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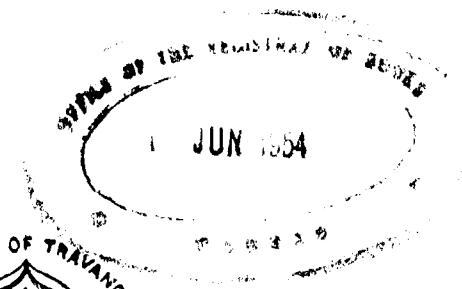
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Śucīndram Inscription of Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Martānda Varma: Kollam 646

By

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This inscription in Tamil is found engraved on a stone pillar which originally served as one of the supports of the bathing ghat in the tank which lies to the north of the Śrī Sthāṇunāthasvāmi temple of Śucīndram. The inscription was recently discovered, and my attention was drawn to it by Śrī P. Parameswara Sarma, the Vaṭṭappalli Sthānikar of the temple.

The epigraph under consideration is of remarkable historical importance, for it throws light on the kings of the period to which it belongs. This Śucīndram inscription is dated 27th Iḍavam (Vai kāśi) 646 M.E.; and in this connexion it is important to remember that there is another epigraph on the northern wall of the Cempakarāman Maṇḍapa of the temple belonging to Vīra Rāma Varman dated 12th Cittirai 646 M.E.¹ Thus there was but an interval of about a month and a half between the two records. The king figuring in the Cempakarāman Maṇḍapa inscription is described as Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma, Tiruppāppūr Mūtta Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr Jayasimhanāṭṭu Illam, while the ruler mentioned in the subjoined inscription is described as Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mār-tāṇḍa Varma Śrī Kulaśēkharaperumāl of Kīlappērūr Jayasimhanāṭṭu Illam. Obviously, the names denote two different rulers; and it would be interesting to know the relationship between these two. Other known facts do not support the seemingly obvious inference that the king of the latter inscription should have succeeded the one mentioned in the earlier record. Epigraphic evidence is positive that Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma continued to hold sway for several years subsequent to 646 M.E.²

1. Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. IV. p. 92 ff.

2. See for example his Śucīndram Inscription of 654 M.E. T.A.S., Vol. VIII, p. 23.

Another complication arises from the fact that there reigned during the same time a third ruler, as is gathered from certain epigraphs of the period. He was Āditya Varma whose inscription of 639 M.E., is found at Kṛṣṇāṅkōil, four miles north-west of Śucīndram, while another of his, dated 659 M.E., is seen in the Sthāpū-nāthasvāmin temple itself in Śucīndram. He appears to have been identical with Kōdai Āditya Mārtāṇḍa Varma, mentioned in the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple Records.³ A significant fact learnt from his Śucīndram inscription is that he was the elder brother of Śrī Vīra Rāma Śrī Rāma Varma. In the light of these facts it is evident that Āditya Varma was the principal ruler between 639 M.E., and 659 M.E., and that during a part of this period at least, Rāma Varma served as his co-partner.

But the problem still remains as to what the relationship was between Vīra Rāma Varma and Vīra Rāma Mārtāṇḍa Varma.⁴ It may seem that the titles adopted by these two monarchs provide a clue regarding their respective political status. While Vīra Rāma Varma is described in his inscription as 'Tiruppāppūr Mūtta Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr and of Jayasimhanāṭṭu Illam,' Mārtāṇḍa Varma is merely spoken of as belonging to Kīlappērūr and Jayasimhanāṭṭu Illam; he is not described as 'Mūtta Tiruvaḍi'. If this negative circumstance indicates any thing, it is that Mārtāṇḍa Varma was at that time a subordinate or junior co-partner. Āditya Varma is known to have resided for the most part in Kallīḍaikkuricci, which then formed part of his dominion; Rāma Varma's activities, on the other hand, were largely in Nāñcināḍ; and, therefore, it is not improbable that another member of the royal family ruled in the northern region of Vēṇāḍ.⁵

3. See Appendix to T. K. Velu Pillai's State Manual, Vol. II, M. Doc. XI of 647 M.E.

4. Assuredly, there is little justification for identifying this ruler with Śrī Vīra Rāma Mārtāṇḍa Varma Kulasekhara whose documents of the period—634 M.E.-645 M.E.,—are found among the Padmanābhasvāmi Temple Records, because from the same source it is learnt that this monarch's reign terminated in 645. M.E.

5. It is known that during this period several branches were ruling over different portions of territory, the eldest assuming the title of the King of Vēṇāḍ and exercising a general authority over all. See V. Nagam Aiyar: The Travancore State Manual Vol. II, p. 132.

Perhaps, Mārtāṇḍa Varma, figuring in the Varkalai inscription of 655 M.E., is identical with his namesake appearing in the Śucīndram epigraph. The simple description of the personage as 'Dhāt-ripati' in the Varkalai⁶ inscription cannot be made much of, as has been done by a recent writer.⁷ The fact that the epigraph is engraved in Sanskrit verse in two lines covering barely a space of 7' 2" long by 4" high, as well as the metrical requirements of the verse might have needed the omission of his titles and family name.

Text

1. Svasti Śrī Ka
2. liyuga saṁvatsa
3. ram nālāyirattu ainūrru eḷupattu
4. raṇḍu cenra iḍapa
5. iccani kanni vi
6. yālattil ko
7. llam arunūrru nārpattu āṛāmāṇḍu
8. iḍapa nāyaru iru
9. pattu eḷu cenra
10. vellī ātc(c) aiyu
11. tpaḍu samayam pugaḷum
12. innālāl Uḍaiyār
13. tāpumālaya pperumāḷ
14. kōvilu kōvilukku
15. vaḍakkin puṇattu
16. tirukkuḷamum tirukki
17. ṇarum kuḷappurayum
18. kallum keṭṭi tiruppa
19. ṇi ceyvitta kīlpperūr
20. jayasimhanāṭṭu illa
21. ttil Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mār
22. ttāṇḍavan marāna Śrī
23. kula sékarap perumāḷ paṇi
24. ceivittadu.

6. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV. p. 203-4.

7. T. K. Velu Pillai: The Travancore State Manual, Vol. II. p. 132.

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! In the Kaliyuga year 4572 when Saturn occupied (the sign) Vṛṣabha and Jupiter was in Kanya Rāśi, corresponding to Friday the 27th of the month of Iḍabha in the Kollam year 646, Śrī Kulaśēkharapperumāl alias Śrī Vīra Rāma Vīra Mār-tāṇḍa Varma of Kīlappērūr and of Jayasimhanāṭṭu Illam constructed the holy tank, well and bathing ghat as well as the (flight of) steps of stone to the north of the temple of Uḷaiyār Sthānumālayapperumāl.

The Colanpūrvapattaiyam: Its Historical Value

By

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This work bearing a long name and of apparently uncertain historical worth has been published by the Government of Madras three years ago under the able editorship of Rao Bahadur C. M. Ramachandran Chettiār, Advocate, Coimbatore.¹ It is time that we scrutinise this work and assess its historical value.

This work which purports to be a rendering of an old copper plate of the Cola king discovered in Kāncipurā seeks to describe the way in which society and Government were organised in Kongu and how several castes of people particularly the *Vellālās*, *Kaikōlās* (Idangaiyar) and the *Chettis* (Valangaiyar) were brought into this region and settled under the aegis and the immediate supervision of the Cola King. Though there is much that is nebulous and out-of-joint in the statements made in this work, it seems to be unnecessary to underestimate its value particularly from the point of view of social history. For one thing a stone record coming from Śāngramanallūr (Coimbatore Dt.) and dated in the LXV regnal year of Vīra Rājendra mentions the offerings made in the Colēśvara temple of the place by one Kaciyarāyan.² If the identification made by Mr. V. Rangachari of this chieftain with his namesake in the *Colanpūrvapattaiyam*, who appears in it as the leader of the *Kaikōlās*,³ be accepted the chronological limit of the events narrated in it is at once established, thus giving us a basis to understand and state its historical worth.

The date of the record needs however to be looked into more elaborately to understand the events it describes. It is clearly mentioned in this work that the Cola King Karikālā colonised the

1. See Madras Government Oriental Mss. series, No. 5 (1950).
2. 136 of 1909.
3. See V. Rangachari, *Topographical List*, Vol. I, p. 567.

Kongu country with people of various tribes and castes building temples wherever he went, dividing the country into suitable administrative units and arranging for the management of both the temples and the administrative divisions. Now, this does not certainly refer to Karikālā of the Śāṅgam times but to one of the rulers of the Imperial Cola line some of whom are entitled Karikālā. To which of these kings does the *pūrvapattaiyam* refer is the question central to this discussion. I have no doubt that it is to Kulottunga, the third of the name, that the document refers; and I shall indicate below my reasons for this conclusion.

1. In the first place the title, 'Karikālā' is prominently associated with this Cola king in the inscriptions of the times.

2. The Kongu records of his time give unmistakable indication of great social and administrative changes in progress in this region—the very facts to which the copper plates in question refer. No less than six inscriptions have been noted by the Government epigraphist during the field season 1910-11 in the premises of the Amāraphaniśvarā temple at Pāriyūr (Gōbi Tk.) all of which refer to the activities of the King on these lines.⁴ One of them, for example, mentions 20 divisions of the territory covering a large portion of N. Kongu; and reference is made in these records to places like Pāndikkodumudi, Karuvūr, Tiruppukkūdal, Tiruvañ-jimākkūdal, Tirumuruganpūndi, Avināsi and Annūr of S. Kongu—places also mentioned in the *Pūrvapattaiyam*.

3. The *Pūrvapattaiyam* mentions that it was from Kāncipurā that the Cola king proceeded into Kongu, a fact that is not obviously seen from the Cola inscriptions of any period whatsoever; and yet the copper plates in question do make mention of it. But it is with regard to Kulottungā III that inscriptions mention his stay in the city of the Pallavas, where he is said to have been interested in the resuscitation of the Ekāmbareśvarā temple of the place. Many inscriptions of the King also mention names of many of his feudatories in and around the region of Kāncipurā, among whom is found the name of the powerful Kādavā chieftain, Kacciyarāyan who is mentioned as being contemporaneous with Kulottungā.⁵ An

4. 185-188; 190-191 of 1910.

5. 80 of 1900; 301 of 1897; 240 of 1901. The very mention of Kacciyarāyan seems to substantiate the truth of the argument here.

inscription recounting the achievements of the Kādavās is found in Tiruvennainallūr and thus indicates the ambit of their influence.⁶ The Sadaiyappa Mudali of the *Pūrvapattaiyam* is mentioned therein as Sadayappa Mudali of Vennainallūr, which would possibly indicate that the sphere of the latter's influence commenced where the influence of the former ended. Obviously the three caste leaders mentioned in the copper plates—Kaciveeran, Kasturiranga Chetty and Vennainallūr Sadaiyappa Mudali—were chieftains of contiguous territories round Kāncipurā. It was possibly with these men taken from Kāncipurā that Kulottungā effected the conquest of Kongu between the years 1190 and 1194 A.D., to which his inscriptions pointedly refer.⁷

4. Now taking the history of Kongu itself the Cōlā conquest or reconquest was called for at that time. This was the period of the Kongu-Cōlā King, Vira Cōlā II, who taking advantage of the weakness of the Cōlā power had brought "the two Kongus (north and south) under his sole white parasol" and it was a question for Kulottungā either to assert his power in the region or give it up once for all. There is truth in what the *Pūrvapattaiyam* says that it was from Kāncipurā that the Cōlā entered into Kongu. We have definite inscriptional evidence that a few years before he conquered Kongu his feudatory, the Telugu Cōlā chieftain in Kāncipurā, had risen against him and he had to be defeated. Nallasiddhā—for that was his name—was conquered by the Cōlā in 1204 A.D. which marked his 26th. regnal year. The recovery of Kāñci is, however, mentioned in his inscriptions of the 24th. regnal year itself.⁸ The conquest of Kongu must have taken place round about the same time, since the conquered province of Kongu is first mentioned as Vira-cōlā-mandalam in a record of the 26th. regnal year of Kulottungā.⁹ The destruction of Śalivāhanā to which the copper plates refer must refer to this event, unless it be taken that it is a mythological addition like the mention of Manu Cōlā in the same record.

No historical document worth the name can establish a chronological junction between Manu and Śalivāhanā. The same has to be said when the document apparently seeks to establish the con-

6. 463 of 1921.

7. 397 of 1925.

8. 2 of 1905.

9. 227 of 1917.

temporaneity of the Cōlā King referred to in it on the one hand and the Cērā King Cēramān and the great Śaiva ālwār, Śundarmūrthi on the other. It is useless to try to establish the date of the copper plates with reference to the dates of either the Cēramān or Śundaramūrthi. In the first place their own dates are not yet put beyond question; and more than that, the IX century in which they are placed would not explain the events mentioned with regard to the Cōlā both in the Copper plates and in the well authenticated inscriptions of this period.

What had really happened was that Śundarar and the Cēramān had passed through Kongu in their own day and nearly 400 years after came the Cōlā emperor Kullottungā III over the same region. The peregrinations of these men had made a great mark on the religious and social history of their respective periods and the later day historian, the composer of the copper plates, would seem to have combined them all in one account another four hundred years after at the dawn of the XVII century, in which the *Mss pūrvapattaiyam* is dated.

All pieces of evidence, epigraphical, circumstantial and otherwise seem to point only to this conclusion. But even more telling is the internal argument drawn from the very contents of the work. The two great points which the work seeks to portray—the building of temples and the organisation of society—are best verified only in the history of the reign of Kulottunga III at least so far as Kongu is concerned. Two epigraphs engraved on the door-posts at the entrance of the āsthāna-mantapā of the Amārabhanīśvarā temple at Pāriyūr refer to the gift of the door posts by two men; in the same way two other epigraphs from the same spot refer to the setting up of a feast in the name of the King mentioned as Tribhūvana Cākravartin Kōnērīmaikondān (obviously kulottungā) and provision for the same.¹⁰ The most important of this group of records is, however, the one referring to certain privileges granted to “the *kammālar* of Kāñcikūvalnādu”, which was a district of N. Kongu.¹¹ This record dated in the XV regnal year of the same king has its echo in another record of the same year referring to

10. 187, 188 of 1910. Many records (for ex. 416-18 of 1913) refer to similar temple service in the reign of Kulottunga in Salem district as well.
11. 186 of 1910.

the same subject in Vangalanādu and six other districts of the same region as also of S. Kongu.¹² This record seen in Karūr of the old Vengalanādu is found to contain matter which is identically the same with regard to both date and matter that is contained in various records found in places like Pērūr and Modakkūr in S. Kongu.¹³ Not only do the dates of these epigraphs tally with the date of Kulottunga's capture of Karūr; but paleographically also they seem to belong without doubt to the same period.¹⁴ The evidence of all this points to the two facts mentioned in the Cōlā Conquest mentioned in the *pūrvapattaiyam*—the construction of temples and the introduction of new castes—, which seems strongly to support the thesis maintained here with regard to the date of the record in question.

The historical value of the *Cōlanpūrvapattaiyam* gets a meaning and a point when once its date is fixed. The document refers to numerous religious and social changes of the times in Kongu-dēśa and is thus a mine of sociological and religious data. The manners and customs of the people of the times are here pictured with great detail. Reference is made also to the system of Village government and temple administration prevalent during the period. Pre-eminently the age was a period of a great social flux, the growth of caste rigour. The Cōlā King is here mentioned as having introduced into Kongu the three great castes of *Kaikōlar*, *Chettis* and *Vellālās* with the respective heads of caste. The two-fold classification of castes into the Right hand castes (*Valangai*) and Left hand castes (*Idangai*) are mentioned in this record. The fact that in S. India castes were all occupational in origin is to be seen from this work clearly. It mentions as many castes as there were occupations and relates the rights and privileges of every one of these and the *birudās* which each one maintained. Offences against caste and the punishment imposed for them are treated in this record in great detail. The officers of Village administration—the *Karnam* the Headman and the Village Guard—and those of the temple from the *Pūjari* or the temple priest to the *Tiruvalagu* or the temple sweeper are mentioned here in order of their importance. The temple dancer and her recompense at the hands of the temple

12. S.I.I., Vol. III, pp: 46 ff.

13. 151 of 1905.

14. See ARE., 1910-11, pp. 75 ff.

authorities—the gift of the *Kandarangi*¹⁵ saree which was an annual feature—are also mentioned. The various deities of popular Hinduism are recorded here including many forest deities and the *muppali* including the offering of human life which were offered as sacrifice to them. It is said in this document that during this period the custom of human sacrifice was being vigorously stopped.

The British Expedition to Rangoon, 1824

By

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Apart from the immediate occasions which led to the outbreak of the First Burmese War during the administration of Lord Amherst, the real cause of the conflict with Burma was the expansion of the Burmese empire to an immediate contact with more than six hundred miles of the North-Eastern frontier of British India. The claims of the Burmese to the British sphere of influence beyond the Brahmaputra, and their actual conquest of the Assam region at a time when there was no effective defensive barrier along the North-Eastern frontier must have led to a war¹ sooner or later between the British and the Burmese.

But, it is amazing that the First Burmese War was begun with little care and forethought. Firstly, the war was prosecuted from quadruple points, viz, from Goalpara into Assam; Sylhet into Cachar; Chittagong into Arracan; and, by sea, to Rangoon, without adequate preparations or troops. Secondly, the British authorities were ignorant of the main theatres of war. Thirdly, they were equally ignorant of the strength and preparations of the Burmese. Fourthly, the manner in which the operations were commenced by the British army was strangely wavering, so there was great delay in the execution of the operational plans. Lastly, Lord Amherst and Sir Edward Paget² who were ultimately responsible for the supervision of the military operations were lacking in foresight and statesmanship. They were unable to come to sound decisions always, and the power of the Burmese was woefully underestimated. They were much too sanguine in their hopes of quick victory. The consequence of all this was disastrous to the British forces in the early stages of the war.

1. Vide Lord Amherst's proclamation, March 5 1824.
2. He was the Commander-in-Chief.

15. A fast coloured saree in use in the southern districts of S. India till recent times.

The expedition³ to Rangoon in 1824 is an example of the mismanagement which was seen on all fronts during the opening of the war. A study of this expedition from the available original sources⁴ would serve to illustrate the manner in which the British authorities managed to bungle through after a succession of errors and miscalculations which have not received due attention from the historians so far.

Sir A. Campbell was put in charge of the expeditionary forces⁵ which numbered about 12,000 rank and file. The naval armament was placed under the charge of Commodore Grant. The starting point fixed was Port Cornwallis. Here the combined fleets assembled by the end of April. The following day-to-day summary account of the Rangoon expedition in 1824 is reconstructed on the basis of the contemporary despatches and unofficial reports.

May 5—The combined fleets started from Port Cornwallis⁶

May 8—His Majesty's ship *Slaney*, with three transports having on board three companies of his Majesty's 13th Infantry, and seven companies of the 40th regiment of Bengal Presidency with a proportion of artillery, the whole under the command of Brigadier M'Creagh, stopped near the Arracan coast for the conquest of the island of Cheduba. The cruiser *Mercury* with some troops⁷ parted for Negrais island.

May 10—The main division of the expedition anchored⁸ within the bar of the Rangoon river. The Burmese opened fire from their batteries, which was returned.

3. The expedition was decided on early in March. The Bengal division sailed between 14th and 17th of April.

4. Bengal Secret and Political Consultations Foreign Department Volumes Parliamentary Papers relating to the First Burmese War (Session 1825, etc.).

5. Five companies of the Bengal army, four his Majesty's regiments, nine regiments from Madras and two regiments which were added towards the close of the year.

6. On the Great Andaman.

7. Under Major Wahab.

8. His Majesty's ships were *Liffey*, *Larne*, *Sophia*, and *Slaney*. There were several Bombay cruisers and a fleet of gunboats and small craft.

May 11—The troops landed at 3 P.M. above the town and in other directions. No opposition was met. Many of the houses⁹ in Rangoon were destroyed by the Burmese.

May 12—A party pushed into the jungles around Rangoon.

May 14—The boats of *LIFFEY* pushed about eighteen miles up the river as a reconnaissance. They were frequently fired on from both banks.

May 16—The first serious brush with the Burmese took place.¹⁰ The Burmese stockades appeared to be strong. Fighting was in progress in Cheduba.

May 17—Some stockades in Cheduba¹¹ were carried by assault.

May 18—The Raja of Cheduba fell into English hands.

May 27—Major Wahab reached Rangoon from Negrais.¹² The Burmese assemble round Rangoon and erect stockades and works on all points but the rear.

May 28—The English artillery, having been drawn through¹³ mud and marsh, got jaded. The Burmese fought with such bravery that the English troops had to retire.

May 29—Brigadier-General M'Bean moved out to the scene of yesterday's fighting, but had to retire again.

May 30—Captain Piper moved from the Dagon Pagoda.

June 3—The British columns had to fall back without effecting anything. They suffered from the defenders' fire. The failure of these columns was due to mismanagement and hastiness.

June 10—The Burmese works at Kemendine were attacked by land.¹⁴

9. The inhabitants were driven off to a man by the Burmese authorities.

10. At Kemendine. The Burmese suffered losses here.

11. Here also the defenders lost some men.

12. The island was found uninhabited and uninhabitable from want of fresh water.

13. Sir A. Campbell was responsible for this.

14. With a force of 3000 men and four guns, four mortars, and ordnance of low calibre.

June 11—Two hours of desultory fighting. The Burmese could retire with ease with their dead and wounded.

June 12 and 30—Between these dates, the British could make little or no advance.

July 1—The Burmese advanced with success and gained possession of a height near the Pagoda.

July 2 to 7—Capt. Isaack was killed.¹⁵ The lines of Rangoon were completely invested by the Burmese night and day.

July 8—The Burmese fell back after some loss. The country was too deeply flooded to admit of easy communication.

July 19—A column was obliged to retreat mainly on account of the floods.

August 4—The Burmese established themselves at Syriam,¹⁶ but were dislodged.

August 8—Col. Kelly had to retire to Rangoon.

August 19—Col. Miles started against Mergui and Tavoy.¹⁷

August 26 to 29—The Burmese assemble in great force around Rangoon.

August 30—The Burmese fought successfully¹⁸ and inflicted losses on the British army.

Sept. 2—The Burmese reoccupied some stockades on the Dalla creek, but were repulsed.

Sept. 5 and 6—The Burmese attacked the Dalla creek, but without much success.

Sept. 21—Brigadier-General Fraser left in the direction of Paulang. The Burmese offered no resistance.

15. Near Dalla, opposite to Rangoon. Capt. Isaack commanded 12th regiment N.I.

16. About ten miles west of Rangoon.

17. Tavoy surrendered on the 8th September and Mergui on 6th October. The Burmese are stated to have suffered severely.

18. Under cover of night, they made a surprise attack.

Oct. 5—The British attacked the pagoda of Kykelee,¹⁹ but were repulsed with heavy losses. The British troops were in a demoralised state. The Sepoys were also sullen. Neither the entreaties, nor the example of the officers could overcome the backward disposition of the troops. Col. Smith, therefore, had to make the best retreat he could.

Oct. 9—As the Burmese could not be pursued, Brigadier M'Creagh had to retire.

Oct. 19—An unsuccessful attempt was made on the Burmese positions on the island of Ramree.²⁰

Oct. 29—The fort of Martaban was carried by escalade.

November—During this month the British troops had no success. The Burmese were gradually collecting around the British lines. It was reported that the Burmese troops under the Mahabundoola numbered 50,000.²¹ Their stockaded positions were pushed up the British picquets.

December 1—The Burmese opened their attack vigorously.

December 2—The British made a counterattack.

December 3 and 4—The Burmese continued to push forward.

December 5—The Burmese brought forward all their resources and artillery.

December 6—The Bundoolah made a vigorous attack and pushed his approaches against the Dagon Pagoda.

December 7—The Burmese suffered heavy loss. The British losses were also heavy.

December 8—The British had some success near Dalla.

December 10 to 13—The Burmese held their ground in great force and prepared for an offensive.

December 14—The Burmese penetrated into Rangoon. There was great confusion in the city. Fires broke out in several places.

19. About fifteen miles from the base at Rangoon.

20. The attempt was made by Lt.-Col. Hampton officer commanding at Heduba, with the aid of the frigate, the Hastings.

21. The Prince of Sarrawady was there along with the Mahabundoola.

The Burmese continued their assaults. The British suffered heavy losses. Half the city of Rangoon was completely destroyed with the British stores. The Burmese were strongly entrenched in front of the Dagon Pagoda. The prospect was dark for the British.

December 15—The British suffered heavy losses, as the Burmese were superior in numbers²² and had a strong position and stockades. The 13th Infantry suffered severely, and a part of the regiment was completely annihilated. The British made the serious mistake of keeping their rear weak. The Burmese also suffered some loss. Their commander, Maha Silwa was reported to have fallen. With this repulse, the Rangoon operations of 1824 ended.

The Rangoon operations of 1824, therefore, proved costly for the British. The losses were indeed frightful. All this was due to blundering on the part of the high command. It is strange that little was done to gain a full knowledge of the terrain. Very little was known about the people of the country and their preparations. Decisions at critical moments were faulty, and so the Burmese could inflict heavy losses. The resources at the disposal of the British were inadequate. Provisions, boats, elephants and land carriages were in short supply. Transport was extremely difficult. Food was scarce and what was available was bad. The climate was unfavourable. The operations were started wrongly when they could not and should not have been prosecuted. The expedition was hopelessly mistimed. The want of information as to the nature and extent of the Burmese resources was due to the non-existence of an intelligence department.

What was most surprising was not the fact that an impossible season was chosen, but the fact that the expedition was considered at the outset to be something like a pleasure trip. A wholly inadequate army was sent to Rangoon, and even this was at first regarded as unduly large. The Military Secretary to Government had in vain dissented to the employment of a small army, for the authorities did not understand the gravity of the requirements.

Sir A. Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, proved unfit for the job entrusted to him. He had no idea of the enormous handicaps imposed by the monsoon rains. He made no effort to ensure

regular food supply and transport. Carriage cattle could not be obtained for many months even from India. In short, the chief man in command was utterly incompetent. It is hardly surprising, therefore, if the British losses were enormous, and if the flower of the British army perished needlessly on the Rangoon coast at the most inclement season, and in a tropical climate, and in the wilderness and marshes of Burma.

The British army covered themselves with no glory on account of military victories. But, they discredited themselves by their shameless plunder. This was an infamy which was a result of sheer mismanagement and unfettered greed. The Commander-in-Chief's son-in-law himself was responsible for the plundering which went on in and around Rangoon. No attention was paid to the feelings of the local people, and they were needlessly outraged. The religious prejudices of the people were disregarded cruelly, and their sentiments were flouted without a sense of justice. The loot was unrestrained. Even temple images and materials were robbed and taken away. The unholy booty was shipped to Calcutta and Madras to such an extent that the auction-marts echoed with the shouts—“*Going! Going! This superb image of Buddha, just landed from Rangoon.*”! The military authorities were on the point of demolishing the great Dagon Pagoda in the belief that it concealed hidden treasures. After breaking the terraces, and damaging the temple at all corners, the British iconoclasts realised that no wealth could be had, and so the great Pagoda escaped total destruction. Even in war time such sacrilege of which the British were guilty could hardly be excused.

The Rangoon expedition of 1824 was one of the most ill-timed, ill-provided, ill-managed and ill-executed operations ordered by the Company's Government in India. And, the loot and sacrilege committed at Rangoon would remind one of the exploits of Mahmud Ghazni at Somnath!

22. The Burmese force was estimated at 20,000.

Neminātha, A Jain Prophet

By

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Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi was the twenty-second Tirthaṅkara¹ or Tirthakara (founder of school) of the Jainas. He was so called because he established the *tīrtha* or school. He figures as the supremely gifted Kṣatriya teacher and leader of thought, who gathered around him many disciples, male and female, and he was honoured and worshipped by them. He was a person of pure faith who always realised the truth. He obtained purity and stood firmly in the Law. He cast aside all fellers and all hatred. He practised self-discipline, meditated on his soul, wise, hardy, calm, and did not hurt anybody in this world. He fully conquered 22 troubles, viz., hunger, thirst, cold, heat, ignorance, erratic life, women, dirt etc. His self was subdued and he abstained from killing beings, theft, falsehood, sensual pleasures, and spirituous liquor. He was free from delusion, pride, deceit and greed. He was self-controlled and obtained liberation by the absence of passion.

All Tirthaṅkaras reached *nirvāṇa* at their death. Though being released from the world they neither cared for nor had any influence on worldly affairs. They have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as gods by the Jainas. Temples are erected in their honour where their idols are worshipped.² The worship of the idols of the Tirthaṅkaras is mentioned in some canonical Jain texts. But no rules are laid down for their worship.³ The Jainas believe that their religion is eternal and it has been constantly revealed in the endless succeeding periods of the world by the Tirthaṅkaras. The Jainas themselves claim for their religion a venerable antiquity. They tell us that before Mahāvīra there lived not less than 23 Tirthaṅkaras who appearing at certain inter-

1. Hemachandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Ch. I, vs. 26-28.

2. *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 459 ff.

3. M. Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, 13 ff., for the Śvetāmbara view-point.

vals, preached the only true religion for the salvation of the world.⁴ The adoration of the 24 Jinas is one of the tenets of Jainism as a practical religion.⁵ The favourite Tirthaṅkaras are Rīṣabha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.⁶ It is corroborated by the Kahāuṃ Inscription which refers to the five stone images of *Ādikartris* (originators) or Tirthaṅkaras set up by a Madra. These represent, according to Bhagwanlal Indraji, the five favourite Tirthaṅkaras, one of whom was Neminātha.⁷

It is interesting to know the literature gathered about Neminātha. The epic *Mahāpuruṣacaritra* contains life-stories of these five saints, who were most especially honoured by the Jainas, and the biographies of these five greatmen are the most popular themes of narrative poetry.⁸ The *Nemibhaktāmaram* by Bhāvaprabha Sūri contains allusions to the legend of Neminātha and Rājimatī.⁹ The *Brihaḍ-Harivaṃśapurāṇa* or *Aṣṭānemi-purāṇasamgraha-Harivaṃśa* edited by Darbārī Lāla Nyāyatīrtha, which was written by Jinasena in 66 Sargas, *Nemināthacarit* in Apabhraṃśa written by Hari-bhadra in 12th century A.D., *Nemi-nirvāṇa* by Bāgbhaṭa and *Nemi-dūta* by Vikrama elicit some information about Neminātha. The sayings of the sages (*Isibhāṣiyas*) consist of 45 chapters. They are expositions of forty-five *Pratyeka-buddhas* (individual Buddhas). Out of 45 chapters 20 belonged to *tīrtha* of Neminātha.¹⁰

There lived a good king named Samudravijaya in Śauripura, a big town on the bank of the Yamunā. He had a son named Aṣṭānemi by his queen Śivādevī. He was named Aṣṭānemi because his mother saw in a dream a *nemi*, the outer rim of a wheel, which consisted of *riṣṭa* stones flying up to the sky. Aṣṭānemi was also called Neminātha. Gīrnār or Raivataka hill is considered to be his birth-place.¹¹ He possessed many good qualities and acquired

4. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 153.

5. Law, *Mahāvīra, His Life and Teachings*, p. 106.

6. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 209; *Kalpasūtra*, p. 126.

7. *I.A.*, X, 1881, pp. 125 ff.

8. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 510.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 557.

10. H. R. Kapadia, *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 169; Vide *Isibhāṣiya-saṃgahāṇī*, Rutlam, 1927.

11. It is close to Junāgaḍh in Gujarat. It contains the temples of Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. The river Suvarṇarekhā flows at the foot of the hill. There is a footprint on the Gīrnār hill known as the *Gurudattacaraṇa*—*Law Geographical Essays*, pp. 211-12.

extensive knowledge. He was gifted with an excellent voice and possessed one thousand and eight lucky marks of the body. His skin was black. His body was strong like that of a bull and hard like steel. He was well-proportioned. He was ten bow-shots in height.

King Samudravijaya, who possessed the characteristic marks of a king, had nine younger brothers; the youngest of whom was Vāsudeva. Many kings and richmen gave their daughters in marriage to Vāsudeva for personal beauty and good quality. Of his many queens Rohiṇī and Devakī gave birth respectively to Bala-deva and Śrīkṛṣṇa who became very powerful.

Not far from Śauripura (Soriyapura or Sauryapura) there stood a big town named Mathurā ruled over by a tyrant king named Kāṃsa, who was so very cruel that he sent his father to prison and tortured him in various ways. Kāṃsa was killed by Śrīkṛṣṇa and Baladeva, who reinstalled Ugrasena on the throne. The powerful king Jarāsandha grew very angry when he heard of the death-news of his son-in-law, Kāṃsa. Ugrasena then left his kingdom with his family. On reaching Kathiawar he built on the bank of the sea a very big town which he named Dvārikā. Śrīkṛṣṇa was so very powerful that he became the king of Dvārikā. Big palaces and temples were built and markets were opened. This town looked pretty. Prettiest of all was the armoury of Śrīkṛṣṇa. One day while walking with his friend Neminātha came to the armoury where he found a beautiful conch. While Neminātha was about to take up the conch with the intention of blowing it, he was advised by the guard of the armoury not to make futile attempt at lifting the conch, as none but Śrīkṛṣṇa had the power to do so. Neminātha smiled, took the conch, and blew it hard. Everybody became thoughtful. Śrīkṛṣṇa too was greatly surprised. As soon as he heard from the armoury-guard that his cousin Neminātha had blown the conch, he decided to test the strength of his cousin. His invitation to a duel was accepted by Neminātha who, however, suggested that each would lower down the outstretched arm of the other. Śrīkṛṣṇa accepted the suggestion and stretched his arm which was quickly lowered down by Neminātha. Śrīkṛṣṇa in his turn tried his utmost to lower down the outstretched arm of Neminātha, but all his efforts were in vain. He then believed that Neminātha was surely stronger.

Neminātha was asked by his parents to marry and he assured them that he would marry as soon as a suitable girl would be found. Rājimatī (Rāyamati or Rājamati or Rāimai),¹² daughter of King Ugrasena, was found to be the most suitable bride for him. She was virtuous and good looking and possessed all the lucky marks on the body.¹³ Necessary arrangements were made for Neminātha's marriage ceremony. The entire town was tastefully decorated. Rājimatī, the bride-elect, was delighted to see Neminātha and considered herself to be the most fortunate for having such a beautiful husband. Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha dressed himself properly after taking his bath and performing the customary ceremonies. He was bedecked with ornaments. With great pomp and splendour the hero of the Vṛiṣṇis,¹⁴ Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha started from his own palace. On his way he saw animals kept in cages and enclosures, overcome by fear and looking miserable. He enquired of his charioteer thus, 'Why are all these animals kept in cages and enclosures?' The charioteer answered, 'At the wedding they will furnish food for many people.' Fully knowing the slaughter of many animals the great sage Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha full of compassion and kindness, meditated thus, 'If for my sake many living beings are killed, I shall not obtain happiness in the next world.'¹⁵ He fully believed that rebirth in the next world was possible. Then

12. I.A., IX., p. 163.

13. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyāyasūtra*, XXII, 7.

"Aha sū rāyavarakannā susilā cārupehaṇi |
savvalakkhaṇasampannā vijjuso yāmaṇippabhā" ||

14. Mathurā was the house of the Vṛiṣṇis and Andhakas according to the *Brahmapurāṇa*, (Chap. 14, Śl. 54). But they left Mathurā being afraid of the demons and established their capital at Dvārāvati (*Harivamśa*, Ch. 37)

15. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyāya sūtra* XXII. 14, 16, 17 and 19—

"Aha so tattha nijjanto dissa pāne bhayaddue |
vāḍehiṃ paṃjarehiṃ ca sanniruddhe sudukkhe ||
(22.14)

Kassa aṭṭhā ime pānā ee sabbe suhesiṇo |
vāḍehiṃ paṃjarehiṃ ca sanniruddhā ya acchaṭṭaṃ ||
(22.16)

Aha sārāhi tao bhaṇai ee bhaddā u pāṇiṇo |
tujjhaṃ vivāhakajjhaṃmi bhoyāveṃ bahuṃ jaṇaṃ ||
(22.17)

Jai majjha kāraṇā ee hammanti subahū jiyā |
na me eyaṃ tu nissesaṃ paraloge bhavissai ||
(22.19)

the sage presented the charioteer with all his ornaments. He then made up his mind to renounce household life. He then left Dvārakā and proceeded to the garden called Sahasambavana on the mount Raivataka (Revaya), where he practised asceticism and attained salvation.¹⁶ His renunciation took place while the moon was in conjunction with *citrā*. Then he plucked his curled hair in five handfuls. He desired to have an increase in knowledge, faith, and right conduct,¹⁷ forbearance, and perfection. Those who followed him, paid him homage and came back to the town of Dvārakā.

Before Neminātha acquired *muktijñāna* (knowledge of salvation) he became greatly indifferent to worldly affairs and became a sage. He established friendliness with all his relatives and gradually became a cosmopolitan. He used to partake of simple dishes, lie on the ground, put on one garment and suffer heat in summer and cold in winter. He did not feel pleasure or pain. He was the well-wisher of all. Whatever he said was proved to be true. To lead a sacred life he used to roam about from place to place. The object of his acquiring *muktijñāna* (knowledge of salvation) was to attain truth and a thorough grasp of all worldly affairs.¹⁸

As soon as Rājimatī heard of the ordination of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi, she was overwhelmed with affliction. Her maids requested her not to be sorry for such a prosaic husband and assured her that a worthy husband would be brought for her in no time. Rājimatī, however, entreated them not to utter such inauspicious words, and told them that Neminātha was her husband and that she would not accept any other person as her husband. She thought thus, 'Shame upon my life that I have been forsaken by him; it is

16. J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, p. 373. Raivata or Raivataka is the Mount Girnār in Saurāṣṭra or the Modern Kathiawar in the Bombay Presidency.

17. *Jñāna*, *darśana* and *cāritra* are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism. Knowledge is characterised as right knowledge, faith as right faith, and virtue as right conduct. These three constitute the path to beatitude, liberation, *nirvāṇa*. Law, *Mahāvira, His Life and Teachings*, p. 85.

18. Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. II, p. 240.

better that I should turn nun.¹⁹ Firmly decided she cut off her tresses and entered the Order. She induced many people, her relations, and servants to enter the Order.

On her way to the Mount Raivataka it began to rain; her clothes being wet, she entered a cave and waited there in darkness, while it was raining. She took off her clothes and was naked. Rathanemi, Neminātha's elder brother, who was already in the cave, and who was not seen by her, saw her in that state and his mind became greatly disturbed. Rājimatī was frightened when she discovered herself alone with Rathanemi, who made an indecent proposal to her, which she rejected forthwith with the remark, 'If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without hold. I am the daughter of a Bhoja King and you are an Andhakavṛiṣṇi; being born in a noble family, firmly practise self-control. Fie upon you, famous knight, who want to quaff the vomited drink for the sake of this life; it would be better for you to die.'²⁰ Having heard these well-spoken words of the virtuous lady, Rathanemi returned to the Law. Protected in thoughts, words, and acts, subduing his senses and keeping the vows he practised true monkhood throughout his life. Both Rājimatī and Rathanemi became *Kevalins* (omniscient, all seeing and all knowing), after practising severe austerities, and they reached the highest perfection after having completely annihilated their *Karma*.²¹

Every Tirthankara had a discriminative symbol or cognisance (*Lāñchana*). Neminātha's sign and colour were conch shell and black (*Śyāma*).²² He belonged to the *Harivamśa*. He is stated to

19. Charpentier. *Uttarādhyayana*, XXII, 29:

Rāimāi vicintāi dhīratthū mama jīviyaṃ |

jā haṃ teṇa pariccattā seyaṃpavvaiaṃ mama || (22.29).

20. Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* XXII, 44, 43 and 42:

"Jai taṃ kāhisi bhāvaṃ jā jā daccasi nārto |

vāyāddho vva haḍḍho aṭṭhiappā bhavissasi || (22.44)

Ahaṃ ca bhogaṇāyassa taṃ ca si andhagavaṇhīno |

Mā kule gandhaṇā homo saṃjamaṃ nihuo cara || (22.43).

Dhīratthū te jāsokāmi jo taṃ jīviyakāraṇā |

vantaṃ icchasi āvāṃ seyaṃ te maraṇaṃ bhava ||" (22.42).

Cf. *Jaina sūtras* (SBE) Pt. II, p. 116 f.n. 2; *Daśavaikālikasūtra*, II, 7-10.

21. Vide *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXII, 47-48; Cf. *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 1910, pp. 397 ff.

22. G. Buhler, *The Indian sect of the Jainas*, Ed. Burgess, 66.

have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*.²³ Gomēdha and Ambikā were his attendant spirits.²⁴ According to the *Kalpasūtra* (sūtra 182) which is stated to have been written by Bhadrabāhu (perhaps somewhat before 300 B.C.),²⁵ he attained the age of 1,000 years.

Neminātha is connected with the legend of Śrīkṛṣṇa as his relative. Really speaking he is connected with the Kṛṣṇa myths through Rājimatī, the daughter of Ugrasena, who was selected as his bride.²⁶ According to the *Triṣaṣṭisalākāpuruṣacarita* (parvan VIII and Ch. IV) he was a cousin of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was never a mythical person. The *Harivamśapurāṇa* (p. 488) establishes the historicity of Neminātha. He is referred to as a Jina in the *Prabhāsapurāṇa*, who obtained salvation on the Mount Raivataka.²⁷ During his life-time the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas flourished.

After acquiring the knowledge of salvation Neminātha was greatly delighted to think that he was able to teach the people thus: (1) be friendly with all, (2) always speak true and sweet words, (3) never take anything without the knowledge of the owner, (4) observe precepts, (5) always rest satisfied, (6) develop kindliness, (7) religion should be dearer than life itself, (8) life should be sacrificed for the sake of religion, if necessity arises, etc. The instructions imparted by Neminātha were carried out by many people, even by Śrīkṛṣṇa himself. Many men and women began to lead a saintly life and many people led pure life even being householders. Rājimatī too led a pure life of indifference towards worldly things. She followed Neminātha out and out, and finally obtained salvation.

Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha, who was the saviour of the world and the lord of the ascetics, went right through the town of Dvāratī to the park called Revatika and stopped under the Aśoka tree. Thereafter fasting two days and a half he put on a divine robe and in the company of 1,000 persons, he tore out the hair and entered the state of homelessness. The Digambaras disagree here with the Śvetāmbaras as they believe that Ariṣṭanemi became a naked saint

23. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7, p. 466.

24. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 57-58; 313.

25. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 154.

26. *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 1880, p. 163.

27. H. R. Kapadia, *The Jaina religion and literature*, Vol. I, p. 13.

like all other Tirthankaras. He did not care for his body for 54 days. On the 55th day he acquired the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala* after fasting for 3 days and a half without drinking water under a *Veṣasa* tree (cane tree).²⁸ According to the *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa* (p. 32) he was not only initiated at Mi-thilā but also he attained supreme knowledge. On the summit of the Mount Girnār Neminātha instituted two epochs in his capacity of a maker of an end: the epoch relating to generations, and the epoch relating to the psychical condition, the former ended in the eighth generation and the latter in the twelfth year of his *Kevala*-ship according to the *Kalpasūtra* (181).²⁹ He lived three centuries as a prince, 54 days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seven centuries as a *Kevalin*,³⁰ full seven centuries as a *śra-maṇa* and some thousand years on the whole.³¹

According to the *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo* (*Āntakṛita-dasāṅga*) prince Gotama renounced the world and placed himself as a Jaina recluse under the guidance of Neminātha, when the latter visited *Dvāra-vatī* attended by the four grades of gods. When Neminātha came to the city of *Bāravāi*, he was well received by the Mallakis with the Ugras, Bhojas, Kṣatriyas and Licchavis.³² It was at the garden of Śrīvāna that Anita happened to meet Ariṣṭanemi. The great teacher Ariṣṭanemi asked Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva not to bear wrath against the Brahmin Saumila, who even by spiteful action lent indirectly an aid to his younger brother Gaja.

28. H. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, 174.

29. *Kalpasūtra*, 181.

"Araho naṃ Ariṣṭhanemissa duvihā aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi hotthā, taṃ jahā jug'-aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi ya pariyāy-aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi ya; jāva aṭṭhamāo purisa-jugāo jug'-aṃtagaḍa-bhūmi, duvāsa-pariyāy-aṃtam akāsi."

30. *Kevalin* is one who has acquired *Kevala-jñāna* which is defined in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (II. 15.25) as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects, to know all conditions of the world of gods, men and demons: whence they come, where they go, where they are born etc.

31. *Kalpasūtra*, p. 182. "arahā Ariṣṭhanemi tinni vasa-sayāṃ Kumāra-vāsa-majjhe vasittā caupannam raṃḍiyāṃ chaumattha-pariyāyāṃ pāunittā, des'-ūnāṃ satta vāsa-sayāṃ kevali-pariyāyāṃ pāunittā, paḍipunnāṃ satta vāsa-sayāṃ sāmanna-pariyāyāṃ pāunittā, egaṃ vāsa-sahassaṃ savv'-āyāṃ pālaittā,"

32. Barnett, *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo* and *Anuttarovavāya-dasāo*, p. 38.

The Queen *Padmāvatī* became interested like her mother-in-law, *Devakī*, in the worship of *Ariṣṭanemi* (Pali *Ariṣṭhanemi*), when the great teacher came to *Dvāravatī* and preached his noble doctrine before her husband *Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva*. *Kṛiṣṇa* was anxious to know from him the factors which would lead to the destruction of the delightful and prosperous city of *Dvāravatī*. The saint mentioned wind, fire, and *Dvaipāyana* as the three destroying factors. The great teacher clearly perceived the trend of the sad thought which arose in the mind of *Kṛiṣṇa*. Thereafter *Kṛiṣṇa* became curious to know how his own death would come about and where he would be reborn. *Ariṣṭanemi*'s reply was that after the destruction of the city of *Dvāravatī* by the wrath of *Dvaipāyana*, the action of fire, and drunkenness of *Vāsudevas* (*Yādavas*), *Kṛiṣṇa* would be sent forth with *Balarāma* (*Rāma Baladeva*) to *Pāṇḍu-Mathurā* on the south where he would meet the sons of king *Pāṇḍu*, *Yudhiṣṭhira* and others, and there in the presence of the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, in the *Kuśāmba* forest, and under an excellent banyan tree, he would remain on a slab of stone with his body covered with a yellow robe, when he would be pierced in his left foot by a sharp arrow, released from the bow by *Jarākumāra*. Thus he would come to death and would be reborn in hell. Thereafter he would be reborn in the continent of *Jambudvīpa*, in the country of *Bhārata-varṣa*, in the land of *Puṇḍra*, in the city of *Śatadvāra*, where he would be the twelfth Jina in the next era of progress, finding himself many years in the status of a *Kevalin*. This prophecy is said to have satisfied *Kṛiṣṇa*.

In view of the impending calamity of the city of *Dvāravatī* *Kṛiṣṇa* asked all persons to renounce the world and lead the mendicant life in the religious order of *Ariṣṭanemi*. Under this persuasion his queens, headed by *Padmāvatī* and the two wives of Prince *Śāmba* became nuns, studied the eleven *Āṅgas*, observed religious practices, and then passed away obtaining the final liberation. Here we have a very curious Jaina version of the *Kṛiṣṇa* legend, having a few points of similarity with the Brahmanical and Buddhist versions. The obvious purpose of the Jaina narratives was to gain popularity for the Jaina faith in Western India by making the local people believe that the whole of the *Yādava* race attained salvation under the influence and guidance of the 22nd Tirthankara *Ariṣṭanemi*. The Jaina inventor of the legends would purposely ignore the fact that *Kṛiṣṇa Vāsudeva*'s teacher was *Ghori Aṅgi*.

rasa. According to the Upaniṣad tradition Kṛiṣṇa following the instruction of Ghora Āṅgīrasa, became free from all worldly attachments. According to the Jaina legend he could aspire to become a Jina. These were the current legends accounting for the destruction of the Andhaka-Vṛiṣṇis.³³

Jainism teaches that a special reward is attached to *pāṇapunya* or giving water to the thirsty. There is no harm in giving unboiled water to a layman, but boiled water must be given to an ascetic. The story of Neminātha shows how great the reward is. A king named Saṅkara and his wife Yaśomatī once showed kindness to some thirsty monks by giving them water in which grapes had been soaked. In their next birth as a reward, the king was born as Neminātha and his wife as the daughter of a famous king of Surat; in this incarnation though betrothed they did not marry, but they became ascetics on the day fixed for their wedding and eventually attained liberation. According to the Jainas merit is won by speaking without hurting anybody's feeling. Kṛiṣṇa as king of Dvārakā once heard Neminātha preach. He felt that he himself could not face the hardships of a monastic life. He urged his subjects to receive initiation and promised to look after their families. Some of the people became monks and this brought Kṛiṣṇa so much *vacanapunya* that he was bound to become a *Tirthaṅkara*.³⁴

Neminātha had 18 *Gaṇas* and 18 *Gaṇadharas* (Pali *Gaṇācariyas*). The Digambara texts mention 11 *Gaṇas* and 11 *Gaṇadharas* with Varadatta at their head. He had an excellent community of 18,000 Śramaṇas with Varadatta at their head; 40,000 nuns with Ārya Yakṣiṇī at their head; 1,69,000 lay votaries with Nanda at their head and 3,36,000 female lay votaries with Mahāsuvrata at their head. The Digambaras name one lakh and three lakhs male and female lay votaries respectively. Moreover Neminātha had 400 sages who were possessed of the *Avadhī*³⁵ knowledge; 15,000 Kevalins; 15,000 sages who could transform themselves; 1,000 sages of vast intellect; 800 professors; 1,600 sages in their last birth and 1,500 male and 3,000 female disciples who had reached perfection.³⁶

33. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 47-52; Barnett, *Aṃtagaḍa-dasāo*; M. C. Modi, *Antagaḍa-dasāo and Aṇuttarovavāṭiya-dasāo*.

34. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 110, 112.

35. It is the same as Buddhist *Anantañāna* (*Auguttara*, IV, 428—*antavāntena ñānena antavāntam lokam jānam passam*).

36. *Kalpasūtra, Jaina sūtras* (SBE), Pt. I, pp. 175-180.

The twelfth *Upāṅga* deals with the conversion of twelve princes of the Vṛiṣṇi dynasty by the sage Ariṣṭanemi.

When the fourfold *karma* of Neminātha was exhausted and in the *Avasarpinī* era a great part of the *Duḥsamā-suṣamā* period had elapsed, in the fourth month of summer, in the eighth fortnight, in the middle of the night when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *citrā*, he after fasting for a month, without taking water, in the company of 536 monks, liberated himself in a squatting position on the summit of the Mount Gīrnār, freed from all pains.³⁷

The gigantic temple of Neminātha has been built at Satruñjaya, the most sacred of the five hills of the Jainas in Kathiawar. Ancient Gīrnagara or Gīrnār identified with modern Junāgaḍh is sanctified by Śrī Nemi. At the sight of the peak called Avalokana sanctified by the lotus-like feet of Śrī Nemi one's desires are satiated. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (pp. 9-10) the anointed figure of Śrī Nemi on the summit of the Mount Gīrnār was replaced by a stone one, studded with gems of Kāsmīra. The emancipation stone of Nemi is known all over the world.³⁸ At Raivatakagiri which is also known as the Mount Gīrnār, Nemi was initiated near Chatraśilā. After having attained *Kevalajñāna* he obtained salvation on the top of the Avalokana. Having come to know of the salvation spot from Nemi, Kṛiṣṇa set up 'Siddha-Vināyaka' after his attainment of salvation. Here stands a high pinnacled temple of Neminātha on the summit of this mountain in Surāṣṭra on the western side. On the east there was an anointed figure of Nemi. A new temple of Neminātha in the country of Gurjara was constructed by Jayasīṃhadeva.³⁹ A king of Surāṣṭra named Maṇḍalika repaired the temple of Neminātha on the Mount Gīrnār in about 1059 A.D.⁴⁰

37. H. Jacobi, *The Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 182.

38. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 8-9.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 9-10.

40. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 17.

On the Legend in the Nāgānanda

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(1) Introduction:

The Nāgānanda of Harṣadeva is a problem drama, in the sense that it has given rise to many problems. Here is a new problem about it and its solution offered.

(2) Problems Enumerated:¹

Till now a number of problems about this drama of Harṣadeva have been discussed. (a) In the beginning, Harṣadeva, the author was confused with Śrī Harṣa but later on the two were distinguished. (b) Then a doubt arose whether Harṣa the mighty king of Kanauj (610-648 A.D.) with the thorny crown that he had to wear at the very beginning of his career, had sufficient time at all to indulge in literary pastime. He was a very vigorous monarch whose activity was exhibited in the incessant wars that he waged in Northern India. The treacherous murder of Rājyavardhana, the calamity that overtook Rājyaśrī and the continued enmity with Śaśānka and the wars with the Hūṇas and others might not have left any time for the king to write dramas. (c) Further owing to references in the works of Mammaṭa,² Rājaśekhara³ and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa,⁴ it was suggested that one Dhāvaka (-Bhāsa) wrote the three dramas—Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda and probably sold them

1. See the Introductions to the plays of Harṣa (R. D. Karmarkar's Ed.) and to the translation of the plays (Mrs. Bela Bose) etc.

2. Śrī Harṣaderdhāvakādīnāmiva dhanam (1st Ullāsa).

3. A so-called quotation from the Kavivimarsa of Rājaśekhara:

"Kāraṇam tu Kavivasya na saṃpanna Kulīnatī
Dhāvakopi hi yad bhāsaḥ Kavinām agrimo bhavat ||
Adau bhāseṇa rachitā nāṭikā priyadarśikā |.....
Tasya ratardvalī nūnam ratnamāleṇa rajate |.....
Nāgānandam samālokyā yasya Śrī Harṣa Vikramah etc.

4. The same story is retold by Nāgeśa in his Uddyota.

to the king. (d) Again Bāṇabhaṭṭa was suspected to have composed these dramas for his patron. But now, all these problems have ceased to worry the scholars and Harṣavardhana or Harṣadeva, the king of Kanauj is taken to be the author of the three plays mentioned above. (e) some others, with special reference to the Nāgānanda, argued that, after the calamity that befell Rājyāśrī, the dear younger sister of the king, the latter was so convinced of the futility of mundane existence that he gradually began to drift towards Buddhism. His association with Divākaramitra⁵ had a great influence in this respect. The play Nāgānanda indicates his gradual conversion to Buddhism.⁶

(3) *Buddhism in the Nāgānanda:*

Apparently the drama has a theme which can rightly be considered as Buddhistic. Such references as:

"Loke hāri cha Bodhisattvacharitam . . . (1. 3).

"Vidyadharajātakapratibaddham . . . (Intro).

"Bodhisattva evāyam mayā vyāpāditaḥ (V).

and also the invocation of Buddha in the two verses of Nāndī, hero's (Jīmūtavāhana's) well-known Buddhistic principles of non-violence and devotion to the good of creatures (cf. "Parārthasāmpat buddhānām), his frequent use of Buddhistic terminology:

"Parārthaikadrśo mama . . . (IV. 20).

"Paropakārāya śarīralābhaḥ (IV. 20).

"Yatcchāsūnapi saṅtyajet karuṇayā (II. 10).

also "Sarīre kā khalu śobhā; "na parārthasāmpādanā manorathas-yāntarāyam kartum arhati" etc.; the reference to the so-called doctrine of Pratipakṣyā (V. 25) of Buddhism in which an antidote for previous misconduct is suggested—all these, certainly speak of a predominant Buddhistic element in the drama. But was the drama written for the element only? We want to bring it out that the real problem behind the theme of the drama was quite differ-

5. Harṣacharita by Bāṇa (N. S. Ed. Bombay, 1918), p. 236.

6. In his "Record of the Buddhist Religion" I-tsing, the Chinese traveller states: "King Śhīladitya versified the story of Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga. The version was set to music. He had it performed by a band of actors accompanied by dancing and acting and then popularized it in his time." (Translation by Tatakasu), pp. 163-164.

ent from mere propagation of Buddhism. It was more realistic than ideal.

Nor can it be argued that Harṣavardhana was converted to Buddhism, for the Banskhera copper-plate⁷ inscription and also the Madhubana plates⁸ clearly record for Rājyavardhana—"paramasaugataḥ sugata iva parahitaikarataḥ" and for Harṣavardhana "Paramamāheśvaraḥ maheśvara iva sarvasattvānukampī."⁹ Even Jīmūtavāhana, the hero of the drama, who is called Bodhisattva is surrounded by Vedic atmosphere—his father Jīmūtaketu used to perform fire-worship and was living in a hermitage as a Vānaprastha, the love-scenes of the hero and the heroine (Malayavati) are placed in the Gaurī-āśrama; the Brahman friend of the hero, the Vidūṣaka makes frequent references to the Agnihotra rites and to the ancient sages, the fire-worship due to guests, the boon of the Goddess Gaurī given to the heroine in a dream, the praise of the gods like Hari, Hara, Brahmā, Baladeva etc. Again Gaurī is made the presiding deity of the Vidhyadharas; the Goddess brings back to life the hero in the end by sprinkling nectar, and, lastly, the verse—

"Vāsortham dayayaiva nātiprthavaḥ kṛttāḥ tarūṇām tvachaḥ
Magnālakṣyajaratkamaṇḍalurajaḥsvacchaṁ payo nairjharaṁ
Dṛśyante truṭiojhitāḥ cha baṭubhirmauñjyaḥ kvachinmekhalā
Nityākaraṇyā śukena cha padaṁ sāmnamidam giyate. (I. 10).

These are so many points which show that neither Jīmūtavāhana nor Harṣavardhana was a Buddhist. And as a matter of fact, except the word Bodhisattva that is applied to the hero, nothing can be considered as specifically favouring Buddhism in the drama. The praise of the Buddha in the Nāndī verses and the Buddhistic phrases appearing here and there can be interpreted as due to king's tolerance to all religions and his acquaintance with the Buddhist scriptures. The idea of self-sacrifice which is the main theme of the drama, is equally to be found in the Vedic religion and in

7. Epi. Ind. IV. 210-211.

8. Epi. Ind. VII. 158.

9. Also see R. D. Banerji "Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India", p. 202. For the social background in the Nāgānanda see N. Aiyaswami Shastri in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, XXXI, p. 233 ff.

the Buddhist as well. Hence the drama *Nāgānanda* cannot be considered as specially written for the propagation of Buddhism.¹¹

(4) *Sources of the Legend:*

Scholars have come to the conclusion that "No Jātaka story of the name Vidyādhara Jātaka has yet been discovered."¹² Hence the story of Jīmūtavāhana is traced as far back as the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*¹³ and *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*,¹⁴ the two extant versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya, abridged by Somadeva and Kṣemendra respectively. There are a few differences in the tale told by these two authorities yet, the facts:

- (a) Jīmūtavāhana's original kingdom was in the Himālayas.
- (b) His residence during the exile was in the south on the Malaya mountain.
- (c) He saved the Nāga Śāṅkhachūḍa;

(d) and this incident took place near Gokarṇa on the western sea-coast are kept up faithfully by them both and also by Harṣa in his drama. This means that the legend of *Nāgānanda* goes back, at least, to the first century A.C. which is taken to be the age of Guṇādhya. But till now, nobody has brought to our notice the fact that this legend presupposes the *Suparṇādhya*,¹⁵ apparently a late production of the post-Vedic age. Its text consists of thirty Vargas or fifteen parts in Triṣṭubh metre. It relates—how (i) Vālakhilyas were laughed at by Indra, (ii) how the irate sages in exchange for their own merit of penance got Aruṇa and Garuḍa created; (iii) how a quarrel broke out between Kadru and Vinatā; (iv) how Vinatā lost the wager and how Garuḍa tried to release his mother from bondage by a flight towards the sun and by attempting to win nectar¹⁶ and (v) how he became successful and finally got the boon from Indra:

11. Krisnammachariar, *History of Classical Literature*, p. 589.

12. Mrs. Bela Bose. *Intro. to the trans. of Harṣa's Plays*, p. 11.

13. KSS. XII. 23, etc.

14. BKM. IV. 50-108; IX. 2. 776-930.

15. *Suparṇādhya*—transcript of the Benares MS. got through Shri K. N. Dave of Nagpur, and also Weber. *Ind. Stu.* XIV (1876).

16. Reference to the conquest of Amṛta in the *Nāgānanda*—V. 30.

Garuḍa—"Nāgān vṛṇe bhakṣyamahaṁ śachīpate
Vaheyaṁ yajñyaṁ praviśeyam vedān; |
Adhīyān mā brāhmaṇāḥ svargakāmāḥ
Te chāpnuyuh tridive saṁsadaṁ nau." ||

Indra—"Nāgāste bhakṣyaḥ saṁtu vihaṁgamendra
Vaha yajñyaṁ praviśa śūra vedān; |
Adhyeṣyante tvā brāhmaṇāḥ svargārthāḥ
Prāpsyanti cha tirdive saṁsadaṁ nau." ||

It is this boon of Indra to Garuḍa that gave occasion for the legend in the *Nāgānanda*. Now the question arises why this particular myth was converted into a drama by the king Harṣavardhana, who, as noted before was a very zealous monarch. If, as argued, the drama was not written for the propagation of Buddhism, then was he specially interested in the Nāga-Garuḍa conflict?

(5) *An Allegory:*

The curtain that is thrown over the myth of *Nāgānanda* was a little shaken by A. Banerji Shastri¹⁷ when he found that only one passage in the drama described the Nāga, as the sculptures represented him, i.e. with the Swastika mark. Otherwise there is not a single indication in the whole drama (except of course the last act) if Śāṅkhachūḍa a snake was being offered as a victim to the eagle—Garuḍa. Śāṅkhachūḍa appears plainly a mortal. Jīmūtavāhana, certainly looked upon him as a human being and his mother as simply an old woman, for neither of them had any distinguishing mark. Even Garuḍa, who from eating a Nāga every day for his luncheon, ought to have been tolerably familiar with the Nāga-characteristics, did not find any difference between him and Jīmūtavāhana whom he lifted away by mistake. Śāṅkhachūḍa exclaims at this blunder of Garuḍa:

"Āstām swastika lakṣma vakṣasi tanau nālokyate kañchuko
Jihve jalpata eva me an gaṇite nāma tvayā dve api; |
Tirraṣṭivraṣṭyāgnidhūmapaṭalavyājimharatnatviṣo
Naitā dussahaśokasītkṛtamarutpidāḥ phaṇāḥ paśyasi. ||

(V. 18)

17. "The Nāgas" in *ABORI.* XVIII. p. 350 ff.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 350.

About these characteristics of the Nāgas, A. Banerji Shastri states: "This may be a correct description of the ideal Nāga under Group I (Vedic) and II (Epic). For the historical period under group III (Purāṇa) and IV (Post-Purāṇa) when the book (Nāgānanda) was written, the curious part of the business is that, till he proclaimed it nobody saw it." Harṣadeva, the dramatist knew well, perhaps, that he was taking advantage of the ancient legend of the Nāga-Garuḍa conflict to cover a contemporary account. And that is the reason why he described Śaṅkhachūḍa more as a human being than a serpent. The Nāga Śaṅkhachūḍa is made to represent some one else, as Garuḍa, the bird deity of that name was used as a symbol by the most mighty dynasty of ancient India.

(6) *The Nāgas:*

The Nāgas were powerful kings of prehistoric and historical periods of India. The Vedic literature, the Epics, the Buddhistic and the Jain annals, the Nīlamata Purāṇa show a very wide distribution of the Nāgas. The burning of the Nāgas in the Khāṇḍava forest, the Sarpa-sattra of Janamejaya, the seals found at Mohenjo Daro indicating Nāga-worship;¹⁹ the standing serpents at Kosambi, at Buxar, on the topes of Sāñchī, Amarāvati—all show evidence of existence of Nāga power in the pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic periods. Of the historical Kali age, the Purāṇas mention Śisunāgas (B.C. 733-444) and the Vaideśika Nāgas (3rd cent. B.C.). Hoards of punch-marked coins throw light on the origin and the story of the Nāga rule of Magadha. The Nava-Nāgas²⁰ rose to power after 150 A.C. at Kāntipurī, Padmavatī, Mathurā, Ahicchatra, Sṛghna and became powerful in the following centuries.²¹ The influence of these Nāga republics which had covered the whole of Malwa, Gujrat (Ābhīra), the Rajaputana (Yaudheyas and Mālavas) and a part of the Eastern Punjab (Madra)²² had penetrated even to the far south.²³ Bhāraśivas were Nandi-Nāgas (210-315 A.C.). Most important of the Bhāraśivas was Bhavanāga whose exploits were

19. Marshall, Mohenjo Daro. I.68; II.395.

20. Viṣṇupurāṇa—IV. 24. 18—"Nava nāgaḥ Padmāvatyaṁ Kāntipuryaṁ anugāṅgaṁ Prayāgaṁ Māgadha suhmāscha bhokṣyanti |"

21. Purāṇa Text, p. 53—"Nāga bhokṣyanti sapta vai".

22. Jayaswal—Imperial History of India, pp. 53-54.

23. The Kanheri records cumulatively prove this. ASWI. V. p. 86; JBBRAS. V. 152-153.

eulogised by the inscribed records.²⁴ The Nāgas of the 2-3rd centuries had closer ties with the Vākātakas both according to the Purāṇa texts and the inscriptions. Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka was the grandson of Bhavanāga Bhāraśiva.²⁵

(7) *The Garuḍa:*

The Garuḍa was the emblem of the mighty Gupta emperors. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta records—

"Garutmadāṅkasvaviṣayabhuktiśāsana " —(line 24)²⁶
Garuḍa appears on the coins of the Gupta kings (and particularly on the coins of Chandragupta II).²⁷

- (i) Garuḍa as standing, facing with outspread wings;
- (ii) Garuḍa on the altar;
- (iii) Garuḍa with human arms;
- (iv) Garuḍa holding a snake.

This series of Chandragupta coins, not only shows that Garuḍa was the emblem or symbolic mark of the Guptas but also represented Gupta power, sovereignty and all. This was actually expressed in a metaphorical way in the Girnar Inscription of Skandagupta.

"Narapatibhujagānām mānadarpotphaṇānām,
Pratikṛtigaruḍājñyām nirviṣīmchāvakartā,"²⁸

which most probably refers to the Nāga rebellion crushed by Skandagupta.

24. Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions, p. 236, 245—"Āṇsabhārasanniveśita śiva-lingodvahanāśivasuparituṣasamutpāditārājaveśānam parākramādhigata bhāgi-rathyāmalaalamūrdhābhikṣitānām"

25. Purāṇa Text, p. 219. n. 23—"Tasyānvaye bhaviṣyanti . . . dauhitraḥ śisukonāma"—For more information about the Nāgas and the Nāgaloka see Intro. to Nāyakumārachariyu (pp. xxxi-xxxv).

26. Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions, p. 6 ff.

27. Allan. "Catalogue of Indian Coins", pp. 49 ff, 59, etc., plate XI.

28. Fleet. *Ibid.*, p. 58 ff.

The epigraphic and the numismatic records alike bring home to us that the Garuḍa stood for Gupta prowess which was always at war with the Nāgas,²⁹ their allies and supporters. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription was raised in memory of the great massacre of these in the Āryāvarta. Accordingly Gaṇapati-nāga, Nāgasena, Achyuta, Nāgadatta, Matila, and Rudradeva were killed in the conflict. It seems that Chandragupta II took pride in his father's exploits and in commemoration of the Nāga destruction issued the "Garuḍa series of coins" and himself married a Nāga princess—Kuberanāgā.

Thus when Garuḍa and Nāga prove historically significant, the allegory in the drama Nāgānanda becomes all the more interesting.

(8) *Harṣa was Describing a Contemporary Event:*

Harṣadeva's Priyadarśikā and Rātnāvalī describe political-cum love intrigues, whose political aspect has been lost to us. The Nāgānanda also is a clever political play (cf. Śrīharṣo nipuṇaḥ kavīḥ). All the three plays were enacted before an assembly of princes who gathered from time to time in the capital—Kanaūj to pay tribute to the emperor. It was thus an assembly of political critics (cf. Parisadanvesā gunagrāhinī). Before such an assembly, a skilful poet like Harṣa, who was the first dominantly political personality of the age, would certainly exhibit a piece which has a deep, hidden meaning.

Harṣa's great contemporary and rival was Chālukya emperor Satyaśraya Puṣakeśin II (609-642 A.C.), who was then the suzerain lord of the south. The story of Nāgānanda aims at a little sarcastic description of Puṣakeśin II and incidentally describes a political event that took place in the south. Harṣa became interested in south Indian politics since his own designs in that direction were thwarted at the hands of Puṣakeśin (in 620 A.C.).³⁰ Harṣa seems to have described him as Jīmūtavāhana (a mild form of revenge

29. "With the Guptas are mentioned Nāgas and Maṇḍhyānas and others as reigning contemporaneously over the country which surrounded Gupta country". Pargiter. "Dynasties of the Kali Age". Intro. p. xii.

30. Cf. Ep. Ind. VI. 4; also "Hieun Tsang" Ind. Ant. VII, 291,

indeed!)—a hero in exile who was unwilling to secure his own kingdom back even with the help of his wife's brother and had given up his rights to the throne willingly enough with complacent attitude (cf. 1.7—a pretty sarcasm!), but who was very benevolent of which quality the enemy, Maṇḍaṅga did not fail to take full advantage. Such was Jīmūtavāhana and Puṣakeśin II, as well. The Aihole Inscription states:

"Tasyāgrajasya tanaye nahuṣānubhāve |
Lakṣmyā kilābhilaṣite puṣakeśi nāmni"
Sāsūyamātmani bhavaṇtamataḥ pitṛvyam'
Jñyatvāparuddhacharitavyavasāyabuddhau." (14)

Maṇḍaleśa, the uncle of Puṣakeśin II (son of Kīrtivarman and a Sendraka princess)³¹ who had occupied the throne during the latter's childhood, tried to usurp it for himself and his own son by making Puṣakeśin II an exile but,

"When his elder brother's son Puṣakeśin had formed the resolution to regain his kingdom with proper use of counsel and force, Maṇḍaleśa, his enemy, with his army and his intention equally damaged, gave up his life and his efforts together." (15) According to Dubreuil³² this event took place in 608 A.C. and he was formally crowned in the following year. During his exile Puṣakeśin, it appears, formed friendship with some Nāga prince, most probably, Kapardī by name, of the Śilāhāra stock, who was a Nāga remnant wandering homeless, facing difficulties and harassment at the hand of the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa and anyhow sheltering himself in Simhala (i.e. Goa). Later on when Koṅkaṇa was cleared of Maurya rule by Puṣakeśin,³³ he, with his characteristic benevolence, installed the Nāga prince Kapardī on the throne of Koṅkaṇa.³⁴

Thus the drama Nāgānanda has, it seems, a suggestion of the following political parallelism.

31. Chiplun Plates Ep. Ind. III. 51.

32. Dubreuil. 'History of Deccan', p. 113.

33. Aihole Ins. vs. 20; Bombay Gazetteer. pt. ii, p. 282.

34. This is a mere suggestion, no doubt, but the Śilāhāras, it should be noted, own their existence to Jīmūtavāhana and derive their family name from their victimization on a slab of stone to Garuḍa. These facts the Śilāhāras admit publicly. The Kharepetan plates (Ind. Ant. IX. 33 ff) and other Śilāhāra records begin with the statement of these two facts. Kapardī befriended by Puṣakeśin may be a remote ancestor, whose name was taken by the father of Puṣakeśin.

- (i) Jimūtavāhana—Pulakeśin II (the son),
 Jimūtakeṭu—Kirtivarman I (the father),
 Śaṅkhachūḍa—Kapardī of the Śilāhāra stock, a Nāga,
 Mataṅga—Maṅgaleśa (the enemy)

Scene of the drama is laid in Koṅkaṇa on the Western sea-coast
 (cf. Gokarṇamarṇavatāṭe tvaritaṁ praṇamya V. 7).^{34a}

(ii) The Chālukyas of Badami were originally of the south of the Himalayas³⁵ as the Vidyādhara were originally from the southern slopes of the Himalayas. Both had migrated to the south of the Narmadā.

(iii) Both Jimūtavāhana and Pulakeśin were in exile; both were good-natured; both were destined to become suzerain lords;³⁶ both were benevolent. Similarly as one helped the Nāga Śaṅkhachūḍa, the other could have helped a Nāga—Kapardī, the founder of the Śilāhāra line and a remnant of the royal Nāga families after the great havoc caused by the Guptas.

(iv) The Śilāhāra line begins with Kapardī. The kings of this line ruled in the north Koṅkaṇa and the south Koṅkaṇa, as well. The records of the Śilāhāras really begin with Mahārāja Sāmaṇṭa Pullaśakti (A.C. 842-43), the son of Kapardī. But it seems that after Pulakeśin, Kapardī (I), the founder of the Śilāhāra line lost his hold over Koṅkaṇa. But later on Pullaśakti got back his kingdom through the favour of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarṣa. This means that Kapardī, the father of Pullaśakti was different from the founder of the line.

The princes of this line called themselves Śilāhāras for their ancestors were offered as victims on a slab of stone to Garuda. They also trace their ancestry to Jimūtavāhana for he was the immediate cause of their rescue and rise.³⁷

34a. The same as Gokarṇa Mahābaleśvara near Karwar.

35. According to Dubreuil the origin of the Chālukyas is obscure (p. 111). But Bilhana in the Vikramāṅkadevacharita and the Yewur and the Miraj plates (I.A. VIII. 11 b; E.I. XII. 142 ff.) state that the dynasty was originally of Ayodhyā.

36. Cf. the description of the auspicious physical marks of a Chakravartin in the Nāgānanda I. 17.

37. A. S. Altekar—"The Śilāhāras of Western India". Indian Culture. II. pp. 393 ff; Bom. Gaz. I. pt. ii, p. 15. n. 9; Fleet "Kanerese Dynasties" p. 536, JRAS. old series. IV. 113; The Śilāhāras were called as the "Tagarapurādhīśvara". For the location of "Tagara" refer to R. G. Bhandarkar—"Early History

(v) As said before, this new line of kings came to power in 640 A.C. or thereabout, and that can be considered as the convenient date of the composition of the drama Nāgānanda. Thus the first Śilāhāra was a feudatory of Chālukya Pulakeśin (II).³⁸ Unfortunately no record of Kapardin (I) is available. Still the Kharepatan plates show that the southern branch remained faithful to the Chālukyas. And Kapardin was the originator of both the branches.

(vi) Following references in the drama help to come to the suggestion in the allegory:

- Reference to the mountain Malaya;
- Jimūtavāhana's visit to the Western sea-coast (Act. IV);
- Description of the sea (IV.3);
- Reference to the heap of the Nāga bones (last act);
- Reference to Garuḍa as Nāgā-śatru;
- The Velā-Mahādhra stands for the Sahhya-range; the dramatist has brought in the Malaya mountain to be faithful to the ancient legend. As a matter of fact all the minor changes are for this very purpose;
- The verse of Garuḍa:
 Nāgānām rakṣitā bhāti puruṣeṣu yathā mama; |
 Tathā sarpāsānākaṅśām vyaktamadyāpāneśyati || (IV. 27)
- Reference to Gokarṇa;
- The promise taken by Jimūta-vāhana from Garuḍa;
- The westerly march of the Nāgas to the ocean.

of the Deccan" (1927). p. 59; Fleet Imp. Gaz. II. (1908). p. 82; JRAS, (1901), p. 537; Rhys. Davids—Buddhist India, p. 31. The Jain caves at Terrapura (Modern Tera in the Osmanabad district of the Hyderabad State) also connect the Śilāhāras with Jimūtavāhana. If Tera is the same as Tagara (Cf. H. L. Jain, Intro. to the Karakaṇḍachariu, pp. 41-45) and which is quite possible, we can safely place Kapardī in the middle of the seventh century. A.C.

38. Later on after Pulakeśin II, the Chālukya power was checked by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Śilāhāras accepted the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. This accounts for the fidelity of Pullaśakti and the following rulers of the line to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

Dutch Reverses in Malabar 1658-1660

(The Loss of Quilon Fort as described by
Mrs. Antoinette Meilink *nee* Roelofs).

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A. PH.D.

The situation in the town of Quilon appeared to surpass the high expectations of the Dutch. Already they thought that the fortification could be made very much smaller. But then the town could be easily defended against all attacks and would form a frontier for Ceylon like Negapatam on the East Coast. In Quilon there was a Dutch military garrison under the command of the Captain Hendrik Gluwink and protected by some ships left behind. The question now arose whether this military occupation should be continued or whether a commercial settlement alone need be established. Because of the great strategic importance of the place as well for the West Indian Coast and Ceylon as for the Bay of Madura whereby its importance for the control of the pepper trade was enhanced, Van Goens resolved to maintain the garrison remaining at Quilon although this ran counter to the wishes of the Directorate of the United East India Company, whose rule of conduct was to sustain as little as possible of the costly military defence works because of the high cost of the same. A military occupation was directed not only against the Portuguese but also against the English who had shown themselves to be willing to establish themselves here. Transactions among the native merchants with English wares and vessels were still going on when the Dutch captured the place and it appears that the English had a short time ago made proposals to the Portuguese and the native merchants for the founding of a settlement.

Situated on a prominent rocky point on the Coast, Quilon was impregnable on three sides. The walls stretching far to the land-side required however a great number of soldiers to be able to offer resistance with success. It was therefore decided to demolish a portion of the walls and churches and to rebuild the fortification on a smaller scale so as to make it capable of being defended by a

smaller garrison of about eighty men. As the place was provided with ammunition and a number of yachts cruised in front of the coast for protection, Quilon was, in this way, to be an almost impregnable fortress which they could at all times assist from the sea. A nearby situated river offered a good roadstead for the wintering of small ships. The neighbourhood furnished good timber. And not only the pepper but also the wild cinnamon could in future be collected without that being hindered by the Portuguese. Through the possession of Ceylon the United East India Company controlled the voyage to and from the Bay of Madura by careful management. Van Goens rightly estimated the yield from Quilon at 20,000 guilders a year. Although there was every reason for not delaying the fortifications, Van Serooskercken was yet commanded to practise great economy in the fortifications.

For the trade, Quilon was placed under Ceylon. Van Serooskercken who had the supervision over the commercial settlement at Kayamkulam as also over the newly won fortress was required to try to make the Malabar princes, the signati and the Rajas of Travancore, Kayamkulam and Purakkad to decide favourably for the Company and especially conclude favourable pepper contracts, now that the Governor-General and Council recommended so much the purchase of pepper. Meanwhile Cochin ought to be occupied with a few ships from the fleet blockading Goa so that from there the Portuguese could venture no attack on Quilon and the English friends must be hindered from giving the necessary support.

Thus by his negotiations over the pepper Van Serooskercken must in the long run manage to obtain this commodity by bartering goods for three-fourths and making cash payments only for one-fourth, a demand which the Company was now in a position to be able to press. The price was not to go higher than 12 Reals per Candy.

That the Company did not forget its spiritual task in the newly conquered territory appears indeed out of the sending of a "Visitor of the sick" (Catechist) who was to attempt to convert the Indian Christians as well as the heathen to Calvinism. With his attempts at conversion he must not absolutely on his own account add teaching of the forms of faith there and especially he must not disdainfully omit Catholicism whereby they would be offending the Indian Christians who were very faithful Catholics. The United East

India Company with their ecclesiastical policy was not served by unnecessary religious disputes. In time, it was hoped that by the blessing of God through the darkness the truth would shine with sweetness, the mind of the men being a thing that would not yield to force or violence but they must be led amicably and with understanding.

It soon became clear that the entire shutting of the Coast in front of Quilon was impossible because of the scant naval strength of the Company. In particular the Company could hardly prevent the pepper being carried to the Coast of Tuticorin from the kingdom of Travancore. This could be settled properly by fighting only if the Company possessed a watch-post in the kingdom of the Raja of Martha (Karunagapalli) from which they could search the ships sailing beyond.

Also Roothaes had no ship which he could spare from his fleet. The indigenous navigators with their boats which moved quickly and could be read easily were able to retain the profit-yielding export of pepper and import of opium.

The negotiations with the Malabar princes did not, as was very much desired by the Dutch, go on without a hitch. The Dutch were perfectly aware that all the contracts gave nothing that could be pressed without armed force. If the princes, notwithstanding the contracts with the Dutch, could carry on more profitable trade with other merchants, they would certainly not forgo that. Only with the Raja of Martha did Van Serooskercken attain some result like the contract which the Company had concluded with Quilon.

Alarming news began to reach Quilon from Cochin. The Portuguese who had regained their courage after the precipitate departure of the Dutch fleet resolved to exert their utmost powers to defend the last bulwark of their might on the West Coast of India Proper; indeed 14 frigates under the command of Ignatio Sermento, with 325 soldiers (which rumour had made a thousand) were to go to Cochin from Goa with a large stock of ammunition. This would be very dangerous for the isolated Dutch post at Quilon surrounded on all sides by enemies. If moreover the rainy season began, Roothaes' fleet must break up from the front of Goa as also from the sea and no more help was to be expected while the Portuguese could attack Quilon from Cochin across the land by a

short cut. The Portuguese staked everything in the work of instigating the Malabaris against the Dutch. Right under the eyes of the Dutch garrison the Portuguese half-breeds were conspiring with the natives who acquainted themselves of the situation of the Dutch fortifications. The Portuguese Catholic priests still remained in the land and could count on the loyalty of the Indian Christians.

The precipitate departure of Van Goens had made a very bad impression on the Indian population and had convinced them of the weakness of the Dutch power. The Dutch garrison at Quilon was firmly convinced that after the departure of Roothaes they would be attacked by the Portuguese while the population would not then choose the side of the Dutch. Precipitately a provisional smaller fortification was built not too big for the Dutch garrison to defend it. The Dutch sent urgent requests for support and reinforcements to Van Goens.

The disposition of the Indian population who had not forgotten their defeat was continually getting worse. They refused materials and labour forces for the fortification works which therefore made very little progress. They no more gave consent to the cutting down of the cocoanut trees which yielded them a means of subsistence nor to the demolition of the houses near the town walls which obstructed the view. As the Dutch here had been moved up, the grumbling became worse. The natives continued to keep up obstinate anger against the Dutch without however their daring to make it appear openly. The proceedings of Captain Gluwinck characterised by very little tact were not calculated to improve these relations. The Captain and the subordinates of the Company did not know the customs and manners of the land. The man who because of his fifteen year long experience could soothe their minds, Van Serooskercken, was absent for negotiating with the princes of the surrounding lands the pepper contracts desired by the Company. Declarations of friendship had meanwhile come in from the Rajas of Tekkenkur and Vadakkumkur who were both at war with the Raja of Cochin, while the Raja of Cranganore who was in conflict with the Portuguese made offers of help to put into the hands of the Dutch the Portuguese forts of Cranganore and Pallipattin.

Yet, before Van Goens could come from Ceylon to help Quilon, a help which would not be given by him without aversion as he

judged the communications exaggerated and needlessly alarming, there was enacted at Quilon itself the sad event which was the occasion of the loss of the Company's first fortress on the Indian Coast.

It was very well known to the Dutch at Quilon that there existed dangerous connections between the Indian population and the Portuguese in Cochin. It was also known that the help of some Nairs was requested for taking armed action against the Dutch in that town (Quilon) where the Portuguese could not safely go inside. Nevertheless, Captain Gluwinck had the great impudence, after hearing the sermon on Sunday the 30th March, to go for a walk outside the town with the entire *personnel* of the Company and their wives accompanied only by ten soldiers. The Rev. Fereira,* the Portuguese priest who had gone over to Calvinism and who was to render good services to the Company in the conversion of the Indian population, was staying in the town.

After the Company had walked to the end of a road, they noticed that the Nairs ran in a crowd. They thought this was owing to the fear of the Dutch. Unruffled they went close to one another along the armed bands. They got the married women return to the town along another way. Suddenly, then followed the treacherous surprise attack. With swords, pikes and shooting guns, the Dutch were harassed from all sides and their way was cut off. Against the Nairs who indeed numbered three hundred, this small group of Dutchmen of whom most were unarmed could begin nothing. There were but a few who by flight escaped an ignominious death. One of these fortunate people who managed to reach the town by a circuitous way was the book-keeper, Francois de Haze. He has left behind for us a vivid account of these events. Hendrijk Gluwinck had to pay for his impudence with his life.

* In addition to the already named Comforter of the Sick, Rev. Fereira was appointed minister. This Joan Fereira d'Almeida, originally a Roman priest, was born in Lisbon. He went over to Protestantism and was appointed by the Company first as Comforter of the Sick and in 1656 as Minister. He preached in French and Portuguese. Galle in Ceylon was indicated to him as his post of duty. He was there from 1656 to 1658. Afterwards he was at Tuticorin. In 1663 he was called to Batavia with the Portuguese Congregation. He translated the Old and New Testaments into the Portuguese language.

Besides him seven other Dutchmen also did not return. De Haze and a Comforter of the Sick who had received only a stab—thus showing the advantage of wide breeches—and some soldiers were the only unhurt in this dangerous adventure. Immediately, De Haze took measures for defence. Soldiers and sailors were distributed over the reduced fortifications. News was sent to Van Serooskercken. Threatening Nairs surrounding the place and Toepasses who were in a state of resistance were brought to the town but hardly were they restrained by the Company's artillery. Van Serooskercken immediately turned back to Quilon. Also the small yacht that was cruising along the Malabar Coast appeared in front of Quilon harbour. The Queen Signati who was seriously suspected by Van Serooskercken not to have been ignorant of the attack gave the Dutchmen the advice to leave Quilon as speedily as possible because she feared that the town would be taken by the Portuguese and Nairs with violence. The answer of Van Serooskercken was short but forceful and, weaned of all diplomatic courtliness, a remarkable sample of the language which the servants of the Dutch Company dared to use against Indian princes but which then rightly aroused the sharp censure of Van Serooskercken's superiors. Hoping that the Signati and her friends must yet, as dogs with the tail between the legs flee from the land. Van Serooskercken proposed to stand firm, and not budge an inch. To keep this word was, however, another matter.

To Van der Muyden on the Madura Coast a reinforcement was sent for help. If no help was offered from the sea-side, they feared in particular an attack during the rainy season by the Portuguese of Cochin who during that season could easily come inland *via* canals and lagoons to Quilon with small ships. The opinion of Van der Muyden was shared by Van Serooskercken and other servants of the Company. They decided to break up and abandon the town. In the dark night of the 14th April, under a violent wind and thunderstorm, the Dutch garrison managed without great misfortunes safely to get to the Dutch ships. They heaved the anchor and sailed for Kayamkulam where the Company's interests made a landing on the coast necessary. Further, at night Van Serooskercken went to the Raja for an audience. The king asserted his friendship towards the United East India Company, but counselled the Dutch to remove the Company's goods from the lodge. He would first await what the attitude towards the Dutch would be of

the other Malabar princes whose enmity he feared. As the Dutch could not absolutely trust the Malbarees after the most recent occurrences, they resolved to bring to the ships the goods stored in the ware-house. After a further tranquillising assurance of the Raja that he would protect the Company's residents and merchandise, they did not go to the extent of total abolition of the oldest settlement of the United East India Company on the Coast. It was a bad sign for the Company that the monarch of Kayamkulam hesitated for a moment about protecting the Dutch any further against the Portuguese and the Nairs. The Dutch received the impression that this originated not so much out of impotence as of the wish to get rid of the Dutch from his land. The Indian princes began to realise that the Dutch like the Portuguese aimed at the monopoly of the pepper and the domination of the Coast. Moreover, they would obtain only a change of masters and no large profits. The trade was profitable only as various foreign nations competed against each other on the Coast. Nevertheless, in spite of the weakened position of the Company on the Coast, offers of an alliance against the Portuguese were received from the Rajas of Cranganore, Tekkenkur and Vadakkumkur and the Paliattee.

It was no agreeable duty that Van der Muyden had to perform in acquainting Van Goens, as it was his duty to do, of the occurrence. Van Goens would but with difficulty believe the alarming tidings which had already reached him from Quilon before the murder of Gluwinck and that he mainly attributed to the "fear and faint-heartedness" of Van Serooskercken with whom he was already angry for other reasons. He was no easy superior and could only endure subordinates of his who wholly agreed with his policy and who would not nerve themselves to give him good counsel. In his communications on the Coast, Van Serooskercken had not confined himself to the pepper trade and the fortifications to which he was appointed and received from Van Goens a formidable trouncing about his "folly and puffy ideas."

Van Goens' indignation, as the news of the occurrences at Quilon reached him, was great. But what else was to be expected, he asked, if men were served up with negligent drunkards and disobedient door-keepers. Gluwinck's many visits to the tavern were widely known and where the man had purchased his death through his carelessness there remained for the Company nothing else but his inheritance which was distrained. As he was unmarried and

had no nearest heirs, no innocent victims suffered. It was the old complaint of the Company, the difficulty to find suitable and experienced persons for the responsible posts—a complaint that occurs frequently in its nakedness.

Adriaan Van der Meyden also had to resist the anger of Van Goens. The loss of Quilon, if it was not the occasion of the serious quarrel that later broke out between both men, however laid the foundation of their alienation. Van Goens had most strongly enjoined on his subordinate the retention of Quilon. That now just one of the high servants of the Company as the Governor of Ceylon abandoned to the enemy such a small fortress as Quilon was most strongly disapproved by Van Goens. What a bad impression must this make on the Malabar princes? Through the loss of Quilon, Ceylon henceforward lost an excellent defence. If the fortress had been strongly fortified, it would have always stuck in the feet of the enemy as a very bad thorn and what an advantage would the possession of Quilon have meant against the Portuguese Roman priests who would again try to nestle in the land as summer gnats and would neglect nothing to make the Dutch hated by the Indian population! Meanwhile, through the loss of Quilon, the pepper trade which had been carried on for so many years was endangered just at the time when most of the Malabar princes showed an inclination to negotiate about pepper.

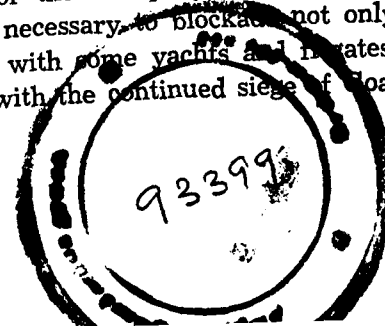
All too rashly did Van der Meyden, according to Van Goens, stake the interest of the Company. Timely enough did he come to the place with 300 soldiers amply provided with ammunition and provisions. Van Goens' accusation against Van der Meyden was not wholly justified and also was not shared by the High Government although in Batavia, where the capture of Quilon had been celebrated with such great joy, the disappointment caused by the loss was great.

Scarcely had Van der Meyden taken mature deliberation over the matter after consultation with the remaining servants of the Company before he took his decision. The Portuguese strengthened themselves formidably on the Coast and they really received the support that was promised to them from Portugal. So they would not hesitate to attempt to recover their lost fortresses. The isolated post, Quilon, of which the new fortifications had made very little progress because of the opposition of the Indian population

and the old fortification, it was very certain, would fall into Portuguese hands after the departure of Roothaes' fleet. They were not thus to think of a siege which could endure through the entire rainy season upto the coming of the new blockading fleet. Van Goens had, it is true, sent reinforcements to Quilon in the shape of the *Golden flower*, the *Red Lion*, the *Bantam* and certain smaller ships, but owing to the out-break of the rainy season these could not remain on the Coast. To justify himself somewhat in the eyes of Van Goens, Van der Meyden submitted to him a plan for the recovery of Quilon. With some ships, men were for this purpose to sail to Quilon. In the middle of the night, he hoped to land 400 soldiers in a small bay between the rocks, where no walls protected the town; in the day-time they should appear with their entire forces in front of Quilon and recover the town through an attack both from the land and sea sides. First he himself should go inland.

After the quitting of the Dutch, the Portuguese had formidably strengthened Quilon. A surprise attack of the town was not easily possible as the Dutch could not approach Quilon without being watched long beforehand. With a reverse, Ceylon would be involved in great peril, a peril the greater as continually an attack of the Raja Singa on the low-lands of this island was feared. For such an undertaking, indeed, greater military forces were necessary than the High Government had at their disposal. Therefore this proposal found no favour in the eyes of Van Goens. Although this opinion was shared by the Governor-General and Councillors, yet they did not neglect to point out to Van Goens his touchiness against his subordinates. The expressions, for example, in which Van Serooskercken was referred to in the letters of Van Goens were not to the liking of the High Government. Such odious expressions were hardly becoming of him who was so touchy and sensitive about the least word of admonition. The apologies which Van Goens offered were not from the heart. His doings and omissions were according to his inclinations which men would discourage in case of men of lesser opposition; but it happened through zeal, not in any way with bitterness.

In order that the influence of the Company on the Coast should not be wholly lost, it was necessary to blockade not only Goa, but also Quilon and Cochin with some yachts and frigates. The fear was not unjustified that with the continued siege of Goa,



the Portuguese would transfer their trade with Portugal from Goa to Cochin. But for a total blockade of Cochin and the South Indian Coast, the Dutch Company lacked sufficient ships and crew. At most a few yachts and smaller vessels only were available to cruise there and hinder the navigation of the adversaries. To keep out the English for whom the Portuguese always provided contraband and attempted to obtain a share of the pepper trade, larger ships were necessary and the recapture of Quilon could take place only with forces and weapons in public. This depended principally on whether the outcome of the forthcoming blockade of Goa was good or bad.

Meanwhile they wished to resume the trade on the Coast at Kayamkulam. Because of the scarcity of pepper in the Archipelago caused by the war on the West Coast of Sumatra and the insurrection in Palembang, also the diminution in the planting of pepper as a result of the low prices which the Company paid in the last year for this product, it was necessary, that the Company's stock on the Malabar Coast should be replenished. The very sorely insulting Signati and the other Malabar princes must be made to keep the contracts once concluded. This should perhaps succeed only through the help of the cruising yachts which obstructed the trade of those princes. For these undertakings, reinforcements from the fatherland and Batavia were urgently necessary. News of the peace negotiations commenced between Portugal and the Dutch Republic which reached India at this time caused great fear. The United East India Company would perhaps send no ships and soldiers to India if it would really come to a peace. But these should be sent and the capture in the shooting risked.

These peace negotiations from the Portuguese side made little progress with the accidental falling into the hands of Van Goens of the letter of the Portuguese Queen to her Government in India wherein great support was promised for the conquest of the lost regions and from which the close co-operation of Portugal with England and France was evident. The Dutch moreover suspected Raja Singa, the conquering ruler of Ceylon, of secret intrigues with the Portuguese. It was beyond doubt that there was great jealousy against the Dutch and there were many enemies round about Ceylon all but watching where they could betray the Dutch or elsewhere make the Dutch relinquish an advantage. All this could be averted only with the help of the military.

The capture of Quilon had made it possible for the Company to prevent navigation to the Bay of Madura from the West Coast as Quilon was situated in an excellent corner where the ships must line along tightly and could even be made to pay toll. By continually making some small ships to cruise along the Coast of Madura they could cut off this trade and bring the Nayk to reason. They indeed obtained rice from the Thevar with whom the United East India Company was in alliance and to whom the Company might perhaps wish to render military support against the Nayk if this might be necessary.

The loss of Quilon risked all the advantages described above. This loss had a very bad influence on the Parayas of Tuticorin, as not only the Portuguese but also the English could now delude them in many things in the future. That was an influence which could not be otherwise than injurious to the Company.

Inscriptions of Āhom Kings

BY

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The Āhoms ruled in Assam for about six hundred years. It was in 1228 A.D. that the first Āhom king Sukāphā established his sovereignty in north-eastern-Assam with his capital at Charaideo near the modern district-town of Sibsagar and it was in 1819 that the sovereignty over Assam was snatched from the weak hands of Sukapha's thirty-eighth successor Jogesvar Singh by the Burmese who in their turn were driven out of Assam by the British in 1824 when Lower Assam was annexed to British India. Purandar Singh, a descendant of Sukāphā, continued to rule in Upper Assam till 1838 when that part of the State too was annexed to British India.

It must be remembered that during this long period of six hundred years (1228-1838) Northern India passed through many vicissitudes-dynasties rose and fell; foreign invaders attacked, plundered and left the country bleeding; the Great Moghuls were displaced and the English established their Empire. Assam under the rule of the dynasty of Āhom kings established by Sukāphā maintained its independence and integrity through all these centuries, beating back not only repeated inroads by the Muhammadan hordes sent either directly from Delhi or from the vassal state of Bengal but also resisting the more insidious, and consequently the more difficult to combat, diplomatic pressure exercised by the British Indian Government after 1757.

It was no doubt a magnificent achievement, but little is known to the people outside Assam of the activities of the Āhom kings whose valour, wisdom and administrative skill made it possible. The Āhom kings have left behind them very interesting literary and epigraphic records of their activities. Their literary records known as *Buranjies* have been mostly translated into English and are now available to the curious public. Little, however, has so far been written on the epigraphic records left by the Āhom kings. In

this article it is proposed to give a brief account of these epigraphic records.

The inscriptions of the Ahom kings have been found on rocks, on walls of temples and on copper-plates. In 1879 Sir Edward Gait in his Report on the *Progress of Historical Research in Assam* listed eleven rock inscriptions, twenty temple inscriptions and forty-eight copper-plate grants left by the Ahom kings. None of these inscriptions has yet been published. Six out of the eleven rock inscriptions are in Sanskrit and five are in Assamese; of the twenty-eight temple inscriptions as many as twenty-six are in Sanskrit, one is in Assamese and one is in both Sanskrit and Assamese. Similarly the majority (forty-four out of forty-eight) of the copper-plate grants are in Sanskrit, while only two are in Ahom, one is in Assamese and one is in both Assamese and Ahom. Except for the inscriptions in Ahom the script used is Assamese even for inscriptions in Sanskrit. The dates used are uniformly in Saka era which is said to have been first adopted by the fourteenth Ahom king Suhung-mung (1497-1539).¹ The inscriptions have been found in different places of the districts of Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Kāmrup. The earliest date mentioned is Saka 1570 equivalent to A.D. 1648 which has been found in a rock inscription in Phātacil Duar (Gauhati) which records how an un-named Bar Phukan (governor of the area extending west of Kaliabar on the Brahmaputra in Nowgong district) who had vanquished a Muhammadan army was installed as Senapati (Commander-in-Chief). The latest date mentioned is Saka 1737 = A.D. 1815 which has been found in a copper-plate grant recording how Chandrakānta Simha, the thirty-seventh Ahom king, who ruled from 1810 to 1818, made a *devottar* grant of twenty-four *purās*² of land and of an unspecified number of servants to the temple of Visvanātha in Darrang district.

The inscriptions are important and interesting for a variety of reasons. First, they show that though the Ahom conquerors had brought with them into Assam their language, script, religion and a system of chronology they were gradually Indianised and Hinduised enough to adopt the Saka era and Sanskrit for use in their documents recording public grants and donations. How this pro-

1. Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, p. 97.

2. 1 *pura* = 3600 square feet. *Ibid*, p. 171.

cess of Hinduisation progressed can be at present traced in outline only. The eighth king Sudāngphā (1397-1407) was brought up in his infancy in a Brahmin family and on his accession to the throne he appointed his Brahmin saviour as his adviser and his sons to high offices in the State.³ The fourteenth king Suhungmung (1497-1530) was the first Ahom king to adopt the title of Swarga-Narayana which was borne by every one of the succeeding kings. The seventeenth king Susengphā (1603-1641) was the first Ahom king to assume, in addition to his Ahom name, a Sanskritic name which was Pratāp Simha; and from his time it practically became the custom for every regularly crowned king of the Ahom dynasty to bear a Sanskritic name. According to the *Buranji* of Kasinath Tamuli king Susengpha (alias Pratāp Simha) ruled from 1611-1649.⁴ The rock inscription found at Phatacil Duar bearing the date Saka 1570=A.D. 1648 is to be assigned to his reign. If this view is correct the Hinduisation of the Ahom royal family may be said to have been completed by the time of this powerful king who had to fight hard to defend his kingdom against the Muhammadan attacks sent by Emperor Shah Jahan.

Secondly, the script of the Sanskrit inscriptions confirms the evidence of the extant manuscripts that Sanskrit was read and written in Assam not through the Devanagari script but through the indigenous script.⁵

Thirdly, the inscriptions show that the Ahom kings were very much interested in building forts as well as works of public utility like roads, tanks and embankments. Thus an inscription on the Kanai Barsi rock near North Gauhati records the construction of a fort there in 1667 by order of the twenty-first king Chakradwaja Simha (1663-1669); a second found in Sibsagar district records the excavation of a tank there in 1705 by order of the thirtieth king Rudra Simha (1696-1714); another tank was excavated near the temple of Ugratārā in Gauhati in 1728 in the reign of Rudra Simha's successor, Shiva Simha (1714-1744) who also constructed in 1732 a moat, 2,488 yards long, in mouza Sinduri

3. *Ibid*, pp. 82-83.

4. Quoted by Gait, E.A., *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, 1897, p. 3.

5. *The Journal of Oriental Research Madras*, Vol. XIX, Pt. III, 1952, p. 205-206.

Ghopa in Kamrup district. The thirty-third king Rajesvar Siṃha (1751-1769) excavated in 1753 yet another tank at Silpukhri near the Navagraha temple in Gauhati. This tank as well as the one near the Ugratara temple still exist.

Fourthly, the inscription on temples left by the Āhom kings show that they were great temple builders. The earliest of the temples built by order of an Āhom king appears to have been the temple to the god Umānanda, the *Bhairava* of the goddess Kāmākhyā, in the Peacock Island, Gauhati, built in 1694 by Bar Phukan Garhganya Handikai in the reign of the twenty-ninth king Gadādhara Siṃha (1681-1696). Gadādhara was a powerful king who recovered Gauhati from the Muhammadans whom he drove beyond the Manas river, subdued the rebellious Miris and Nagas and restored the prestige of the Āhom monarchy.⁶ Gadādhara's grandson Shiva Siṃha (1714-1744) built in 1718 a temple to Kāwesvara on the Kāmākhyā hill near Gauhati, a temple to Siddhesvara in Ramsa Mauza, Kamrup in 1718, consecrated the image of Sambhu in the temple of Umānanda in Gauhati in 1719, built two temples to Janardana in Asvaklanta hill, North Gauhati, in 1720 and 1721, a temple to Chandikā in *mauja* Kharija Baranti, Kamrup, in 1725 and a temple to Ugratārā in Gauhati in the same year. King Shiva Siṃha's brother and successor king Pramatta Siṃha (1744-1751) also built nine temples of which the more important were the temples to gods Sukresvara and Janardana in Gauhati and to the goddesses Kāmākhyā in Kaliabar (Nawgong district) and Durgā in Kamrup. The next king Rajesvara Siṃha (1751-1769) also built many temples of which one was to the Navagrahas on the Chitrasila hill near Gauhati, a second in Vāsisthāsrama, south of Gauhati and two temples to Vāsudeva in the Daksinpat *sattras* in Darrang and in Nawgong districts. None of the later Āhom kings is known to have constructed any temple. Evidently the decline of the Āhom power had set in.

Fifthly, King Gadādhara Siṃha (1681-1699) who was the first Āhom king to build a temple to a Hindu god was also the first Āhom ruler to make grants of lands to Brahmins. Three copper-plate grants dated 1683, 1684 and 1685 record how he bestowed 24 *purās*

of land in Darrang district and 8 *paiks*⁷ and 60 *purās* of land and 4 *paiks* in Sibsagar district on a Brahmin named Govinda Chandra Chakravarty and 26 *purās* of land in Darrang district and 2 slaves on another Brahmin named Baloram Narayan. All the succeeding kings upto Chandra Kanta Siṃha (1810-1818) followed the example thus set by King Gadādhara Siṃha and made similar land grants. The largest number (nineteen) of such grants were made by King Shiva Siṃha (1714-1744). The land grants were made in *devottar* to gods and goddesses, in *Brahmottar* to Brahmins and to the Vaisnava *Sattras* and in at least one instance, in *Nankar* to a Muhammadan Fakir named Manik. These land grants, unlike the similar landgrants of the early king of Kamarupa⁸ state the measurements of the lands granted in terms of *purās* and thus show that in 1683, when the first land grant was made, if not earlier, lands in Assam were surveyed and measured according to a standard measurement which must have been uniform throughout the State from Sibsagar to Kamrup. Moreover, the grants of lands were always accompanied by a grant of families of servants and sometimes of slaves. This practice continued as late as 1815 when King Chandra Kanta Siṃha (1810-1818) bestowed in *devottar* 24 *purās* of land and a number of servants to the temple of Visvanātha in Darrang. Clearly enough society was completely feudalised and men and women could be given away as chattels.

7. *Paik* means a foot soldier. He was a free man but was bound, in lieu of lands granted, to fight in times of war and to render free labour in times of peace. *Paiks* are to be distinguished from *slaves* who were either prisoners of war or purchased from the hill tribes. Servants were manumitted slaves or hill men.—Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, pp. 239-241.

8. Bhattacharya, P.N., *Kamarupāsanaśālī*. The lands granted are designated either by stating either boundaries as in the Nidhānpur grant (pp. 16-17) or by stating productivity as in the Purpabhadra grant of King Dharmapala (p. 177).

6. Gait, Sir Edward, *History of Assam*, pp. 169-170.

Lord Elgin I and Afghanistan

BY

DR. (MISS) BRIJ SAIGAL, M.A., Ph.D.

Lord Elgin initiated a policy of non-interference in respect of the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He refused to allow the Government of India to be involved in the complicated affairs of the Afghan neighbours. As a matter of fact it was his policy which ultimately gave birth to the subsequent one of "Masterly Inactivity."

After the conclusion of the First Afghan War, the relations between the British Government and Dost Muhammad Khan¹ were "undefined but sullen."² They were modified under the pressure of Persian eagerness to expand eastwards and reconquer Herat and Kandahar. When the Persians attacked Herat in 1855, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and Dost Muhammad. The former agreed not to interfere with the Amir's territories, and the latter promised in return to be "the friend of friends and the enemy of the enemies of the Hon'ble East India Company."³

The friendship was put to the test in 1856, when the Persians again besieged Herat. The British not only helped Dost Muhammad with money and arms, but declared war against Persia, and sent a force from Bombay. The Persians came to terms on January 27, 1857 by the treaty of Paris.⁴

This friendly feeling was first disturbed in 1862 when Dost Muhammad became aggressive and was forced to march against

1. The Amir of Kabul.

2. Memoirs of Sir Herber Edwards I, (1886) p. 236.

3-a. Aitchison C. U.: Vol. II (1873) p. 430.

b. Memoirs of Sir Herbert Edwards I., Vol. I (1886) p. 244.

4-a. Wyllie J.W.S.: Essays on the External policy of India (1875) p. 87.

b. Aitchison C.U., Vol. II (1873) pp. 431-33.

c. Memoirs of Sir Herbert Edwards I., (1886) pp. 260-61.

5. The ruler of Herat and the son of Azim Khan, who succeeded to the first place amongst the Barakzais on the death of the great Vazir, Fateh Khan.

Herat. Sultan Jan⁵ believed that he had as good a right to rule the Afghans as his uncle and father-in-law, Dost Muhammad. With the intention of attacking Kandahar, Sultan Jan entered Sabjawar, 40 miles from Farrah in March 1862, and the next month he took Farrah by treachery.⁶ His progress towards Kandahar was, however, stopped short at Khasrud river, mid-way between Farrah and Girishk by Muhammad Sharif Khan⁷ who was ordered by his father, Dost Muhammad Khan, to proceed with his whole force towards Farrah with the object of arresting Sultan Jan's progress.⁸ So far the conflict was not one between the great powers but between the Amir of Kabul and his son-in-law who was also his nephew. No communication had yet passed between Sultan Jan and the Persians.

The recapture of Farrah by the ruler of Herat was made a pretext by Dost Muhammad Khan for an attack on Herat. In such a situation Persia could not remain a passive spectator. The Shah of Persia was, therefore, very anxious that no time was to be lost in bringing the matter to the notice of Her Majesty's Government⁹ in India, in the hope that the latter would take immediate steps towards preventing any movement on the part of Dost Muhammad Khan towards Herat territory.¹⁰ Persia considered Farrah as belonging to Herat and declared that it had been taken from Herat by the ruler of Kandahar on the death of Yar Muhammad Khan in 1852.¹¹

Sir Charles Wood was also of opinion that the Government of India should dissuade Dost Muhammad Khan from embarking upon such a hostile activity against the ruler of Herat. In a secret despatch to Lord Elgin, he wrote:—

6. Foreign pol., Progs. April 1862., No. 186, March 27, 1862.

7. Hakim of Girishk.

8. Diary of the Kabul Vakil., March 9, 1862.

9. According to the terms of the 6th article of the treaty of Paris the Persians could not interfere in any Afghan quarrel without consulting Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

10. Confidential report from Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, April 22, 1862.

11-a. Col. Taylor's report of 1858 on Seistan.

b. Durand's Essays and Minutes., Vol. I (1883) p 298.

"I have to request that, with advertance to the terms of the treaty of Paris, you will take any steps to dissuade the Kabul Sardars from undertaking or encouraging any hostile demonstration against the territories of the ruler of Herat."¹²

Lord Elgin, however, was very much against such interference on the part of the British Government in this Afghan quarrel.¹³

Col. Durand who also favoured the non-intervention policy of Lord Elgin, stated:—

"I was greatly in hopes that the Home Govt. would not have ordered any intervention in the contest now going on between Dost Muhammad and Sultan Jan, and would at the same time have discountenanced any pretensions of Persia to be the arbiter of the question whether Farrah belonged to Herat or not. It appears to me, however, that acting on the dicta of Persia, the Home Govt. are forgetting that Farrah has been in the hands of Kandahar and Kabul ever since Yar Muhammad died, i.e. since 1852; and that at all times Farrah has for long centuries been a bone of contention, those holding it who, for the time, could manage to take it. The injunction to dissuade the Amir from hostile movements against Herat territory, including therein Farrah, came rather too late, as Farrah was already closely besieged by the advanced corps of the Afghans, and if Dost Muhammad take it, he will do so before anything from hence could reach him."¹⁵

Writing to Sir Charles Mill, he urged, "there may be many vicissitudes in this Afghan struggle, and our wise course would seem to await in quiet strength the further development of these conflicts."¹⁶

On June 3, 1862, the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, with troops, mustering 45,000 men, sawars, and footmen, 30,000 mules, 5,000 ponies, 10,000 asses, and 60 elephants, left Ahmedshahi for Farrah. Two of his sons, Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Sharif Khan, moved two stages further with 15,000 troops. Mir Ismail Khan, son of Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan, was left with

12. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State., June 3, 1862.

13. G.G.'s Secret Desp. to Secy. of State, July 16, 1862,

14. Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India.

15. Col. Durand to Sir J. Lawrence, July 1862. vide Essays and Minute of Col. Durand, Vol. I (1883) p. 298.

16. Durand's Letters and Journals, Vol. I (1883) p. 297.

sepoys at Ahmedshahi to maintain peace and order there.¹⁷ On his way the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was met by the ambassadors from Persia¹⁸ and Herat with the messages bearing on the subject of peace. But the Amir gave little heed to it and the ambassadors returned disappointed.¹⁹

Muhammad Afzal²⁰ with troops numbering 25,000 and 30 guns was ordered by Dost Muhammad to leave for Herat by Balkh and Maimana.²¹ The Amir himself marched towards Farrah along with Sardars Sher Ali Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan, and Muhammad Sharif Khan, and, after arriving at "Dilarom" and "Behoodur" reached Khillutgarh on June 30, 1862.²²

On the evening of July 4, 1862, when the Amir was still half-a-day's journey from Farrah, it was taken by him without any battle or engagement.²³ Mir Afzal Khan, the Governor of Farrah was satisfied by the heir-apparent Sardar Sher Ali Khan²⁴ and the matter was settled by an annual payment of Rs. 3,00,000 to Mir Afzal Khan.²⁵

17-a. Kandahar Newsletter. June 3, 1862.

b. Foreign Pol. A., Nos. 113-14, From M. J. Shaw Stewart, Acting Secy, Bombay Govt. to Col. Durand, No. 77, July 29, 1862.

18. The Shah of Persia anticipated their invasion of the Persian frontier.

19-a. Foreign Pol. A. Nos. 113-14; From Bombay Govt. to Govt. of India, No. 77, July 29, 1862.

b. Office Memo. from Commr. of Sind, No. 122, July 19, 1862.

20. Son of Dost Muhammad Khan.

21. Foreign Pol., No. 113, July 29, 1862., From J. W. S. Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 767, Aug. 1, 1862.

22-a. Service Message from Secy. to the Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand, July 24, 1862., Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862, No. 1,

b. From J. T. Wheeler to Bombay Govt., No. 701, Aug. 1, 1862.

c. Foreign Pol. A., Nos. 199-200., From Bombay Govt. to Foreign Secy, to the Govt. of India., No. 78, Aug. 8, 1862.

d. Memo. from S. Mansfield, Commr. of Sind, No. 131, July 31, 1862.

23-a. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State, No. 5, Sept. 10, 1862.

b. Kandahar Newsletter, July 4, 1862., Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 69-70.

24. Sher Ali had a friendly meeting with Mir Afzal Khan and advised him not to fight with the Amir who was like his father. Sher Ali pledged that all his wishes would be fulfilled if he gives up fighting as the Amir shall never give up Farrah.

25-a. Kandahar Newsletter, July 4, 1862.

b. J. W. S. Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 810, Aug. 30, 1862.

After taking Farrah, Dost Muhammad decided to march towards Herat.²⁶ Sardar Sher Ali and Sardar Muhammad Khan with their troops were ordered to leave for Herat on July 5, 1862 and the Amir himself with his troops followed on July 6, 1862.²⁷ The Amir's forces reached Sabjawar on July 13, 1862.²⁸ The Chiefs and Maliks of Sabjawar tendered their allegiance to Dost Muhammad and they were required to furnish a small sum of money²⁹ till the fate of Herat was decided. The camp marched towards Herat on July 17, 1862.³⁰

The Amir's march towards Herat created some uneasiness in India also. There were some who pressed Lord Elgin to stay the Amir's advance for fear of a likely rupture with Persia, which might come forward in defence of Herat.³¹ Besides, there was a secret fear of Russia also, which stood behind Persia. But, to all such counsel, Lord Elgin gave little heed.³² He was very much averse to any interference on the part of the British Government in this quarrel between two Afghan parties. He was of opinion that the taking of one step would involve the taking of many others in the interests of the preservation of British honour.³³ In this matter Lord Elgin ignored the advice of everyone including Sir Charles Wood. He was convinced that the best policy for his Government was to leave the Afghan neighbours as much as possible alone; to mix up as little as possible in their endless intrigue, which

26. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 1-2.

27-a. Kandahar Newsletter, July 6, 1862.

b. Foreign Pol. A., No. 2., Service Message from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Secy., Govt. of India, July 26, 1862.

28-a. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., No. 30., Service Message from Punjab Govt. to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, July 31, 1862.

b. J. W. S. Wyllie to Punjab Govt., No. 723, Aug. 8, 1862.

29. Kabul Diary, July 11-14, 1862.

30-a. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., No. 83, from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand, Aug. 6, 1862.

b. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., No. 30, From J. W. S. Wyllie to Bombay Govt., No. 752, Aug. 15, 1862.

31-a. Foreign Pol. A., No. 39., Service message from Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand., July 22, 1862.

b. Letter from Her Majesty's principal Secy. for Foreign Affairs to the Secy. of State for India, July 8, 1862.

32. Service message from the Punjab Govt., No. 163, March 14, 1862.

33. Ibid: pp. 417-18.

generally entailed serious obligations not infrequently leading to most unexpected issues.³⁴

"I am strongly of opinion," he wrote to Sir Charles Wood, "that we should only speak when we have a case of self-interest so clear that we can speak with determination, and follow up our talk, if necessary, with a blow."³⁵

Lord Elgin had no toleration for "that prurient intermeddling policy which finds so much favour with certain classes of Indian officials." His ambition for the sake of England rose far above the notion of trying to "play a great part in small intrigues," and scouted all interference for which "an important plea for right or duty could not be maintained."³⁶

There was only one thing which Lord Elgin consented to do at that juncture—namely the withdrawal of his Vakil or Indian agent from the court of the Amir of Kabul which in the event of Dost Muhammad's pushing on to Herat, would leave the latter free to follow his own devices, with no direct countenance from the Indian Government.³⁷

Secret overtures were made to Dost Muhammad by influential persons in Herat but he replied that without the submission of the Wali of Herat, nothing could be arranged.³⁸ An envoy was also sent from the court of Persia. The letter brought by him from the Governor of Meshed, containing friendly professions, was read. The Amir, replying to that letter, expressed his thanks for the friendly expressions, but declared that the insolence and ingratitude of the Wali of Herat called for adequate punishment. His action in not informing the Persian Government of his movements was in conformity with the treaty of Paris with other Governments, including the Government of Persia, that no foreign interference could be exercised in purely Afghan matters. The Amir further stated that, if the Persian Government, not looking upon this as a purely Afghan question, should consider the Wali of Herat as connected with the Persian Government, the Amir, being in close alli-

34. Lord Elgin's Desp. to Secy. of State, July 16, 1862.

35. Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873) pp. 417-18.

36. Ibid: p. 418.

37. Walrond: Afghan Blue Book (1878).

38. Service message from R. G. Taylor, Commissioner, Peshwar to Col. Durand, Foreign Secy. to the Govt. of India, No. 101, Sept. 8, 1862.

ance and friendship with the British Government, would obtain the latter's assistance. The Amir concluded by urging upon the Persian Government not to place the reputation of the Kabul Government and that of the Wali of Herat on the same footing, but to have regard to the insolence of the latter towards the Amir.³⁹

On July 30, 1862, the Amir advanced on Herat and his advance guard of Cavalry had a skirmish with that of the enemy but the actual attack on Herat was commenced on July 31, 1862.⁴⁰ By Aug. 4, 1862, the entrenchments round the town were completed,⁴¹ and the same day, a letter was received by Sardar Muhammad Amin Khan from Shahnawaz Khan,⁴² asking for pardon. But, the Amir declared that he would hear nothing until Herat was again in his hands.⁴³

So, as the aged Amir was bent on going his own way, Lord Elgin at once ordered the withdrawal of Khan Bahadur Ghulam Husain Khan, the British Vakil at Kabul⁴⁴ and the following instructions were issued by his Government:—

"From the reports previously received from Farrah the Viceroy and Governor-General has understood that that Amir Dost Muhammad Khan is in communication with Sultan Jan. If by this correspondence an adjustment of the rapture should not be arrived at, and the Amir proceeds to make attack on Herat, in such a case the Viceroy and the Governor-General according to the terms of the treaty of Paris cannot sanction the pressure of any person connected with the British Government in the Amir's camp, lest it should be supposed that the Kabul Government is countenanced in attacking Herat by the British Government."⁴⁵

39. Kandahar Newsletter, July 29, 1862.

40-a. Foreign Pol., No. 201, Service Message from Punjab Govt. to Col. Durand, Aug. 23, 1862.

b. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, July 29-31, 1862.

c. J. W. S. Wyllie to the Punjab Govt., No. 812, Aug. 30, 1862.

41. Kabul Diary, dated Aug. 4, 1862.

42. Son of Sultan Jan., the Wali of Herat.

43. Service Message from the Deputy Commissioner of Peshwar to Col. Durand, Sept. 11, 1862.

44-a. Secret Desp. to Secy. of State, No. 1, Sept. 2, 1862.

b. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862., Nos. 39-40.

45. Telegraphic Message from the Foreign Secy., Govt. of India to the Secy. to the Punjab Govt., Aug. 5, 1862.

The above message was received by the Secretary to the Punjab Government on Aug. 7, 1862, who was asked to forward it to the Commissioner of the Peshwar Division for speedy action.⁴⁶

Lt.-Col. Reynell G. Taylor,⁴⁷ wrote to the British Vakil at Kabul, directing him to return at once from the Amir's camp and if it was not possible for him to do so, considering that he was in an enemy's country, at a time of war, advising him to show his letter to the Amir and make him fully aware of its contents. Having done so, he was asked to leave Herat and remain for the time-being at Kandahar or at any such place as the Amir might direct; but holding himself completely aloof and his duties as Vakil were for the time, at an end.⁴⁸

Lord Elgin also informed Sir Charles Wood that he had, after a good deal of consideration as to how he could, with least risk of getting his Government into trouble, put a spoke in Dost Muhammad's wheel in his progress towards Herat by despatching to Sir Robert Montgomery,⁴⁹ an order for the withdrawal of the British Vakil from the Amir's Camp. The measure committed the Indian Government to nothing so that Dost Muhammad could have no such claims upon the British Government as he would naturally have had, if they (the Indian Government) had tendered advice to him. At the same time it induced the Amir to abandon his own projects, thus leaving the Britishers free to shape their policy as the shifting current of events might prescribe. Lord Elgin wrote, "we are quite entitled to say to the Amir that his hostile advance on Herat has not our approval, and we must show that he is making it without our sanction. This we do in the most emphatic manner, by withdrawing the only British official who is with him. But I do not like to go further in the direction of interference. It is im-

46. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1862, Nos. 224-25.

47. The Commissioner, Peshwar Division.

48-a. Letter to the British Vakil from the Commissioner of Peshwar Division, No. 10, Aug. 7, 1862.

b. Commissioner, Peshwar to the Secy. to the Punjab Govt., No. 12, Aug. 11, 1862.

c. Secy., Punjab Govt. to the Commissioner, Peshwar, No. 608, Aug. 14, 1862.

d. Pol. Secret Deptt., Progs. Aug. 1862, No. 1, From Punjab Govt. to the Govt. of India, Nos. 224-25, Aug. 24 and Aug. 30, 1862.

49. Secy. to the Punjab Govt.

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possible to say how matters may terminate in Afghanistan. It is possible that the Amir Dost Muhammad may come to an understanding with Sultan Jan, who is his connection by marriage. It is very desirable that we should be free to accept the status quo whatever it may be."⁵⁰

By that time, Dost Muhammad Khan had reached Herat and fought two or three battles with the Heratees at 'Adirskoon' and 'Humeeran' in which the Heratees were defeated and Mir Afzal Khan fled to the fort. Three of the gates of Herat were battered down, but two were sill undamaged. The position at that time was that the Heratees sometimes came out of their city, fought and again retreated.⁵¹

During these engagements, Abbas Khan, an ambassador from Persia came to the Amir and stated that the territory of Herat belonged to Persia. He said the Amir had nothing to do with it, and had no right to fight for it. But Dost Muhammad replied that the Persians had no business to interfere; and that as to the question of right to the territory, it belonged to the Afghans as far as the boundary of 'Chandan.' He said that it was Sultan Ahmed Jan who had interfered with Farrah and that if the Persians intended to fight, they could do their worst.⁵²

By Aug. 14, 1862, all the five gates of Herat were blocked by the Amir's forces. There had been hard fighting with severe losses on both sides.⁵³ An envoy from Teheran again visited the Amir's Camp but the latter refused to listen to any terms and declared his determination to take Herat.⁵⁴

At this time again many people pressed Lord Elgin to communicate with the Amir Dost Muhammad of Kabul on the subject of permanent annexation of the province of Herat to the Amir's dominions.⁵⁵ Reynell G. Taylor, the Commissioner of Peshawar,

50-a. Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood, Aug. 9, 1862.

b. Walrond: Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin (1873) p. 419

51. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 111, Sept. 30, 1862.

52. Kandahar Newsletter, July 1862.

53. Service Message from Dy. Commr., Peshwar to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, No. 144, Sept. 11, 1862.

54. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1862, No. 100, Sept. 12, 1862.

55. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, From Secy., Punjab Govt., to Secy., Govt of India, Nos. 545-706, Sept. 23, 1862.

expressed his opinion that the Amir had, from the very first, conceived the hope of obtaining possession of Herat. It being a family quarrel, he was sure of the non-interference of any other Government.

"I have carefully watched," he said, "the progress of events, and have seen no cause to doubt the genuineness of Sultan Ahmed Jan's mistake, or the Amir's promptitude and sagacity in taking advantage of it. Once in Herat, the Amir would annex the province to his dominions."⁵⁶

Faced with the prospect of the occupation of Herat by the ruler of Kabul, the Commissioner of Peshawar was of opinion that, under the terms of the existing treaty with Persia, the Supreme Government should make some communication to the Amir of Kabul on the Subject.⁵⁷

But Lord Elgin did not propose to take any action in the direction of interference in the Afghan quarrel beyond that which had already been adopted by him i.e., the withdrawal of the British Vakil from the Court of the Amir of Kabul in the event of the latter's proceeding to acts of hostility against Herat. He said that "as regards British interests, there is nothing untoward in the extension of the Amir's dominions to the Persian frontiers." He also thought it unadvisable to proclaim unnecessary that the annexation of Herat to Kabul will not be tolerated.⁵⁸

On the other hand, Lord Elgin thought it no less objectionable, by a premature declaration, to commit the British Government to a policy which was to be resented by Persia. "Circumstances may occur," he said, "which may force the British Government to make a choice between these not very promising alternatives, but it is clearly advisable to watch the course of events, and to postpone, until the necessity for action arrives, a decision which it may be possible to maintain without war, or to recede from without loss of dignity."⁵⁹

56. From Commr., Peshwar to Secy., Punjab Govt., Sept. 1862.

57. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 113, Sept. 23, 1862.

58. Foreign Deptt., Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 117.

59. Col. Durand to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 931; Oct. 11, 1862.

He, therefore, requested the Commissioner of Peshwar to inform the Amir that the Viceroy had viewed with profound regret the outbreak and progress of hostilities between the Amir and the ruler of Herat. That His Excellency entertained a sincere friendship for the Amir and took a lively interest in his prosperity and in the prosperity of his people. Lord Elgin was convinced that the Amir was too able a man and too experienced a ruler, to suppose that he could count on the support of the British Government in the prosecution of enterprises which had been undertaken and carried on, not only without the countenance of the British Government, but with an ostentatious avoidance of all the customary means for ascertaining its wishes or securing its approval.⁶⁰

Sir Charles Wood was also told by Lord Elgin that at the present time it would be inadvisable for the British Government to pronounce any formal and authoritative decision for or against the annexation of Herat to the dominion of the ruler of Kabul. In so doing, the British Government could pledge itself, not improbably, to a line of policy which it might be possible to adhere to without war or to abandon without loss of dignity.⁶¹ He wrote, "as soon as the intelligence reached us that the Amir had resolved to proceed beyond Farrah in the direction of Herat, we despatched an order for the withdrawal of our Vakil from the Amir's Court in the form of a telegraphic message, and by the most direct channel of communication available. But we purposely detained from taking the step at an earlier period, because we felt that if by so insignificant manipulation of disapproval we had arrested the measures the Amir was adopting, he might not unreasonably have applied to the British Government to espouse his quarrel, and to obtain redress for him for the injury and insult he had sustained. An appeal to which we could hardly have turned a deaf ear, without forfeiting his friendship, or listened without involving ourselves in most embarrassing position with Persia. But our order for the recall of our Vakil did not reach in time and it had been good in a way as the pressure of our Vakil at the Camp of the Amir had been the means of procuring for us much valuable information, for which

60. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Oct. 1862, No. 117, Oct. 11, 1862.

61-a. Foreign Pol. (Secret) Deptt., Oct. 11, 1862.

b. From Col. Durand to Sir John Lawrence, July 1862, Vide Durand's Letters and Journals, Vol. 1 (1883) p. 296.

we might otherwise have thought in vain. It may be hoped that the order for his recall when it will reach him will have the effect of inclining the Amir towards the adoption of a different policy, by raising doubts in his mind as to how far he can count British co-operation in the event of his getting into trouble with Persia."⁶²

In September, when Ghulam Hussain Khan, the British representative received an official letter from the British authorities from India, directing him to leave the Amir's Camp and to return to Kandahar or any place the Amir would like him to reside in, went to the Amir and gave him the letter to read. The Amir was very much disappointed after going through the contents of the letter. He was all along of the opinion that the British would help him in the Herat affair. However, he was not afraid of the Persians helping the ruler of Herat but looking at the old ties of friendship he stated that he would inform the British Government at the time of crisis, if here be any, and, then let them do as they thought right.⁶³

The Vakil left Herat on Sept. 11, 1862⁶⁴ by the orders of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and reached Kandahar on Oct. 7, 1862.⁶⁵

On the other side, as the Shah of Persia anticipated the invasion by Dost Muhammad Khan of the Persian frontier, he solicited Mr. Alison, Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, to obtain the good offices of Her Majesty's Government to arrest the surmised aggressive movements of the central force across the Persian frontier.⁶⁶ But Sir Charles Wood could see no reason for believing that Dost Muhammad contemplated any aggressive operations against Persia. He was of the opinion that the conflict was between two Afghan parties; and neither the Persian Government, nor the British Government would be justified in interfering so long as the war was confined to Afghan territory.⁶⁷ He thought that, if there appeared

62. Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood, No. 2, Oct. 18, 1862.

63. Letter from Hafiz jee, Amir's Camp, to Commissioner of Peshwar, Sept. 27, 1862.

64. Service Message from Offg. Dy. Commr., Peshwar, to Foreign Secy., Govt. of India, No. 133, Oct. 20, 1862.

65. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Nov. 1862, No. 134.

66. Mr. Alison's Desp., No. 95, June 30, 1862.

67. Wood's Adm. of Indian Affairs from 1858-66 (1867) pp. 148-49.

to be any probability of the Amir's intention to cross the Persian frontier, and thus carry the war into Persian dominion, Mr. Alison might in that case, very properly remonstrate against such proceedings and convey to Dost Muhammad the strong disapprobation with which his aggressive movements against Persia would be regarded by the British Government.⁶⁸

Sir Charles Wood's reply caused much disappointment to the Shah of Persia,⁶⁹ but he definitely declared that as Persia had no right under the treaty of Paris to interfere in a contest between the Afghan states, she only looked to the protection of her frontier against an Afghan invasion.⁷⁰

As Dost Muhammad Khan was advancing towards Herat, the Shah of Persia again sent for Mr. Alison on Sept. 8, 1862, and expressed his extreme anxiety at the prospect of the annexation of Herat by Dost Muhammad Khan, which he thought would be fatal to Persia.⁷¹ He therefore persisted that the British Government should, under the terms of the treaty of Paris, adopt measures for removing that apprehension. Besides, Dost Muhammad was meddling in Seistan and instigating the Turkomans to invade Persia.⁷²

But in the opinion of Sir Charles Wood, all the statements of the Shah of Persia were too vague to call for any action on the part of the British Government under the terms of the 6th article of the treaty of Paris. As regards Seistan, he informed Mr. Alison that the sovereignty of Persia over that disputed territory had never been acknowledged by the British Government.⁷³

Later, an interview was held between H.E. Mirza Husain, the Persian Envoy at Constantinople, and H.E. Earl Russel, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on Sept. 24, 1862 at the foreign office respecting the state of affairs in Afghanistan.⁷⁴

68. Confidential Letter to Lord Russel, Her Majesty's Principal Secy. of State for Foreign affairs, Aug. 18, 1862.

69. Telegram from Sir H. Buliver, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Sept. 1, 1862.

70. Mr. Alison's Desp. to Foreign Office, Aug. 23, 1862.

71. Mr. Alison's letter to Sir H. Buliver, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, dated Sept. 8, 1862.

72. Telegram from Sir H. Buliver, dated Sept. 18, 1862.

73. Wood's confidential letter to Sir H. Buliver, dated Sept. 24, 1862.

74. Letter from Foreign Office to the Office of the Secy. of State for India, dated Sept. 25, 1862.

The Persian Envoy contended that Great Britain was bound to remove all causes of umbrage and dispute between Persia and Afghanistan. He pointed out that if the British Government is against interdicting Dost Muhammad Khan on the seizure of Herat, they would allow the Persians to use their own forces to prevent the capture of Herat. The Turkomans on one side and the Tekhi Tribe on the other side of Herat were hostile to Persia, and by the aid of Dost Muhammad would constitute, it was feared, a real danger to Persia, as the possession of Herat by Dost Muhammad Khan would in itself be a menace to Persia. He urged that if the Persian Government were allowed to keep Dost Muhammad Khan out of Herat, they would at once after accomplishing that work leave Afghanistan to manage its own affairs in compliance with the treaty of Paris.⁷⁵

Lord Russel replying to it, said that with respect to the then existing circumstances the British Government, in accordance with their treaty engagements, were already endeavouring to compose the differences between Persia and Dost Muhammad and had instructed Mr. Alison to use his good offices for that purpose. The British Government had no desire to see Dost Muhammad in possession of Herat. But he said it would not be just to let the ruler of Herat attack Dost Muhammad whenever he pleased.⁷⁶ But if Dost Muhammad should get possession of Herat and assume a threatening attitude towards Persia, then certainly Persia subject to the provisions of the treaty of Paris, might take up arms to defend herself against aggression on the part of Dost Muhammad Khan.⁷⁷

But the Persians were afraid that after taking Herat Dost Muhammad might threaten the interior of Khorasan and Kirman. In that case, no other means remained for the Persians to adopt, with a view to protecting the independence of Herat⁷⁸ and to preventing the slave trade of Persians carried on by the hostile Afghans, then to take steps in accordance with the tenure of the 7th article

75. Lord Russel's Desp. to Mr. Alison, Her Majesty's Minister at Teheran, dated Sept. 25, 1862.

76. From Col. Durand to Sir John Lawrence, July 1862, Vide Durand's Essays and Minutes. Vol. I (1883) p. 298.

77. Letter from Lord Russel to Mirza Husain Khan, dated Oct. 6, 1862.

78. According to the terms of the treaty of Paris (March 4, 1857), it was decided that Herat should be independent of Afghan (Kabul) control.

of the treaty of Paris, and after freeing herself from troubles and devastations and ensuring the perpetual independence of Herat withdraw.⁷⁹

In October 1862, the Persians again complained of Dost Muhammad's not being content with attacking Herat only, but demanding submission of Seistan also, hitherto treated as an integral part of Persia. The Shah of Persia demanded of Her Majesty's Government the execution of the 7th article of the treaty of Paris. It stipulated that "in case of any violations of the Persian frontier by any of the states (including Afghanistan) the Persian Government shall have the right, if due satisfaction is not given, to undertake military operations for the repression and punishment of the aggressors."⁸⁰ But as Her Majesty's Government did not recognize the sovereignty of Persia over Seistan, they could not admit that the demand made by Dost Muhammad for the submission of Seistan, constituted a case, in which, under the 7th article of the treaty of Paris, they could be called upon to acquiesce in any military operations undertaken by Persia against Afghanistan.⁸¹

Although the Government of India was trying to avoid Persian Interference in this Afghan struggle, yet they also did not recognize the Amir's expedition to Herat and refused to give him any aid in his venture. They informed the Amir that the Governor-General felt assured that the Amir, a man of so much discernment and acuteness, and a ruler of such distinguished experience, would not look for the aid of the British Government in an enterprise, in which neither at its commencements, nor during its progress, had any countenance been afforded by that Government. In which moreover the Amir had, at all times and in every way, intentionally and of set purpose, abstained from ascertaining its views or obtaining its approval.⁸² Thus the British Government made him aware that they were totally free from any responsibility or connection with his acts and their results.⁸³

79. Letter from Mirza Husain Khan to Lord Russel, dated Sept. 26, 1862.

80. Mr. Erskine's letter to Lord Russel, dated Oct. 1862.

81-a. Lord Russel's confidential letter to Sir Charles Alison, dated Oct. 30, 1862.

b. Secret Desp. from Secy. of State to Lord Elgin, No. 1 of 1863.

82. Letter from Foreign Secy., Govt. of India to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 931, Oct. 11, 1862, Paragraph 7.

83. From Commissioner, Peshwar to Secy, Punjab Govt. No. 58, April 28, 1863.

The matters at Herat were still unchanged; the besieged were hard up and short of supplies. They did not appear to derive any assistance from Persia but their Chief Sultan Jan was still firm.⁸⁴

The Shah of Persia also tried to seek the help of Russia by informing the Russian ambassador that while the British Government interdicted the interference of Persia in Herat affairs, they themselves were secretly aiding the Amir of Kabul in the strife otherwise the Amir would long ago have given up his position in the siege of Herat. The Emperor of Russia promised to help Persia only in the event of the failure of the talks between the English and the Persian Envoys. He stated that Persia would then be free to make war with Kabul, and would receive the assistance of Russia.⁸⁵ The Shah of Persia anyway ordered for the arrangement of supplies at Meshad so that in the event of the army of Persia having to march in the direction of Herat, there would be no difficulty about supplies.⁸⁶

Sardar Sultan Ahmad Jan, the Wali of Herat, died on Monday, April 6, 1863 and his remains were interred on the 8th at the shrine of Khwaja Abdulla. The funeral rites were attended by the heir-apparent, Sardar Sher Ali Khan, and other Kabul Sardars. Sardar Shahnawaz Khan, a son of the late Sultan Jan put his Uncle Omar Khan in his father's place and actively engaged himself in the defence of Herat.⁸⁷

After the death of Sultan Ahmad Jan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan wanted to settle the Herat affair with Shahnawaz Khan by giving him whatever land he coveted in Kabul dominion. But

84. Diary off the Kabul Vakil, Feb. 24-26, 1863.

85-a. Letter from the Foreign Office to the Office of the Secy. of State for India, dated March 6, 1863.

b. Wood's Secret Desp. to Lord Elgin, No. 1, March 18, 1863.

c. Letter from Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Charge 'd' affairs at Teheran, No. 15, Feb. 4, 1863.

86-a. Service Message from Secy., Punjab Govt. to Foreign Secy., G. G's Camp, No. 163, March 14, 1863, Foreign Pol. A., Progs. May 1863, No. 86.

b. Diary of the Kabul Vakil, March 6-9, 1863.

87. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. June 1863, No. 114, April 23, 1863.

Shah Nawaz Khan refused to come to any terms with the Amir, and replied that he would die an honourable death in Herat rather than give it up to the Amir.⁸⁸

But, before Herat could be finally captured, a great battle was fought between the Amir's troops and the Heratees for three days and nights in which many lives were lost.⁸⁹ On Wednesday, May 27, 1863, Sardars Sher Ali Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan and Fateh Muhammad Khan were asked to make a joint attack on the fort. Sardar Sher Ali Khan with his troops succeeded in storming the fort and after putting the enemy to flight, captured the city of Herat on the same day.⁹⁰ Sardar Shahnawaz Khan, Sikandar Ahmad Khan and Abdullah Khan, the three brothers and their uncle Omar Khan were taken prisoners.⁹¹

The next day i.e., May 28, 1863, Sardar Sher Ali Khan was appointed Governor of Herat. Vigorous measures were at once adopted for restoring peace and order and also for organizing the Civil Administration of the place.⁹² Sardar Shah Nawaz Khan with his brothers and uncle, together with a number of influential chiefs of Herat was sent to Kandahar under a large escort of Kabul troops.

The capture of Herat was the last great act of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan's eventful life.⁹³ During the ten months' siege of Herat, the Amir carried out his enterprise with great difficulty—through the severities of winter, lack of supplies, suffering himself at times from sickness and the infirmity of age, with dissensions among his sons and the possibility of Persian interference to add to his anxieties.⁹⁴

88. Kabul Diary, May 4-7, 1863.

89. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Aug. 1863, Nos. 8-9, July 10, 1863.

90-a. Secret Desp. to the Secy. of State, No. 3, July 11, 1863.

b. Letter from Sher Ali to Commr., Peshwar, dated June 12, 1863.

c. Foreign Pol. A., Progs. Sept. 1863, No. 92.

d. Memoirs of Sir H. Edwards, Vol. I, pp. 267-68.

91. Letter from Amir Dost Muhammad to Lord Elgin, dated May 28, 1863.

92. Desp. from the Foreign Deptt., Teheran to Earl Russel, No. 61. June 26, 1863.

93. Wyllie: Essays on the External Policy of India (1875) p. 24.

94. Letter from Commissioner, Peshwar to Secy., Punjab Govt., No. 102; June 19, 1863.

Ali himself began his return march towards Kabul in July, 1863, leaving his third son, Yakub Khan as Governor of Herat.¹⁰⁵ Nor was his promptitude unnecessary. Amin Khan had fled to Kandahar to organise resistance against Sher Ali's authority.¹⁰⁶ Sharif Khan, dissatisfied at not obtaining Herat had retired to Girishk and Farrah with hostile intentions.¹⁰⁷ Afzal Khan requested Sher Ali Khan to send Azim with a large force to help him in consolidating his power in Turkistan.¹⁰⁸ The new Amir Sher Ali naturally refused to strengthen his chief enemy—Afzal, and so Azim fled to his provinces—Khost and Kurram to await Afzal's approach from Turkistan.¹⁰⁹ The struggle really hinged on the mastery of Kabul. Sher Ali acted with great energy and promptitude. He reached Ghazni on August 24, 1863 and halted there in order to ascertain what Azim Khan was doing in the neighbouring district of Kurram. His enquiries elicited very unsatisfactory intelligence. He therefore diverged eastward with his whole force against Azim in Gurdaz.¹¹⁰ and compelled Azim Khan to tender a formal submission. Azim swore fealty to the Amir, and in return obtained a confirmation of all dignities and emoluments he had enjoyed under the late Amir.¹¹¹ Sher Ali then advanced on Kabul unopposed and occupied it on Sept. 9, 1863.¹¹² Afzal, whether from fear of losing his hold on Turkistan or from want of vigour, had abstained from advancing on Kabul while it was yet unoccupied.¹¹³ Thus the first round of struggle ended in Sher Ali's favour.

Once again under these circumstances, Lord Elgin decided not to interfere in the internal disputes of Afghanistan, but he chose to recognise the defacto ruler.¹¹⁴ His policy is clearly set forth in a despatch to the Secretary of State for India. He said therein,

105. Bouglar: *England and Russia in Central Asia*; Vol. II, p. 175.

106. *Kabul Diary*, Sept. 18-21, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Jan. 1864, No. 284.

107. *Kabul Diary*, July 3-6, 1863; *Pol. A., Progs.* Sept. 1863, No. 95.

108. *Kabul Diary*, July 17-20, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Sept. 1863, No. 96.

109. *Kabul Diary*, Aug. 21-24, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Nov. 1863, No. 59.

110. *Kabul Diary*, Aug. 29-31, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Nov. 1863, No. 62.

111-a. *Kabul Diary* from Sept. 4-7, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Jan. 1864, No. 280.

b. Wylie: *Essays on the External Policy of India*: (1875) pp. 27-28.

112. *Kabul Diary* from Sept. 18-21, 1863, *Pol. A., Progs.* Jany. 1864, No. 284.

113. *Kabul Diary* from Sept. 21-24, 1863.

114. *Causes of the Afghan War*, being a selection of the papers laid before the Parliament by Lawrence, p. 3.

"If it be true that Muhammad Afzal Khan is raising an army it will not be long before his contest for power begins. Meanwhile, the acknowledgement by the Vakil of the receipt of the letter and that a reply will be sent, as also the presence of the Vakil with Sher Ali, will be regarded as indication that the British Government are not indisposed to accept Dost Muhammad's election of his successor, provided the latter is in a position to uphold the authority thus conferred upon him."¹¹⁵

So, a friendly answer to a letter from the new Amir Sher Ali Khan, coupled with the despatch of his own Vakil to Kabul, were the only measures Lord Elgin could bring himself to adopt, and even these were delayed by his subsequent illness and untimely death in the month of November 1863.¹¹⁶

His policy was however continued and further developed by his successor, Lord Lawrence.

115. Lord Elgin's Secret Desp. to Sir Charles Wood; No. 5, July 28, 1863.

116-a. Walrond: *Afghan Blue Book* (1878).

b. Wylie: *Essays on the External Policy of India* (1875) p. 117.

The Date of Accession of Muttu Virappa Nāyaka I of Madurai Settled by Letters of his Contemporary Fr. Robert de Nobili¹

BY

REV. A. SAULIERE, S. J.

So far the date of Muttu Krishnappa Nāyaka's death was uncertain, so was the date of accession of his successor, Muttu Virappa Nāyak I. An inscription² could be adduced as a proof that in April 1609, Muttu Krishnappa Nāyaka was dead, but it did not exclude the possibility of his having died several years earlier.

Now, there are in the Archives of Prince Boncompagni³ at Rome two letters of Fr. Robert de Nobili which, according to us, settle the question beyond dispute.

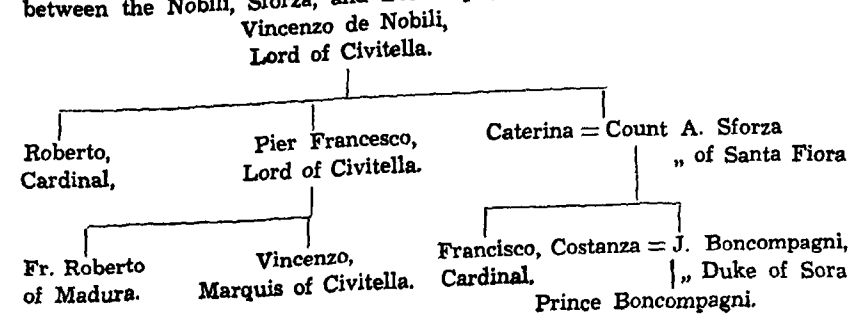
In the first, dated 6 December 1606, Fr. R. de Nobili writes to his cousin Costanza, Duchess of Sora:⁴ "It is nearly a month since

1. Roberto de Nobili, born in Rome in 1577, joined the Society of Jesus at Naples, 1596, came to India in 1605, to Madurai in 1606, and died at Mylapore in 1656.

2. S. Sathyanatha Aiyar: History of the Nayaks of Madura pp. 96-97 O. U. P., 1924.

3. Giacomo Boncompagni, duke of Sora, was the founder of the Boncompagni Archives which for three and a half centuries have been preserved and increased by his successors down to the present Prince Boncompagni. They are now considered as the richest private collection in Rome, if not in the whole world.

4. This lady was the daughter of Count Ascagno Sforza de Santa Fiora and of Caterina de Nobili, the sister of Pier Francesco, Fr. Robert de Nobili's father. She married the duke of Sora and helped with alms her cousin's work in Madura. That is how his letters to her were preserved thanks to the duke's fondness for documents. The following table will make clearer the connection between the Nobili, Sforza, and Boncompagni families.



by order of the Superior of this Province,⁵ I left the Fishery Coast for this beautiful and rich city, the capital of the Kingdom. Its king is very powerful and is the overlord of some other kings of the neighbourhood. He keeps in his pay a large permanent army and 300 elephants."

On the following day writing to the Duchess's mother, the dowager Countess Sforza de Santa Fiora, he says:

"The King of this country whom I mentioned⁶ is dead, the present ruler is a young man with whom we have to bid out time till he has some knowledge of ourselves and our religion."

From this it would follow that Muttu Krishnappa Nāyaka died in the night between the 6th and the 7th of December 1606, and that he was succeeded on the same date by Muttu Virappa Nāyaka I.

Fr. Robert de Nobili owes a debt of gratitude to those two Nāyaks under whose protection he lived, and we are sure he would approve of our paying it for him by throwing some light on their history.

5. The Missions run by the Society of Jesus in the East were grouped into "Provinces". The Province of Cochin, or Malabar, comprised all the Missions and Colleges scattered on the coast, from Calicut to the Moluccas, and, of course, the Madura Mission. The Superior of that Province, the Provincial, as he was called, was then an Italian Fr. Albert Laerzio.

6. i.e. "Whom I mentioned yesterday in my letter to your daughter, the Duchess of Sora."

Buddhist Antiquities in Karnataka

BY

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The light of Buddhism spread over many parts of South India from early times. Karnāṭaka, however, unlike the Āndhra Dēśa and parts of the Tamiḻ Nāḍ, never came under the direct and full-range influence of this religion, notwithstanding the missionary activities of Aśōka and his followers. Consequently the Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka are fewer in number and they are found in stray places only. In the course of several centuries this faith was able to establish a few strongholds of its own in the western parts of the Dekkan, the region of Banavāsi and south Kanara, and the northern area of Mysore. It is now well known that Aśōka's Minor Rock Edicts are found at Maski, Kopbal, Siddāpur, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara. The Buddhist leanings of the Mahābhōjas are testified by their inscriptions discovered in the western parts of the Dekkan.¹ An inscription from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa² speaks of the region of Banavāsi as having been converted to Buddhism by the monks of Ceylon. Partiality for Buddhism on the part of the chiefs of the Chuṭu family, who ruled roundabout Banavāsi, is already known.³ According to the Mahāvamśa Buddhist missionaries were sent to the areas of Banavāsi and Mysore.

Buddhism appears to have lingered for a period of several centuries in the region of Banavāsi and North Kanara. But more favoured than Banavāsi was the area of Baḷigāmi in the Shimoga District wherein Buddhism flourished longer until the twelfth century. This is attested by the allusions in the inscriptions of the place to the existence of religious institutions of the faith and its followers. For instance, an epigraph herein contains reference to a site called *Pulleya Bayal* and this expression is equated with the

1. Lüders' List, Nos. 1052, 1054, 1111, etc.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 7.

3. Lüders' List, No. 1186.

famous *Mṛigadāva* or Deer Park.⁴ Another epigraph, dated A.D. 1065, records the construction at Baḷigāmi of a Buddhist *Vihāra*, named Jayantī Pra-Bauddha Vihāra, by Daṇḍanāyaka Rūpabhaṭṭa, a minister of the Western Chālukya monarch Sōmēśvara I. In this *Vihāra* were installed the images of Buddhist deities, namely, Buddha, Lōkēśvara and Tārā, along with Kēśava and others.⁵ The image of Tārā, as disclosed by one more epigraph, was the donation of a lady by name Bappura Nāgiyakka, wife of Nāḍapergaḍe Sahavāsi Hampa-chaṭṭa.⁶ This icon of the deity has been lately discovered.

Proceeding to northern Karnāṭaka, Ḍambaḷ, a village in the Muṇḍargi Pēṭhā of the Dharwar District, arrests our attention as a fairly important seat of Buddhism during the 12th century. Three inscriptions of this place⁷ are found to be Buddhist. These furnish valuable information concerning the arrangements made for the worship of Buddhadeva and Ārya Tārādēvi in the *Vihāra* at Dharmavolal which is modern Ḍambaḷ. It is gathered from these records that the Buddhist institutions of the place were adequately supported by the well-to-do members of the mercantile community. One of these inscriptions found on a stone near a ruined Jaina temple,⁸

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 120. Compare *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, part I (1930), p. 144.

5. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII, Sk. 170. It is clear in the inscription that the *Vihāra* was built at Baḷigāmi. The expression *Jayantī* forming part of the designation of the *Vihāra* has nothing to do with Banavāsi which was otherwise called Jayantipura. This confusion is made by the writer in the *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.), pp. 144-45 and 151. Judging from the context Lōkēśvara appears to be a Buddhist deity. He may be identified with Avalōkitēśvara; see B. Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 32. But the author of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.) takes him to be Lōkanātha of Śrīmūlavāsam, p. 150.

6. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 169.

7. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. and *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1927-28, Appendix E, Nos. 65-66.

8. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. This inscription states that the image of Tārā Bhagavatī was the donation to the Buddhist *Vihāra* at Ḍambaḷ by Saṃgavayya-seṭṭi who hailed from Lokkiguṇḍi which is modern Lakkunḍi near Gadag. This has been wrongly construed by the late R. G. Bhandarkar as containing reference to the existence of another Buddhist *Vihāra* at Lakkunḍi besides Ḍambaḷ; see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 228.

commences with an obeisance to Buddha, followed by the following interesting verse in praise of Tārā.

Hari-kari-śikṣi-phani-taskara-nigaḷa-jaḷ-arṇava-
piśācha-bhaya-śamani |

Śaśi-kiraṇa-kānti-dhāriṇi bhagavati Tārē namas-
tubhyam ||

We may also note the reference in this epigraph to the Buddha Bhikshus residing in the above-noted *Vihāra*. It is apparent that Buddhism prevalent in these parts was of the Mahāyāna school.

The above brief review of Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka may be supplemented by two more outstanding discoveries I have been able to make in recent years. In 1950, in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnāṭak area I secured a Buddhist copper plate record at Hiregutti in the Kumṭa taluk of the North Kanara District. The inscription opens with an invocation to Buddha and registers the gift of a village named Sundarikā, situated in the Dipaka *vishaya* for the benefit of a *Vihāra* by king Āśaṃkita of the Bhōja family. The epigraph bears no date, but can be assigned approximately to the sixth century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. This is one of the few earliest copper plate documents relating to Buddhism, testifying to the survival of the faith in the western part of Karnāṭaka until the sixth century at least. The family of Āśaṃkita of Bhōja extraction ruling in this tract is brought to light for the first time by the present charter.⁹

While conducting the epigraphical survey of the Hubli taluk of the Dharwar District, I visited Kōlivāḍ in January 1953. This village is renowned as the birth place of Kumāra Vyāsa, an eminent poet of Karnāṭaka and author of the Karnāṭaka Bhārata,

9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff. We may note in this connection the mention of Śivapura Mahāvihāra in the Goa Copper plate inscription of king Chandravarman; *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181 ff. This *Vihāra* appears to have been situated in the western coastal area like the *Vihāra* of the Hiregutti inscription. Palaeographically, the Goa and Hiregutti plates both seem to belong approximately to the same period and it is not unlikely that Chandravarman of the Goa record was a member of the Bhōja chiefs who were ruling in the western parts of Karnāṭaka of the coastal region.

circa 15th century. A good number of antiquities including inscriptions and sculptures has been preserved in this place. The epigraphs range from the 10th to the 16th century, the earliest being a fragment of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Khotṭiga Amōghavarsha IV (A.D. 966 to 972). Among the sculptures deserves to be mentioned the handsome image of Vira-Nārāyaṇa enshrined in a temple.¹⁰ In the midst of such Brahmanical antiquities it was a pleasant surprise to detect a Buddhist icon bearing an inscription.

Outside the village of Kōlivāḍ lies a temple of Śiva known as Kalamēśvara. In the premises of this temple are kept a few inscribed stones and pieces of sculpture which have apparently been brought from different sites and stocked here. One such is a handsome though mutilated idol of a female deity, about three feet in height. The upper part of the image is broken. The icon is artistically shaped having miniature figures of deities carved around the *prabhāvali*. The sculpture is fixed upon an elevated pedestal. The lower part of the sculpture is moulded into a slightly curved belt. On this belt is engraved an inscription.

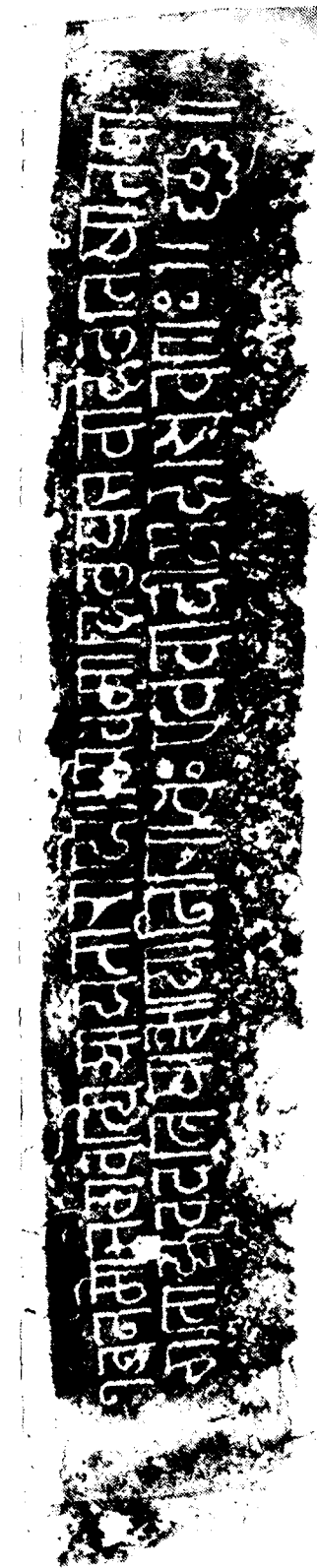
The epigraph comprises two lines. The script is Nāgarī of about the 13th century A.D. The characters are well formed and neatly engraved. The first two expressions in the beginning are denoted by symbols which call for some observations. The first sign resembles an upturned hook, the curve commencing from the left of the top. This sign is akin to the one found at the beginning on the Assam Plates of Vallabhadēva,¹¹ Tarpandighi Plates of Lakshmanasēna¹² and seve-

10. Vira-Nārāyaṇa is the popular name of the deity. But the iconographical details do not justify this appellation. A pillar standing in front of the temple bears on it an inscription dated Śaka 1485, Rudhirōdgārīn, corresponding to A.D. 1564. The epigraph speaks of a lady named Sūriya Mānikī as having been presented for doing service in the temple of Mādhavajanārdana by Sūrappayya, the son of Aṇeya Dēvappayya and chief of the *agrahāra* Kōḍivāḍa. The present Vira-Nārāyaṇa image carries in the right-upper hand the discus and in the right-lower the mace with its lower end touching the ground. The left-upper hand holds the conch and the same lower rests on the waist.

11. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, plate facing p. 182.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 18.

Plate I



Buddhist Inscription on the pedestal of Tārā Image at Kōlivāḍ, Dharwar District.

ral other records. It may be noted in this connection that a similar sign was in vogue even until modern times in the traditional documents of the eastern parts of India. This is known as *Am̐ji*, the precise significance of which term remains uncertain.¹³ It is believed that this *Am̐ji* sign represents the deity Gaṇeśa, the giver of success. Consequently it is equated with the expression *siddhir-astu* and its abbreviation *siddham* also.¹⁴ Probably in view of its sanctity, a convention seems to have grown that this expression, though pronounced while reading, should not be written except in the form of a symbol. This might be the reason for the introduction of this sign.

Adverting to the second sign, it stands for *ōm*. Its form is rather peculiar, being somewhat different from the usual manner in which *ōm* is written at this period. It is divested of its top mark comprising the crescent and the dot, known as the *chandrabindu*, signifying *ardhānursvāra*. The sign of the present inscription can be compared with the second sign standing for *ōm* in the Amōdā Plates¹⁵ of the Haihaya king Prithivīdēva I. Another interesting point in regard to this *ōm* is that it provides an unmistakable instance of the use of the sacred expression in a purely Buddhist record.¹⁶

As regards the other peculiarities of writing we may note the use of the top *mātrās* as well as the *prishthamātrās* to denote the medial *ē* and *ō*; for instance, *hē* in *hētu-* and *hētum* in line 1; and *mō* and *tō* in lines 1 and 2. There are no orthographical peculiarities worth noting. The language is Sanskrit. Considering the palaeographical set up of the record noticed above, it appears that the scribe was either a North Indian or one who was conversant with the North Indian mode of writing. The identification of the image proposed in the sequel is in support of this surmise.

13. In the Karnāṭaka and Mahārāṣṭra parts commencement of writing is referred to as *Ōṇmāsi* which is a corrupt abbreviation of the Sanskrit expression, *Ōm namaḥ siddham*. I am not sure if any connection could be traced between *Am̐ji* and *Ōṇmāsi*.

14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

15. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 78. Noteworthy is the absence of the *chandrabindu* on the letter *Ōm* of this document.

16. Contrast *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 333, n. 8.

The epigraph commences with an obeisance to the divine Ārya-Tārādēvī. This must evidently refer to the image itself representing the deity. This is followed by the well-known Buddhist verse, *yē dharmāḥ* etc. With the end of this verse the inscription is at an end. The text of the epigraph is as follows.

1. Siddham [|*] Ōm namō Bhagavatyai Ārya-Tārāyai ||
Yē dha[r]mā hētu-prabhavā hēturṁ tēshām Tathā-
2. gatō hy = avadat = tē(dat [|*] tē)shān-cha yō
nirōdhaḥ ēvaṁ-vādi Mahāsra (śra)va(ma)ṇaḥ ||

This inscription makes it clear that the fragmentary sculpture is the image of the Buddhist goddess Tārā. It was reported that the icon was originally lying on a site near the above-mentioned temple of Vira-Nārāyaṇa in the interior of the village.¹⁷ Judging from this and also the big size and dignified appearance of the idol, we can surmise that there existed in this village, about the period of the 13th century, a Buddhist shrine dedicated to Tārā, wherein the present image was installed and worshipped by the Buddhist followers whose number should have been considerable. It is revealed from the Buddhist antiquities at Baḷigāmi and Ḍambaḷ, noticed above, that the shrines of Tārā in these parts were associated with the Buddhist *Vihāras*. Likewise it is just possible that the Tārā shrine at Kōlivāḍ also was attached to a Buddhist *Vihāra*. In regard to the verse, *yē dharmāḥ* etc., inscribed on the Tārā image, we might observe that it occurs here for the first time in association with a Buddhist image in Karnāṭaka, although its frequency in the Buddhist antiquities of North India is well known.

In the course of the foregoing review of the Buddhist antiquities in Karnāṭaka, we have noticed three images of Tārā, all of which belong approximately to the same period, namely, the 12th and the 13th century A.D. Of these we know almost nil about the one at Ḍambaḷ except for the incidental allusion in the description

17. When I first saw the image it was in a mutilated condition. Its head, canopy and other parts were missing. Some of the fragments however were subsequently traced nearby. The idol, I was told, was in tact until a few years ago. It was lately subjected to breakage by the innocently mischievous urchins of the village while at play.

Plate II



Mutilated Image of Tārā at Kōlivāḍ, Dharwar District

of the sculptures¹⁸ carved on the inscribed slab. The real image, however, must apparently have been different from this, and it has never been traced. The image of Tārā at Baḷigāmi has been discovered. Though partially broken, its extant portion presents itself as an exquisite specimen of Buddhist art in Karnāṭaka.¹⁹ This image bears no inscription. The Tārā image at Kōḷivāḍ stands out, in spite of its mutilated condition, as a piece of superior craftsmanship. In fineness and wealth of details, it compares with the Baḷigāmi image. The Kōḷivāḍ icon is modelled like the Khadiravanī or Dhanada Tārā, whose specimens are found in North India. In his *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, B. Bhattacharya has described various kinds of Tārā images prevalent in North India, and in this connection we may note with particular interest the description and illustration of Khadiravanī and Dhanada Tārās on pages 106-107 and plate XXXII. As explained on page 107 of the book and as seen in the figure (e) of the plate, the broken *prabhā* of the Tārā icon at Kōḷivāḍ might have contained eight miniature figures of the same deity only two of which are now preserved in its broken portion. These eight figures are believed to represent the eight syllables of the Tārā mantra.

It is unfortunate to observe that no traces of the Buddhist *Vihāras* or shrines are now left in any of the three places noticed above or elsewhere in Karnāṭaka. This might be due partly to the aggressive activities of the leaders of the Śaivite movement in the latter half of the 12th century. The latter part of this statement is supported by a few epigraphical references. The famous Ablūr inscription contains a hint indicating that the Śaivite upheaval, one of the militant leaders of which was Ēkāntada Rāmayya, was directed against the Buddhists also,²⁰ as well as against the Jainas. An inscription at Tālikōṭi in the Bijāpur District, dated A.D. 1184, extols the achievements of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Viruparasa who is described as having earned the approbation of Śaiva devotees by

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 185.

¹⁹ For a detailed description of the image see *Mysore Gazetteer* (op. cit.), pp. 146 ff. A rough sketch of the same is reproduced in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Introduction; plate facing p. 20.

²⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 255.

his violent activities against the followers of rival faiths, including the Buddhists.²¹

I am indebted to the Government Epigraphist for India, for his kind permission to publish in this article the text of the Buddhist inscription from Kōlivāḍ and to illustrate it with the photograph of the original impression. My thanks are due to Sri. R. S. Pan-chamukhi, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar, for his kindness in sending a photo print of the Tārā image at Kōlivāḍ for my study and illustration herein.

21. Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 63 of 1929-30. Only a summary of this record is published in the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year, Appendix E. I have utilised here the text of the inscription, which though unpublished, was available to me being a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Reviews

THE SULTANATE OF DELHI (Second Edition, Revised and enlarged) by Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava—Published by S. L. Agarwala & Co., Agra, 1953, Pages XV—430.

The second edition (Revised and enlarged) of 'The Sultanate of Delhi' by Dr. A. L. Srivastava is a more handy volume than its first edition though its get up is not so good. The author has attempted to give a well studied account in a short compass of all the salient features of the various dynasties beginning with the sultans of Ghazni and ending with the Lodis teeming with eminent soldiers and statesmen who materially changed the traditional tenor of India's past.

The author claims to have carefully revised the book and made a few additions. In his preface he makes the enigmatic statement: 'Thanks to Mr. K. M. Munshi's enquiry, the riddle of Nasir-ud-din Khusrav Shah's origin, which baffled all previous writers, has been successfully solved by the author and is being given in this book for the first time.' There is no further explanation of this in the book, and the present account hardly differs from that in the first edition. 'A few mistakes of dates and facts have been corrected and the chronology of the Delhi Sultans, genealogical tables of the ruling dynasties and some illustrations of the period have been added.' (v).

Further, the author criticises with some warmth Prof. Habib and other writers who assert that the Muslim rule was not foreign rule and that the Muslim rulers of the period had no 'home Government' outside India, and extenuate Muslim religious policy otherwise. In answer to the views of these scholars, Dr. A. L. Srivastava lays it down in unambiguous words that the rulers of the Sultanate period were foreigners and recognised the foreign Khalifa to be their sovereign, and the Sultanate as a mere dependency of the Caliphate. They sent cash and presents of enormous value to the Khalifa and large sums of money to be spent in Mecca and Medina and other places sacred to Islam. True they had made India their home, but their aim was to convert it into an Islamic country. The personnel of their Government was foreign; the religion and culture which they wanted to impose on India was for-

eign; their system of Government and their way of life were foreign. They looked to Arabia and Central Asia for inspiration. They had little sympathy with the religion, culture, tradition, and way of life of the people of this country which they held in military occupation.' (vi).

The main contribution of Prof. Srivastava is to be found in the stress he lays rightly on those forces, trends and factors which modified Indian Political and Cultural Institutions. He treats the various events as integral factors in the general trends and movements. This book marks a decided advance on Stanley-Lane Poole's 'Mediaeval India' which appeared nearly half a century ago, and takes full account of the historical research that has made great progress in all its branches. The author's lucid discussion of the nature of the Islamic state in the concluding chapters XVI to XVIII is of great value. The Sultanate was a theocracy and not a secular state. It did not recognise any other religion than its own, although the overwhelming majority of its population was non-Muslim. The ruling family and dominating ruling class were the followers of this religion and all the resources of the state were employed for the protection and propagation of the Muslim religion. The bitter antagonism of the two cultures lasted for so many centuries and resulted finally in the creation of Pakistan. The background of this consummation is pithily illustrated in the Sultanate of Delhi. The attempts at reform and *rapprochement* on either side cannot be held to have succeeded.

Brief notes on the principal authorities are given at the end of the book and each chapter is followed by books and authorities for special reading. But the volume suffers from poor paper and printing and the maps and illustrations leave much to be desired. There is no index.

K. A. NEELAKANTA SASTRI.

RELIGIONS OF ANCIENT INDIA by Louis Renou (University of London, The Athlone Press—1953—Pages X—139, 15sh. net).

This elegant booklet, the first of the series of Jordan lectures in Comparative Religion (London School of Oriental and African Studies) will be welcomed by all students of Indian Culture and

Religion. The lecturer is the distinguished French Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Literature at the Sorbonne, very well known for his eminent contributions to Indology—in particular to Vedic studies.

Of the six lectures comprising this course, the first two deal with Vedism, the next three with Hinduism and the last with Jainism. The Professor explains that his intention in these lectures, "was to give an account of present state of the main problems", "as an essential preliminary to new advances." He adds, 'I have tried to advance moderate, and, as I hope, reasonable views.' There is no shadow of doubt that the learned lecturer has achieved notable success in his endeavour and provided his readers with the studied and considered reflections of a well stocked mind on many important aspects of the history of Indian Religions. Prof. Renou indeed certifies that the English rendering of his "not particularly easy" French text is both, "clear and accurate"; but in commenting on his pithy remarks the reviewer is not forgetful of the fact that he has not got before him the original expressions of the author.

Prof. Renou begins by observing that "a sense of frustration pervades the present state of vedic studies" (1-2)—due to the failure so far to establish a definite chronology and to the general disappointment at our inability to draw as much light on the veda as was hoped when the first discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjodaro came to light. He observes, rightly as it seems, "It is idle to try to explain the war of the Ten Kings as a clash between the people of the Indus and the Aryan invaders, or to connect the name 'Harappa' with the river or region called Hariyūpiyā (3-4). More doubtful is his suggestion that, "we cannot explain the literary diversity of vedism except by postulating" all 'Ur-veda' which, "cannot be re-constructed with certainty from the texts in our possession" (5); on a par with this pining for the Ur-veda are the time of, "a small domestic *samhitā*" and of the "vedicization of postulates which he adumbrates at page 40 on the existence at one private ritual." But the last hypothesis is accompanied by the more cautious statement; "But we cannot come to any definite decision on such problems when we are dealing with an evolutionary process of which we know only the most recent stages."

On the place of the Rg-veda in religious history, Prof. Renou has some very telling observations: "The Rg-Veda is much more

than an adjunct to ritual. It might be called a literary anthology drawn from the family traditions" (10). The early cult is not easy to reconstruct as the hymns treat in detail only of the soma ceremonies. "Animal sacrifices, for example, are barely touched upon" (11).

Prof. Renou is not inclined to attach any undue importance to non-Aryan or Pre-Aryan elements in vedic mythology. He says; "The fact remains that the representations of the divine in the Veda form an impressive and unified whole, even though occasional elements are borrowed just as a great writer uses words from many sources. The synthesis is a new systemic creation which owes little to what it has inherited or borrowed" (13).

Prof. Renou cautiously avoids committing himself to any of the numerous theories put forward to account for the nature of vedic mythology. He says, "The great multi-valency and indefiniteness of vedic legend suggest all kinds of associations to the mind which when formulated prove insubstantial" (15). It is no surprise after this to hear from Prof. Renou, "It would never be my intention to try to find a single key to the interpretation of the veda" (18) and further, "India has never believed unreservedly in her own fictions" (20). In such a climate it is not also surprising that Aurobindo's attempt at reviving the "psychical explanation" evokes the cold remark that under its impact the Veda not only "ceases to be a barbarous and unintelligible hymnary" as it is claimed, but, "it also ceases to be a document of pre-history and becomes a manual of modern theosophy" (17).

Vedic religion "is first and foremost a liturgy and only secondarily a mythological or speculative system" (29). "In those distant days India had a feeling for liturgy comparable to that of the Roman Church" (35).

There is little eschatology in the veda, and in the upanisads, "*Karman* is used in the sense of a good or bad action on the moral plane; but it is never used for the present effect of a past action or the foreseeable consequence of an action performed in the present" (28).

The lectures on Hinduism and Jainism are equally stimulating but do not call for a very detailed notice in this review. They must be read in the original to be properly appreciated. It is

worth noting, however, that Prof. Renou thinks that the Jainas, "have falsified historical facts in their eagerness to convert princes and high dignitaries" and discounts the story of Chandragupta Maurya ending his life as a Jaina ascetic in Mysore (124).

As examples of some of the fine appreciations and statements teeming in these lectures, the following may be cited. "The prose style of the *Satapatha* is a model of skilful articulation, and in its severe purity reminds us of Plato" (45). "In India everything is in one sense older, and in another sense of more recent origin than is generally supposed" (46). "It has been constantly asserted that India is obsessed with religion. It might be equally well maintained that India takes no cognizance of religion at least as an independent phenomenon" (48). "Religious literature in India is a literature of reformation. We never see the first stages or the foundations of a movement. It is a literature of an anonymous and apocryphal nature" (50). Of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, we learn: "This composite text, taken from the Great Epic, expounds several teachings simultaneously" (51). "Other religions select and eliminate; Hinduism incorporates" (53). "For many Hindus it would be quite legitimate to take Jesus as *īṣṭadevata*, without even regarding Him as an *avatāra* so long as Indian tradition was acknowledged" (56). "India has contributed much more to religion than she has received from others" (54). "Hinduism, too, was a missionary religion; at a very early date a Hinduist movement took root in the Hellenistic world and penetrated as far as Egypt" (55). "It is hardly likely that India had to await Greek impulsion" for her religious iconography (59). "The Islamic hypothesis is unnecessary" to account for the rise of bhakti (71). The word '*pūjā*' is, "not yet fully explained" (80). "No renaissance of Hinduism was possible because it never died out, or even diminished in strength" (101). Attention may be invited finally to the sententious estimate of the position and prospects of Hinduism amidst the troubles of the present age. It is given in the last paragraph of the fifth lecture (110) too long for quotation here.

The reader may be interested in Renou's estimates of Radhakrishnan and Aurobindo. "Radhakrishnan eradicates from Indian forms all features that are peculiar to them, and builds them up into a symbolism that can be adapted to any form of religion. Aurobindo preaches a new syncretism based on a re-interpretation of the religious manifestations, from the Veda to Tantrism; the

key to the future progress of humanity, he says, lies in India's past" (106-7).

This review may be concluded with references to some minor matters of a rather doubtful nature. "It is curious that magic, like private cult-practice, finds its way into the public ceremonial" (41). But is not an element of magic inherent in vedic sacrifice *ab initio*? But Prof. Renou, it should be noted, takes care to add; "It is difficult to sum up the general impression that the Veda makes on us" (42). "India in her exhaustion has often taken refuge in *ahimsā* and the vedantic scale of values" (44). One would not have expected a scholar of M. Renou's deep understanding to commit himself to this superficial estimate worthy of a soldier or a missionary. India's *ahimsā* has always been a sign of strength and vedantic values have been equally so. Some false ideas die hard, and it is the ghost of Pargiter that inspires the statement that, "the task" of the *Mahābhārata*, "is to focus attention on a certain type of man, the *kṣatriya*" (49). The Great Epic is the Fifth Veda and claims to hold the mirror to the whole of life; *yad ihāsti tad anyatra, yan nehāsti na kutracit*. "The *Artha sāstra* of Kautilya, an essentially secular politico-economic treatise, passes for an inspired text" (50); it would not be easy to produce warrant for this statement. "No Philosopher attacks orthodox mythology, as did Plato; much less the common beliefs as did Socrates" (52). The Indian way may not be the Greek way, but Indian literature does not lack numerous examples of what is denied here by Prof Renou.

Prof. Renou writes, "*Kṛṣṇaite bhakti* is erotic. It is the *bhakti* of a concubine; religious beatitude comes to be conceived as a sort of carnal intercourse with the god in the idyllic setting of *Vrandāvana*" (72). Notwithstanding the apparent evidence of some *bhakti* literature like the *Gīta-Govinda*, it may be doubted if this is a correct appreciation of the true position of that religious sect. M. Renou speaks of the difficulty of reconciling the Karma theory with human liberty (77) and says that Hinduism never faced this problem systematically. This is not the opinion of eminent Indian scholars like the late Prof. M. Hiriyanna who devoted a part of his writings to the exposition of the correct view of this question. It may be doubted if the self-immolation of the *satī* is, "in part of a survival of the old *puruṣa medha* or human sacrifice" (80). Inter-marriage between the two Śrīvaiṣṇava schools Tēṅgalai and Vāḍa-galai is not unknown as the author seems to have gathered (96).

"After the decline of Vedism, the official religion was at first Buddhism, under the Mauryas" (100). The Indian State never had an official religion. The kings had the duty, and observed it, of extending their protection and patronage to all religions alike, though naturally they preferred in their personal patronage the faith which they professed. Aśoka's rock Edict XII is a standing refutation of Prof. Renou's statement. At page 121 the Gangas of Mysore deserved to be mentioned along with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as patrons of Jainism. The confession of sin in the morning and in the evening is not an exclusive feature of Jainism (128), but is a matter of daily ritual with all Hindus who perform their *sandhyā* prayers. At page 64, line 3 from the bottom "Venkateśa and Tirupati" should read "Venkatesa of Tirupati."

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

EVOLUTION OF ANCIENT INDIAN LAW by N. C. Sengupta.
(Sen Gupta trust, p. 93, Manohar Pukar Road, Calcutta; 1953;
Pages vi—348—Rs. 17-8-0.)

This book embodies the matter of the substance of twelve lectures delivered in April 1952 by the author, as Tagore, Law Professor of Calcutta University. Already well known as the author of several works, like "Sources of Law and Society in Ancient India", "Evolution of Law" and 'Prathavidhana', he presents the results of a study extending over forty years and modestly states that he has not covered 'more than a small fraction of the field'. But being already a septuagenarian he decided to publish before it was too late such results as he had attained. "The evolution of Ancient Indian Law", according to Mr. Sengupta, "has not been a simple development from within of a single culture viz. the Aryan, but has at all stages been influenced by various cultures." He adds, "that positive Law emerges in time with the assumption of judicial authority by the king and grows with the expansion of King's Justice" (vi) and he hopes that these views "will stand the test of closer examination."

The work is divided into fourteen chapters and deals with the evolution of Law from the earliest traceable times to the days of the latest Dharma Sastras. The introductory chapter comprises five different heads namely, 'The sources', 'Social background of Anci-

ent Indian Law', 'Stages of Law', 'Sequence of Source Books' and 'Evolution of Ancient Indian Society.'

The next two chapters (2 and 3) trace the rise of king's Justice which slowly takes the place of family, gentile or village communities and guilds in pre-jural society, and with the association of professional jurists in the administration of Justice and its important consequences including the growth of law of evidence. Chapters 4 to 9 are devoted to topics of family law including marriage, kinship, and Law of inheritance. Chapters 10 to 13 headed 'Topics of Litigation' deal with the development of positive Law in Ancient India, that is, Law as developed in Codes and enforced by the kings. The author observes that, "The enumeration of topics in the different codes is of great historical value. As we have seen, the list grows from very small beginnings to more and more elaborate catalogues. This development is an index of the development of the king's Justice in Ancient Indian Law" (227).

The enforcement of Law, such as it was, vested at first in the community. It is only later that the king becomes a dispenser of Justice, first with the help of a learned priest and later through professional tribunals called *sabhas*. In the earlier stages, the king decided only such offences as were considered by people of the age to be grave transgressions of socio-religious conventions. Civil disputes such as debts and deposits were settled by popular bodies known as *Srenis*. But at no time did the king attempt to exercise legislative authority. A careful survey of Dharma Śāstras shows a notable progress from the undeveloped laws of a simple society to a very complex system growing in continuous response to changing needs. This development of early law is brought about under three different heads:

- (1) There was the natural development with the increasing complexities of social relations and logical extension of principles.
- (2) There was the extension of the King's jurisdiction to matters which were originally matters for domestic or guild tribunals.
- (3) The Laws also developed by infiltration of customs and usages of alien society either due to adoption or adaptation by the Aryans of foreign customs or after they entered Indo-Aryan Society (333).

Instances of the absorption of alien laws, customs and usages can best be traced in the sphere of family law. The author mentions such instances in chapters 4 to 9.

On the whole, these lectures constitute, indeed, an earnest attempt to study early Hindu Law from the point of view of its evolution.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIA by W. H. Moreland and A. C. Chatterjee: 3rd Edition, Revised and enlarged; 1953. (Orient Longmans Ltd., Mount Road, Madras) pages XI—580—Rs. 12.

Moreland and Chatterjee's "A Short History of India" has been recognised as a standard work from the time of its first edition in 1936 and has become very popular amongst students and general readers. This book, which lays a special stress on administrative and economic developments, was revised for the second edition in 1944 by Mr. Chatterjee alone, owing to the death of Moreland in 1938. Mr. Chatterjee has once again revised and enlarged the volume for the third edition with the aid of his friend Sir John Walton. The revision has been ably done and latest researches have been incorporated. The complicated events of the period between 1943 and '47 are dealt with in a very clear and lucid manner in two new chapters. The dynastic history of North India till the advent of the British, interspersed with notices of cultural condition of the land, is fairly full and satisfactory, while the history of the Deccan and South India has been comparatively neglected.

Chapter XIX deals with Greater India. In the concluding chapter, it is remarked that, "the transfer of power dimly foreseen by Elphinstone, was the fruition of a policy consciously pursued for thirty years since the Montagu announcement of August 20th, 1917; but the roots of that policy stretch back to an earlier epoch in the history of British India" (564-5).

A clear and unbiased account is given of the complicated negotiations between the British Government and the different political parties in India, and the final settlement of the momentous questions that were involved. Particular mention should be made of the

series of eleven carefully designed maps and the good index which are of greatest assistance in following the narrative. The volume has been neatly and attractively got up.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MINT-TOWNS OF THE MOGHUL EMPERORS OF INDIA: compiled by C. R. Singhal Memoir No. 4 of the Numismatic Society of India, 1953, pages iv—51 (Prince of Wales Museum), Bombay.

Students of Indo-Moghul numismatics will welcome this handy and up-to-date list of mint towns arranged according to reigns and in English alphabetical order indicating the details of the gold, silver and copper issues of each reign and mint. The new mints included for the first time in this list have been commented on in brief notes with detailed references and these notes cover the first thirty-two pages of the booklet. There is also given at the end a comparative table of dates in the Hijra and the Christian Eras. Mr. Singhal and the Society deserve to be congratulated on this compact addition to the bibliography of Indian numismatics.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MEDIAEVAL KERALA by P. K. S. Raja, M.A., M.Litt., Lecturer in History and Politics, Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar, Published by the Annamalai University, 1953, pp. xii and 293.

The book under review though covering mostly trodden ground is yet a welcome addition to the literature on the subject as the author has presented all the known facts of the history of the Kerala country in a short and single compass. It traverses a wide ground in the 14 chapters that it contains, and several topics of varying interest and importance are dealt with like the problem of Cheraman Perumal, the Kollam era, the history of the Zamorins of Calicut, the part played by Malik Kafur in the politics of the extreme south of the peninsula, the political geography of Malabar in the 15th century, the fortunes of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the West Coast, the course and decline of feudalism in Travancore and Cochin and the social life and administration in Kerala in the middle ages. The author's stand and conclusions on some of the above subjects is however antiquated. For instance his conclusions regarding the part Malik Kafur played in the politics of the South represent older views on the matter on which further light has been thrown by recent studies in the subject. In a fairly good part of the book dealing with the history of the Portuguese and the Dutch on the West coast a detailed and critical treatment of the religious activities of the Portuguese and their effects on the social history of Kerala would have been welcome. There is a select bibliography and a general index to the book. The author could have provided a map to illustrate the political divisions of Kerala in the 15th century. The errata list at the end is selective rather than full and exhaustive.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

STUDIES ON KRISHNADEVARAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR by
Ramachandraiah Oruganti (Registrar, Andhra University,
Waltair: 1953, Pages 209, Rs. 5/-).

In this short piece of historical research, Dr. Ramachandraiah has attempted a systematic review and estimate of the illustrious reign of Krishnadeva Raya gathered from contemporary Inscriptions and Literature, and though every reader of the book may not accept all the interpretations offered here, none can fail to recognise the general value of the work. These studies start with the rise of Tuluva Narasa Nayaka to power as the regent of the empire and take us to the end of Krishnadeva Raya's reign. The author has taken care to include all the relevant political events, so that the reign of Krishna Raya is presented fairly completely and in its chronological sequence.

The booklet is divided into twelve chapters. Chapters 1 to 3 deal with the rise of Saluva Narasimha and Tuluva Narasa Nayaka. It is suggested that Saluva Narasimha must have passed away in A.D. 1491. "Narasa Nayaka was neither a regicide nor a usurper but a strong disciplinarian. He retained all power but seized not the throne. He took no royal titles, for he took no crown but contented himself with governing the empire of Vijayanagara. He died at least a year and a half earlier than Immadi Narasimha" (34). The remaining eight chapters present the main political events of Krishnadeva Raya's reign. It is suggested that Krishnadeva Raya must have been in the last quarter of 1486 or the first quarter of A.D. 1487 (42). Krishnadeva Raya was at war with Orissa soon after his succession to the throne in 1509, hence his title of 'a fever to the elephants of the Gajapatis' mentioned in the Hampe Inscription of 1510. The embassy of Friar Luis and the behaviour of Krishna Raya towards him are well discussed. The other problems considered in the booklet are: The death of Yusuf Adil Shah ; inception of Amuktamalyada; the identification of Rachol with Raichur; the date of the battle of Raichur (1522 not 20) and the failure of Krishnadeva Raya towards the close of his reign against Bijapur, resulting in the loss of Raichur. There is a good bibliography but no index. In attempting in this little book to make some contribution towards the correct understanding of the life of Krishna Raya, Dr. Ramachandraiah has undertaken and accomplished a difficult and necessary task.

H. S. RAMANNA.

STUDIES IN PROTO-INDO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE,
Vol. I: By the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Published by the Indian
Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1953, Price Rs. 175-0-0.

This important and impressive book is the ripened fruit of many years of assiduous and devoted study of the Indus Valley Civilization by the Rev. H. Heras. The author's purpose in writing this volume which will soon be followed by others is to "elucidate some of the most fascinating problems that the excavations of the Indus Valley Cities have created, the first one being the system of deciphering the inscriptions and the historical foundations of the first migrations westwards." If the author's views are generally accepted, India will have the glory of being acclaimed as the cradle of human civilization.

In the introduction the author has tried to prove on the basis of the views of eminent scholars like Sir John Marshall, Dr. Wust, and Dr. Betty Heimann that the Mohenjo-Darians were not only non-Aryan but definitely Dravidians. Practically the whole of India was inhabited by Dravidians who were highly civilized and had covered the country with a net-work of strongly centralized and well established governments. They were also great traders who made India a great exporting country. The village communities which have flourished in India from time immemorial were founded by them. In general the culture of India is not Aryan in origin, but Dravidian. It was by contact with the great Dravidian settlers that the Aryans who entered India became civilized. The number of Aryan invaders was small and from the very beginning there was intermingling of the races. The Punjabis and Kashmiris are probably much purer Dravidians racially considered than the Tamilians and Malayalees of South India while the Indo-Aryas if any are to be found only in Uttar Pradesh and Pepsu. Although the Aryas were transformed into a mixed race predominantly Dravidian, their language held sway in Northern India. Nevertheless, Sanskrit was greatly influenced by the Dravidian language. Similarly in the south where the old languages survived, they were profoundly influenced by the speech of the Aryan as naturalised in India. The mutual influence of Dravidian over Aryan and of Aryan over Dravidian cannot be denied.

The Dravidian speaking people in the North learnt Sanskrit or the corresponding Prakrit and the modern North Indian vernaculars.

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culars Aryan in origin but greatly influenced by Dravidian speech, emerged. The Dravidians, after a long period of development in India travelled westwards reaching even remote Ireland and spread their race known as Mediterranean. These enterprising pioneers established themselves in two continents and became the founders of the modern world civilization. The author is confident that ample evidence of the momentous part played by the Dravidians as the originators of the modern world civilization can be adduced.

In the first chapter, the author tackles the problem of the Mohenjo-Daro script. Before he discloses his system of deciphering the inscriptions of Mohenjo-Daro, Harappā and Chanhū-Daro the author examines the systems of decipherment suggested by Waddell, Langdon, Gadd, Pran Nath, Flinders Petrie, De Hevesy, Hunter, Meriggi, Swami Sankarananda, Barua, Karmarkar and Hrozny. The systems of interpretation worked out by these scholars are found to be faulty in their essential bearings and even details. Before the author commences the work of deciphering the signs, he formulates some salient principles as the basis of his study of the inscriptions. The most important of these are that the remains of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā are certainly non-Aryan and are most likely Dravidian; that the Dravidians are a branch of the Mediterranean race; that the people of Mohenjo-Daro spoke a Proto-Dravidian language in a state of infancy with its grammar totally undeveloped; that the script is picto-phonographic; and that signs do not stand for syllables and much less for consonant sounds only, but express full words.

In the process of deciphering the signs, the author finds that the script was not standardized although it had passed through a long period of development. Since this script was natural and easy, it was readily adopted by the Aryas. In this way, the Proto-Indian script became the parent of the Brāhmi script. The author's efforts to decipher the Mohenjo-Daro script deserve unstinted praise. He admits that he may have committed mistakes, but his system of interpretation can generally be regarded as free from most of the blemishes found in others.

The author has rightly pointed out that while the Brāhmi script is descended from the Mohenjo-Daro script the two cannot be identified. Proto-Dravidian is the parent of Dravidian from which have sprung a number of languages like Brāhmi, old Singa-

lese, Tulu, Sangam Tamil, San Tamil, Pūrvada Kannada and Hale Kannada. Modern Tamil and Malayalam are descended from Sangam Tamil through San Tamil. Similarly, modern Telugu and Kannada and Kudagu can be traced to Pūrvada Kannada through Hale Kannada. Therefore, the progenitor of modern Tamil and Malayalam is the Proto-Dravidian language of the Indus valley.

It was no easy task for the author to interpret the signs. He proceeded on the assumption that the signs naturally represented the objects to which they referred in a graphic way. The most common sign found generally at the end of the inscriptions was the first to be deciphered. It appeared to stand for the suffix of the genitive, *adu* because some seals at least must have been the property of private persons. This sign alone was deciphered independently of any inscription. Other signs were studied and interpreted as they appeared in the various inscriptions beginning from the shortest. Sometimes it was found necessary to change the meaning of an individual sign fixed after long consideration particularly when it was found to have been used phonetically. "The ordinary routine in our work of decipherment", says the author, "was this. Once the meaning of a sign was finally settled, according to the nature of the sign, I studied all the words used in all modern languages, not excluding Tulu, Brāhui, Kudagu, Urāon and Kūi. When these words were gathered, the most ancient word was selected, sometimes the root only, and deprived of all suffixes and initial consonants to obtain the probable word used by the Mohenjo-Darians. The probability finally became a certainty by the wonderful and unexpected result" After deciphering all the inscriptions the author sought the help of the late Rev. Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar, the great Dravidian philologist for revising his interpretations. "What was my surprise, when while reading my interpretations of the inscriptions, Fr. Gnana Prakasar found that about twenty-five of them were fragments of poetry. These are written in different metres; five of them bring in the famous *Kural* metre, the most beautiful metre of Tamil Literature."

In the second chapter the author deals with the probable affinities between the Mohenjo-Darians and the Sumerians. There are many striking similarities and parallelisms between the two civilizations. There is the resemblance between the two scripts, and also between the Dravidian languages and the Sumerian tongue.

But the Mohenjo-Daro script appears to have been older than the Sumerian. The latter was a development of the former. The Indus valley civilization is far older than the Sumerian civilization. The devotion of the Sumerians to the Mountain of the East points to India as their original home. The author has no doubt that both the people of Sumer and the Dravidian people of the Indus valley belonged to the same race. Indeed the people of Sumer came from India and the Sumerian civilization was only an offshoot of the Indus valley culture. Dr. Crowley strongly supports the author's hypothesis that the civilizing movement was from the Indus to the Euphrates. This conclusion is supported by evidence drawn from a study of inscriptions, and archaeological, anthropological, ethnological and other data.

The Minoan civilization of Crete, just like the Sumerian civilization was only an offshoot of the Indus valley culture. The paintings adorning the palace of Minos showing bull fights connect Mohenjo-Daro and Spain. "The migration of the Mediterranean race to which the Proto-Dravidians of India belonged," says the author, "seems therefore not to have been from the west to east but from east to west following the chain of *dolmens* and megaliths which commences in Ceylon continues in the mountains and plains of Southern India, and in the plains of the Karnātaka and the plateau of Maharashtra up to Kashmir, passes to Syria, Cyprus, Malta and Egypt, extends along the northern coast of Africa, reaches southern Italy, crosses to Spain jumps over the Pyrenees to south western France and Brittany, reaches Germany, bridges the channel to enter England and Scotland and finds its end in Ireland."

The third chapter is devoted to the study of the Hamitic migrations into Egypt. There is very close racial relationship between the worshippers of An of India, the Proto-Indian people and those who worshipped. Anu in Egypt. The same An worshipped in both India and Egypt was identified with the Sun. The author is fully convinced that the people of both countries belonged to the Proto-Dravidian Hamitic race. He has marshalled a mass of evidence derived from various sources to support his thesis.

As a stepping stone to enter Egypt, the Proto-Dravidians founded a colony in the South-western corner of Arabia. This is not a mere surmise, but a fact founded on circumstantial evidence. It appears that there were two migrations of Proto-Dravidians to

Egypt one from Sumer, after they had long settled there, and the other straight from India with a stop at the Dravidian colony of South-western Arabia. In an appendix the author throws light on some interesting points of contact between the Indian and Egyptian civilizations to show the great similarity between the two ancient peoples.

In the fourth chapter the author deals with the great Fish of the Flood, the Indian Flood story, the Feast of the Fish celebrated in Madurai every year and the story of the Flood in Sumer, Egypt and Crete. The Flood story of Genesis is regarded as a variant of the Sumerian Deluge epic. The story of the Flood was brought to Sumer by settlers from India, but it took deep roots in the new land only at a later period.

In the last chapter, the author describes the migrations of the Dravidians to foreign lands and considers their racial relations. The Proto-Dravidians from India who belonged to the Hamitic Mediterranean race, settled in Sumer, as has already been observed, where they came to be known as Sumerians, and in Syria where they laid the foundations of the great *Hittite Empire*. They proceeded forward and reached the Mediterranean shores where they were called Phoenicians from the name of their own tribe, the Panis. The more enterprising among the emigrants pushed forward and settled in the islands and the main-land of Greece and in the Italian peninsula, where they were respectively known as Minoans, Minyoans and Etruscans. Other Dravidian tribes followed in the footsteps of their predecessors and colonized the Yemen where they laid the foundation of the city of Eudaemon the modern Aden. They were enterprising traders and Strabo called them Minaeans. They crossed the Red sea, took possession of Egypt and founded the great Egyptian civilization. The migrations of the Dravidians were continued until they had reached and colonized the Northern coast of Africa where they were known as *Garamantes*, *Libyans* *Numidians* and *Bereberians* and Spain where the Romans met them and called them *Iberians*. The more adventurous among these Iberians went northwards and settled in central Europe and even in the British Isles. These ancient people who founded the great civilization of ancient times belonged to the Hamitic Mediterranean race. The different civilizations springing from the same root may be called the Proto-Indo-Mediterranean

civilizations and their place of origin was India. This is a thrilling story of adventure and migrations and of the growth of a plethora of civilizations, springing from the Proto-Dravidian root. It is not however, easy to answer the question whether the author has achieved success in supporting his views with undisputed and authentic evidence. There is no doubt that he has drawn and furnished evidence from various sources, anthropological, archaeological, ethnological, literary and religious.

In an appendix, the author tries to discover the original name of the Proto-Indo-Mediterraneans. The word Dravida found in Sanskrit is not Aryan in origin. The pre-Aryan people of India were called Dasa or Dasyu by the newcomers, but at a later period it was changed to Drāvidas. The real name of the early settlers was however Dramila which is still found in the inscriptions of the eighth century. But the word Dramila itself appears to have been a corruption of Tiramilar which means children of the sea. This was later transformed into Tamiliar in India, Termilai in Greece, Draganes in Spain and Dravidae in France and British Isles. Similarly the Etruscans were called Tyrrenians meaning "those of the sea" like the Greek denomination Termilai. In this connection, the author points out that the ocean of the south-west of Italy down to Sicily continues to be known as "Tyrrhenian Sea". There is frequent mention in the Nilotic records of "the people of the Sea" of whom the Egyptians of the Delta were terribly afraid. These "people of the Sea" were the ancestors of the classical people of Greece and Asia Minor.

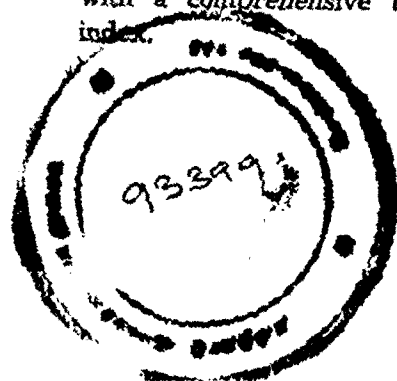
This weighty volume is a land-mark in historical endeavour. It is a monumental effort in painstaking research. No doubt, some basic conclusions of the author are such as to challenge disagreement. Nevertheless, it is an outstanding achievement which is sure to create an intellectual stir in historical circles not only in India but throughout the world.

The book is well printed on superior art paper and contains a large number of well-chosen illustrations. It is also furnished with a comprehensive bibliographical introduction and a good index.

K. P. PILLAY

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Andhra Historical Research Society—Journal of the, July 1949 to April 1950 (Vol. XX, parts 1, 2, 3 & 4). Rajamundry.*
 1. *Rama-Pattābhisheka Bronze from Kanukollu, by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.*
 2. *The Place of Kautilya's Arthasastra in the Hindu Legal History, by U. C. Sarkar.*
 3. *Indian Eras, by Kota Venkata Chalam.*
 4. *The History of Andhra Country (1000-1500 A.D.) Subsidiary Dynasties—The Parichhedis, Etc., by Srimati V. Yasodadevi.*
- II. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the, Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 1, Calcutta.*
 1. *The Identity of the Yaśovarman of some Mediaeval Coins, by Sunil Chandra Ray.*
 2. *Could Muḥammad Shāh Sūr Conquer Arakan? by Nirod Bandhu Sanyal.*
 3. *Jaipur and the Bhauma-karas of Orissa, by Dines Chandra Sircar.*
 4. *Purī Copperplate Inscription of Gaṅga Bhānu II of Orissa, by Dines Chandra Sircar.*
 5. *An Important Date in the Chronology of the Pālas, by Dines Chandra Sircar.*
 6. *Maintenance of Irrigation Tanks Through Fishery Revenue in Ancient India, by Sunder Lal Hora.*
 7. *Revenue Administration of Bengal in the Early Days of Mughal Rule, by Sri Tapan Kumar Roy Chowdhury.*
- III. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the, Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 2, Calcutta.*
 1. *Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of King Vijaya-māṇikya of Tripurā, by Dines Chandra Sircar.*
 2. *Copper-plate Inscription of King Bhavadeva of Deva-parvata, by Dines Chandra Sircar.*



3. *New Light on the Early History of Bhubanesvara*, by Krishna Chandra Panigrahi.
 4. *The Jājilpārā Grant of Gopāla II, Year 6*, by Pramatha Nath Misra & R. C. Majumdar.
 5. *Knowledge of the Ancient Hindus Concerning Fish and Fisheries of India*, by S. L. Hora.
- IV. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XVII, 1951, No. 3, Calcutta.
1. *The Dānavas in the Mahābhārata*, by P. C. Sengupta.
 2. *The Upanisads and Vedic Sacrifices*, by Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya.
- V. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XVIII, 1952, No. 1, Calcutta.
1. *Notes on Some Inscriptions in the Collection of the Asiatic Society*, by Dines Chandra Sircar.
 2. *An Astronomical Basis for fixing the Age of Kalidasa (Criticism)*, by Nilmadhav Sen.
 3. *An Unpublished Arabic Inscription on a Jaina Image from Maldah, Bengal*, by Asoka Kumar Bhattacharyya.
 4. *Chicacole Plates of Ganga Devendravarman*, by Dines Chandra Sircar.
 5. *Chittagong under the Pathan Rule in Bengal*, by Muhammad Abdur Rahim.
- VI. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XVIII, 1952, No. 2, Calcutta.
1. *Fish in the Ramayana*, by Dr. Sunder Lal Hora.
 2. *Chidivalasa Plates of Devendravarman; Ganga Year 397*, by Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar.
 3. *Madanapāla and Govindapāla*, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
 4. *The House of Raja Ganesa of Bengal*, by Ahmad Hasan Dani.
 5. *Spread of Aryanism in Bengal*, by Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar.

- VII. *Asiatic Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XIX, 1953, No. 1, Calcutta.
1. *Different Methods of Date-recording in Ancient and Medieval India, and the origin of the Saka Era*, by M. N. Saha.
 2. *The date of Khāravela*, by Krishna Chandra Panigrahi.
 3. *Wang Hiuan-Ts'ö's Indian Campaign*, by R. C. Majumdar.
 4. *Knowledge of the Ancient Hindus Concerning Fish and Fisheries of India*, by Sunder Lal Hora.
 5. *Makhzan-i-Afghāni and Tawarikh-i-Majlis Arāi and their relative value as sources of history*, by N. B. Roy.
 6. *Two mediaeval inscriptions*, by Priyatosh Banerjee.
- VIII. *Bhāratīya Vidya*, Vol. XIV, 1953, Bombay.
1. *Was Central India the original home of Mūlarāja's Ancestors*—by A. K. Majumdar.
 2. *'Maṇḍalika', the last great king of Independent Saurashtra*, by H. D. Velankar.
- IX. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XXXIX, part 3, September 1953, Patna.
1. *The Origin and Original home of the Imperial Guptas*, by Dasharatha Sharma.
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