appears shorter through perspective representation. The limbs are at least as wide as any of the dancers' chest. There is no sign of its being a *Svastika*; it appears to be a regular Christian cross of the earliest type, the Greek cross, like that on the Pallivanavar statuette of about 330 A.D., or the Mount Cross, both dealt with in previous sections.

It may be added that in the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes (ca. 525) found Christians and a Persian bishop in Kalliana (= Kalyan, near Bombay), and "so likewise (multitudes of Christians, as he says) among the Bactrians and Huns and Persians, and the rest of the Indians", that is, the Indians in the parts of India other than Male (= Malabar), and Kalyan, and the White Hun territories of W. and N.W. India, in all of which three regions he found multitudes of Christians, as well as the Indians in Myla-

pore and other places on the east coast of India, of whom he says he had no information.

And between 628 and 643 A.D. a Metropolitan was appointed in India. "The Christians of India proper increased in number to such an extent that a special Metropolitan see with some six to twelve suffragan bishops had to be created for them. This was done, according to Ibn-at-Tayib" (the Nestorian canonist, who died in 1043) "by the Patriarch Isho-Yahb II (628-43). * * * * * in rank the Metropolitan of India took precedence of that of China, and the Metropolitan of China of that of Samarkand." See Mingana's *Early Spread of Christianity in India*, Manchester, 1926, p. 64. The seat of this Metropolitan of about 635 A.D. is not found mentioned. It was perhaps in the Hun region mentioned as a Christian area a century before by Cosmas, and the actual locality might have been Gandispur. For "Gandispur (modern Shahabad in the Panjab, which tradition associates with St. Thomas and where, later, there was a famous medical school" (according to Barthold, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 27) "is referred to by Elias metropolitan of Damascus as the seat of a metropolitan in A.D. 893, and is also included in the list given by Amr, A.D. 1349." See Yule, *Cathay*, III, pp. 22 ff. St. Isidore (d. 636) of Seville, Spain, a contemporary of this first Metropolitan of India (ca. 635) says that Saint "Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes up to the furthest eastern parts (*ad extremam orientalem plagam*), and there preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom. Indeed, being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India, and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January" (December 21). According to his own *Etymologiarum Liber*, Parthia extended "from the Tigris to the Indus." That "town of India" could not be in S.E. India; and fairly resembling Calamina in sound, there are the ancient Kalawan, and Kala-ka-Serai, both in Taxila in the Panjab, where historians now unanimously locate king Gudnaphar of the *Acts of Thomas* (200-220 A.D.) as the Scytho-Parthian Gudaphar (Gondophares). The *Acts* leads us to infer that the capital of King Mazdai (a regular Old-Persian name, and not South Indian), whose soldiers killed St. Thomas, was very close to Gudaphar's city, the distance between them being only about a day's journey by bullock cart.⁷

7. No kings with Parthian or Old-Persian names are known, or likely to have been ruling, in Malabar or Mylapore, and no South Indian place-name resembling Calamina has yet been discovered. Besides, a tomb of a Muslim Saracen come from Nubia, or of St. Thomas of Palestine, or one claimed (as in 1293) by both Muslims and Christians is not known to have

VIII. BUDDHIST CAVE CROSSES IN BURMA, 1287 A.D.

Though not so ancient as the non-Christian and Christian crosses of the 4th millennium B.C. to 6th-10th century A.D. discussed in the previous sections, the 8 crosses of Greek (four) and Latin types (four) painted on a wall of the Buddhist cave attributed in tradition to King Kyanzitha of Burma (A.D. 1084-1112) may be dealt with here.

The Report for 1922 of Mr. Charles Duroiselle, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle, gives us the following particulars about the paintings in that cave close to Pagan, in Burma:—

"Some of the interior walls of the cave are ornamented with a variety of well-executed frescoes, which are on the whole very well preserved. All do not represent Mongol personages, but those that do were probably painted during the occupation of the city, and their fall" (*sic*, for *date*?) "therefore may be put down as 1287. * * * * *

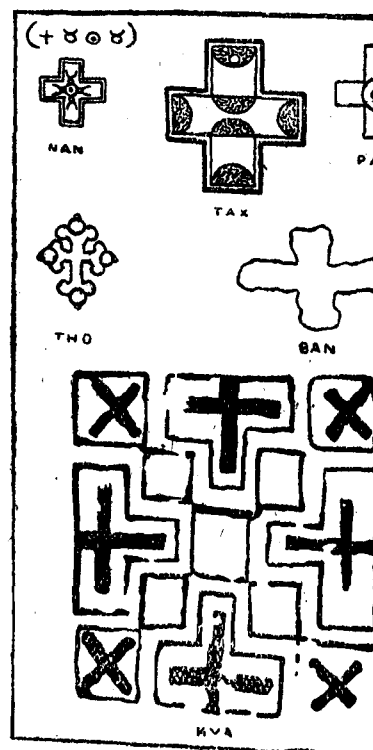
"35. Not far from the figures of the Mongol officer and soldier, * * * * * are found pictures of crosses, unmistakably Christian crosses; as has been said above, the Kyanzitha cave is a Buddhist monument, hence the interest of the Christian symbol on the walls, at the Burmese capital, in the closing years of the 13th century." * * * (The crosses) — "They are yellowish, the fibres and the knots in the wood" (of the crosses) "are very realistic, leaving no possible doubt as to the materials intended to be represented. * * * Our fresco represents both kinds" (the Greek and Latin crosses), "and four of each, the Latin crosses being somewhat bigger than the others. These crosses are, as far as is known, the earliest testimony, if not of established Christianity, which I doubt, at least of the presence of Christians in the Buddhist metropolis." * * * "That among the immediate entourage of these Tartar Emperors (of 12th and 13th centuries), among their troops and officers, there was a large number of Christians cannot be doubted; historical records, as a matter of fact, show this to have been the case. * * * The conditions during the reign of Kublai Khan (1260-1294) whose troops took Pagan in 1287, were in no

existed in Mylapore in any of the first 12 centuries before Marco Polo (1293). A pilgrim Theodore visited in about 590 A.D. the tomb of St. Thomas at the place (called Calamina by St. Isidore about 40 years later) "in India where he first rested" (as distinct from Edessa which too he visited, and where St. Thomas' bones were then resting for the second time), and described it (then devoid of bones, yet held sacred) to St. Gregory of Tours in France,

way different. * * * He himself had a Christian bodyguard of 1000 warriors, and Christians were to be found among his troops and no doubt among his officers. * * * and Morco Polo is quite explicit as to the existence of Nestorians in Yunnan in the 13th Century."



Sketch of bronze statuette of Pallivānavar, Cera King, 317 A.D., who became a "Bauddha" (see pp. 115-117)



NAN.—Nandivardhana's cross (p. 117)
TAX.—Taxila cross (p. 117)
PAL.—Pallivānavar's cross (p. 118)
THO.—St. Thomas Mt. cross (p. 1)
BAN.—Bania Beri cave cross (p. 1)
KYA.—Kyanzitha cave crosses (p. 1)

Annals of Old Madras

Judges: *Sir Charles Grey*

BY

K. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

As one turns over the saffron-tinged, brittle and worm-eaten volumes in the libraries, his mind and imagination strikes upon some name in a report which for some unaccountable reason arouses in him exceptional interest. What was this man like in flesh and blood? How did he distinguish himself? Queries like these come thronging to his mind. He turns up the usual sources for information. Rarely does he find information that would satisfy his curiosity. But in regard to the subject of this memoir it has been possible to get some idea of his personality. Very tall in figure, in build quite magnificent with arms almost reaching the knees, with chiselled features, well-set eyes, a Roman nose, a clean-shaven face, and a high forehead crowned with abundant hair not parted or brushed, he was smart in appearance and of studious habits and sociable qualities. He was a man of strong talents. He possessed a chaste classical taste and a conciliatory unassuming manner. He lived for four score years, even then not a long term when it is remembered Sir Philip Hutchins, Judge, High Court, Madras, (1883-1886) lived to be 90 years old, and Sir William Burton, Judge, Supreme Court, Madras, (1844-1857) who afterwards rose to be President of the Legislative Council, New South Wales, Australia, lived to a ripe old age of 94.

Charles Edward Grey was born in 1785. He was a younger son of R. W. Grey of Backworth, Northumberland, sometime High Sheriff. He was educated at the University College, Oxford. He graduated in 1806. In 1808 he obtained the English prize essay and was elected Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. He was called to the Bar 1811 (Bombay in the days of George IV by F. D. Drewitt, p. 84-n). He was a relation of Earl Grey, the British Prime Minister, but opposed to him in politics (Jacquemont's Letters from India, Vol. II, p. 181).

In 1817 he was appointed Commissioner in Bankruptcy. On May 17, 1820 he was appointed puisne judge, Supreme Court, Madras. On appointment he was Knighted. He took the Oaths of Office and Allegiance on September 19, 1821. On August

18, 1824 an order was received transferring him to the Supreme Court, Calcutta, to succeed Sir F. Macnaghten (*Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Vol. XVIII, p. 329) formerly of the Madras Bench and created a Baronet in 1836. But Sir Charles continued in Madras till 1825 when he was appointed Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Calcutta (*Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Vol. XIX, p. 213).

At a special Court held on June 7, 1825, when Sir Ralph Palmer, the new Chief Justice, took his seat and after the usual oaths were administered to him by Sir Edmond Stanley, Chief Justice resigned, in the presence of Sir Charles Grey, the Advocate-General, in the name of the Bar, addressed Sir Charles in a speech. In the course of his reply, his Lordship observed, "The members of the Court...are launched suddenly among new elements. They have laws, usages and circumstances to deal with of which their knowledge or apprehension must of necessity be imperfect. Both we and you have many difficulties to contend with from which those are exempt who hold corresponding situations at home. Under all circumstances and in all difficulties, it is the duty and the character of the English Bar to speak boldly and distinctly for their clients. If I have ever given offence, I have seldom taken any, and I certainly feel some satisfaction that it will be believed by you all that I have never indulged a resentment of anything which has arisen here that has lasted beyond the going down of the sun" (*Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Vol. XX, p. 713).

On Thursday the 16th June, the Madras Literary Society entertained at dinner their President the Honourable Sir C. Grey at the garden of Mr. White. The President who was accompanied by Sir Ralph Palmer was conducted to the hall where he was welcomed by the Vice-Presidents the Honourable Mr. Graeme and Arch Deacon Vaughan and other members of the Society. Dinner was almost immediately announced. After "The King" had been drunk with the usual honours, the toast to Sir Charles Grey was proposed by the Honourable Mr. Graeme. The toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm; immediately after it, the honourable the President rose and returned thanks in a neat speech. Sir Charles then proposed the health of Mr. Graeme and also of Sir Thomas Munro, the patron of the Society. The healths of Lady Grey, Lady Munro, Sir Ralph Palmer, etc. were afterwards drunk; the party did not break till a late hour.

On the forenoon of June 29, 1825 Sir Charles landed at Chandpaul Ghaut and in the "afternoon His Lordship took his seat on the bench under the usual salutes". (*Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Vol. XX, p. 706).

In 1829 he expressed himself against allowing the natives to sit on the juries.

In September and October 1831 Sir Charles was at Penang.

He resigned from the Bench on July 2, 1832 after ten years' judicial service which gave him a right to a pension for life for 50,000 francs-£ 2000 (*Jacquemont's Letters from India*, Vol. II, p. 181). The very great talents of Sir C. Grey will find employment in politics. His short hours of leisure are for European literature". (*Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 135).

On the morning of July 2, 1832, Sir Charles, accompanied by Sir John Franks and Sir Edward Ryan, made his appearance on the Bench at the usual hour for the judges taking their seats in the Court. His Lordship was dressed in plain clothes instead of his official costume. His Lordship took leave of the Court and the Bar in a short speech:

"Gentlemen, I have come upon the bench for the last time and for the purpose only of bidding you farewell. I have sat upon this bench for full seven years. During that period, many important cases have been decided, there has been a fuller development of public feeling than in former times, a freer discussion by the press, and changes are going on to which this Court, like other institutions, must, in some degree, be accommodated. If I was conscious of having given any one just offence, I can say with truth that, on this occasion, when I am about to separate myself from you, and that there are many here whom I shall probably never see again on this side of the grave, I could ask his forgiveness with as little reluctance as if I were lying on the bed of death. But my heart tells me that I have done injustice to no man, nor have intentionally given any one offence. There are many, I hope, who will be as fortunate as myself in being able to return to their native land after having run their career in this and with whom, in circumstances more favourable to the intercourse of private life, I may cultivate an acquaintance, which I shall be happy and proud to renew. To my brother judges, I can scarcely trust myself to say much upon this occasion. You all know that it has been our principle and practice to express our opinions upon every case fully and freely, without any regard to its being known what shades or degrees of difference existed amongst us. It will be found, upon examination, that the unrestrained discussion and open decision of cases has not increased the number of appeals to a higher tribunal. I hope that the friendship which I commenced with my brethren only in this country, but which

has never for a moment been interrupted, may last as long as my life".

His Lordship, at the conclusion of the address, having shaken hands with his fellow judges and bowed low to the bar, immediately withdrew. (*Asiatic Journal*, New Series, Vol. X, Part II, pp. 2 and 3).

On July 4, 1832 he took an affectionate leave of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, of which he was President. The Society was indebted to him for a valuable cabinet of mineral and geological specimens. He had further presented it with specimens from the Himalayas and Penang. He had also made valuable additions to its library.

"The Chief Justice, a man of highest talent in his difficult profession of English Judge—a profession assuredly of the gravest cost, with also the gravest appearance....., a stout man of forty-five, who is considered the gravest in all India, where he holds the second rank and whom I found to be the pleasantest man in the world....., that pearl of judges is consulted by the Governor-General on the Politics of the country, although his functions are purely judicial" (Jacquemont's *Letters from India*, Vol. I, pp. 85-86). "Sir Charles", says Pearson, Advocate-General of Bengal, "is perhaps the cleverest man in the country..... He is extremely gay and what surprises me most is always hearing people speak of his icy gravity".

In 1835 he was sent to Canada as one of the three Commissioners despatched to investigate the causes of discontent, his colleagues being Lord Gosford and Sir George Gipps. He left Canada (November 1836) before the rest of the Commission, and, on his return to England, received the Grand Cross of Hanover. In 1837 he contested Tynemouth, and, though unsuccessful at the election, gained the seat next year (1838) when his opponent Sir G. F. Young was unseated on petition. From 1838 till the dissolution in 1841, he was a steady supporter of the Whig administration.

In 1841 he was appointed Governor of Barbados, St. Vincent, Tobago. Trinidad and St. Lucia; he remained in this office till 1846. From 1847 to 1853 he was Governor of Jamaica where he enjoyed a wide popularity. He succeeded the Eighth Lord Elgin as Governor (Calcutta Old and New by H. E. A. Cotton, p. 724). During the time of the discussion on the Sugar duties, his despatches homeward were in favour of the maintenance of a pro-

jective or rather differential tariff. He was inclined to promote the immigration of labour from Africa to Jamaica.

He died at Tunbridge Wells (at the Oaks, Surrey says Mr. G. S. White) on June 1, 1865.

On April 30, 1821 he married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Samuel Clarke Jervoise Bart., of Idsworth Park, Hampshire (*Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Vol. XI, p. 641). She died in 1850 during Sir Charles' Governorship of Jamaica.

Sir Charles was fond of chess. "I used to go", says Jacquemont in the *Letters from India*, Vol. I, pp. 101 and 106, "en voisin and without ceremony to the Chief Justice of India, Sir Charles Grey, to chat over a game at chess, about India..... He views India from a higher point than any other man. I have gained a great deal by frequenting his house. He has dared to give me coffee on the chess-table and I have dared to ask his lady to sing some Italian airs which I have heard a hundred times given by her in the finest style". "She is the prettiest and most graceful in the world....." "handsome, clever and amiable". Of her beauty and attractions Mr. Pearson, Advocate-General, Bengal, used to speak in impassioned terms.

Sir Charles had four sons and three daughters (Vide *Asiatic Journal Old Series*, Volumes XIV, p. 95, XVI, p. 531, XIX, p. 845, XXVII, p. 249, and *New Series*, Vol. XXXI, Part II, p. 91).

This learned Chief Justice is also to be remembered for his masterly report (1829-30) about the working of the Law Courts in India. This he submitted at the invitation of the Imperial Government at Calcutta. His report, in which his brother judges Sir John Franks and Sir Edward Ryan concurred, revealed the utter want of connection between the Supreme Court (The King's Court) and the Sudder and Foujdari Adawlut Courts (The Company's Courts) and between the legal process they respectively employed. The defects were in the laws themselves, in the authority for making them and in the manner of executing them. This report attracted the attention of the English Parliament. He had also suggested the amalgamation of the two sets of courts. This was recommended by the Indian Law Commission 1834. When the Government of India was taken over by the Crown in 1858 by laying on the East India Company the blame for the Great Indian Mutiny in 1857 the work of amalgamation went on apace. The Code of Civil Procedure (1859), The Indian Penal Code (1860), and The Code of Criminal Procedure (1861) paved the

way for a uniform system of procedure in Civil and Criminal Courts. In 1862 High Courts of Judicature were opened in the Presidency Towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. The High Court replaced the Supreme and the Sudder Courts and amalgamated them. By this fusion the High Court became a Court of Appeal, Reference and Revision for the whole presidency with a net work of Provincial Courts linked to it while at the same time it adopted the Original Civil, Criminal, Testamentary, and admiralty Jurisdiction exercised by Supreme Court. It will thus be seen that the suggestions of this learned Chief Justice have given a concrete shape to the High Court as it functions today.

Anglo-Dutch Relations in India Proper The Earliest Phase 1602-27

(Concluded)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A.

CONCORD WITH THE DUTCH

As early as 1610 Holland had proposed that the two Companies might be united. But the Dutch were supported by the State and the English were not. The Dutch Company had 51 ships in the East Indies, a stock of £ 900,000, and owed £ 400,000 in interest; the English did not want their small fortune to be mixed up with such a big body, and see the small body swallowed up by the larger. While the Directors of the Dutch Company complained to the States-General in 1611 that the English had come to reap what they had sown, the English East India Company complained to King James of the injuries done to their ships in the East Indies. These complaints being brought to the Directors were declared groundless in their Assembly of August 1612. The rivalry in the buying of spices led however in November 1613 to the proposal to co-operate with the English Company and to invoke the intervention of the States-General for that purpose.

In 1614 King James commissioned Sir Henry Wotton, his Ambassador Extraordinary to the States of the United Provinces, and others to treat with the Commissaries of Their High Mightinesses concerning the differences between the two nations "on account of the free commerce of our subjects to the East Indies being obstructed by the Hollanders and also on account of the Dutch claims to the North Sea fishery." The commercial rivalry in the East had developed into an armed struggle. In 1617 the complaints against the Dutch became incessant. From almost every factory in the East the same account is repeated. "The Flemings thunder it most terrible in these parts", wrote the President of the English factors at Surat in January. "Their untruths are daily more discovered and they are rather feared than respected by their brutal carriage", wrote another factor. "The Hollanders are mortal enemies to the English in their trade", wrote a third. By 1620 eleven laden English sail had been captured by the Dutch while the English company had only taken the *Black Lion* worth 71,000 reals. Almost all the captured English ships were laden with gold and bullion.

The quarrel between the English and the Dutch Companies was treated by James I merely as a dispute between two private companies, who were foolish enough to disturb the peace. James was genuinely desirous of removing all grievances and used his authority so impartially as to decide all questions in 1619 absolutely in favour of the Dutch. Of the real nature of the dispute, he seemed to be totally unconscious. On the other hand, the Dutch felt that the injury which the English did to the Dutch Company by the underselling of spices was intolerable. Nevertheless, in 1618, the Dutch in India were strong enough to expel all other European nations, and they sent more European merchants to India than perhaps all the rest of Europe together.

Conflicting reports about the union between the two companies reached the merchants in the East. Towards the close of 1618, Augustine Spalding aboard the *Unicorn* in Masulipatam road wrote to the English Company as follows:—"They hear nothing of an agreement with the Dutch." But the *Peppercorn* met near Engano a Dutch ship, the *Orangeboom*, commanded by Captain Hart who told them that the two Companies were accorded and delivered a letter written from the Cape by Thomas Barwick stating that the Dutch delegate had arrived in England before his departure to conclude an agreement. They were hopeful therefore to hear shortly that matters had been settled, but the Dutch factors here stated that there was no accord, that the *Star* had been captured by three Dutch ships after a six hours' fight and that Coen had sent three of his best vessels in pursuit of the *Jourdain*. The English complained that the Dutch in those parts were grown so insolent that there was little hope to be had of any agreement where their strength was superior, for they did aim to be sole masters of the Indies. The Dutch contended that they had spent much and sacrificed many lives. The English replied that a reckoning could be made for the money and, for one Dutchman killed in the East, twenty Englishmen had died in the Low Countries to drive the Spaniards and make Holland a free state. One writer,²¹ however, says that it was the Dutch who repeated their previous offer for a union of trade with the English that common cause might be made against the Spanish Portuguese and a monopoly secured to the combined companies on the plea of the rivalry about to rise from the formation of an East India Association in France and likewise in Denmark. But again the idea was rejected. It was to guard against the antagonism of the Dutch that a fleet of nine ships of which six were of considerable size was sent under the command

21. Martin.

of Sir Thomas Dale. Hostilities were seldom long intermitted. Even while the nations at home were in alliance, their subordinates in the Indies were more or less openly at strife unless indeed their joint influence was needed against the Portuguese whose powers of aggression and even defence were now however almost neutralised by their disorganised condition.

Whispers of the accord between England and Holland began to reach India by July 1619. Cornelis Hart, the skipper or master of the Dutch vessel, the *Orangeboom*, brought the news that the two companies of Holland and England were united and that he had letters for each of the Presidents. As the Dutch ships came a month or six weeks after the English, the English merchants thought the news might be true although they found it hard to believe.²² The Dutch informant maintained that eight ships were to follow out of England and as many from Holland. The Surat merchants were requested to inform their comrades at Masulipatam by express message if they had news of the certainty of the peace by the newly arriving ships so that they might know how to regulate the affairs of the Company. Apparently it took a longer time for definite news to reach India. For though the treaty was actually concluded on the 2nd of June 1619, even as late as the 7th October 1619, the English factors at Ahmedabad had no information. "The expected pacification twixt the Dutch and us is not, it seems, concluded nor do the Company advise aught concerning it." The next day the Surat factors informed their brethren at Masulipatam that no pacifications had been concluded with the Dutch. Meanwhile, they were feeling that a union was inevitable. "Our controversies with the Dutch are come to such a height as without the uniting of both companies will hardly be reconciled which, though the Dutch Company has endavoured both by surprisal of our master's ships abroad and solicial at home, is not yet concluded."

By the terms of the agreement promulgated in Europe on the 27th September 1619 and announced in India by the 9th December, half the trade with Pulicat was surrendered to the English who were to bear half the cost of the Pulicat fort. After the union, it was decided that two war ships with good capital should nevertheless be sent to the Coromandel Coast. The provision made for war ships, even after the concluding of the treaty with the English, lends colour to the view that, in spite of these agreements, the Dutch did

not consider it superfluous to be ready against the surprises of the English friends and that there were doubts whether the Dutch were to derive much satisfaction from the treaty. The actual working of the accord at Pulicat was not satisfactory. The English felt aggrieved that sufficient concessions were not shown to them while the Dutch were suspicious. For accommodating the English in Pulicat with houseroom, warehouses etc., the Dutch let the English have only what the former could conveniently spare; only where there was sufficient room for both were both to share, the English paying their share of the charges of building the houses. In other places, the English were to build for themselves within the forts where convenient or outside where not. The Dutch were however suspicious, and on the 12th August 1621 the Dutch Governor-General wrote to his subordinate at Masulipatam directing him to discontinue the practice at Pulicat and elsewhere of buying cloth jointly with the English. The suspicion was however by no means confined to the Dutch. Roe entertained equal suspicions about the latter. He felt that, while the Hollanders were kind in their outward behaviour, their performance was to be doubted. Clear indications of unfriendliness on the part of the Dutch began to occur. They refused to carry to Jackatra the calicoes brought in the previous season by the English from Golconda.²³

The treaty has been condemned alike by English and Dutch historians. "The speculation of making the two companies politically equal and commercially unequal," says Bruce, "was felt to be impracticable. The treaty was thus only a temporary expedient to preserve the pacific connection in Europe between England and the States, and turned out to be the true source of the violence and plunder which subsequently disgraced the Dutch transactions at Amboyna."²⁴ On the other hand, Dutch historians express wonder that the Directors could have agreed to the treaty of 1619 whereby the decision in all matters of Government and trade was left to a Council of Defence which was half constituted of strangers so that the Government in India was subordinated to this Council and the English were allowed the benefits of the trade and of the possession of a fort on the coast of Coromandel for which they had done nothing. The so-called treaty of Defence of 1619, however, freed the English in India from active hostilities on the part of the Dutch

and gave them a right to the shelter of the Dutch fortress and a share of the trade. The Dutch were not in a hurry to make the financial restitution stipulated in the treaty. The exact status of the English in the Dutch settlements produced an acrimonious controversy. The English complained that they were made answerable to the Dutch tribunals and forced to pay excise and other duties. After the massacre of Amboyna, the English withdrew from Pulicat to Masulipatam.²⁵

The defects of the 1619 treaty were obvious. There was no similarity between a great military and naval organisation like the Dutch Company and a body of traders like the English whose capital was small and who were entirely dependent on the political vagaries of an impecunious sovereign whose dearest wish at the time was to cultivate close relations with the very power in defiance of whose prohibition the East India Company's trade was carried on. The agreement received a fresh sanction at another conference held in London in 1622-23, but it never was a working arrangement. The bitter ill-feeling that had arisen between the Dutch and the English was not to be allayed by the diplomatic subterfuge of crying peace when there was no peace.²⁶

Immediately after its conclusion, the treaty with all related papers was sent to Jans Pieterszoon Coen, the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia, by the *Yacht Vrede*, and it was recommended to him that the loss sustained by throwing open the trade to the English should be made up for by the advantages to be derived from fresh fields of trade like the raw silk and diamond in Bijapur and Surat and in other good and necessary ways for spreading the Company's private trade.

The following is the agreement concluded on April 13, 1621 between the English and the Dutch Presidents at Batavia for regulating the joint trade at Pulicat.²⁷

(1) The Dutch authorities will either provide the English factors with a house (charging a reasonable rent for the same)

25. In 1623 Captain Traverson, nine other Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese sailor were seized at Amboyna in the East Indies under the accusation of a conspiracy to supervise the garrison and expel the Dutch. After trial, they were pronounced guilty and executed. The Dutch who were probably led away by their feelings used torture. But they believed they were right. The English were permitted to retire from the Dutch settlement without paying any dues.

23. Letter from Thomas Brockedon, Augustine Spalding and George Muschamp at Batavia to the English Company in July 1620. Hague Transcripts quoted in *English Factories*—vide letter from Matthew Duke at Masulipatam to the Company, November 15th, 1620.

24. Bruce: *Annals of the East India Company*.

or allot a site on which they may build for themselves and in the meanwhile will find them convenient lodgings.

(2) The English merchants will inform the Dutch what quantities of cloth they desire to buy. If the latter intend to purchase any of the same kind, the goods will be bought jointly at a price agreed upon and afterwards divided.

(3) The English share of the charges and maintenance of the fort and the wages of the garrison is fixed by the seventh article of the Treaty of Defence. If they cannot furnish the victuals or munitions of war required, they will pay for any brought by the Dutch from Batavia at the rate fixed up for the Moluccas, Amboyna and Banda. Provisions brought in the country will be charged at cost price.

(4) Damages to the fort, its ordnance, provisions, etc., will be repaired at their joint expense.

(5) The wages and maintenance of the Dutch merchants and other inferior persons shall not be charged as garrison expenses.

(6) The servants of both Companies are expressly prohibited from private trade in cloth under penalty of confiscation of the goods and further punishment.

(7) Although these common charges may strictly be held to commence from the publication of the treaty, the Dutch have agreed to waive for the present any claim for expenditure anterior to the arrival of the English at Pulicat.

(8) The Dutch will render to the English at Pulicat a monthly account of the charges for the garrison, and the latter will thereupon pay their share to the Dutch Governor.²⁸

Though a spirit of conciliation creditable to both sides was clearly discernible in the conditions agreed upon for the joint prosecution of the trade at Pulicat, the agreement with the English did not work out well. Despite the conciliatory nature of the terms of agreement, cleavage was inevitable. The Dutch effected movements of troops at their pleasure without the knowledge or consent of the English. Joint purchase of cloth at Pulicat by the Dutch and English was discountenanced by the Governor-General. "We are not bound to do so by the contract and we do not consider it advisable to bind ourselves in the matter; so do your best without making the English any wiser than they are. We again warn you not to trust them in the least for we find it productive of no good.

28. Carpentier and Dedel signed for the English and Fundland and Brockedon for the English. Foster: *English Factories*, Vol. I, page 253.

It is also desirable that they should live outside rather than inside the fort. Do not let them infringe on your jurisdiction, honour and prerogative. Make them pay from month to month the half of all the expenses of the fort and garrison of Pulicat, and do not agree to the payment of any portion here (unless it should be to your advantage). In this way we shall avoid the necessity of running after the English and they on the other hand will have to come to us."

John Hatch, master of the *Bee*, was censured by the Company's authorities in England for having carried himself very weakly in the fight with the Flemings. As the Council of Defence began to sit, English factors were sent to Pulicat which was protected by Fort Geldria and a Dutch garrison for insisting on their claim for a share in the trade. The Dutch, without absolutely refusing to admit them, stated that the accommodation they could give to the English within the fort would depend upon its being convenient for themselves, but that they might build a house without the fort for their own accommodation and trade, provided they agreed to defray their proportion of the charges of the garrison. The addition of a proportion of the charges of the garrison to the expenses of building a factory made the plan impracticable for the English who therefore gave up Pulicat and decided to fix a factory at Petapoli "as this place was then disconnected with the Dutch settlement."

In October 1621 the English in Surat prepared to attack the Portuguese in Persia on the pretext that they were taking a firm stand against the allied enemies of the English and the Dutch. On the ground of the treaty, the English President urgently required that the *Sampson* and the *Wiesp* should accompany. The *Wiesp* was not yet come. But the Council thought it good that the *Sampson* should go although this was being loaded because all goods of Agra, Mandoe, Kambay and Ahmedabad were not yet come and because otherwise the *Sampson* would have many of the crew sick because of lack of necessary beverage. After instructions were definitely given for the ship, Van den Broecke went to the English Commander and requested that the Dutch ship should carry the Vice-Admiral's flag. But they suggested that two of their flags should wave on the big topmast and that he should be one of the Vice-Admirals. Van den Broecke did not agree and the *Sampson* did not accompany.

On the expiry of the truce of Antwerp in April 1621, the Dutch were again formally at war with the King of Spain and Portugal. The Dutch and the English as a result of the treaty of 1619 now resolved to act in concert, and a joint fleet was despatched in the autumn of 1621 under Admirals Dedel and Fitzherbert to blockade

the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast. The English undertook to prepare three ships by the 15th October 1621 for taking part in this cruise on the Malabar coast. They also promised to add their pinnace, the *Dragon's Claw*, if she could be got ready in time. The Dutch undertook to send *Little Enkhuisen* with the fleet, making five ships and two pinnaces on the Dutch side and three ships (the *Exchange*, *Anne* and one pinnace) on the English. The following were the instructions by the United Council of Defence at Batavia for Jacob Dedell, Admiral, and Humphrey Fitzherbert, Vice-Admiral of the squadron "Ordnained to sail for the coast of Malabar and Goa", "for disabling our common enemies' furtherance of trade upon the coast of Malabar and restriction of the decayed India trade in the kingdom of Great Britain and the United Netherlands." "The Council of United Defence has decided to despatch nine ships and two pinnaces with 1139 men viz 754 on the Dutch and 385 on the English vessels. Dedell was made Admiral with his flag in the *Good Fortune* and Fitzherbert Vice-Admiral in the *Royal Exchange*. All important matters were to be settled by a council consisting of the Admiral, Vice-Admiral and principal officers. The arrangements for succession in case of the death of Admiral and Vice-Admiral were specified. Justice was to be administered by Dedell and his particular council or by Fitzherbert and his particular council according as the offender was a Dutchman or Englishman. The fleet was sent expressly 'to doe the Portuguese all the spoyle that may be and to destroy their carracks and gallions.' It was suggested that it would be best for them to sail along the coast from Cape Comorin to Cochin and thence to Goa. They were free to pay a visit to Calicut to obtain information and to see whether the Zamorin was disposed to send a fleet of frigates to assist in attacking the Portuguese, but they were not to wait any time for that purpose as it was important to surprise the enemy if possible. If on arriving at Goa they found the Carracks safe under the protection of the forts, they were to cruise in front of the harbour until the end of March or the coming of the monsoon. They might then, if time permitted, go to the Persian Gulf to surprise the galleons there and afterwards proceed to Mozambique or the Camoron Islands to winter. With the end of the Westerly monsoon they were to return to the Malabar coast to wait for the Carracks and continue the blockade. Although the main purpose of the fleet was to damage the Portuguese, opportunities for trade were not to be neglected. "If so be it should happen that any of those kings would trade with one of the nations, whether Netherlanders or English, the same shall extend to the service and benefit of both companies, the one not to exclude the

other." The ships were to be kept together as far as possible, to be cautious in attack poyssing courage and good foresight in equal ballaunce; but once engaged to stand by one another to the uttermost. When the object of the expedition had been attained or the attempt abandoned, the Dutch might send a ship or two to procure people and slaves and either side might detach one or two vessels to Surat."

The following are the resolutions of the Council of Defence. "The Dutch having furnished the larger portion of the fleet, it was agreed that their extra charges should be divided with the English subject to the charges being approved by the Companies in Europe; also that the profit or loss of the voyage and any prizes taken shall be equally divided. Trade was to be attempted on the Malabar Coast, but without prejudice to the main object of the expedition. The Dutch were to be allowed at the close of the operations to send certain of their ships to one place or other, to produce blacks and slaves to people the islands of Banda, Batavia and other places; likewise either side might then send a ship or two to Surat or the whole or part of the fleet might proceed thither if the Council so decided." The English *Bear* which had been captured by the Dutch having arrived from the coast of Coromandel, the Dutch General desired to know whether the English committee would accept her. They referred him in reply to their former answers. "Wherefore they might not accept the aforesaid ship nor the rest of their ships otherwise than satisfaction for them in ready money." Supplementary instructions for the voyage to the Malabar coast occur in the letter of President Fursland and Thomas Brockedon at Batavia to Captain Fitzherbert, dated October 6, 1621.²⁹ These instructions contain precautions for the proper division of the prize goods. He was to be frugal in expenses for refreshing at any places on the Coast (not exceeding the Company's orders to give men but fewer fresh meals in the week).³⁰

Letters of Van den Broecke belonging to this period mention the fact that the English who had previously betaken themselves to plundering now availed themselves of the opportunity to throw all the blame on the Dutch.

On the 2nd December the Dutch and the English set sail together for Goa to blockade the place so that no ship with cargo for Lisbon could leave the harbour. This combined fleet was "the Fleet of Defence." It consisted of three English and four Dutch

29. O.C. 999.

30. Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als zeemogeheld in Azië*, Vol. I, pp. 410-22.

vessels. They arrived before Goa about January 1623, their object being to hinder the Portuguese. The Viceroy was without the means of attacking, but the vessels returned from the Goa region on the 15th March 1623 without assaulting it. To provide this "Defence Fleet" with necessaries, two vessels had to be sent to Surat. When they returned, Dedel received the command to go back personally and hand over the admiralship to the English.

The efforts of the English on the West coast of India and in Persia were still counteracted by the Dutch who were endeavouring to participate in the trade of both and to exclude the London Company from that share of either which at so much expense they had been endeavouring to acquire. In the preceding season, the depredations which the Dutch ships had committed on the coasts of Guzerat had exposed the Company's servants at Surat to imprisonment and their property to seizure and it was not till after seven month's imprisonment that they were liberated and permitted to proceed with their sales and investments. The English turned to Surat as the Masulipatam trade of the English had declined owing to native Governors taking advantage of the disputes between the Dutch and the English. Yet here and in Surat half of the pepper and spices of India might have been sold in exchange for Surat and coast cloths.

In the year 1624 the English attempted to secure firm foothold at several places on the Coromandel coast. At Tegnapatam, Ijsbrants took measures with the broker Malay against the competition of the English. By 1625, the English and Danes went about expanding their business on the coast. The English built a house in Armagaon situated, according to ancient Dutch charts, between Nellore and Pulicat which belonged to Timma Naik.³¹ He permitted them to build a fort which must be occupied with 200 peons and allowed them free trade on paying 1% on imports and 3% on exports. Venkatapati agreed that the Dutch should not trade in Armagaon and Kolapatam situated three miles to the north on the coast. The English took away the weavers and dyers of the Dutch company and gave refuge to the debtors of the Dutch. Here also the Dutch worked against the English by trying to excite the jealousy of the natives. Ijsbrants obstructed the passage of textiles from the south through Pede Raja who possessed the routes along the lake of Pulicat and over the island on whose north point Armagaon lay. The Dutch Company's servants occasioned and undertook all possible hindrances against the English establishments

31. Later, Ijsbrants wrote that it was Venkatapati who gave them the kaul.

in Armagon, throwing all obstacles in their designs by presents to important persons and restraining their intended foolish and difficult establishments there."³² Thus the new establishment was exposed to risks which might hazard its existence. When their presents and bribes to the Naik failed to fulfil their purpose, they sent Malayan, the chief negotiator of their affairs, to farm the government of Armagaon at treble its usual rent purposely to disturb the English trade. But none of these practices prevailed with the Naik to infringe his covenant.

In July 1624 English merchants submitted to the Governor-General at Batavia that great damage had been caused to the English at Surat by the unbecoming procedure of the Dutch. Five or six Dutch merchants were placed on some Guzerati junks so that the latter might be protected against the English who held that it was not lawful for either Company to assist enemies. Hence the English President Brockedon of Surat (March 1625) complained that his principals were suffering by the Dutch procedure in Surat i.e., the Dutch offering protection to Moorish boats against the English. Thus the English were without means to liberate their people who were in Moorish custody. The Dutch learned from Surat that the English not only asked for commission and equipment for the liberation of their people from the Moorish ships but also that a new war might be undertaken against the Dutch. The execution of the English at Amboyna naturally caused great altercation between England and the United Netherlands as a matter of state affecting the King and Parliament. The Governor-General however on learning that the English had already established in Armagaon and that they had people and means and energy on their side charged the servants on the Coromandel coast that any verbal agreement made by the Dutch with the English at Pulicat tending to the prejudice of the Dutch company because of the English establishment at Armagaon such as division and withdrawal of weavers and cloth-dyers and other apparent sufferings should be put up with. The Dutch were not to offer bribes to natives for injuring the English, and for what they had presumed to do, redress should be made by all possible means. It was also laid down that the proposal made by the English President for reciprocal agreement with a view to excellent profits for the respective Companies in that region and destruction of the Spaniards and the Portuguese should be looked into with greater goodwill and friendliness. The Dutch Governor-General invited the English and the Dutch to co-operate in furthering the trade of the

32. *Batavia Dag-Register* for 18th October, 1626.

Protestant nations and destroying the Portuguese. The English President protested that in all his actions he was seeking not only the well-being of both Companies but also the advance of the interests of the Dutch States. Dutch dealings in the Archipelago, it was contended by the English, did not bespeak much friendliness for the English. While the necessity of mutual friendliness was accepted in theory, the English complained of practical difficulties like shortage of men and too much absorption in their masters' business. In 1626 the Dutch Governor-General allowed the English to transport some artillery and munitions to Surat in a Dutch ship. The Dutch were speaking about the friendly conferences and whole-hearted correspondence between the two nations regarding the affairs of Coromandel and Surat. Already in 1624 the English President had insisted that no hostility should continue with Moors of Masulipatam over the scandalous and extortionate treatment meted out to the Dutch without previous intimation to the English.

In July 1625 the Dutch felt that, concerning the trade of Surat and Persia or the defence and pursuit of the trade against the opposition and violence of the Portuguese, it should be necessary that they should consider with others what forces belonging to the other side were expected as also what the allies (Dutch and English) proposed to set before Surat together with what the others should contrive to have so that all the forces on their side might be bound to conjunction and unanimous resistance against the Portuguese. Although the Governor-General observed that special orders could hardly be given but that they should ascertain what force would appear on either side, nevertheless a general order was sent to the chiefs in authority that a closer union should be made between the Dutch and the English according to the opportunities of each and the information they could gather of the enemy's opportunities. Although on the 2nd October 1626 three ships appeared at the same time from the Netherlands, yet the combined strength of the English and the Dutch was not adequate to pursue the four galleons and fourteen smaller vessels that had shown themselves in Swally Bay and took cargo in the waters while the admiral Nuno Alvares Botelho wrote a defiant letter. After they were gone on the 17th, the English President came on board to Van den Broecke and proposed to pursue the ships, but neither the Dutch nor the English had much pleasure in doing so. However, when on the following day news came that the four galleons were attacked by three ships, the united fleet went on the 20th to the sea to assist the three unknown ships, these could not, however, be found. On the 15th of August three ships left Batavia for Surat

under the command of Frederick Cistiens. The English ship, the *James*, accompanied them, but left them on the way. When they came to Surat on the 6th November, the fleet which had pursued on the 20th October and the *James* which had met them were then together.

The resourcefulness of Van den Broecke secured for his employers a definite predominance in the trade of 'the Western quarter' i.e. North and West India, Persia and Arabia. The Dutch definitely superseded the English merchants who had already been in the field. As the Dutch aim on this coast was not only the development of their commerce but also the destruction of the Portuguese, they sought the naval co-operation of the English. As already stated, a general order had been sent to the chiefs in authority that a closer union should be made between the allies according to the opportunities of each and the information which they could gather of the enemy's opportunities. In theory, the English agreed to co-operate, but in practice, they did not. It was said that their capital was slender and their man power small. All along, the Dutch were afraid of the rivalry of the English. As a matter of fact, the efforts of the English on the West coast of India in 1624-25 were still counteracted by the Dutch who wished to exclude the English. In the preceding season, the depredations of the Dutch ships on the Guzerat coasts had exposed the English to imprisonment and seizure of property. They were liberated only after seven months' imprisonment. Another cause of irritation was the departure in great dignity from Batavia to Surat of Herman Van Speult who was responsible for the Amboyna massacre, in connection with which in November 1624 King James permitted Young, one of the Directors, to be sent to the Hague on a special mission. Charles in 1625 pressed for the punishment of the Amboyna offenders. The English protested to the Governor-General against the appointment. It was, however, pointed out by this authority that Surat was too important a charge to be left in the hands of inexperienced people and that his evidence could be otherwise taken. A fit and capable person was necessary in Surat against the common enemy not only in Dutch interests but also in the interests of the English. Without express order from home, no change could be effected with regard to the decision to send Van Speult to Surat. Thus the English protest was unavailing and further Van Speult's presence in Guzerat did not help to make the mutual relations of the two Protestant nations smoother. The Dutch continued to send reinforcements to Surat "for the more considerable pursuit and vigorous defence of our well-begun and well-established trade in

the said quarter." During these years there was plenty of rivalry between the two nations. However, there were occasional acts of friendliness as for example the transport, as already stated, of English artillery to Surat in Dutch ships in July 1626. The death of Van Speult in 1627 during an expedition against the Portuguese in the Red Sea which the English had been obliged by treaty to join closed disputes connected with that officer's appointment to Surat. The Dutch now outrivalled the English. Van Speult's successor refused assistance to the English although the President had proposed that if they took Bombay it should be divided equally between the Dutch and the English and fortified to make it a station independent of native powers. In 1626 it was agreed that previous notice be given by the Dutch to the English and *vice-versa* of each other's plans against the Muslims. On the whole, the relations between the two nations were not too friendly. Both had faults. But the Dutch claimed that they were less unsympathetic and narrow-minded than the English.³³

The restrictive nature of the English laws with regard to shipping and trade by foreigners acted favourably for the Dutch. The Dutch were quick to take advantage of these circumstances and they were enabled to grasp and keep to themselves large and valuable portions of the carrying trade. Owing to the greater encouragement of shipping in Holland, they possessed much finer vessels and more experienced mariners than were to be found in England.³⁴ In 1627-28 three large Dutch Indiamen from Surat which were put into Portsmouth were detained. The English argued that the Dutch did not exercise sovereignty in the sense in which Grotius had applied the term and they could not exclude the English from Southern seas.

RESULTS OF ANGLO-DUTCH COMPETITION

(1) Anglo-Dutch rivalry enabled the Indian producers to have their own terms both for prices and the quality of the goods. Neither the Dutch nor the English controlled Indian markets though together they had a practical monopoly of the supply of goods from Western Europe and they controlled purchases for the same region. But the mutual competition of the English and the Dutch made each of them less influential than if they had been able to work in harmony. The competition was however beneficial to Indian producers and consumers. Thus when the Dutch came to Guzerat and appeared as possible buyers of Indigo, the price was

33. *Batavia Dagb-Register*.

34. Danvers: Introduction to Letters received by the East India Company from their servants in the East.

"talked up" to Rs. 18/-. In 1621, when the pepper market in Surat was at less than 15 maunds, the Dutch interfered and raised it to 19 maunds.³⁵ In November 1625, the Dutch and the English factors at Ahmedabad agreed to make no further investment in Indigo without the joint approbation of both. When the Dutch became desirous of buying some, it was agreed that 500 or 600 churls be bought in common and equally divided. On December 31, 1627 the English merchants at Agra wrote that the Dutch were buying indigo without fear giving 35 rupees for old and 33¾ rupees for new which was 3 or 4 rupees higher than necessary; they paid 17,000 rupees beforehand and got together some 700 fardles. The price of Sarkhej indigo could not be brought down while Dutch and English were competing for it. When the Dutch and the Moors were scant of money to make any great investment, the English obtained large supplies of cotton, cloth or calico.

(2) In 1618 Roe had pointed out the danger of continued competition with the Dutch and urged that it should be avoided by dividing the Eastern trade between the two nations. The rapid penetration of the country by foreigners competing for an increasing variety of its produce resulted in a development of very real value to producers. From 1619 onwards the price level of imported goods fell owing to the establishment of the Dutch at Surat as their supplies competed with those brought by the English. In 1625-26 there was a sharp rise as the Dutch brought nothing and price rose to Rs. 100 and even Rs. 120. In 1630 excessive supplies brought by the Dutch brought down the price. The occasional outbursts of excessive competition were of at least temporary benefit to the Indian consumer.

(3) From 1625 onwards the volume of the Dutch trade was larger than that of the English. Produce from the East coast was going to Holland from about 1615, i.e., 30 years before this branch of trade was developed by the English. The Dutch excelled in commercial efficiency as well as in material resources. Their greater command of capital is beyond question. They possessed a monopoly of the spice trade and of the markets of China and into their hands trade flowed from China and Japan. Their system of commercial administration was sound. The Governor-General and his council at Batavia exercised very wide powers throughout the East and constituted the heart and brain of the whole organism. Their commercial machinery was ruthlessly efficient. The competition of the weaker English company usually sufficed to secure

35. Vide letter of Thomas Rastell and others at Surat to the English Company dated November 7, 1621.

to Indians a fair price for what they sold. The competition between the Dutch and English companies made each of them less influential than if they had been able to work in harmony. Thus it was injurious to European interest, but beneficial to Indians.

(4) The years that follow show the same features. The Dutch, owing to the wonderful organisation of their company, were prospering in the east. They were intriguing with the Mughal Governors against the English. The English company's object was to counterpoise the Hollanders' swelling greatness by trade and to keep them from being absolute lords of the seas by breaking the monopoly of the Hollanders. The Anglo-Dutch rivalry affected not only the foreign policy but also the economic theories of the 17th century. It led to state interference in commerce. Nearly every important 17th century treaty on the East India trade refers directly or indirectly to Holland.

The Dutch desired no competition in the East. They refused the English company all share in the East Indian trade because (1) they had at great expense and danger established their trade in the East Indies by the taking, supervising and building of many forts (2) because they had contracted amity with diverse kings there and therefore did not think it reasonable that any man should deprive them of their benefits and advantages. The Dutch had spent large sums in the East and believed that they were entitled to the rewards to which they looked forward and which they ultimately obtained. But they claimed much more than a proportionate reward for all their expenses. The Dutch maintained that every person possessed liberty to act for himself, and since certain Indians had promised the sale of spices to the Hollanders, their monopoly was quite in keeping with natural equity and law of nations. The outlook of the two nations was different. The English expected some return for the services which they had rendered to Holland in her wars against Spain. They were soon disillusioned. Though the Dutch had utilised the services of the English in the East for their own benefit, they were not ready to allow the English freedom of trade with the natives. The monopoly which they had so laboriously built up would in their opinion have been absolutely useless if other European nations had been allowed to trade with their allies. Their main object was the establishment of a monopoly of all the spices in the East, and the consequent exaction of high prices from the buyers in Europe. Competition would destroy the prospects of the realisation of this desire. Hence the bitter rivalry between the two Protestant nations.

Reviews

THE FRENCH IN INDIA (First Establishment and Struggle) by S. P. Sen, B.A., (London). With a Foreword by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), University of Calcutta, 1947, (pp. XVII and 360).

The story of the beginnings of French enterprise in India has not been often told; and its character and details have been affected by the recent publication of contemporary sources of information like the *Memoire* of François Martin and the account of the *Itinerary* of the Abbé Carré. Mr. Sen takes his narrative from the foundation of the French East India Company (1664) down to the foundation of Pondicherry in 1673-1674. The Abbé Carré was the agent of Colbert, the French Minister, in the East, in the years 1666-74; and his *Journal* has been helpful for the construction of the true story of Admiral de la Haye's expedition to the East which caused much apprehension among the Europeans, the Dutch in particular. The earlier attempts of the French at Eastern enterprise had not borne any fruit; and the Company started in 1644, attempted the simultaneous development of French trade in the distinct commercial regions of Surat, the Malabar Coast, the Coromandel Coast and Bengal and thus attempted a huge task far beyond its resources. Caron who was the evil genius of French enterprise in these years, endeavoured to open trade in the Persian Gulf as well as in the Archipelago. F. Martin held that the idea of sending out a powerful naval squadron to the East, had originated in Caron's mind, though Colbert had been already convinced of the utility of such an expedition as has been shown here. The progress of the fleet to Madagascar and thence to India and Ceylon was marked by indiscipline among the officers and aroused intense Dutch opposition. To add to the troubles, there were internal discords in the French settlement at Surat; while the objectives of the expedition were neither carefully defined, nor efficiently planned. The bungling operations of the squadron to the Ceylonese waters were largely due to the wrong judgements, if not positively treacherous advice of Caron; and the decision to leave the Bay of Trinkomali which was attributed by earlier historians, like Kaepelin, as being due entirely to Caron's mischief, is supported here though de la Haye is not totally absolved from all blame.

The subsequent French occupation and loss of San Thomé has been told in considerable detail, as also the connected enterprise

of the settlement at Masulipattam and the foundation of Pondicherry, the first European corruption of which name had been given by a Dutchman, who visited it in 1618, as Pollocherry, while it was written as Puducherry by Francis Day, the founder of Madras, who touched it in 1639. The French connections with Pondicherry are traced back to August 1670; and Martin's cautious occupation and development of the place under the auspices of Sher Khan Lodi, and the latter's encouragement of him to capture Valudavur from his rival, the governor of Gingee, are well narrated; and thus their policy and course of interference in internal politics seem to have been taught to the French by Indians even then.

Attention may be here drawn to the *Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East, 1672 to 1674*, translated from the manuscript journal of his travels preserved in the India Office by Lady Fawcett and edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn (The Hakluyt Society). The Pondicherry Archives are lacking in records dealing with this early period and come to be full only from about the middle of July 1720.

— C. S. S.

LANDMARKS IN INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (Volume I, 1600 to 1919) by Gurumukh Nihal Singh, Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi, 1950, (Pp. XV and 393).

Professor Singh brought out the first edition of this book in 1933 and now proposes to bring out a second volume dealing with the momentous march of events in the period 1919-1947, which he is preparing for the Press. Indian Constitutional History has been receiving increased attention and the literature on it has been growing on a phenomenal scale, though of unequal and varied value.

In our review of the first edition of this volume (see *J.I.H.* Volume XII, 1933, pp. 470-473), it was noted that that book was very welcome even at that time when intensive attention was beginning to be paid to the study of the government and politics of India, and when the political and cultural renaissance of the land was becoming rapidly transformed into a really popular and national movement. Professor Singh holds, as is usually done, that the epoch of the Company's rule was but an introduction and prefatory note to the larger, more complicated and more gripping account of India under the British Crown. One of the topics dealt with in Part II, in connection with the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is shown in all its comprehensive significance, of giving an impetus to legislative devolution, as well as to the beginning of a move-

ment towards the independence of the Indian Government, in legislative matters, of the authorities in England, as well as the beginning of the movement of internal autonomy in the Provinces. The Royal Titles Act of 1876 is also clearly explained as having served "to bring the Indian States inside the boundary of the Indian Empire and to change the legal position of the Indian Rulers from Allies of the Paramount Power to subordinate Princes within the Empire."

Prof. Singh brings out the constitutional and political importance and effect of such measures as the Press Act of 1878, the Ilbert Bill and the Cotton Duties, all of which created much political stir at the time and watered the roots of Indian political consciousness. He demonstrates how the Secretary of State's strict control over the Governor-General established, as an axiom, from the time of Lords Northbrook and Salisbury, was later expanded to include and develop, during the Secretaryship of Sir Henry Fowler, the idea that the principle of the united and indivisible responsibility of the British Cabinet should be applied also to the Indian Executive Councils, in spite of the difference in the character of the ties which held their members together in the two cases.

The portions devoted to the survey of the cultural and religious awakening of the people comprehend a notice of the leaven of Western education, the influence of the press and the dawning of a sense of pride in the national heritage. With the restraint of a Congressman of the generation of Gokhale and Mehta, Mr. Singh warns the reader against the prevailing tendency to criticise the elder Congressmen for their display of caution and moderation, now held to be "bordering on timidity."

The reforms attempted by Lord Curzon in the general machinery of the bureaucratic government and in the administration of police and railways, the counterblast attempted to the partition agitation, the growth of Extremism and the emergence of a new force, that of religious nationalism, — all these are shown to have contributed towards the creation of a new life in the country, which bore its first fruits in *Swadeshi*, boycott and national education, and has served as the foundation of the ideals and programme of the neo-Indians of the present day. Perhaps from Mr. Singh's survey one may feel that the growth and progress of the revolutionary movement was after all, only a minor phase of the surging nationalistic activity of the land. The rise of Muslim communalism and the consequential fruits of separate electorates, weighted representation and the increasing clamour for the division of offices and governmental patronage of all kinds, are vigorously treated. The history of the decade intervening between the Morley-

Minto Reforms Act of 1909 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Act of 1919 is the last and the most elaborately treated section of this volume which can be safely commended to all as a sound, clear and fairly impartial and exhaustive account of the forces, historical, political, national and cultural, that have helped to make India what it is in the present generation. The narrative ends with the tragedy of Amritsar; the bibliography is not heavy; while the tone and general get-up of the book are highly commendable. The treatment of Indians in South Africa has, as before, been comprehended in the scope.

In the preface the author gives a note on the recently published literature on Indian constitutional progress on which he has promised an ample bibliography in the coming volume.

— C. S. S.

ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY—Illustrating some of the most important astronomical methods, by P. C. Sengupta, M.A., University of Calcutta, 1947, (Pp. XXVIII and 287).

This work has brought into requisition only the science of Astronomy for ascertaining the data for certain dates. In the I Section the fixing of dates of the Mahabharata battle and of the Rama story is first attempted. The drawing of the horoscopes of the birth-time of Rama and Kṛṣṇa can be merely regarded as poeto-astrological effusions; but if the Puranic dynastic lists can be believed, the time of Rama may be held to be about 3150 B.C. and the Bharata battle to have probably taken place in the year 2449 B.C. The methods of Chronology employed are explained astronomically, but are marked by a great amount of technical complexity. After examining the time references by two methods, the author finds that the results obtained from both the methods will be approximate to each other and hopes that the dates he has arrived at may prove to be a satisfactory solution for the first time; and researchers in the past are held to have erred by a wrong identification of persons inferred from a similarity of names. It is maintained that the astronomical references used for fixing the date of the Bharata battle are all definite in meaning and no better evidence can be adduced. Similarly, the date of the consecration of Yudhisthira for the Aswamedha sacrifice, on astronomical indications, has been fixed for March 2446 B.C. The author rejects also the Aryabhata tradition on 3102 B.C. as the date of the Bharata battle.

The next two sections deal with topics connected with Vedic antiquity, and *Brahmana* Chronology, from which a few of the

conclusions arrived at may well be quoted. One of them is that the civilization of the Veda was earlier than that of the Indus Valley. Another is that the practice of recognizing the seasons by the heliacal risings of one or other of the bright stars, was followed by all ancient nations. Again, the Vedic Hindus of Vamadeva's time reckoned the year by the heliacal rising of the dog-star, as was done by the Ancient Egyptians. We can also be sure as to the time when Indra, the rain-giver, began to function, with the heliacal rising of *Magha* or a *Leonis* at Kurukshetra. It may be possible to fix 4000 B.C. as the earliest date for the Vedic Culture.

The time of the solar eclipse spoken of in the *Rgveda*, is thus obtained as July 26, 3928 B.C. This date at once settles the time of Atri, the observer of this eclipse. In the author's finding, this Atri was one of the first batch of the Aryans who tried and succeeded in settling in the northern Punjab.

The tradition of Yama's dogs belongs to about 4700 B.C. and is before the time when the Aryan peoples migrated to different countries from their ancient homes. This ancient tradition in relation to the above constellations survived in the Vedas and with the western immigrants. The author writes:—"Here I have to differ from late Tilak, who in his book '*Orion*', in the chapter on "the Antelope's Head," cites this tradition as a confirmation of his finding that the vernal equinox for the time was at the Antelope's Head, which according to him was the *Mragasira's* cluster. The tradition belongs to the Pre-Vedic age, as I have shown before. The legend of Prajapati and Rohini, when astronomically interpreted, does not yield the Vernal Equinox at *Mragasira* as was supposed by Tilak in his *Orion*."

The Vedic Hindus knew how to find the solstice day of winter and summer and had a standard month of *Magha* in their calculations of the solstice days in successive ages.

In the part dealing with *Brahmana* Chronology attention is pointed to the references to solar eclipses in five places in the *Tandya Brahmana*, and it is not unlikely that the *Satapatha Brahmana* also (in V, 3, 2, 2) records the same traditional eclipse. The *Jaiminiya Brahmana* and the *Tandya Brahmana* indicate a common date of about 1600 B.C. Hence the traditional position of the solstices as stated in the *Maitri Upanisat* was true for about 1800 B.C.; but it would be rash to say that this *Upanisat* was composed at this date. The *Sanakayana Brahmana* has also been worked out as dating about 1000 B.C. The *Baudhayana* rules for sacri-

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

- I. *Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras*, Vol. XIV, Part I, 17th Feb., 1950, Olcott No.

1. *How an Epoch-Making Book (Isis Unveiled, by H. P. Blavatsky) was Written.* By H. S. Olcott.

"Whence did H. P. B. draw the materials which compose *Isis*, and which cannot be traced to accessible literary sources of quotation? *From the Astral Light*, and, by her soul senses, from her Teachers — the Brothers, Adepts, Sages, Masters, as they have been variously called".

2. *Ode to India* (in Sanskrit), by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.
3. *Hindu Religion and Hindu Customs*, by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.
4. *Edicts of Asoka* (in original Pali, and Sanskrit and English translations), by G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar.

- II. *Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXV, Parts 3 and 4, Sept., and Dec. 1949, Patna.

1. *Sasanka*, by Dr. B. P. Sinha, Patna College.

"Thus we find that we have no real basis to connect Sasanka with the Guptas or the Maukharis. Sasanka was a Gauda, and Jayanaga was also a king of Gauda" — "Sasanka's dominion included Magadha — with his capital at Karnasuvarna, ruled over a large part of Northern India, which included parts of the modern United Provinces, the whole of Bihar, and a very large part of Bengal — Sasanka came to the throne in the early years of the 7th cent. after Christ (probably 602), and his rule may have come to an end by 625 A.D.". Then "Bengal passed into the control of Harsha, and Orissa also appears to have ultimately fallen into his hands. — Thus the first Bengal empire in Indian History perished with the death of the first great hero of Bengal."

2. *Some New Light on the Gahadavalas of Kanauj, Kasiraja, and his Chief Minister, Vidyadhara*, by Dasaratha Sarma, Hindu College, Delhi.

fices should be taken as of the year 887-16 B.C. The *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra* mentions the name Panini in the Pravara Section 3 and also the name *Kaulasva Yaska* in XVI, 27. Whether these statements place the dates of the celebrated grammarian and the author of the Vedic lexicon, *Nirukta*, before the time of the *Baudhayana Srauta Sutra* (900 B.C. nearly), is a matter that cannot be settled astronomically. The date for the *Satapatha* and the *Taittiriya Brahmanas* cannot be pushed back beyond 625 B.C. The *Srauta Sutras* of *Katyayana* and *Apastamba* can both be fixed for the period 630 to 624 B.C.

In the section dealing with the Indian eras, we read that on the basis of the examination of the eclipses, recorded in the *Samyukta Nikaya*, and held to have occurred when the Buddha was at Sravasti, the Ceylon-Burma tradition on 544 B.C., forms the true date of the *Nirvana*. Mr. Sengupta thinks that Kaniska lived at the beginning of the Saka era and that his era could not have started from 120 A.D.

The era of the earlier Kharosthi inscriptions may hypothetically be held to be the same as the era of Seleucus Nicator who was, in all probability, referred to as the Maharaj atiraja or perhaps, the era of Alexander the Great. The Seleucid era began from the year 311 B.C. Perhaps also the era of Chandragupta which started from 321 B.C. might have been used as the basis.

The oldest name of the Samvat years might have been the Krita years; and the astronomical reasons therefor are adduced. The Gupta era cannot, however, be identified with the Samvat era. Why or how the Malava era came to be called Vikrama Samvat cannot be answered from any astronomical data.

The chapter on the Gupta era covers an examination of the Gupta inscriptional dates; and the zero year of it is held to have begun on December 20, 318 A.D. The Gupta and the Valabhi eras were the same. Lastly, the time indications in Kalidasa's works are examined, with the results that the poet's date is fixed about the middle of the 6th century A.D., and that he and Varahamihira were contemporaries. The treatment is extremely technical; but the basic idea of correlating the technical data and formulæ to historical data should be useful for the historian who should naturally await further confirmatory or other material.

— C. S. S.

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES, Part I by Dr. B. C. Law, Published by the Indian Research Institute, 170, Ramesh Dutt Street, Calcutta, 1950.

Dr. B. C. Law is easily an authority on ancient Indian literature, especially Pali literature. That he is quite at home with the Buddhist literature and culture is evident from the numerous publications to his credit. He is a scholar of much reputation and a distinguished student of ancient Indian history. His works on the several aspects of Buddhism and Jainism are well-known. In this book which is Part I of the Indological Studies, Dr. B. C. Law devotes two sections to the history of the monarchical and non-monarchical minor states in the period from 325 B.C. to 300 A.D. He covers in this section, a number of states and tribes, some of them monarchical in character and others non-monarchical. He brings into his examination of various tribes a wealth of information and refers often to researches previously carried out by various scholars, Indian and European. Not only the Buddhist literature is exploited, but reference is made to the Mahabharata and the Puranas frequently. Those who would carefully read these sixty pages will find there a fund of information, sometimes new.

In section II, he examines the social and the economic condition from the earliest time down to the Nanda dynasty. The conditions in pre-Vedic times as also in Vedic times are explained in detail. The economic conditions of the pre-Buddhist times as well as pre-Mauryan times are interesting reading. Special attention may be drawn to the paragraphs on the position of women and the institution of slavery at this time. In describing the social and political conditions of these ancient times the author has spared no pains in gathering details which could be possibly culled from the vast mass of literature. A short index is also provided. We congratulate the author on the production of this useful publication.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

3. *A Note on the Word Navakōṭi in the Title Navakoti Karnataka Kalavaragesvara*, of A.D. 1458, by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.

"Thus it is clear that the numerals affixed to the names of districts and provinces refer only to *gramas* — the word Grama indicates a unit of measurement, though it is hard to conjecture about what it actually represents in terms of measurements in modern days. — Navakoti (9 crores) must have represented the number of *gramas* in Karnata, or Karnata and Gulbarga together."

4. *The Rape of Indian Ships in the Indian Waters, 1612*, by Dr. Jagadis Narayan Sarkar, Patna College.

III. *Birmingham Historical Journal* — University of, Vol. I, No. 1, 1947.

1. *Orbis Terrarum: Some Reflections on the Roman Empire*, by J. Oliver Thomson.

"The theory of the earth-globe was, of course, already old. Some ancient texts and many modern authorities ascribe it to Pythagoras, about 530. — Aristarchus of Samos reached the hypothesis that the earth-globe revolves round the sun in an oblique circle, while it rotates about its own axis — Among Greek writers of the time was Crates with his orb-like globe."

2. *Joan of Kent (1328-85 A.D.) and the Order of the Garter*, by Margaret Galway.

3. *Jerome of Prague*, one of the three "first champions of the assault on Rome: John Wycliff, John Hus and Jerome," who is still little more than a name, by R. R. Betts. On 30th May 1416 he was condemned by a Catholic Council of 14 cardinals and others at Constance as "a rotten branch that is dry and dead, and it pronounces and declares him to be a heretic and relapsed into heresy, excommunicate and anathema", and burned at the stake.

IV. Do. Vol. I, No. 2, 1948.

1. *A Minoan Chapter of Greek History*, by F. J. Tritsch.

It shows "that the Minoan civilization of Crete and Greece forms part of Greek History, indeed a first but very vital chapter of Greek History".

2. *The History of Parliament to 1400 in the Light of Modern Research*, by Geoffrey Templeman.
3. *Political and Historical Thought in the French Revolution*, by H. P. Adams.
4. *A Bacteriologist's Approach to History*, by J. F. D. Shrewsbury.

"In view of the influence that epidemic disease has had upon civilization in the past, it is surprising to find so few references to it in historical works, and so few attempts on the part of historians to assess its influence upon the development of particular societies." Examples:

(1) "The epidemic that made the Philistines return the Ark of the Covenant to Israel influenced the course of Jewish history. (2) The Plague of Athens in 430 B.C. exerted a decisive effect upon the outcome of the Peloponnesian war, and the resulting defeat of the Athenian confederacy altered the course of ancient history. (3) The Elephant War, A.D. 570-1, which determined the future of the Saracen Empire, and led indirectly to the rise of Mohammedanism was decided by an epidemic that decimated Abrahah's army before Mecca. (4) The English pestilence, in A.D. 664, undoubtedly had a profound influence upon both English and Welsh history, but its effects have never been studied with the attention they deserve. (5) The history of the Crusades is an epitome of the history of the impact of epidemic disease upon humanity."

"Whatever the actual numbers were, however, there is no doubt that heavy mortality from disease wrecked the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th crusades, that scurvy and concomitant disease destroyed the 6th, and that the 7th was extinguished by epidemic disease, principally dysentery, before it had properly begun. (6) The Spanish conquest of Mexico was undoubtedly assisted by an epidemic of smallpox, that decimated the Aztecs, destroying nearly half their population. (7) The 30 Years' War was in all its phases dominated by deadly epidemics. (8) In 1801, yellow fever decided the establishment of the Republic of Haiti."

V. Do. Vol. II, No. 1, 1949.

1. *The Legend of the Phoenix, Part I*, by R. T. Rundle Clark.

VI. *Ceylon Review* — *University of*. April 1950, Vol. VIII, No. 2.

1. *Sutta Nipata: The Pastoral Ballads*, by Dr. N. A. Jayawickrama.
2. *Some Corrections of Geiger's Culavamsa Translation*, by Rev. A. P. Buddhaddatta.
3. *Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom*, by Mr. C. W. Nicholas. *Senapati* = Commander-in-Chief; *Nagaraguttika* = Guardian or Protector of the City; *Amacca*, *Ameti* = Minister; *Parumaka* = Sanskrit *Pramukha* = President of a Guild or Corporation; *Bhandagarika*, *Badakarika* = Royal Treasurer; *Gāmika* or *Gamika* = Head of a village; *Ganaka* = Accountant; *Ratika* or *Ratiya* = Officer administering a *Rāṭa*, a territorial division.

VII. *Ganganath Jha Research Institute* — *Journal of the*. Vol. VI, Part 4, Aug. 1949, Allahabad.

1. *Taksasila*, by Prof. S. B. Chaudhuri.
2. *A Verse from Skandagupta's Junagarh Inscription*, by Dasaratha Sarma. In the line "*Pratikṛti-Garudājñām nirviṣīm cāvakarttā*" *Garudājña* = a command carried through the "*Garudamadanka-sasanas*", about which we read in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta. Secondly it signifies also *Garuda-mantra* believed to be so efficacious in dealing with serpents. *Pratikṛti* = retaliatory or punitive measures, or picture. *Cāvakartā* may be read *vāvakartā*. *Vāva* in Vedic and Puranic literature means certainly, surely indeed.

3. *Dates in Decimal Figures*, by G. S. Gai.

"The decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols both in North and South India about the same time, viz., as early as the second quarter of the 7th cen. A.C."

4. *Use of B. for V and Vice Versa*, by G. S. Gai.

"This alphabetic feature was in vogue in the Gupta period, and therefore it is admissible in the Nalanda plate of Samudragupta."

VIII. *India* — *Journal of the Numismatic Society of*. Vol. XI, Part I, June 1949, Bombay.

1. *Some More coins of the Mahisha Dynasty*, by V. V. Mirashi Amraoti.
2. *A Lead Coin of Satavahana*, by Mirashi.
3. *A Unique Gold Coin of Chandragupta I*, by Dr. B.Ch. Chhabra, Ootacamund.
4. *Can Kacha be identified with Ramagupta?*, by P. L. Gupta, Banaras. "The arguments are not conclusive". (p. 35).
5. *Some New Ephthalite Coins*, by Awadh Kishore Narain, Banaras.
6. *Some Rare and Unique Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Banaras. Coins of Euthydemus I, Menander(?), Heliokles, Spalirises, Huvishka, Toramana, and others.

IX. *India Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 2. April-June 1950.

1. *India and the United Nations*, by M. C. Setalvad.
2. *Tibet—Politics and International Relations*, by Dwarakanath Kachru.
3. *French Foreign Policy*, by Raymad Aron.
4. *Swiss Experience of Permanent Neutrality*, by A. Daeniker.
5. *State Ownership of Enterprise in the Netherlands*, by H. M. Vlekke.

X. *London Institute of Historical Research* — *Bulletin of the*. Vol. XXII, No. 66, Nov. 1949.

1. *The Earliest Records of the High Court of Admiralty (1515-1558)*, by Alwyn A. Ruddock.
2. *Two Unpublished Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, by G. R. Elton.
3. *The Organisation of a College of Secular Priests, 1380-1544*, by R. B. K. Peteh.
4. *Thomas Cromwell: Aspects of His Administrative Work*, by G. R. Elton.

5. *Effect of Marian and Elezabethan Religious Settlements upon the Clergy of London, 1553-64*, E. L. C. Mullins.

XI. *Madras Oriental Research — Quarterly Journal of*. Vol. XVII, Part 3, March 1948, issued 1950.

1. "Svadosha-paradoshavit" (Valmiki Day celebration lecture, Madras) by R. Narayana Aiyar, I.C.S (Retd.) "The virtue (of Sri Rama) I refer to.....occurs in the opening sarga of Ayodhyakanda, Verse 24. The meaning of the phrase is that Rama had a knowledge of his own as well as of others' failings."
2. *Western Chalukya and Chola Conflict in Vengi*: Choda, Gonko II (c. 1132-1160 A.D.). "Thus by his brilliant victories Gonko II changed the political map of the eastern sea-board of Andhra from one of Chalukya suzerainty to that of Imperial Chola lordship, which he helped to maintain throughout his career, from c. 1132 to 1160 A.D."

3. *Jānāsrāyī Chandōviciti* (paper presented to the 15th All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay), by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Trivandrum.

"Next to the two schools of Sanskrit prosody of Bharata and Pingala, the school of Janasrya represented by his Chandoviciti is the most important.....This Janasraya may be identified with king Madhavavarman I (535-85 A.D.) of Vishnu-kundin dynasty.....The sixth chapter.....deals with prastāra, mathematical calculations.....They are indeed mathematical puzzles bearing on the principles of permutation."

4. *Betel Leaves and Betel Nuts, or Chewing a Peculiar South Indian Custom*, by U. Venkatakrishna Rao.

5. *Betel Chewing* (translated from the French article of Georges Lebrun), by Sri R. Ramachandran (with a map).

The area of betel chewing.....extends between East Longitudes 60 degrees and 160 degrees, and Latitudes 10° south to 30° north — more than 1 million square Kilometers. "Betel is mentioned in a Pali text describing an incident that happened in 504 B.C." (Betel was esteemed by the Persians of the 6th cent. A.D.). The Vietnamese have a story about the betel vine, of about 2000 B.C.

Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan Gymkhana P.O., 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 School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
8. *Commercial Review*, Alleppey.
9. *The Federated India*, Madras.
10. *Half Yearly Journal of Mysore University*, Mysore.
11. *The Hindustan Review*, Patna.
12. *The Indian Review*, Madras.
13. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
14. *India Digest*, Ahmedabad.
15. *The Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Benares.
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
17. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
18. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
19. *Journal of Sadul Rajasthan Research Institute*, Bikaner.
20. *Journal of the Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
21. *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
22. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
23. *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Benares.
24. *Perspective*, Delhi.
25. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
26. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Rajahmundry.
27. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
28. *University of Ceylon Review*, Colombo.
29. *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Cocanada.
30. *Quarterly Journal of the Kannada Literary Academy*, Bangalore.

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