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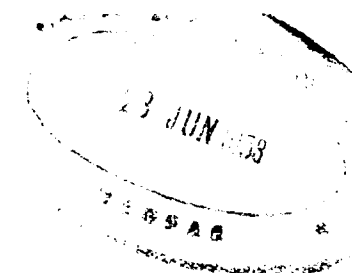
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23 JUN 1953

When Kerala was Ahead of India

A NEGLECTED PERIOD OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

BY

P. J. THOMAS, M.A., B.LITT., D.PHIL. (OXON.)

Which Period ?

The south was, till about a hundred years ago, ahead of all India in trade and navigation and in all material aspects of civilization. But the north dominated politically. During the first three centuries of the Christian Era, however, the fortunes of the north were at a low ebb, and the south was the scene of a remarkable efflorescence not only in literature and religion but in trade and commerce. As centre of Rome's trade in the east, South India then attained a position of great influence and power. Perhaps as a result of this, certain kings of the south were able not only to carry out successful raids in the north, but also to maintain political domination, for a time, over vast territories.

It was South India, south of Tirupati, then called Tamilakam, that thus came into prominence, 1700 years ago. In Tamilakam were three chief kingdoms (*Muvaraser*), Chera, Chola and Pandya. Each of these attained suzerainty over the other two (*Mummudi*) at various times, but during the period under notice, it was the turn of the Cheras, who had their capital at Musiri (Muziris of the Romans), also called Vanchi and Karur. That was India's principal port then, and here was centred India's foreign trade. Two of the Chera kings of the time, namely Imayavaramban-Cheraladan, and Chenkuttavan, are reported to have invaded the Gangetic plain and defeated Aryan kings and Yavana settlers. Perhaps the fact of these invasions is better attested than the reputed conquests of Samudragupta, the so-called Indian Napoleon in the south. But these exploits in the south have not been incorporated in the history of India.

What Sources ?

It may be that the sources for the history of the south are scrappy, but this period (1st to 3rd century, A.D.) is illumi-

nated by many contemporary Tamil and Greek sources of rare value. In Pliny's *Natural History* (c. 50 A.D.), *Periplus Maris Aerithrae* (c. 70 A.D.), and in Ptolemy's *Geography* (c. 150 A.D.), we have detailed accounts of the Chera country, and we know from these works that Rome's Eastern trade was centred in Kerala ports, because most of the goods required came from Kerala and the neighbouring country. But these Greek writings throw little light on the political condition of the country. This void, however, is filled by important Tamil works of the time, which were written in or around Kerala, which was then at the helm of Tamilakam. *Padittupathu*, *Chilappadikaram*, *Manimekalai*, *Akananuru*, *Purananuru* — these classical Tamil works are not now familiar to Kerala people, but they were written by leading poets of Kerala, when Tamil was its language, and they deal largely with the exploits of the Cheraman kings of the time. The first work above named eulogises ten leading Chera kings. *Chilappadikaram* was written by the scholarly brother (Ilango-Adigal) of the greatest Chera king of the age, Chenkuttavan, who also held hegemony over all Tamilakam, as is generally admitted. Thus, what may be called the Augustan Age of Tamil Literature synchronised with the period during which Kerala dominated the political life as well as the trade of the country.

Although such important historical sources, internal and external, are available for this early period of South Indian history, those have not been properly worked out, and this magnificent period of South Indian history still remains obscure. For one thing, the great epic *Chilappadikaram*, although available in English in the excellent translation by Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar, has not been given its due place in Indian History. A reconstruction of the history of this period on proper lines is a great need. In the present paper, it is proposed to deal chiefly with trade and navigation, and also with the state of religion and culture.

Early Trade

From very ancient times, South India had trade with China and Indonesia in the east, and Arabia, Abyssinia, Egypt, Greece and Rome in the west. Spices, precious stones, ivory and sandalwood were much in demand in those countries. This trade goes back to the Chaldaeans (3000 B.C.) and Phoenicians (1000 B.C.). Later, Arabs, Jews and Somalis took active part in this trade. Eventually it fell into the hands of Romans, and under them it flourished most. The bulk of the articles entering into this trade

came from Kerala, and thus that part of the country had for long the largest share in this foreign trade.

This trade with the West formerly went on, partly by the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates valley, and partly by the Red Sea route. The latter ultimately became the principal route. Sailing ships took this cargo from Muziris or from Barygaza (Broach), to Myos Hormus on the Red Sea, and from there caravans took it to Alexandria on the Mediterranean Sea. Early Roman emperors, especially Augustus, valued this trade very much, and gave it every encouragement.

Discovery of Monsoon Winds

About the year 45 A.D., the trade through this route was revolutionized, as it were, by the discovery of the monsoon winds, by a navigator called Hippalus. This discovery made it possible for sailing vessels to cut across the Arabian Sea straight from Red Sea mouth to Muziris on the Malabar Coast. Thus was avoided the perilous coastal journey by the Arabian and the Persian coasts, which mariners dreaded. Perhaps the Phoenician and Arab mariners had known and used this route, but it was kept a closed secret by them.

The result of this discovery was to make Kerala the greatest centre of trade, not only of India, but of the whole eastern world. Muziris thus became a port of enviable position in all India, in all the world. The supremacy of Muziris was due, not only to the advantage of the Monsoon winds, but also to the fact that the articles of largest demand in the Roman Empire and China were the produce of Kerala or nearby. Not only beryl from Coimbatore but spikenard from Ganges and Dacca muslins seem to have come to West Coast ports, mostly borne by bullocks or buffaloes through the overland routes. In other words, a large entrepot trade was carried on in those days at Muziris. In the matter of trade, at any rate, all roads then led to Muziris.

Pepper Fleets from Malabar

The chief article which brought Roman traders to Kerala was pepper. Fashionable Rome after her triumph over enemies, wanted all kinds of oriental luxuries—muslins, pearls and spices. And after the conquest of Carthage and other rich lands, there was plenty of gold in Rome to pay for these. The article that loomed largest in bulk and value was pepper; this was the staple

commodity of Roman trade, and formed the great bulk of the cargo of Roman ships. Further, all the pepper available to world trade at the time came from Malabar.

Pepper was from ancient times an important culinary spice in Europe and was used to season food and preserve meat. It was also an unavoidable ingredient of medicines, and was prescribed by Hippocrates (who calls it the "Indian remedy") and by Galen, Pliny, Celsus and other Greek writers who deal with medicine. In Rome, the use of pepper seems to have become very popular from the time of Augustus, and according to Pliny (XII, 14), its price was as high as 15 denarii (about Rs. 7) per pound. Even higher prices were quoted. The prices in India must have been much lower and the profits realized were as high as 100 per cent according to Pliny. After the discovery of the monsoons and the consequent facilitation of transport the price of pepper fell but this made its demand elastic and such vast quantities had to be imported that about the year 192 A.D., special warehouses called *horrea piperatoria* had to be erected near the *Sacra-Via*. It was ground in pepper mills (*molae piperatoria*), or mortars, and sold in paper packets in *Campus Martius* and other market places. The pots or dishes (often of silver) in which pepper was brought to the table were called '*piperatoria*'.

Many Roman writers, especially Pliny, attacked the atrocious tastes of those who needed pepper to whet their appetite. "It is quite surprising," wrote Pliny, "that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that it is sometimes their substance and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency; and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India. Who was the first to make trial of it as an article of food? And who, I wonder, was the man who was not content to prepare for himself by hunger only or satisfying of a greedy appetite." (XII, 14).

In spite of such strictures, the import trade in pepper grew immensely, and Roman merchants made vast profits, at the cost of the poor pepper growers here. It may be that gold and specie, worth over 1.5 crores annually, was sent to India and China. But, Rome got in return a commodity of several times that value in world trade. The importance of pepper as a trade staple then can be seen from the fact that in 408 A.D., when Alaric the Goth laid

siege to Rome, the terms he offered for raising the siege included the immediate payment of 3000 pounds of pepper along with other similar valuables.

Muziris and Barake

The chief centre of this trade was Muziris. In the first century A.D., this port grew to great dimensions. Its glory is recounted in Tamil as well as Roman writings of the time. According to contemporary Tamil works mentioned above, Muziris was an extremely busy place with a harbour crowded with ships and craft of all kinds, with large warehouses and bazaars adjoining it, and with stately palaces and places of worship in the interior. The great bulk of the cargo taken from there was pepper; cinnamon leaf, beryl, pearls, ivory, silk-cloth, diamonds and tortoise-shell make up the rest. Imports were mostly gold and silver coin; some wine, glass, metals like copper, tin and lead, were also imported. Not least important among the imports were singing boys and pretty maidens for the harem of the kings here. To guard this valuable trade, two Roman cohorts are said to have been stationed at Muziris.

Another important port, especially for pepper trade, was Barake (Purakad), which was at the mouth of river Baris (Pampayar). It was nearer to, and more accessible from, the chief pepper growing area in the interior, namely the forests at the upper reaches of Pampā river. Pepper from that area was taken by country boats to Nelcynda (Nakkida near Neranom), and from there it was taken in large boats to Barake. When Pliny wrote, Nelcynda and Barake had apparently a large share in pepper trade, chiefly because the coastal area north of Muziris was infested by pirates. But in Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.), we find Muziris in full control of pepper trade, evidently because piracy had been suppressed in the meantime; we are also told that Nelcynda and Barake had ceased to be legal marts, and Muziris was the only authorised mart. According to the earlier writers, Nelcynda and Barake were in the Pandya Kingdom, but these had ceased to be the case, apparently because the Chera kings had got back the southern territory from Pandyas. This agrees remarkably with the narrative of Chera history in the 1st and 2nd centuries, A.D., as found in the Tamil works quoted above.

A Great Age of Navigation

The commerce of South Indian ports with Alexandria reached great heights, especially during the years 45—160 A.D. With

growing prosperity in Rome, the demand for not only pepper but other spices and luxury goods rose to unknown proportions. To satisfy the craving of Roman women, Indian peacocks, parrots, monkeys and other pets were also taken, and Indian elephants were required for royal processions in Rome. The size of ships and their number had to be increased, to meet such growing needs. As such large imports had to be paid for in gold or specie, authorities in Rome had to face serious currency problems. After 218 A.D., copper coins had to be used to pay for imports.

With the increase of goods traffic, ships had also to carry numerous passengers to India. Some ships were equipped for carrying hundreds of passengers. Not all of them were merchants; there were also builders and architects needed by South Indian kings. There were also women; a first century Greek letter of a woman called 'Indika' is preserved in papyrus. According to Warmington she was either the Indian wife of a Greek merchant resident in India, or daughter born to an Egyptian Greek while resident here. (*Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 67-8.) There are also references, in Tamil books, to Yavana men and women resident in India. Some of them were in the employ of kings to guard their palaces or grace their courts. Such large numbers of people from the Red Sea had never come to India before; nor after 200 A.D., till about the middle of the 19th century. The contemporary work, *Periplus*, it is said, was written as a guide-book to help these numerous foreigners in South India.

A Glorious Period of South Indian History

The importance in South Indian history of the period under review can only be realized when we remember that from the very beginning of history down to 1868 A.D., when the Suez Canal was opened, communication from the Mediterranean shores to India had never been so easy nor quick, as during this period. The Red Sea route was known and used before 45 A.D., but most ships pursued the perilous and prolonged coastal route touching Makran, as few except Somalis and Arabs had known the secret of the Monsoon winds. Therefore the traffic was meagre. Nor did the colossal trade and navigation activity sketched above last long. The decline started in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161—80 A.D.) was hastened by the cruel massacre carried out by Caracalla in Alexandria (212 A.D.). The demand for oriental luxuries gradually declined in Rome, and the traffic in these articles passed from Egyptian Greeks to Arabs and Axumites. Finally

with the Islamic expansion into Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, about the middle of the seventh century, the access of the Mediterranean peoples to the Arabian Sea was blocked for a long time, i.e., until Suez Canal was opened (1868). In the result, the Portuguese, Dutch, British and other traders had to sail through the prolonged route round Africa to reach India. Clive and Warren Hastings had to take this route. This protracted journey took over twelve months, as against the three months involved in the journey from Alexandria through Red Sea in Roman times. The Arabian Sea was crossed in 40 days, after 45 A.D. Thus the period 45 to 212 A.D., is really unique in the long history of navigation, as also in South Indian history as a whole. It was a period when South India, led by Kerala, figured most prominently in Indian and World history.

A Flourishing Civilization

Judging from Chilappadikaram and other Tamil Works, South India was then a most prosperous part of India, of the world, and its civilization was of a high order. Cities like Muziris and Puhar (Caveri-pum-pattinam) were in a most flourishing state, with magnificent thoroughfares and busy bazaars and with separate quarters set apart for different sections of people. Many merchants had amassed wealth and they lived in large houses, some of which were seven storeys high. For their enjoyment there were theatres and dancing-halls. The evening gatherings of pleasure-seekers at the seaside in Puhar, described in Chilappadikaram, remind one of Lido in Venice, rather than of anything elsewhere in India. There were schools, and learning was greatly valued. Even women became famous as poets. Women occupied a high place in society and did not at all form an inferior sex; they moved about freely. There were different castes, but hardly any caste exclusiveness. Varnasrama had not become as hard as it later became, especially in Kerala. Nor are these descriptions too fanciful; they are confirmed by independent sources and by foreign accounts. It is doubtful if any other part of India was in such prosperous condition at that time.

State of Religion

The Tamil works referred to above disclose a commendable state of religious toleration prevailing in Kerala at the time. Vedic Hinduism had come with the Nambudiri Brahmins who apparently had already settled here, but their influence was very limited at the

time. The common people worshipped Kāli and Murugan, following the Dravidian tradition. Buddhism and Jainism were becoming popular with the intellectual classes, even in high society. And there were all over the country Buddhist viharas and Jain chaityas, frequented by devotees of both sexes. Ilengo-Adigal, brother of King Chenkuttavan, was a devout Jain, while the king himself practised Hinduism. The court-poet, Chathanar, was a fervent Buddhist. Nevertheless, all the three worked harmoniously. With the coming of Saiva Siddhanta zealots, like Manikkavacagar, from the other side of the hills in the third and fourth centuries, Hinduism took a rather fanatical turn, and caste exclusiveness became prevalent. This led to the decline of Buddhism and Jainism. Nor was the environment sketched above unfavourable for the influx of foreign religions like Christianity.

Conclusion

It is clear from what has been stated above that there is need for a closer study of South Indian History, especially of the first three centuries A.D., when this part of India played a prominent part, not only in the commercial, but in the political and religious history of India.

Col. Baillie and the Oudh Loans

BY

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It was because the East India Company's finances were very much embarrassed during the war with Nepal that Lord Hastings had to ask repeatedly for monetary loans from the ruler of Oudh. The first loan of a crore of rupees was treated more or less as a willing offer on the part of the Nawab, but the second loan for another crore was, according to the testimony of the British Resident at Lucknow, Col. Baillie, nothing but an "abominable extortion."¹ This charge of extortion levelled by the Resident became the subject matter of an acrimonious controversy in India and in England. The question has usually been superficially passed over by historians, although it has an important bearing on the development of British policy towards Oudh.

From the huge mass of evidence available to us, it is possible to form an idea of the truth of the accusation made by Col. Baillie. The position taken up by him may be thus summed up:—

1. Even the first loan was given by the Nawab in 1814 with great reluctance and at his "earnest entreaty"² and "solicitation".³

2. The second loan of 1815 was forced, and that he was "the instrument of extortion, the thumb-screw employed in compelling his victim to comply with his cruel demands".⁴

1. 'Oude Papers'.

2. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts, Secretary to Government, dated Lucknow, Jan. 10. 1815.

3. Letter from Col. Baillie to Joseph Dart, Esq. 1823.

4. Col. Baillie's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons.

During the enquiry⁵ conducted by a House of Commons Committee, Col. Baillie said in his reply to the question — "Did it appear to you that the Nawab gave the loan unwillingly?" —, "The loan of so much money by a Musulman, whose religion does not allow him to take interest for money lent, must have been given with reluctance".

Col. Baillie questioned the veracity of Lord Hastings's own *Summary* of his administration (published in 1823), and said that his evidence given in 1822 could have had no reference to the aforesaid *Summary*. Besides, there was discrepancy, he said, between the *Summary* and the official papers. Col. Baillie urged that so far was the Nawab from coming forward with the offer of the second loan that he could never have dreamt of such a demand being made upon him. In fact, the second loan was obtained after "a protracted, painful and vexatious negotiation",⁶ begun rather reluctantly by the Resident under orders of the Governor General.⁷ The Nawab, according to the Resident, had told him, "As far as a crore of rupees, I shall certainly furnish by way of loan, but beyond that sum is impossible".⁸ Col. Baillie stated that the first loan was negotiated in three days, whereas more than a month was spent over the talks in connection with the second loan.⁹

Furthermore, Col. Baillie revealed that the Nawab could be prevailed upon with difficulty to give in the first instance fifty lakhs only. It was under incessant pressure that the Nawab agreed to pay a full crore. Lord Hastings himself conveyed his thanks to Col. Baillie for the zeal which he had displayed during the loan negotiations.¹⁰

Again, Col. Baillie alleged that the Nawab had asked for a bond and a pledge that no further demands should be made to him. The exact words of the Nawab were said to be these. "It is impossible for me to give any more, and I trust that I shall be

5. This was occasioned by a petition to the House of Commons in the session of 1822.

6. Letter from Col. Baillie to Mr. Ricketts.

7. Letter from Ricketts to Col. Baillie.

8. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

9. 'Oude Papers, p. 1033.

10. Letter from the Secretary to Government, March 20.

exempted from all future demands".¹¹ This request of the Nawab, Col. Baillie said, was strongly objected to by the Governor General.¹²

Lastly, Col. Baillie ridiculed the idea that the Nawab had any ulterior motive in offering loans to the Governor General.

On a critical examination of the evidence of Col. Baillie, it would appear that he was guilty of gross exaggeration. Having been dismissed from his post by the Governor General, he bore enmity to the latter and had reason to defame him. But, the facts show that the second loan was not so voluntary as the first one had been. In any case, it is clear that the second loan was not obtained with ease. Had it been easily secured, Lord Hastings would not have expressed his special appreciation of Col. Baillie's labours in this connection. But, the allegations of force and compulsion are not borne out by the official documents. On the other hand, the following things are worthy of note in this connection. Firstly, the Nawab never expressed his resentment on this account, and Col. Baillie's statement is not corroborated by documents. Secondly, the Nawab, in fact, repeatedly offered to fulfil the wishes of the Governor General whom he called "my respected uncle". Thirdly, the Nawab assured the latter that his "*Jan Mal*" (life and property) were at his Lordship's demand.¹³ In short, the Nawab's attitude was always characterised by the utmost humility and courtesy which were a familiar feature of Lucknow culture.

It is also not unlikely that the Nawab paid the loans as a price for his emancipation from the irksome control of the haughty and dictatorial Resident who exercised absolute power over him. The abrupt dismissal of Col. Baillie by Lord Hastings is otherwise inexplicable to a great extent. Col. Baillie had reason to suspect that his removal may have been inspired by the desire to placate the Nawab. Col. Baillie's vendetta against the Governor General was thus a direct consequence of his own removal from Lucknow where he had played the role of an autocrat. His lip sympathy for the Nawab towards whom his own conduct is known to have been extremely arbitrary and highhanded is therefore hardly convincing.

11. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

12. Letter from the Secretary to Government to Col. Baillie.

13. Letter from the Nawab to Col. Baillie.

About the moral aspect of the Oudh loan transactions, however, there can be no two opinions. That the Oudh ruler was shamelessly exploited is clear. His show of willingness was a pretence alone. He knew he was powerless to resist the demands of the Governor General, and so he had to pay with good grace and oriental humility. These loans therefore throw a lurid light on the manner in which the Company exercised its suzerainty rights in Oudh. The supporters of Lord Hastings could always urge, as one actually did during the India House debate on February 8, 1826, "If the Governor General extorted the loans from the Vizier, he had done so from patriotic motives, and for the advantage of his country". The plea of expediency clinches the issue!

Pārśvanātha: His life and Doctrine

BY

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F.R.A.S.B., F.B.B.R.A.S.

The Jain saint Pārśvanātha was the twenty-third Tirthāṅkara.¹ He was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. He was respected and worshipped as the Prophet of the Law. He was a favourite of the people,² clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty, controlling his senses, lucky and modest.³ He was of blue complexion.⁴ He was a tall man measuring 9 cubits.⁵ He lived as a householder for 30 years and 70 years as an ascetic. Altogether he is said to have lived for 100 years.⁶ He was active in the 8th century B.C.⁷ Jacobi regards this date as not improbable as some centuries must have elapsed between his time and the appearance of Mahāvīra. He died 250 years before Mahāvīra.⁸ Charpentier is right in pointing out that Pārśva existed as a real person and consequently the main points of the original doctrine may have been codified long before Mahāvīra.⁹ The doctrine of Mahāvīra was scarcely anything else than a modified or renovated form of Pārśva's creed.¹⁰ In other words, Mahāvīra was only a reformer and carried still further the work begun by Pārśva.¹¹ Pārśva seems to be the

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

2. *Purīṣādānīe* (*Purīṣādānīya*), *Kālpasūtra*, 149, 155; Pāli *Purīṣajāṇīya*, *Anguttara*, I, 290; II, 115. It may be interpreted as the man of high birth or a distinguished person. Jacobi has explained it as one who is to be chosen among men because of his preferable *karman*—Jaina *sūtras*, I, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, p. 271 n.

3. *Kālpasūtra*, 115 -*dakkhe dakkha-painne paḍirūve allīṇe bhaddae vinīe* . . .

4. Nahar & Ghosh, *Epitome of Jainism*, xlv.

5. Kapadia, *The Jain religion and literature*, vol. I, p. 24.

6. *Kālpasūtra*, 168.

7. Guérinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Intro. According to some towards the end of the 9th century B.C. (J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 22).

8. Cf. S.B.E., XLV, p. 122 n. 3.

9. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, Intro. p. 21.

10. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 160.

11. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 424 n.

real founder of Jainism. He had undoubtedly better claims to this title.¹² It is quite true, as pointed out by Charpentier, that Jain religion is certainly older than Mahāvīra.¹³ The literary evidences in the Jain and Buddhist texts amply prove the existence of a Nir-grantha (Niggaṇṭha) order founded by Pārśva before Mahāvīra.

The existence of Pārśva's order in Mahāvīra's time is proved by the reported disputes between the followers of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra. The followers of Pārśva, who did not fully recognise Mahāvīra as their spiritual guide, existed during Mahāvīra's lifetime. There were the followers of Pārśva round about Magadha even in the days of Mahāvīra. A sort of compromise was effected between the two sections of the Jain Church.¹⁴

According to the *Ācārāṅga sūtra* (II. Lec. 15. 16) the parents of Mahāvīra who belonged to the Jñātri-Kṣatriyas¹⁵ were worshippers of Pārśva. Following the teachings of Pārśva they peacefully died by the practice of slow starvation of the senses.

Pārśva was undoubtedly a historical person. His followers and doctrines are distinctly mentioned in the Jain sūtras.¹⁶ He probably did something to improve the discipline of the homeless monks. His rule was followed by a body of monks. Mahāvīra seems to have supported them.

When Pārśva came to know the time of renunciation by means of his intuition, he gave up everything he had and went through the town of Benares in a palanquin and came to the park called the Āśramapada. He then proceeded to the Aśoka tree. There he got down from the palanquin, took off his ornaments and plucked out the hair of his head with his own hands. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *viśākhā*, he entered the state of homelessness after fasting for three days and a half. He practised strict morality for 83 days and overcame all obstacles on the 84th day. Being engaged in meditation he got the infinite, excellent, unobstructed, unimpeded, the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*.¹⁷

12. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466; I.A., IX, June 1880, p. 162.

13. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* Ed. Charpentier, p. 21.

14. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 155.

15. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Ch. II.

16. I.A., Vol. IX, 158 ff., 162.

17. *Kalpasūtra*, 156-59... *anante anuttare nivvāghāe nirāvarane jāva Kevala-vara-nānadamsaṇe samuppanne* ... It is the just synonym of Pali *apariseṣa*.

Pārśva became the head of a big community of monks and nuns. He preached his doctrine for seventy years till his *karma* was exhausted. At first Mahāvīra belonged to the order of Pārśva. He found the discipline of Pārśva's monks not very stringent¹⁸ and he left them. He was able to win over the members of Pārśva's order.

The religious tradition of Pārśva or Supārśva was embodied in the ten earlier *Pūrvas*¹⁹ and formed, according to the *Bhagavatī sūtra*, a common basis of the Jain and Ājīvika canons. Dr. Barua points out that Pārśva, who was a philosophic predecessor of Mahāvīra, had rules of conduct which needed a philosophic justification in order that they might not appear arbitrary or be confused with social conventions.²⁰

Jacobi in his *Jaina sūtras* (Pt. II, pp. xix-xxii) has thrown light on the relationship between Pārśva and Mahāvīra as teachers. Pārśva's order was a religious one. Mahāvīra founded a new school of his own after the model of that of Pārśva but his only innovation was the adoption of chastity in the list of four vows of Pārśva. It may be believed on good grounds that Mahāvīra joined and remained for a year with the religious order founded by Pārśva. The members of Pārśva's order used to cover their nakedness by wearing clothes. It is evident from the Jain scriptures that when Mahāvīra adopted the ascetic life, he attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva. It was only in the second year of his ascetic life that he adopted the strictest observance of absolute nakedness when he fell in with Gośāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas or Terāsiyas.²¹ The two hostile sects, the adherents of Pārśva and Mahāvīra and the adherents of Gośāla, namely the Ājīvikas, were originally closely connected before they came to a parting of the ways.

Throughout his life Pārśva, who got this name, as his mother lying in the dark saw a black snake crawling about by her side, was connected with snakes. So serpent was his cognisance. When he grew up he saved a serpent from grave danger. He also saved a poor terrified snake which took its shelter in a log of wood to

18. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 35, 48 ff.

19. The *Pūrvas* were the sacred texts of the Jains. The oldest known Jain literature consisted of 14 *Pūrvas* and 12 *Āngas*. The *Pūrvas* formed the scriptural basis of the *Upāṅgas* and other books of the Jain Canon.

20. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 380.

21. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 265.

Sāgeya, Rāyagiha and Kosambī.²⁸ Pārśva attained *Nirvāṇa*²⁹ in 777 B.C. stretching out his hands, freed from all pain, on the summit of the Mouth Sammeta (Sammeya)³⁰ in the first month of the rainy season in the company of 83 persons after fasting for a month even without drinking water.³¹

As regards the company of 83 persons the Digambaras hold a different view. They say that there was the company of 36 persons only. Pārśva had eight *gaṇas* and eight *gaṇadharas* who were Subha and Āryaghoṣa, Vasiṣṭha and Brahmācārin, Saumya and Śrīdhara, Virabhadra and Yaśas. He had an excellent community of 16000 *Śramaṇas* with Āryadatta at their head, 38000 nuns with Puṣpacūlā at their head, 164000 lay votaries with Suvrata at their head, 327000 female lay votaries with Sunandā at their head,³² 350 sages who knew the four *Pūrvas*, 1400 sages who were possessed of the *avadhi* knowledge,³³ 1000 Kevalins, 1100 sages who could transform themselves, 600 sages of correct knowledge, 1000 male and 2000 female disciples who had reached perfection, 750 sages of vast intellect, 600 professors and 1200 sages in their last birth.³⁴ The Digambara texts differ. According to them there were ten *gaṇas* and ten *gaṇadharas* among whom Svayambhū was the chief apostle. They also differ in giving the number of nuns, laymen and female lay votaries which, according to them, was 26,000, one lac and three lacs respectively.

As a maker of an end Pārśva instituted two epochs: the one relating to generations and the other relating to psychical condition.³⁵ The former ended in the fourth generation and the latter in the third year of his kevalaship.

28. *Ācārāṅga Nirvyūkti*, 335; *Nāyāddhammakahāo*, II, 222, 230. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 18-19, 28, 53, 8, 6, 9, 16, 15, 17, 23, 35.

29. *Kalpasūtra*, 168-169.

30. It was the Mount Sametaśikhara which was thenceforth known as the Pārśvanātha Hill.

31. *Kalpasūtra*, 168.

32. *Ibid.*, 160-164.

33. It is the same as Pali *Anantañāṇa* (*Ang. IV. p. 428*). The knowledge which comprehends the limited world is itself limited in its character. It is the knowledge co-extensive with the object rather than supernatural knowledge (*antavantena ñāṇena antavantam lokam jānam passam*).

34. *Kālpasūtra*, 166.

35. *Jugantakaḍabhūmiya pariyāyaṇtakaḍabhūmiya* (*Kalpasūtra*, 167).

Many legends have gathered round the saint Pārśva. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra*³⁶ contains many stories, fables and fairy-tales. Winternitz points out that not a few of these stories are known from other Jaina and secular narrative works such as the *Pañcatantra*. The story of king Suvarṇabāhu not only reminds us of the Śakuntala legend but actually reveals an acquaintance of the drama of Kālidāsa.

The life-stories of Pārśva in poetry are many in number. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra* deals not only with the life-story of Pārśvanātha in his last incarnation but also his previous nine existences. This work also contains gnomic sayings both on morality and worldly wisdom. Winternitz has quoted some in his *History of Indian Literature*.³⁷

Pārśva had a disciple named Keśin who completely mastered the sciences and right conduct. He had *śruta* and *avadhi* knowledge.³⁸ He visited the town of Śrāvastī and lived in Tiṇḍuka Park. A Jina named Vardhamāna lived at that time who had Gautama as his famous disciple. Gautama who knew twelve *aṅgas* and who was enlightened, also came to Śrāvastī and lived in the Koṣṭhaka Park. Keśi and Gautama lived protecting themselves by the *guptis*.³⁹ The disciples of both of them thought thus—

- (1) Is the law of Pārśva the right one or the law of Mahāvīra?

36. *Pārśvanāthacaritra*—Edited by Hargovindadasa and Becardasa, Benares, 1912. An analysis of this text is given by Bloomfield in his work, *The life and stories of the Jaina savior Pārśvanātha*, Baltimore, 1919. The legend of the saint Pārśvanātha has been edited and translated by Charpentier from Devendraganin's Commentary, ZDMG, 69, 1915, 321-359.

37. Vol. II, p. 515.

38. The former was derived from the sacred texts and the latter was the limited and conditioned knowledge.

39. *Gupti* (Vedic *gupti*) means protection, defence, guard, watchfulness. Cf. *Aṅguttara*, IV, 106 ff.; *Digha*, III, 148. *Guptis* are three in number. Three *guptis* and five *samitis* constitute eight articles of the Jain creed. They are the means of self-control. Cf. *Uttarādhyaṇa sūtra*, XXIV, 1:

Attha pavayaṇamāyāo samūgutti taheva ya |
pañceva ya samīo tao gutti āhiyā ||

The three *guptis* are the following:

1. preventing mind from sensual pleasure by engaging it in contemplation, study, etc.;
2. preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence; and
3. putting the body in an immovable posture. (*Uttarādhyaṇa sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, pp. 178-181).

(2) Does the law of Pārśva recognise four vows?

(3) Does the law forbid clothes for a monk or does it allow the use of under and upper garments?

Knowing the thoughts of their disciples Keśi and Gautama met each other. Asked by Keśi, Gautama replied, "Wisdom recognises the truth of the law and the ascertainment of true things. The Tirthankaras have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the law. The first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last saints prevaricating and slow of understanding, those between the two, simple and wise; hence there are two forms of the law. The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the law and the last could only with difficulty observe them but those between them easily understood and observed them.⁴⁰ Their view is that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation. Self is the one invincible foe together with four cardinal passions (anger, pride, deceit, and greed) and the five senses. Love, hatred etc. are heavy fetters,⁴¹ attachment is a dangrous one; having regularly destroyed them one should live according to the rules of conduct. Love of existence is dreadful. Passions are the fire,⁴² which should be subdued. One should govern the unruly mind by the discipline of the law. The heterodox and the heretics have chosen a wrong path. The right path as pointed out by the Jinas is the most excellent. Old age and death carry away living beings.⁴³ The law is the refuge and the most excellent shelter. The omniscient Jina has risen after destroying the circle of births. He is the luminary who brings light into the whole world of living beings. *Nirvāṇa* is the safe, happy and quiet place which the great sages reach. It is freedom from pain and is difficult of approach.⁴⁴ The sages who have got it are free from sorrows and they have put an end to the stream of existence. In this way Gautama succeeded in winning over Keśi to his side by removing his doubts. Keśi then adopted the law of five vows proclaimed by the first Tirthankara Rṣabha. In the meeting of Keśi and Gautama the subjects of the greatest importance, such as the

40. *Jaina sūtras*, II, 122-23.

41. Cf. *Dhammapada*, V. 211.

42. Cf. *Dhammapada*, V. 251.

43. *Jarā ca maccu ca āyus pācenti pāṇinam*—*Dhammapada*, V. 135.

44. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 612; *Sumangalav.* I, 217; *Vinaya*, I, 8. *Vinaya*, II, 156; *Dhammapada*, V. 204 etc. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Ch. XI.

five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra and the *cāujjāmadhamma* of Lord Pārśva, and the *acelakatva* propounded by Mahāvīra and the *sacelakatva* of Pārśva were settled, and knowledge and virtuous conduct were brought into eminence.⁴⁵ This meeting also brought about the union of the old branch of the Jain Church and the new one.⁴⁶ It was through Keśi the followers of Pārśva accepted the discipleship of Mahāvīra according to the *Rāyapasenaiya sūya*.

Charpentier in the Introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (p. 46) rightly points out that a kernel of real old tradition is preserved in the chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, concerning the differences in opinion between the two ancient divisions of the church. According to him the followers of Pārśva seem to have observed somewhat less severe rules of asceticism than those of Mahāvīra. The historical importance of the dialogue between Keśi and Gautama lies not only in the contrast sharply drawn between the two orders but also in the necessity felt for amalgamating them into one order.⁴⁷

As a happy result of the amalgamation of the two orders, the oldest known Jain literature came to consist of the fourteen *Pūrvas* and the twelve *Aṅgas*. Pārśva's doctrine of the six classes of living beings served as the basis of Mahāvīra's doctrine of six *leśyās*.⁴⁸

The *Bhagavati sūtra* (I. 76)⁴⁹ refers to a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, and a disciple of Mahāvīra. It ends with the former's begging permission to stay with him after having changed the law of the four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession.⁵⁰ It is surely a supplement to the *Uttarādhyayana* dialogue between Keśi and Gautama as representatives of the two Jain orders, old and new. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (II. i. 222 ff) tells us that Kālī, an old

45. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXIII, 1-89.

46. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466.

47. *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 47.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 48. *Leśyā* is the term signifying colour (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 6, 13). The classification of living beings in terms of six colours may be traced in Pārśva's doctrine of six *Jivanikāyas* (*Ācārāṅga*, II, 15, 16; Cf. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 104).

49. Vide also Weber, *Fragment der Bhāgavati*, p. 185.

50. "Tujjham amtiē cātujjāmāto dhammāto paṃcamahāvratīyaṃ sapadikkamanam dhammam uvasampajjitta nam viharittae."—(to stay with you after having changed the law of four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession) Cf. Sīlāṅka's commentary on the *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, Calcutta ed., p. 331.

maiden (*vaḍḍakumārī*), joined Pārśva's order and was entrusted to Pupphacūlā, the head of the nuns. The two sisters of Uppalā joined the order of Pārśva but being unable to lead the rigid life of the order they became brahmin *parivrājikās* (female wanderers). Municanda, a follower of Pārśva, lived in a potter's shop in *Kumārāya-sannivesa* in company of his disciples. Vijayā and Pagabbhā, the two female disciples of Pārśva, saved Mahāvīra and Gosāla in *Kūviya-sannivesa*.⁵¹ The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (IX. 32) refers to Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva in Vāṇiyagāma. He gave up four vows of Pārśva and adopted the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (19. p. 218) mentions Puṇḍariya who accepted four vows of Pārśva. The followers of Pārśva moved in a company of five hundred monks in the city of Tuṅgiya.⁵² A number of lay women joined Pārśva's order.⁵³ The *Rāyapasenaiyasūya* (147 ff.) refers to a follower of Pārśva named Keśi. He visited Seyaviyā (Setavyā) where a discussion took place regarding the identity of soul and body between Keśi and Paesi, who being convinced of his opponent's doctrine, became an adherent of the *samaṇas*. A follower of Pārśva named Udaka of the Medāryagotra, son of Peḍhāla, met Gautama the famous disciple of Mahāvīra, who spoke thus, "As long as a man does not control himself, he does not renounce injury to living beings. Beings belong to the circle of births; if they be now immovable beings, they will (sometime) become movable ones; when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in the bodies of immovable ones. It is a sin to kill them when they are born in the bodies of movable beings. There are some men who live in woods and huts, who are not well-controlled, and who do not abstain from killing living beings, they are born in some places inhabited by the evil doers. It has never happened nor will it ever happen that all movable beings will die out and become immovable ones and *vice versa*." At last Udaka expressed his desire to part with the creed enjoining four vows preached by Pārśva for the five vows of Mahāvīra. Gautama was successful in winning over Udaka to his side.⁵⁴ From this dialogue between Udaka and Gautama it appears that the followers of Pārśva and the disciples of Mahāvīra were respectively known as the Nigaṇṭha Kumāraputtas and the Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputtas.

51. *Āvaśyakacūṛṇī*, p. 291.

52. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2-5.

53. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 10.

54. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, II, Lec. 7.

The religion of Pārśva was meant for one and all without any distinction of caste or creed. Pārśva allowed women to enter his order as the Buddha did at the request of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī⁵⁵ He laid stress on the doctrine of *ahiṃsā*. According to him strict asceticism was the only way for the attainment of salvation. Fundamentally the doctrines of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were the same. Only points of difference were concerning vows and garments. Pārśva preached four vows instead of five. He allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttaro*) but Mahāvīra⁵⁶ forbade clothing altogether. Mahāvīra seems to be the first exponent of nakedness. It is interesting to find the monks of the order of Pārśva practising *Jinakappa*.⁵⁷ According to Jacobi the order of Pārśva seems to have undergone some changes in the period between the death of Pārśva and the advent of Mahāvīra.

Parsva's four vows⁵⁸ were the following :—

(1) Abstinence from killing living beings (Cf. the Buddhist *pāṇātipātā veramaṇi* or the avoidance of life-slaughter). It is just another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-guarding etc., according to the *Paṇḍhāvāgaraṇāim*.

A Jain is careful in his walk. He searches into his mind and speech. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging. He eats and drinks after proper inspection.

(2) Avoidance of falsehood (Cf. the Buddhist *musāvādā veramaṇi*).

A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear and mirth.

55. Cf. *Vinaya Cullavagga*, X, 1.

56. *Uttarādhyaṃyana Sūtra*, XXIII, 13; cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, VIII, 14. 2.

57. Jain, *Life in ancient India as described in the Jain Canons*, 27.

58. The *Paṇḍhāvāgaraṇāim* (*Praśna-Vyākaraṇāṇī*) explains the great moral vows of the Jains. The first four represented the four principles of self-restraint as prescribed by Pārśva for his followers. Although the enumeration of the principles is somewhat different, they are all important to both the Jain and Buddhist systems. In the Jain presentation a greater emphasis is laid on the side of abstinence from impious acts, while in the Buddhist presentation much stress is laid on the positive aspect of virtues. It is not enough that a person abstains from doing a misdeed in as much as a progressive man is expected to cultivate and develop friendliness, truthfulness, honest life, etc. The difference seems to be one of degree and not of kind. (See also Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 62-63).

(3) Avoidance of theft (*adinnādānā veramaṇi*).

A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superiors. He who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time.⁵⁹ He may beg for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation.

(4) Freedom from possessions (Cf. the Buddhist *jātarūpara-jatapaṭiggahāṇā veramaṇi*).

The non-hankering after worldly possessions may be internal and external. The external hankering is an obstacle to religious practices and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness and moral contaminations, according to the *Paṇḍāvāgaranāim*.

If a living being hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds,⁶⁰ sees forms, smells,⁶¹ tastes things and feels touches,⁶² he should not be attached to them.

According to some these are the restraints in Jainism.⁶³

To these four vows of Pārśva, the vow of chastity, was later added by Mahāvira. This he did by dividing the vow of property into two parts: —

One relating to women and the other relating to material possessions. The Ājīvika leader Gośāla's conduct led Mahāvira to add the vow of chastity to the four vows of Pārśva.

The Pāli *Cātuyāmasaṇivara* (*Cātuyāma-saṇvuto*)⁶⁴ which is equivalent to Prakrit *Cātuṣṣyāma* or *Cāuṣṣyāma*, denoting four vows of Pārśva, was undoubtedly a phraseology of the religion of Pārśva

59. Cf. *Anguttara*, I, 205. This is known in Theravāda Buddhism as *Nigaṇṭhuposatho*.

60. Cf. Buddhist *naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇi*.

61. Cf. Buddhist *mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanatṭhānā-veramaṇi*.

62. Cf. *Anguttara*, III, 99-100—*So cakkhunā rūpaṃ diṣvā na nimittagāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi, yavādikaraṇaṃ eṇaṃ cakkhundriyaṃ asaṇvutaṃ viharantaṃ abhijjhā domanassā pāpakā akusalā dhammā anvāssavēyyuṃ tassa saṃvarāya paṭipajjati, rakkhati cakkhundriyaṃ cakkhundriye saṃvaraṃ āpajjati. Sotena saddaṃ sutvā ghāṇena gandhaṃ ghāyitvā ... jivhāya rasaṃ sēyitvā kāyena poṭṭhabbaṃ phusitvā ... manasā dhammaṃ viññāyā na nimittagāhi hoti nānuvyañjanaggāhi.*

63. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, II, 7. 17.

64. *Samyutta*, I, p. 66. Cf. *Dīgha*, III, p. 49—*Cātuyāma-saṇivara-saṇvuto*.

but it acquired altogether a new connotation with the followers of Mahāvira. Some think that by the fourfold self-restraint the Buddhist author has simply expressed the four characteristics of a Jaina recluse.⁶⁵ A correct representation of the fourfold self-restraint even in the sense in which the followers of Pārśva understood it, is not wanting in Buddhist literature.

Rhys Davids is wrong in his statement that Jacobi thinks that the four restraints are intended to represent the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva.⁶⁶ Jacobi has not said this in his *Jaina sūtras* (S.B.E.) II, xxiii to which Rhys Davids refers.⁶⁷

According to the *Dīgha Nikāya*⁶⁸ a nigaṇṭha lives restrained as regards all water; restrained as regards all evils; all evils he has washed away and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the fourfold self-restraint and since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore is he the *niggaṇṭho* (free from bonds), *gatatto* (whose heart is gone, that is to, the summit, to the attainment of his aim), *yatatto* (whose heart is under control) and *thitatto* (whose heart is fixed) according to the commentator Buddhaghosa.⁶⁹ The Buddha explained the term differently when he explained it on his own account. By the four-fold self-restraint he meant the four moral precepts, each of which is viewed in its fourfold aspect. The four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.⁷⁰ Regarding the first of the four restraints the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa thought that the Jains did not drink cold water because there were souls in it. The Hatthitāpasas used to kill every year one elephant for the purpose of food on the ground that they thereby minimised the slaughter of life.⁷¹ The Jaina house-holder Upāli pointed out that his Master considered every act of killing a demerit, whether the act be intentional or not. The Buddha held the view that it was impossible to abstain from killing for even in moving about a

65. Law, *Mahāvira: His Life and Teachings*, 13-14.

66. *Dialogues of Buddha*, S.B.E., II, p. 75. f. n. 1.

67. S.B.E., II, p. 75. f.n. 1.

68. "Nigaṇṭho sabbavāri-vārito ca hoti, sabba-vāri yuto ca, sabbavāri dhuto ca, sabba-vāri phutṭoca. Evam ... nigaṇṭho cātu-yāmasaṇivara-saṇvuto hoti ... ayaṃ vuccati ... nigaṇṭho gatatto ca yatatto ca thitatto cāti" (*Dīgha*, I, p. 57).

69. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 163—*Gatatto = Kotippatta-citto. Yatatto = Samyata citto. Thitatto = Suppatitṭhito citto.*

70. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 35-36.

71. *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 418.

man was bound to kill many lives. The Jains took exception to the Buddhist view.⁷²

The image of Pārśvanātha found in a temple on the Paresnath Hill in the district of Hazaribagh, represents the saint sitting naked in the attitude of meditation. His head is protected by the snake which is his special emblem. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (pp. 11-13) there was in ancient times an image of Pārśvanātha at Campā in the suburb of Ratnākara. It was worshipped by Sohamma Vāsava and the daughter of Videha with Raghupuṅgava and Sakra. Kṛṣṇa installed an image of Pārśva on a sanctified spot in the town of Saṅkhapura. He worshipped the image after installing it in a temple. The sea engulfed the temple and the image. The image of the Lord Pārśva was rescued by a merchant of the town of Kānti and was taken to his native town. After the death of this merchant, Nāgārjuna, the chief of the saints, brought the image home for subduing passions; hence the place was called *Stambhanakhatīrtha*. Much merit is gained by the sight of the image of Pārśvanātha.

Dutch Voyages to Malabar 1644-59

BY

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Thanks to the forceful leadership of Antonie van Diemen who assumed office as Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1636, the foundations were laid of a profit-yielding trade in Malabar by reason of the contracts concluded with Malabar princes. And, as in all other places in the East Indies, the United East India Company of the Dutch had here (in Malabar) only to reap under his successor Cornelis van der Lijn what had been sown by Van Diemen.

Henceforward, there departed annually from Batavia a number of ships *via* Galle in Ceylon to Malabar during the favourable monsoon with a view to secure pepper by bartering the Company's wares for the same. A mighty mounting up in barter and profits was discerned, a mounting up which hardly ceased when the armistice with Portugal came to an end in 1652. Already, the *Arent* and the *Waterhout*, which had sailed out from the Netherlands while the negotiations about the armistice with Portugal were proceeding, brought to Batavia a consignment of 253 lasts of pepper purchased by Dirck Schoorl at Cannanore, Kayamkulam, Calicut, Purakkad and Quilon. Because of lack of goods to be bartered, there remained unbought as many as 159 lasts. Schoorl had held out before the small kings of Malabar the armistice concluded between the Dutch Republic and Portugal and offered to place them under the protection of the United East India Company, but this aroused little response. The princes appeared to make little of it so that the affair, for the time being, remained unheeded. The Zamorin paid a portion of his debt, but a very considerable balance remained unpaid.

Expectations of the Malabar trade were stretched so high at Batavia that two ships were not considered sufficient for the purpose. Besides the *Arent* and the *Noordster* which were appointed for that trade in 1645, a third ship, the fly-boat *Overschie*, was now commissioned to take the pepper. The cargoes represented a value of 74,431 and odd guilders. Schoorl and Van Serooskercken who were entrusted with the direction of the trade hoped to acquire

72. *Ibid.*, II, 414-417; Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 30-31.

here a consignment of 500 lasts of pepper. The wares were the usual barter goods which in previous years had yielded profits on the Malabar Coast. These were, spices, cloves, mace and nutmegs, tin, lead, Japanese iron, refined sandalwood, vermilion, quicksilver and a small quantity of red coral while the cargoes were replenished from Surat by opium and cotton. These two last-named articles were the most marketable articles on the Malabar Coast and it was from these that the greatest profit was obtained. Presents and letters for the Malabar princes were to serve for the confirmation of the contracts concluded by Pieter Sybrandtsz Groes. With a courteous but somewhat threatening note mollified by some presents (one roll Chinese lac, spices and a sword), the Zamorin was once more dunned for the final and full settlement of his debt. If payment was not made, the Company would obtain their demand in another way and go and trade elsewhere which indeed they had already commenced to do. The Company's threats made very little impression on the ruler of Calicut. He declared that owing to the war he was unable to indemnify the Company. The old friend of the United East India Company on the Malabar Coast, the king of Kayamkulam, likewise received presents for the maintenance of his good inclination towards the Company.

From the king of Quilon, Schoorl had, during his previous voyage, received an offer of free trade and a place to build a fort. This prince was also given presents. Yet, at the outset, the Dutch did not hear that pepper cargoes were acquired in this land. The influence of the Portuguese prevailed here. They possessed a well-built fort which was strong enough to hinder the Dutch, but owing to their great lack of capital the Portuguese purchases were very little.

Against the king of Purakkad, the Company had grave complaints. Cargoes and presents were sent to this land for the confirmation of the treaty of 1643, but the presents were not conveyed in ships nor the Dutch merchants received in audience. It could not be otherwise as there were again the intrigues of the Portuguese who with their usual lies had made the Dutch odious to the king. The latter was expostulated with as to the great benefits he could realise from the armistice between the Portuguese and the Dutch if he declared himself an ally of the United East India Company. Van Serooskercken who traded at Cannanore had, if he were to retain the favour of Mamaly Craa, Chief of the Moplabs, to grant him credit notwithstanding the bad experiences which the Dutch had in this matter with the Zamorin.

In June 1646 both the fly-boat the *Noordster* and the *Overschie* and the Yacht *Arent* arrived at Batavia with a cargo of 410 lasts of pepper purchased for 181,161 and odd guilders. A clear gain of 73,696 and odd guilders was made, the pepper with all expenses having cost only upwards of 3½ stuivers per pound. In comparison with the previous years when the profits at the highest amounted only to 23,092 guilders during a voyage, this was a handsome result.

Dirck Schoorl therefore gave to his superiors so bright a picture of the possibilities of the Malabar Coast that the latter expected, for the following year, cargo of at least 800 lasts. The Governor-General and Councillors hoped in the long run to acquire the entire pepper trade of the Coast, to push away the Portuguese and to give no chance to the English to trade. More shipping was necessary for this than they had hitherto made available for the Malabar voyage. Besides the ship *Maastricht* and the Yachts *Ackersloot* and *Acchterkercke* with a cargo of the value of 120,165 and odd guilders (30,000 reels in specie and the rest merchandise) the ship *Banda* was also despatched for the Malabar trade. This ship was to fetch at Malacca a cargo of tin, a commodity which had always found good purchasers on the Coast, and now that the tin-land, Malacca, was since the conquest of 1641 in the hands of the United East India Company, this commodity had not to be supplied from far. For the purpose of their pepper trade the Malabar voyagers henceforth decided that besides Ceylon Malacca also should furnish cargoes of tin. From Kayalpatnam where the Company had established themselves recently (end of 1645), the United East India Company hoped they could import tobacco to the Malabar Coast. Van Serooskercken was to buy at Kayalpatnam 1400 to 1500 bundles which the High Government hoped would fetch a profit of 35 to 40%.

The task of the Malabar navigators was divided so that Dirck Schoorl, the leader of the expedition, with the ship *Maastricht*, looked after the trade in Kayamkulam, Purakkad and surrounding places while Van Serooskercken, with the ship *Ackersloot*, carried on trade at Cannanore and the neighbourhood. As well against the Portuguese who in spite of the armistice were yet very little to be trusted as against the Malabar pirates had Schoorl and Van Serooskercken to be on the guard. It was desired to maintain as little intercourse with the Portuguese as possible and to refuse passage to them on Dutch ships.

This year it was firmly decided that they should carry into effect the threats against the Zamorin if the payment did not take place in the least and to lift from one of the Zamorin's ships the pepper which was due from him. The United East India Company was tired of having had to wait so long for pepper in exchange of the costly barter goods already delivered.

The pepper yield did not in any way satisfy their high strung expectations. Both at Cannanore where Serooskercken obtained 83 lasts pepper and had to take for the rest of his barter goods cash which he was to exchange for pepper at Kayamkulam and at the latter place also the pepper harvest turned out to be very bad.

Eventually in June 1647 the ships *Maastricht*, *Ackersloot* and *Banda* brought to Batavia only 340 (or 384) lasts instead of 800 lasts. This year the profit was only 34,171 and odd guilders which was considerably smaller than that of 1646. As the new pepper crop on the Malabar Coast was good and the cargoes which the Dutch had brought with them remained long unsold, the merchants Schoorl and Van Serooskercken left behind, under proper protection, an undermerchant, Jacob Cranenburg, on the Coast. He was to buy at Kayamkulam in good time pepper for the remaining cargoes i.e., for 81,807 and odd guilders so that, when they returned, a good ship load would be ready for serving as return cargo to the Netherlands. This was thus the first time that the Dutch obtained on the coast a permanent establishment.

Till now the cargoes for Malabar had always contained a certain quantity of spices from the Moluccas. Of this the Company possessed the monopoly and they could themselves fix the price. They considered this of very great value and larded with cash. The navigators of Malabar were to view this costly commodity as capable of producing gain and were not to sell it cheaper than in Surat and Coromandel so that the market in those places be not damaged. If the Indian merchants did not desire to buy the spices at such a high price, they had to let the pepper remain stored up in the warehouses until the merchants finally realised that the Company was not timid about their clientele.

A number of complaints reached the High Government from their factories that the Company's sale of spices made those commodities unsaleable in their settlements. The inland merchants who bought the spices on the Malabar Coast conveyed this across the Sea to Wingurla, Surat, Mocha as also to Coromandel (this by taking a short cut overland) and offered both

these spices as also the Malabar pepper for lower prices than the Company asked for this. Even though the prices in Malabar were like those in other settlements, the Company's prices remained high as the Indians were not eager for such high profits as the United East India Company and were mostly but small hawkers whose expenses of transport were only slight. They were contented if they but obtained what was necessary for their maintenance. A considerable portion of those spices purchased by inland merchants found their way through the Arabian Sea to Mocha and there they not only spoiled the market but also caused the danger of their being transported to Europe. In 1649 the United East India Company decided to send no more spices to Malabar as they gave only a smaller profit than those conveyed to Mocha. The actual reasons were kept strictly concealed from the Indians and the suspension of the supply was to be attributed to the poor harvest. The following year they had to turn back from this policy as the Indians showed no inclination to buy the Company's other wares without spices to buy in exchange of pepper.

In particular the new Malabar trade gave offence to the Director of Surat who saw in this a competition caused to his factory. While the spices in sufficient measure were sold in his factory for reasonable profits, people began to sell this on the Malabar Coast at lower prices and by so doing sent him a smaller quantity apart further from the loss caused during these years to the voyage to Mocha undertaken from Surat.

But the head of Wingurla also saw a new competitor the more in Malabar where it was the rule of conduct of the Company to keep the trade of this factory (Wingurla) as small as possible and only make that factory serve as a watchpost for Goa and the actions of the Portuguese there. As has already been explained, the Company's original attempts to begin lucrative trade here were not crowned with success and the proposals of the later heads who insisted on the augmentation of the trade were let down by the High Council of Batavia. Neither Sterthemius nor Otto Houckgeest who presumably anticipated with their plans large profits for themselves had any success. Both recommended warmly the services of the great merchants of Wingurla, Narsanna and Krishna Annawy, a pair of brothers who dominated the trade in the Bijapur kingdom. These merchants, afraid that the Company would transfer their trade wholly to the Malabar Coast, offered to the United East India Company a contract to deliver annually, as happened on the Malabar Coast, pepper against

exchange goods. Large quantities could be purchased here and as Sterthemius proposed to his masters neither Surat nor Coromandel should suffer because of this while he looked forward to an enlargement of the trade of Wingurla and a diminution of the native competition in European goods. Sterthemius showed to the Governor-General and Council that by the expansion of the Wingurla trade the Dutch could best compete with the trade of the English which in 1647 and 1648 displayed a greater activity in spreading on the West Coast of India proper. Besides pepper, the Wingurla merchants promised to supply the Company with cowries through the inception of trade with the Maldive islands. It was better that the United East India Company retailed exchange goods in Wingurla than that the natives bought these goods from the Netherlanders in other places and threw them on the market at prices lower than those of the Company.

As Sterthemius well understood that the suspension of the Malabar trade for the benefit of Wingurla was out of the question, he wished to make attractive to his superiors a plan for amalgamating into one both trade regions. With a contract with the merchants they were at least sure of a large shipment of pepper while much reliance could not be placed on the Malabar pepper. To what extent reliance could be placed on the trustworthiness of the Wingurla merchants, who were rather inclined already to break their promises for the purpose of giving pepper to those who offered most, was an open question which was surely not answered with absolute certainty by the Governor-General and Councillors.

As soon as these plans came to the ears of the Director of Surat, he, fearing that, through such an increase of the Wingurla trade, that of Surat would come to nought and that the Company's wares there would remain unsold, protested. The offers of the Wingurla merchants were rejected. But now the latter entered, into a contract with Mamaly Craa whereby they in return for opium and cotton purchased all the merchandise which the Moplah chieftain got from the Dutch at Cannanore. As the Wingurla merchants could exchange their opium and cotton in an advantageous manner, they could also sell the exchange goods originally imported by the Dutch to the Coast at a lower price than the Dutch could do at Wingurla and elsewhere. Their competition was at work likewise at Cannanore where the market was glutted by reason of their transport of opium and cotton and the Dutch remained waiting with their goods.

Sterthemius's successor, Otto Houckgeest, found with his superiors a no more favourable audience in the matter of expanding the trade according to his desire. His request for transfer was therefore all the more willingly granted by the High Government. It was indeed a pity that they replaced him by Jacob Bacheracht who came with no plans and proposals, but, without the previous knowledge of his masters, advanced a large sum to the Bijapur merchant princes, Krishna Annawy and Narsanna, for their trade and besides carried on an extensive private trade. Further, this Bacheracht in no way satisfied the requirements of a competent upper head. During the tenure of his leadership it came to very serious trouble with the native population so that Wingurla had to be evacuated and the Company's settlements had to be removed to the adjacent Salsette. It was Rijcklof van Goens who during the time of his visitation of the Dutch factories in India proper in 1653-54 put in order the affairs of Wingurla.

We now turn back to the Malabar navigators. Under the direction of Schoorl and Van Serooskercken the ship *Banda* and the Yachts *Ackersloot* and *Lillo* sailed from Batavia on the 15th September 1647 for getting into the hands of the Dutch the largest portion of the pepper of Malabar. A fourth ship was to appear on the Malabar Coast in February 1648 after proceeding on a voyage to Surat and Persia. Thus there was enough shipping and the High Government hoped to see brought to Batavia 850 lasts. Not less than 250 soldiers went with this squadron to be landed ashore in Ceylon for the fortresses of Galle and Negombo. The extent of the cargoes covered a value of 33,147 and odd guilders to which were added the usual merchandise. Opium and tobacco from Coromandel, Surat cotton, cotton yarns, golden reels and Moorish ducats, white cummin and cassomba (an orange red flower of the cardamom tincture used as a dye-stuff for cotton threads, as medicine and as substitute of saffron for colouring food). Just as in the previous year, the trade was divided between Cannanore and Kayamkulam. Besides, Cranenburg who had remained behind had gathered together 150 lasts of pepper which could be shipped immediately on arrival of ships. Cranenburg did not succeed in selling quickly the tobacco from Kayalpatnam which was left behind with the unsold wares. He was forbidden to sell these. Only secretly and for very small profits could he dispose of his stock. Of the ships sent through Batavia, the Yacht *Ackersloot* appeared so wrecked and rotten that it could not proceed on the voyage to the Coast and remained behind at Galle

for repair. It was not the Company's best ships that were used for the Malabar trade. A greater disaster was to follow.

While in March 1648 already the *Banda* was back at Batavia with a pepper cargo of 439,298 pounds, there followed in June and July the *Maastricht*, the *Ackersloot*, the *Salm* and the *Lillo* which brought 416 lasts of pepper bought largely at 3 stuivers the pound. On the whole, a profit of 49,028 and odd guilders was made. Still there remained at Kayamkulam under the direction of Cranenberg 160 lasts which they could not receive on board because of the severe storms which already prevailed on the Coast. The ship *Maastricht* and the fly boat the *Salm* had traded in great peril and were preserved almost through a miracle. The Malabar voyagers received the express command not to remain in future on the Coast later than 1st May. The Zamorin had at last cleared his old debt. The crop there was good and all things promised a profitable trade for the next year. They hoped to get 600 lasts. During the bad monsoon (rainy season) Cranenburg must try to exchange goods worth 75,319 and odd guilders for pepper and in particular to take the wind out of the sails of the English.

In 1647 the English at Surat sent the ship the *Falcon* under George Oxenden via Mocha along the Malabar Coast for the purchase of pepper at Purakkad, Quilon and Calicut and cinnamon at Cochin. At Calicut, the merchants refused to trade. With the strong Dutch Competition, there was very little to get. Besides, the new Portuguese Viceroy, Philip Mascarenhas, on his voyage from Ceylon to Goa, had renewed all pepper contracts in Malabar and forbidden the sale of cinnamon. As the result of their taking possession of the principal cinnamon lands on Ceylon, the Dutch had become the owners of such large quantities of cinnamon that they had not only enough for their return cargo but also provided all Indian lands with what they needed. For the English no more advantages could be secured here.

Nevertheless in 1648 also the English *Blessing* sailed again under Oxenden to Malabar with a cargo consisting for the most part of coral. Connections with the Princes who had made proposals of trade during the previous voyage of the *Falcon* were to be negotiated. But the English felt so little secure in the Malabar land that they dared not leave their ship and caused the negotiations to take place through their broker.

Also, the *Blessing* obtained a poor result and many years elapsed before they perceived anything of the interference of the

English in Malabar. Attempts to carry on trade in Wingurla where the English desired to found an establishment at Carra-patnam 10 miles north of Wingurla made little progress. To drive the English, the Governor-General and Council deviated from their policy in respect of Wingurla and permitted the purchase of a small quantity of pepper for very high prices.

The Courten's Association did not on the whole do anything worth speaking about. Courten himself escaped from his creditors to the mainland and there died. Not the least help was to be expected from England. The agents formed a small isolated group in a foreign hostile land without any pecuniary resources. At the outset they endeavoured to keep their heads above water by appearing as freighters for the natives. In 1648 their position was so bad that they came to supplicate help in the Dutch lodge at Wingurla. They had not any more the least credit among the Indian merchants. If the Dutch did not help them and did not at least give them a loan of money for their daily expenses they would, to the great shame and disparagement of the Christian nations, it was represented, have to fall with great misery into the hands of the heathens. The Old English Company refused all help. The Dutch Company also dismissed this request of Courten's Association, much less were they inclined to give them their passage to Europe in Dutch ships. The United East India Company had no desire to incur loss and ingratitude nor did they entertain any nobler sentiments to their once highly troublesome competitors than their own countrymen. In 1649 the last of the Courten's Association to remain on the Malabar Coast was removed to Masulipatam.

The Malabar voyagers who on their return voyage to Batavia had touched at Kayalpatnam had suffered much. They were expelled with such a haste and violence that the Dutch had to leave behind everything and all were in danger of being murdered. Scarcely could they save the *Lillo* which had just arrived. But the fact that beside the obloquy it also involved the Company in great financial loss made it necessary for this to be avenged. Otherwise, there was a chance that the United East India Company would altogether lose its influence on the Madura Coast as also on the Malabar Coast, at Karikal and other places and such events would occur there. Therefore the High Government charged Maetsuycker, Governor of Ceylon, to undertake a punitive expedition against the prince of Madura. 150 soldiers were sent from Batavia with the ship *Nassau*. They were to be reinforced by 250

white soldiers and 100 lascars from the garrison of Galle and Negombo. Other ships and also the vessels destined for Malabar were also to be used for this purpose. Through the punitive expedition, the Nayk was to be compelled to conclude a treaty and make reparations. The forces reached Kayalpatnam on the 9th February. But the Dutch noted that the foremost ringleaders of this knavery had fled to the interior with all their movables. At the hands of the natives who remained behind, the Dutch received a friendly and respectful reception everywhere on the Coast. Unasked they brought all possible refreshments to the ships. On these simple people the Company could hardly vent their revenge. The Dutch hoped that they could return to Kayalpatnam and that they would not be made hateful to the inhabitants. The old and very renowned temple at Trichendur was besieged by the Dutch. In this pagoda they found an image of the war god Subrahmanya. The occupation of the temple made a deep impression on the Hindu population. A multitude of people neither ate nor drank on that sad day. Afterwards the Dutch marched along the entire Madura Coast. Everywhere they were received with great honour and friendship, also at Tuticorin. But the Dutch no more wished to turn back without accomplishing their object. And therefore they decided at least to have some satisfaction—a certain sum of money as ransom from the people and the towns i.e. the Hindus and the Parravas, the native Christians with whom the United East India Company was to have so much trouble and bother. The Muhammodans remained exempted from this penalty because at all times they had shown themselves friendly disposed towards the Dutch trade and had rendered all possible help to the Company's servants in their expeditions along the Coast. From the Hindus the Dutch asked 100,000 Reals, and the inhabitants of Tuticorin were to give 40,000 Reals. If they did not pay, all their temples and houses were to be burnt. This happened to the Hindu portion of the town of Tuticorin when the natives refused to pay. From the temple of Trichendur certain images were taken as Security. Among them was that of the god Subrahmanya.

Sometime later, when all was again forgiven and forgotten, the Dutch who wanted to make a business transaction of everything and were eager to get the ransom which had yet to be paid offered to sell this image to the "blind men" on the Madura Coast for a good sum of money, but this did not take effect, the first zeal of the Hindus for the good having grown faint. This bargain with the image of an idol was considered as something awful by the

authorities of the Company in the Netherlands who judged this to be unChristian.

The clergy in the Catholic section of Tuticorin had accepted the terms of the United East India Company but could not raise among themselves the required sum before the stipulated date as the head of the Parravas, the Patangatins, had fled, an example followed by the most prosperous of these peoples. The Portuguese clergy proposed to the Dutch, as the Pantangatins did not return, to open their houses, pay-offices and chests and to take from them what would serve for abatement of their debts. The Rector of the College of the Jesuits even gave to the Netherlanders a sum of money deposited with him belonging to another which the Pantagatins on their return must make good to its owner. But other than this money almost nothing of value was found in the town and the Dutch soldiers and Ceylonese lascars betook themselves to plundering, a course of action which the above said inhabitants considered as caused by none else than those who without reason had become fugitives and abandoned their houses—verily a weak defence of this hard action. The Portuguese whose properties were no more spared showed themselves very indignant. They lodged a protest through their envoy at the Hague with the States-General—a protest which according to the Dutch was entirely lacking in justification as Tuticorin was governed by the Nayk and the plundered churches and cloisters belonged to the St. Thomas Christians apart from the fact that the Dutch attributed all their disasters to Portuguese instigation.

Everywhere in the neighbourhood as also on the Malabar Coast, the chastisement given to the people of Madura had made a deep impression. Every one gaped with mouth wide open not knowing where to draw breath. Meanwhile Jacob Cranenburg awaited with impatience the ships which were to relieve him of the pepper which was stored in a far from fire-free warehouse thatched with *olas* (palm-leaves). The *Maastricht*, it is true, took no part in the punitive expedition but was sent first to Surat and Persia. Cranenburg sent an assistant to Cochin for the purpose of obtaining help from Dutch ships passing by. This had to be done in the utmost secrecy so that no suspicion might be aroused in Portuguese minds. Between Cochin and Purakkad a war had broken out as a consequence of which unrest prevailed throughout the Malayalam country and Cranenburg felt little safety any more at Kayamkulam. With the capture of Purakkad which was besieged by the king of Cochin, Cranenburg feared that the United East India

Company would therewith lose all the contracted pepper as the king of Cochin would reduce the whole place to ashes.

As a result of the punitive expedition to Kayalpatnam, the inland trade and voyage from Malabar to the bay of Madura was obstructed. The merchants who otherwise came to the Malabar Coast to buy the cotton which was the raw material of their cloths had fled inland for fear of the Dutch, and so Cranenburg could hardly find buyers for his stock of cotton.

The Chetty merchants of Kayamkulam who had much business at Manapara had requested the Dutch not to burn that place. Cranenburg supported this request as he was afraid that as reprisal the Dutch lodge at Kayamkulam would be burned.

The cargoes with which the Dutch navigators to Malabar eventually came to that Coast represented a value of 33,878 and odd guilders. With this should also be included the wares which the *Maastricht* brought from Surat.

The trade was carried on again entirely as in previous years, but in place of the expected 600 lasts only 412 lasts were brought to Batavia by the fly boat the *Eendracht* on the 22nd May and the *Maastricht* on the 10th June 1649. The gain obtained amounted to 43,500 and odd guilders (pepper against 3 stuivers a pound). The debt of the Zamorin was now fully paid.

The Governor-General and Council were not satisfied with the Junior Merchant Cranenburg whose books showed a shortage of a good 1000 guilders. He had to be examined as to whether he had not handled matters maliciously. After doing business, this servant of the Company came back to Batavia. His place was taken by Mattheus van den Broeck. Because the pepper crop there was very good and people counted on an abundant harvest, Van den Broeck remained behind on the Coast with a remainder of barter goods of the value of about 100,000 guilders (93,662 guilders) "under the good security" of three assistants and 6 soldiers. To speak now of a military occupation as MacLeod does (Vol. II, page 389) is somewhat premature, but in any case it shows the firm intention of the Company not to evacuate this field for their competitors. The United East India Company hoped to store still larger pepper stock than in the previous year. For the sailing of the return ships to the Netherlands, people at Batavia desired to obtain a fly boat full of cargo. There was no fear of the competition of the Portuguese who were entirely without means.

For the vigorous continuation of the pepper trade, the High Government sent to Malabar in the year 1649 the fly ship *Uitgeest* with a cargo worth 44,655 guilders. The *Maastricht* which was first to proceed to Siam and Surat to bring again along with it the necessary barter goods from the latter place was to follow while the *Snoek* was to collect from Ceylon the rest of the pepper. For the first time they found no spices in the cargoes sent from Batavia. While every year an accurate assessment of the value of goods loaded at Batavia was given, this was not the case with regard to the supply received on this occasion from Malacca, Surat, Wingurla Coromandel and Bengal. Of these goods, only the quantity was mentioned but without an expression of the value of the goods in money. Also in this turnover a rise is seen.

Of these products, opium and cotton were the most marketable in Malabar. To what great fluctuations of price these goods were mutually subject can be seen from the fact that in 1646 the Surat opium was 52% dearer than a year ago because of the scantier planting. A few years later this product again cost 35¾% less. But, as the Surat Opium appeared to be very bad, they attempted to supply this from other factories of the Company such as from the Madura Coast, Kayalpatnam, the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal. The cargoes for Malabar from Surat since 1647 were filled besides cotton and opium with cotton yarn, cummin, cassumba and Moorsh ducats of which especially the last had mostly to be bought at very high prices but were greatly wanted. To keep alive the trade of Wingurla, the upperhead there suggested to the High Government to send to Malabar Spanish, San Thome and Basselor pagodas which according to him were obtained cheaply at Wingurla instead of the Surat ducats. Since the Company became master of the Malayan peninsula, the tin from Malacca formed, in mounting measure, part of the cargoes destined for Malabar. Just as in the case of the spices, the United East India Company was well nigh the sole seller of this commodity and could keep up its price.

The Chinese sheet gold which they imported into Malabar in 1649 as an experiment might alone, against the highest price be exchanged for pepper. If there remained more of it than was necessary for the winter trade, then the remainder was to be sent to Coromandel so that it might not remain lying without interest in the Company's lodge at Kayamkulam.

The Company's servant at Wingurla made use of the scarcity of horses on the Malabar Coast to sell to the inhabitants of that

region a number of very old horses which because of their great age could nowhere be sold any more. These horses could also be used by the Dutch for being given as presents to the princes by whom as the Dutch thought, the horses would be esteemed very valuable and rare. The narrative does not tell us whether these hacks had the desired effect with the Malabarees.

Though naturally the pepper trade on the Malabar Coast was by far the most important aim of the Company, the land however supplied also other products, the buying up of which the United East India Company no more neglected. As has already been narrated above, the Malabar cardamoms which were principally used for being imported into Persia were very much in demand. As the Persians far preferred the Malabar cardamoms to those of Wingurla, the United East India Company, in the long run, suspended the purchase there. In Persia there was obtained on these cardamoms profits which varied from 42% (in 1647) to rather 135% (in 1650). This cardamom was purchased by the Malabar navigators principally at Cannanore, a place where comparatively less pepper was delivered. The Company in their purchase of cardamom experienced severe competition from Indian merchants who exported this commodity to Mocha, Surat and Cambay and this brought about a strong rise of prices. It was the enormous profits acquired by the United East India Company in Persia that induced them to continue the purchase of cardamom at Cannanore.

The arecanut of Malabar, which in quality was the best in the Indies, was exported to Surat and gave there a profit of 50%.

Of the products of the Coconut palm, the United East India Company had the greatest interest for the ropes made of the fluff of the husk of coconuts, for example coir ropes which could be used on the Company's ships although only in calm seas as they got petrified quickly and broke with fierce storms for which last contingency they could better use ropes made in Holland. The Lords Seventeen to whom the importance of this coir was pointed out by the Governor of Ceylon, Maetsuycker, must, however, have learned from the Governor-General Van der Lijn that these ropes had been in use already for many years and Maetsuycker certainly introduced no novelty with this. The coir fluff was carried from the Maldives to the Malabar Coast; but the true product of those islands were, for all that, the cowries used in the east as currency. The United East India Company wished to secure a portion of the trade in this substance. Especially to

Cannanore these cowries were conveyed and here the Malabar navigator Van Serooskercken brought consignments.

Further there came from these islands amber that the United East India Company likewise purchased in small lots at Cannanore. Also, the Company carried on trade in copra, the product of the cocoanut palm. This was principally sold at Surat. One other product which the Malabar Coast produced, wax, was negotiated by native merchants but received little attention at the hands of the United East India Company because of the small profits. Different was the case with slaves who could be acquired there in large numbers and at small prices. The Malabar navigators were required to reconnoitre the potentialities of this and bring with them a certain number of these to Batavia. This was, however, a matter that had to be effected with the necessary prudence so that the United East India Company might not become the subject of talk with the inhabitants of the country. It appears, however, that in this commodity actual purchases did not take place. In any case, such purchases are not mentioned in the Company's documents.

Coffee, it is true, was exported in small quantities by the Company to Surat; but it was a product which did not grow on the Coast, but was imported here and there especially at Cannanore by the native merchants. In comparison with other products, this yielded no great profits to the United East India Company. Also sandalwood was one of the imported wares which the United East India Company re-exported. The land produced plentifully other kinds of timber which was utilized by the Company for their ship-building and which the Dutch sent from the Coast to Ceylon.

The High Government decided that, as the Malabar navigators had a too small quantity of pepper in their ships, they should fill them at Galle with cinnamon so that no portion of the Company's costly shipping space might remain unused. Further, the Malabar navigators prompted Ceylon, where the Company did not have at their disposal sufficient cultivated land, to buy rice at Mangalore and Barsalore on the coast of Kanara a little to the north of Malabar when the supply of rice from Coromandel and Java broke down. The rice here was, however, very dear. It was cheaper to get the same in Bengal, and so they got it from that land. The Naick of Canara, in whose land they brought this rice showed himself inclined to deliver pepper also. Till now he had a contract with the Portuguese about the delivery of pepper. Offers were made to the Company in 1656 about the occupation of the

fort Onor; besides the Dutch would enjoy a trade monopoly to the exclusion of others. The Company's upper head at Wingurla, Leendert Jansz, had an audience with the Naick and concluded a treaty with the prince.

As the Portuguese were partly dependent on this prince for the supply of provisions, the United East India Company could here thwart their hereditary enemy and this matter was recommended to the attention of Van Goens during his visit to the West Coast of India proper in 1657.

While he was staying behind on the Malabar Coast, Van den Broeck managed to exchange almost all his wares for pepper and when Schoorl arrived on the 7th January 1650, Van den Broeck informed the latter that 340 lasts of pepper were purchased. In the ware house at Kayamkulam he found 150 lasts. With the merchants they had a credit of 50 lasts and at Quilon, where also business was now transacted, 100 lasts were in stock. There was so much pepper that the available tonnage proved too little and it became necessary for them to fill with pepper the gaps in the cargoes from Surat. A portion of the pepper was this time destined for Taiwan (Formosa) and China. In these lands there was a large pepper market which was hitherto supplied exclusively by pepper from the Archipelago.

The Ragiadoor of Kayamkulam put many impediments in the way of the Dutch loading pepper in their ships. Probably this ragiadoor was prompted by Portuguese instigation, but it was also true that in this manner he compelled the Dutch to give him presents. He victimised the natives who loaded pepper for the Dutch with severe penalties. The merchants no more hastened to deliver the contracted pepper. Complaints to the ragiadoor hardly helped. No more had Van den Broeck much success with the merchants who had made him appear before a deputation out of their midst, that is, before "that council of rogues." They replied to Van den Broeck that the king must first have a present and that the pepper should be brought to the Dutch ships only in vessels belonging to him. There remained nothing else for them to do than to pay a visit to the king and have an audience with him. The king was staying in his old palace at Eriby in the midst of forests. This was reached by Schoorl and Van Serooskercken in the night after much trouble and travail. It was a palace for which the Dutch had no other word than a pig pen. The audience and the presents—some Moorish ducats, two guilt mirrors, red lac and sandalwood, altogether costing 126 guilders, "a present too little for such a great

king," as the Dutch flattered him, but sent to him "with a good heart"—so far succeeded that the king promised his help to the Dutch.

The kings of Quilon and Travancore were also visited by the Dutch navigators to Malabar, now Schoorl and Van den Broeck as Van Serooskercken had departed for Cannanore with the *Snoek*. Isaac van Twist the younger also formed part of the embassy.

The signatty (ruler of Quilon) also received a present which did not differ much in value from that given to the ruler of Kayamkulam. He received only one gilt mirror but besides that he was given one small gold-painted nest box and not only red but also green lac. This prince also promised to be helpful to the Dutch.

The king of Travancore who had come to Quilon to fight against the king of Cochin wished likewise to enter into a treaty with the Dutch, but, as Schoorl sceptically observes, only under that pretext to obtain a present. The king was staying in a pagoda and the Dutch proceeded there after first making a gift to the ragiadoor of this prince so that the pillais whose desire for gifts was insatiable might not be in their way. Also, the king of Travancore accepted respectfully the Dutch presents which were not smaller in value than those given to his subordinates, the king of Kayamkulam and the signatty. He made great promises to the Dutch that his lands would remain open to the Company. After they had already departed, the Travancore monarch caused a request to be made secretly to the Dutch that he might be given the image of god Subrahmanya which the Dutch had plundered from the Trichendur temple. The Malabar navigators who knew that their superiors had a more advantageous plan with regard to the image of the Hindu god courteously declined the king's proposal. But the king does not seem to have taken this ill for some days later a request from this king that they should conclude a contract with him reached the Dutch. They could then remain in his land during the bad monsoon as they had done in Kayamkulam. In Quilon the Dutch were permitted to pitch, for carrying on trade, a tent close to a Hindu temple on a sacred yard where no blood could be shed.

The king of Cochin did not await the attack of the king of Travancore but himself advanced to the combat. He surrounded the king of Travancore and besieged him in a temple. In Quilon this war caused great consternation. All Nairs and merchants came in arms to relieve the besieged. But because of this the

Dutch did not make much progress. Besides the Portuguese intrigued here very much. The king who admits that there were many rogues among his merchants who had been bought up by the Portuguese promised to punish the guilty ones. But the Dutch also were not trusted by the Signatty. He suspected them of eluding his toll by getting their pepper loaded outside his harbour town of Quilon. Such proposals the Dutch had indeed received from a Kayamkulam merchant but were not acted on, so that disaster might be averted.

Requests from Purakkad to carry on trade there reached the Dutch. Against a merchant of this land who for three years owed pepper to the United East India Company, the Dutch resolved to act firmly and to take the owed quantity of pepper from a country vessel of his loaded with pepper.

While the Dutch were at Kayamkulam they received a request from a man who claimed to be king of the Maldives to take him to Europe in the Company's ships. The claimant to the crown had some months ago made an effort to take possession of the Maldives. But such a hot reception was prepared for him by the inhabitants that he hastily crossed over to Tuticorin. In fact he went so far that compared to him the Dutch were reckoned saints. Schoorl declined the request on the pretext that the transport of foreign nations in the Company's ships was strictly forbidden.

With the Portuguese, the Dutch carried on as little intercourse as possible because they were afraid that the farmer would avenge the outrage at Tuticorin. At Quilon certain prominent Portuguese came to the Dutch "tent" and complained that from their slaves some negroes and negresses had run away and hidden themselves on the Dutch ship for proceeding in it to Batavia. The Dutch immediately suggested that they should convince themselves of the untruth of this imputation so that after their departure no calumny might be cast on them, but the Portuguese did not enter the ship. The Portuguese, indeed, showed the Dutch a letter received from Goa wherein there was talk of an alliance between Portugal and diverse other lands including the Dutch Republic. The Dutch believed nothing of this, rather the contrary. Shortly afterwards, the Portuguese armada sailed past Quilon. Schoorl and his companions suspected that the Portuguese were on the way to Tuticorin so that they might, by putting up a fortress, protect that region against an invasion by the Dutch.

After the departure of the Dutch ships, Van den Broeck was again left on the Malabar Coast with barter goods to the value of 99,137 and odd guilders. For the security of the Company's possessions, there were added two assistants, 4 brave soldiers and a carpenter between whom he had to maintain good discipline. Schoorl reckoned that during the bad monsoon Van den Broeck could collect about 200 lasts of pepper. The negotiations which had been begun with the Signatty had to be continued and a start made with the building of a lodge whereunto the king had promised his support. Already, during the previous season, Van den Broeck had attempted to enter into trade relations at Cochin. However, the Company's goods were not considered sufficient for carrying on the trade here fruitfully. They should keep in their thoughts the opening of the door for profitable returns in Cochin also in spite of the impecunious Portuguese.

Van den Broeck had to take very great care that the natives did not deceive him as they tried to adulterate the pepper with all low practices; a very much used means for this was the mixing of the good pepper with unripe pepper of a second picking.

For the pepper season of 1650-51 the ships *Snoek* and *Uitgeest* were sent out from Batavia.*

This ship was to be joined by the ship *Maastricht* coming from Surat. The whole of the capital for exchange, consisting of the barter goods left behind under Van den Broeck and the supply from Malacca, Surat and Bengal, amounted this year to the sum of 265,333 guilders. The Dutch wished that the Malabar trade continued and expanded, as had happened at Quilon in the previous year, especially as now the Portuguese influence was removed. It was also Cochin that they were already wishing to include in their sphere of interest. The negotiations began by Van den Broeck met with the approval of the Governor-General and Council. They showed themselves very much pleased with the actions of this servant of the Company. Van den Broeck enjoyed a fine and rapid career in the service of the Company. Having come with the ship *Zeelandia* as Under-merchant in 1648, he was already promoted to the rank of Mer-

* There are no data kept of the quantity of pepper that was brought to Batavia in 1650 nor of the gains made. The only source for this, the original general letter dated 10th December 1650, is only fragmentarily kept and the portion dealing with Malabar has been lost. In the original general letter of 20th January 1651, even much less data occur.

chant in 1650 and to that of Senior Merchant in 1653. From 1658 to 1663 he was Director of the trade in Bengal and Councillor Extraordinary of India. After that he was sitting as Ordinary Councillor of India till he returned home on 18th November, 1669, as Admiral of a return fleet.

In view of the endless trouble the Zamorin had caused to the Company in the matter of clearing his debt, it was the intention of the Company, as far as possible, to give no credit on the Coast. But the steady and well-known merchants could not altogether go without the benefit of receiving advance payment for the supply of pepper though everything had to be done here cautiously.

Schoorl again had the command of this voyage, although there were serious complaints about his careless financial management. A not inconsiderable deficit occurred in his books. Or, had he made himself guilty of engaging himself in private trade? It was now expressly laid down firmly in the instructions for the Malabar navigators that in every case such sort of trade was to be absolutely repressed.

In 1650-51, during the bad monsoon, Van den Broeck collected 230 lasts of pepper at Kayamkulam and Quilon. As in the previous year, the embarkation took place with great trouble and worry. This was again due to Portuguese intrigues. One of their expedients was that, when the Dutch had fixed the price of pepper, it was raised by the Portuguese. At Quilon, since the departure of the ships, a ware-house was built in 1650 with the consent of the king. Van den Broeck and his assistant Gerrit van Voorburg who, out of the behaviour of the Portuguese, supposed that a fresh state of war had occurred between Portugal and the Republic, felt themselves very unsafe and feared a surprise attack on and setting fire of their lodge by the Portuguese of Quilon which lay only five (Dutch) miles distant from Kayamkulam. And how easily could the Portuguese with a small present persuade the Malabar princes to do one or other affront to the Dutch! Van den Broeck believed nothing of the talks of the covenant concluded with the Republic. Also, during the armistice, the relations with the Portuguese were very tense. The Portuguese Commander of the fort of Quilon did not forego the opportunity of taking in arrest one of the Company's vessels which had been loaded with goods by Van der Meyden on the way to the Malabar Coast. This again provoked reprisals by the Dutch.

Again and again native ships with passes granted by the Dutch were made booty by the Portuguese. Sometimes, the Portuguese denied this and laid the fault at the doors of the Malabar pirates. Yet it was as clear as the mid-day sun that they had done it. At another time, in a very insulting manner, the Dutch passes were not only not accepted by the Portuguese, but torn into pieces and flung overboard before the eyes of the natives after uttering many abusive words. The Viceroy himself appears to have been implicated in it. Great damage was done through this to the prestige and authority of the Dutch. They decided not to grant any more passes to Indian ships in the future.

In 1647 there was a rumour among the Indian people that Schoorl, the Company's representative at Kayamkulam, would be poisoned by the Portuguese. This, luckily, was a gratuitous supposition, yet it shows the relations between the rivals.

A constantly recurring passage in the annual instructions to the Malabar navigators warned them earnestly not to trust the Malabar pirates but not less the Portuguese.

It was the Portuguese who had to fight with an ever greater want of money, a thorn in the eyes that promoted in such a strong measure the Malabar pepper trade of the Dutch. In 1647 the Viceroy at Goa complained seriously to the Governor of Ceylon that the Dutch went on buying pepper in places where they till then had not traded. They supplanted the Portuguese out of the trade by making them hated by the natives and princes. The Viceroy deemed all these injuries to be little according to the spirit of the concluded armistice treaty.

Actually it was not because the Dutch were turning away from the armistice that the war broke again with the Portuguese. Owing to the weakness of the Portuguese who were so poor that they had nothing to boast of except their tongues, the Dutch could easily obtain advantages and perhaps they could for all times be freed of the Portuguese.

In connection with the chance of war with Portugal, the High Government decided in 1651 to have a strong and defensive stone dwelling built at Kayamkulam for the protection of the Company's servants and property and to place a garrison of 16 to 20 soldiers drafted from the garrison at Galle. This house was to be built in a compound bought at the time by Cranenburg and situated about two miles inland but very favourably on the river where vessels of 20 and more lasts could come before the door for bringing in

wares and taking out pepper. Besides the soldiers 3 or 4 small cannon must terrify possible attackers. The furnishing of the lodge was however to take place only with the complete approval of the lords of the land. When these, presumably on the investigation of the Portuguese, raised objections to this and made even the piece of ground, the Company's property, not available, the Company gave up the building of what could have been their first fortress on the Coast.

Out of fear of the plans of the Portuguese, the Malabar navigators decided to leave behind no garrison on the Coast this year, and the Company's people as well as possessions were to be brought on the *Snoek* to Batavia. As outstanding debts to the East India Company there remained with the merchants at Cannanore and Kayamkulam a Capital of 38,728 guilders for which these merchants promised to deliver pepper the following year. But this abandonment of the Dutch settlement appeared to the High Government as some what premature. The Portuguese who feared a Dutch attack on Kayamkulam and Cochin kept a squadron of 18 frigates stationed along the Coast so as to have sufficient immediate help at the place.

It was not less than 565 lasts of pepper that the Malabar navigator could take on their coming to the Coast in 1651 a quantity not reached in any of the previous years. But a great calamity made them lose a good deal of the profits. On the way back to Batavia the *Maastricht* sank with its full cargo. The crew were saved, but of the cargo they saved only a small consignment of gold which was not sold in Malabar. All other goods, a pepper stock of 201 lasts (worth 3,938 guilders) opium, sandalwood, camphor, tin etc., altogether worth 97,549 and odd guilders, became a prey of the waves—a calamity which was mainly due to unusually bad ships which must have been used for want of better ones so that the trade might not be idle. Very many ships had been wrecked on the last occasion or laid aside as useless because of age. In spite of this shipwreck, a gain of 68,430 and odd guilders was still obtained. This reverse destroyed the interest in the Malabar pepper trade and they already hesitated to send ships again the coming season to the Coast. But to leave the field wholly free for the Portuguese who had just got ships from Portugal while two new karaks were ready to sail to Europe involved a great peril and so they decided in 1651 on a yet fresh expansion. In November of that year, the fly-boat the *Os* sailed from the harbour of Batavia to the Malabar Coast.

The shortage of ships made the voyage begin only very late in the year. The leader of the trade was no more Dirck Schoorl whose books last year were again not in order and whom they reduced in rank on the complaint of the Chief of Surat that he was a rather careless gentleman. In his place, the control of affairs was entrusted to Van Serooskercken who had already so long been next in seniority to Schoorl. Next in rank to Van Serooskercken was Mattheus Van den Broeck. Although till now Kayamkulam was the headquarters of the trade on the Malabar Coast, Van Serooskercken, because of his long experience of the trade at Cannanore, remained there and Van den Broeck stayed at Kayamkulam.

As they did not know whether the war with Portugal was already begun, there went with this party 16 or 20 soldiers who after the completion of the trade were to return to Ceylon. The value of the cargoes together with the outstanding debts amounted to 112,285 and odd guilders. With this came again tin from Malacca, the Moorish ducats and cotton from Surat. These Surat goods represented a value of 38,141 and odd guilders. The ship conveyed opium to Malabar from Bengal to the great loss of the trade as there was a great demand there (Bengal) for this product and it would have yielded good profits.

Because of the utter lack of tonnage, the ship destined for Malabar also took with them goods for Galle in Ceylon. The Company wanted to keep up good understanding with the princes. The connections with Quilon had to be strengthened. Here the monarch showed himself a devoted friend of the Dutch. On the other hand, his minister, the "independent lord, the Pillai," caused many and unbearable burdens and trouble to the merchant, Van den Broeck, before he finally gave his consent to the delivery of the contracted pepper. The Dutch suspected, probably rightly, this Malabaree nobleman to have been bought up by the Portuguese to be in their way as much as possible. But here appeared Van den Broeck's ability in a praiseworthy manner; he knew to overcome all hindrances and obstacles with great long-suffering and patience. The Dutch, knowing the Malabaree nobleman's eagerness for gain, hoped to bring this Pillai to their side by presents. In spite of the failure of the attempts of the previous year to build a stone fortification at Kayamkulam, the Governor-General and Councillors did not give up the plan and compelled the Malabar navigators to bring the nobles of the land to other thoughts. Van Serooskercken must, as the United Dutch East

India Company always alleged, but pretend to the Malabar monarchs that they did not yet care very much for the pepper trade.

As pepper always turned out to be dearer for the United India Company at Cannanore than at Kayamkulam, the High Government thought that no more trade should be done at the former place in this, but the whole trade should be shifted to Kayamkulam where, besides, much more pepper was available. Therefore, Van Serooskercken was advised not to give any more credit at Cannanore, but to collect as much of their debts as was possible. That the Company was eager to get rid of their unsaleable wares has already been seen in the matter of the old Malabar horses which were made to serve as presents for the Malabar princes. This time Van Serooskercken was given a specimen of a consignment of very old worm-eaten long pepper which was an impediment to the warehouses at Batavia and which was to be disposed of on the Malabar Coast at a loss.

In Malabar the Dutch were received by the princes and inhabitants more friendly and obligingly than in the previous year. Owing to the long delay of the ships, people had not expected them any more and they believed the talk of the Portuguese that the Dutch would not appear on the scene. Now there was great joy over the coming of the Dutch. Even the Pillai who in the previous year had been so hard and bitter to the Dutch now behaved as the Company's best friend. How good the relation was is clear from the fact that the merchants even desired to deliver pepper on credit so that they might first obtain the Company's barter goods. They learned to know each other better and as Van den Broeck, in his communication to Batavia, writes, "as they go on to meet with patience their (of the Portuguese) lies and artifices," they would show themselves more friendly to the Dutch than to the Portuguese. Now from the side of the King and his Ragia-door there even reached an offer regarding the building of a stone lodge notwithstanding the difficulties they had to face against it the previous year. The orders which the Dutch had given for building materials appear to have been executed and they had to begin immediately with the building. The leading Hindu merchants with whom the Company had already contracted for pepper offered to make themselves responsible for the building of the same during the bad season.

There was a large quantity of pepper at Kayamkulam as the Portuguese had bought very little of that spice there and at

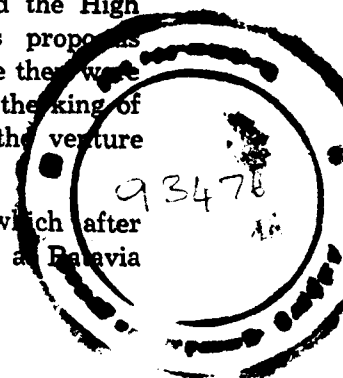
Purakkad. This was clear from the somewhat accommodating attitude of the native merchants. Van den Broeck tried to collect the debts due to the Company. This did not make rapid progress. The princes of the land were greeted with the usual presents. The Dutch contracted with the merchants for a stock of pepper to be speedily delivered as the ships had to be loaded before the sea became stormy in April.

At Quilon Van den Broeck, however, encountered an unexpected competition. For six years the Portuguese had not traded here. But the Queen of Signatty (Quilon), fearing that the Dutch would not appear on the Coast and the pepper would remain unsold, had the Governors of Goa reminded of the contracts for the buying up of pepper which the Portuguese had long ago concluded with the princes of Quilon and to which no effect had been given for several years past.

As at Kayamkulam so at Cannanore also, people were glad to see the Dutch come back. Here also the Portuguese had spread false rumours. According to them, the Dutch had become so weak through the reverses which the Portuguese had inflicted on them in Brazil and besides so harassed by the inundation and discord in their own land that they would certainly not appear on the Malabar Coast.

The head of the Mappillas, Mamaly Craa, requested the support of the United East India Company in the form of 2 yachts against the king of the Maldives who, according to Mamaly Craa owed him tribute but wished to withhold the same and had thrown up a fort and mightily defied the people of Cannanore. Mamaly Craa promised to deliver annually a large supply of cowries to the Company if they helped him. The Governor-General and Council rightly saw herein a promising outlook; it could be a means of obtaining better knowledge of those islands. If the Dutch could grant to Mamaly the desired help, then they could stipulate more favourable conditions than he was now willing to afford them. However, the shortage of ships induced the High Government to refuse, for the present, Mamaly's proposals although they were to feed him with hopes. Meanwhile they were to investigate whether the claims of Mamaly Craa on the king of the Maldives were well founded and in which way the venture could best be carried out.

On the 8th July 1652, the ship *Leeuwarden*, which after leaving Surat, had touched the Malabar Coast, arrived at Batavia



from Malabar with 256 lasts of pepper and on the 6th July the fly-boat the *Os* with 143 lasts — altogether 399 lasts to the value of 135,812 and odd guilders purchased at the moderate price of 2½ stuivers (pence) per pound.

Only a profit of 26,514 guilders was obtained. With the fly-boat the *Os* Van den Broeck came to Batavia in accordance with the instructions he had received while Van Serooskercken with his family remained behind at Galle on special request to be used for the Malabar trade in the future. None of the Company's servants nor their possessions remained behind on the Coast.

The war which had broken out with Portugal, the disappointment which the Malabar trade caused to the United East India Company during the most recent years, the lack of ships for the Company to fight in and especially an abundant supply of pepper as a result of larger planting in the Archipelago where the warehouses remained too small for containing the stocks, had put an end to the desire of the Directors in the Netherlands and the High Government at Batavia for the continuance of the Malabar pepper trade and they decided for the present to suspend the voyages. The pepper prices were not only higher in Malabar than in the Archipelago, but from the first they had to face the great expenses of the crew, the wear and tear of ships, and the wages of the servants employed in the Malabar voyages.

The chief aim of the United East India Company with regard to the Malabar pepper trade was not so much the acquisition of large quantities of pepper as to elude another party of it and in the first place it was naturally the Portuguese whom they first wanted to elude. Now that war had broken out, this could happen fruitfully only if the Dutch equipped a fleet for the occupation of Goa which the United East India Company was not immediately in a position to effect owing to their lack of shipping.

The High Government charged the Governor of Ceylon to send to Malabar in the year 1653 only one yacht with the merchant Serooskercken to collect the debts and to greet the princes for the maintenance of friendship and alliance. Serooskercken was besides to try to collect those arrears of the time of Schoorl's activity for which they could not produce a single proof. The High Government rightly feared that forgiving this might create trouble. These debts had to be placed to the charge of these imprudent servants of the Company.

With two yachts Serooskercken set out for Goa; on the way some ships destined for Surat and beyond acted as convoy up to beyond Goa. During the outward journey he took at Cannanore a consignment of cardamoms, but as it was taken without being examined and weighed, it appeared to be so bad that it had to be left behind at Wingurla. For this imprudent action, his superiors were very much offended with Van Serooskercken. He also appears to have been a man of inferior character and to have possessed a certain sort of carelessness but on the whole he obtained at this time the approbation of his then superiors. In 1653, as there was a fear of his activities in Malabar coming to an end, the Governor-General and Council proposed him as provisional Upper Head of Negombo. At this time they did not hear anything of the later complaints and criticism with which Van Goens overwhelmed him.

At first Van Serooskercken who, now that the Netherlands were again at war with Portugal, was commanded to seize ships appears to have had success. Between Wingurla and Cannanore he managed to capture a Yacht whose crew with a single exception knew to escape to the land. The exception was a fakir who was so upset by the interrogation of the Dutch that he sprang over board and perished. The ship appeared to have cargo worth very little and was brought by Van Serooskercken to Cannanore. While it was lying at anchor here to take a cargo of rice and besides to settle current affairs, there appeared suddenly in sight a Portuguese armada of 22 ships coming from Goa. As Van Serooskercken suspected that this was a reinforcing squadron destined for Colombo, he set about pursuing it so as to prevent its coming into that harbour. But the squadron escaped by rowing quickly and reached Colombo. In this way everything still remained wrong on the Coast. Because of his suddenly breaking camp, Van Serooskercken could no more look after a business which he had been commanded by the High Government to transact. The business was this. A year ago the ship the *Wapen* from Batavia had strayed from other ships in the vicinity of Goa. Attacked by Malabar pirates, it caught fire and sank without being rescued. Almost the whole crew was drowned with the exception of five of their number who were rescued. Two of these were sold by the pirates to the Portuguese as slaves. They were carried away to Goa. The other three were held by the pirates in miserable captivity. The Dutch hoped that the mediation of Mamaly Craa would be productive of some good to these prisoners. In the spring Van Serooskercken had already made a beginning with the negotiations, but the pirate

chief would liberate his prey only in return for a very high ransom as he had suffered very great loss in the fight with the Dutch ship. This pirate maintained 'that, if only the captain of the ship had given a signal that he was a Dutchman, he would have been let alone and he himself need not have incurred such great loss.' The sudden departure of Van Serooskercken who, moreover, dared not, on his own authority, grant such a high ransom, let this matter pending and the poor Dutchmen in their captivity.

For the settlement of this and other questions, it was thus very necessary that in spring a yacht was sent again from Ceylon and Van Serooskercken sailed again with the Yacht *Sluis* to Cannanore. Yet they had not sufficient ships to blockade Goa and as the large supply of pepper was brought to Batavia from the Archipelago, the high College at Batavia had no inclination to renew the voyage to Malabar from Batavia.

Van Serooskercken knew to collect the pending debts at Cannanore. Of the Dutchmen imprisoned with the pirates, we hear nothing further and must thus suppose that the ransom was found to be too high and the Dutch left their fellow countrymen in the hands of the Malabarees. Now, for the present, they had no need of pepper and there was no reason to visit Cannanore any more unless it was because of cardamoms which always yielded such large profits in Persia. Again, as only very little of value was left behind at Kayamkulam, Serooskercken did not touch this place at this time. In 1654 the High Government left it for the present to the judgment of the Governor and Council of Ceylon as to whether they should continue or suspend the Malabar trade.

But as already in the following year the men at Batavia were, by reason of a good reinforcement received from the fatherland, in a position to equip a strong fleet for the capture of Colombo under the Director-General, Gerard Hulft, they decided, in spite of their having a sufficient stock of pepper, on the resumption of the Malabar pepper trade with the view of hitting the Portuguese economically. A small cargo of barter goods to the value of 46,565 and odd guilders was sent for the purpose to Ceylon to be exchanged by Van Serooskercken for pepper. At the same time, the usual purchase of cardamoms for Persia was to be effected at Cannanore.

And though Van Serooskercken acquired but little profits, they continued the trade in the following years. This, however, took place more out of the initiative of the Governor of Ceylon than of Batavia. Even the old plan of building a stone dwelling at Kayamkulam was carried out though not without protests and

hindrances from the natives. Throughout the whole year Van Serooskercken stayed on the Coast and collected the pepper. As Batavia and the Netherlands were flooded with pepper Van der Meyden desired to use this Malabar pepper exclusively for Persia and the Mocha trade. However, the Governor of Ceylon no more cherished very high expectations of the Malabar trade. He estimated the yield of the whole Coast to be less than 600 or 700 lasts and was sceptical about the possibility of keeping away foreign merchants from the Coast. This required more rights than the Company could at that moment assert. Moreover, the desire of the Indian merchants for gain was far too great for them to exclude others for the benefit of the Dutch.

The Governor-General and Council who were not highly fond of the performances of Van der Meyden on the Malabar Coast showed themselves to be little pleased over the expenses caused by the building of a lodge. Only for the faint continuance of the trade by the sending, at the most, of a Yacht from Ceylon were they prepared. Foreign competitions must be hindered. It was hoped that they of their own accord would be eliminated to a large extent by the blockade of Goa. Friendship with the magnates of Malabar must be preserved. But it was certain that greater benefits could not, for the present, be obtained on the Coast. Looking over the relations of the Dutch with the Malabar Coast during the entire period during which the United East India Company had so far maintained connections with that Coast, they felt that the profits were still very little compared with the much more important pepper trade of the Archipelago from which much greater profits were obtained. The complaints of the Governor-General and Council over the dear pepper of Malabar were very frequent. Compared with the pepper trade in the Archipelago, the Malabar pepper trade was only a side show. Reviewing the turnover and gains of the period dealt with, we find there were ups and downs, but, on the whole, however, a steadily mounting line. The negotiations of the pepper contracts during the Governor-Generalship of Van Diemen laid the foundation of the flourishing period under the Governor-General Van der Lijn. There ensued a sudden falling back, mainly owing to political causes, namely the war with Portugal with which they were again threatened and which specially broke out again.

But the Malabar Coast acquired one other meaning for the Company. No longer was the word to be applied to merchants and traders. The capture of Colombo in 1656 opened with respect to

Malabar far-reaching perspectives. The military conquest of the Coast came within the realm of possibilities.

It was not cunningness in trade but political, war-like and diplomatic talent that the new situation required. The Malabar Coast which till now was viewed only as a region of very subordinate importance in the economic organisation of the United East India Company claims full attention for a series of years. It was a person like Rijcklof Van Goens, one of the founders of the Company's power in the so-called Western Quarters, who here performed his most renowned deeds. With his expedition to Quilon begins the story of the political activities of the Dutch in Malabar.

Minto, Baillie and Saadut Ali, 1807-1813

By

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II

REFORMS :—

The beginning of Minto's term as Governor General and Baillie's as Resident at Lucknow was marked by great, studious and apparent cordiality in the mutual relations between the British and Oudh Governments. Saadut Ali had the statesmanship to see that this was his opportunity to crush the over-powerful landed aristocracy and thus to relieve the ryots from acute misery and poverty.⁴² There is little doubt that he used his opportunity to the full, by making requisition after requisition for British troops and employing them in the subjugation of the great refractory rajas, taluqdars and zemindars. His aim was to establish a centralised, well-knit and efficient despotism. In the beginning Baillie, actuated by 'the wish of maintaining and improving the harmony which subsists between the British Government and His Excellency the Vizier, by evincing a ready acquiescence in His Excellency's reasonable requests',⁴³ provided him with all the British troops that had been requisitioned, almost as a matter of course, without even the previous sanction of the Supreme Government, which, he said, "appeared to me to be unnecessary"⁴⁴ because "there can be no question, I apprehend, of His Excellency the Vizier's right under existing engagements" to requisition the occasional aid of British arms.⁴⁵

Thus the Taluqdars of Bhadri, Goura, Nanpara etc., were all brought back into submission by the aid of British arms. A minor distraction in all these operations, however, was the invariable unpleasantness in the relations between the British Officers Com-

42. Irwin: "Garden of India". Op. Cit. pp. 108-109.

43. 'Oude Papers': Op. Cit. pp. 1-2.

44. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 1.

45. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 1.

manding in the field and the Nawab-Wazir's Amils who were attached to them to help, guide and inform them.⁴⁶

There were three things, however, which troubled the people at the helm of British affairs in India. The first was the suspicion, nay the conviction, that most of the troubles for suppressing which British help was invariably solicited were caused by 'the injustice and rapacity'⁴⁷ of the Nawab-Wazir's own Amils. The second was the inherent sympathy of the British army officers with the landed aristocracy in suppressing whom they were employed in Oudh.⁴⁸ The third was the marked attitude of Saadut Ali who was naturally very unfavourable to those of his courtiers and officials who were known to have Anglophil tendencies.⁴⁹ It was psychologically speaking, a perfectly natural reaction in a person whose dominions, authority, revenues and even liberties had been seized by the British.

Agrarian conditions in Oudh had been medieval and the farming of the revenues by Amils, who were usually the highest bidders was in vogue. Saadut Ali, however, was interested in the well-being of his people and was, therefore, engaged in resuming many of the rent-free grants, a good deal of the Taluqdari Nankar and in replacing the rapacious 'Amildari' system slowly and steadily by the beneficent 'Amani' system of land tenure. On all these points, we have for our witnesses, Colonels McAndrew and Sleeman.⁵⁰ As always happens in all times of transition, in all countries, here too, sometimes the powerful state-officials (the Amils) did act rapaciously. And unfortunately such cases were always more closely watched by the British officers, who forgot that conditions in British owned districts and territories were no better, in some places they were much worse.⁵¹

Towards the middle of the year 1810, Baillie grew a little weary of requisitions on the part of the Nawab-Wazir for British troops to suppress refractory chiefs and collect arrears of revenue from defaulting zemindars. In the meanwhile from the correspondence of various officers commanding in the field he could gather evidence of defects existing in the revenue system of Oudh,

46. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 17 and 34.

47. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 13.

48. Irwin: 'Garden of India': Op. Cit. p. 108.

49. 'Oude Papers': Op. Cit. p. 15.

50. Irwin: 'Garden of India'. Op. Cit. p. 108-110.

51. H. H. Wilson: "History of British India, 1805-1835" Vol. I (1845), p. 384.

with the practical working of which, he was by now, thoroughly acquainted. Ere long he suggested to the Nawab-Wazir that the system needed an overhaul. Very suavely Saadut Ali agreed that there was need for change and that measures were being taken to give some practical shape to the suggestions.⁵² Saadut Ali realised his utter helplessness and knew he could not do without British help in troops and arms, and this he was bent on extorting by any and all means—by cajoling, flattering, whining, bluffing and if necessary and possible even by bullying. In each of these processes he was prepared to go to any lengths.⁵³

In these days when British troops were being continuously employed in the Nawab-Wazir's service and in his dominions, one of the constant sources of irritation between the British officers and the Oudh amils was the question of procuring supplies for the army in the field. In September 1810 there was some trouble in the districts of Sultanpur and Pratapgarh where the British troops were employed in restoring order. Saadut Ali wanted to get that settled and to give the amilship of those districts to one of his most efficient amils, Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, a person who was acknowledged to be a good and efficient administrator even by such a hard judge as Baillie himself.⁵⁴ Baillie's proposal was that these districts should be settled in the way suggested by him, taking as a model the arrangements made in the ceded districts, now under the company's government.⁵⁵ To this Saadut Ali would not agree. On 18th September 1810, Saadut Ali had offered to go personally to the spot or depute Hakim Mehdi Ali for the purpose of settling those districts in accordance with his views. This course of action Baillie, in effect, vetoed in his letter of the 20th September. A letter from the British Commanding Officer of Pratapgarh, informed Baillie on the 23rd September that the amil of the district was not able to provide essential supplies to the British troops there.⁵⁶ Baillie immediately wrote to the Nawab-Wazir suggesting to him "the propriety of deputing Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, as early as possible, to these districts, for the purpose of collecting the necessary supplies for the troops".⁵⁷ The Nawab-Wazir found this a bit too much for

52. 'Oude Papers': Op. Cit. p. 74.

53. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 78.

54. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 95, 97, 107 and 201.

55. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 94.

56. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 95.

57. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 95.

his sense of decorum and prestige. It looked, as if in Baillie's opinion, this man, who was too good to be put to trouble for the purpose of making the revenue settlement on behalf of the Oudh Government, was not too good to be spared the trouble of going to the same districts for the purpose of making arrangements for the comfortable lodging and boarding of the British sepoy. The Nawab-Wazir refused to send Hakim Mehdi Ali "merely for the purpose of collecting supplies for the troops".⁵⁸ On this point, a lengthy correspondence between Baillie and Saadut Ali ensued.⁵⁹ Apparently Baillie over-reached himself and in the mass of contradictory statements with which his letters bristled his point could not be appreciated. He went on pressing his original demand of sending the Hakim, and in the course of this correspondence discovered many new and forceful arguments in support of his demand. Saadut Ali went on refusing to comply and was determined. He had many, very genuine, pertinent and obvious reasons for resolutely refusing to send the Hakim to collect supplies. Even before this there had been some unpleasant discussions between Baillie and Saadut Ali.⁶⁰ As we have seen, Baillie was already trying to think of some plans the implementation of which might result in such smooth running of the revenue system that in future English aid to the Nawab-Wazir would not be needed. This quarrel, however, clinched the issue. Rather peremptorily he suggested to the Nawab Wazir a plan of triennial settlement in the districts under discussion.⁶¹ In his usual docile and suave manner Saadut Ali hinted that the plan was good but impracticable. He, however, did not reject it outright and he promised to adopt a few suggestions from it. The discussion dragged on. But Baillie's gorge had risen. In one of his letters to the Nawab-Wazir, during the course of this correspondence he had written that he had been led to conclude that the sole reason of His Excellency's resolution not to acquiesce in this suggestion of deputing Hakim Mehdi Ali was that it had come from him (Baillie). "I shall leave it to your Excellency to reflect on the effects of this painful but necessary inference on my mind"⁶² Those effects were now coming to the fore.

58. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 96.

59. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 94-110.

60. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 105.

61. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 100-101.

62. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 106.

63. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 100.

On December 5, 1810 Baillie addressed a despatch to the Supreme Government reporting all his differences with the Nawab-Wazir and adding his comments which were none too flattering to the ruler at whose court he resided. "His Excellency's leading passion of avarice and all its concomitant evils have, as is natural, increased with his age; and the reluctance and impatience with which he ever listened to remonstrance against the inordinate gratification of this passion, or against any unjust measure of his government, have lately arisen to a degree of peevishness and irritation, which renders the efficient conduct of duties of my station at his court, combined with the observance and offices of personal respect and conciliation, a great deal more difficult than before."⁶⁴

Minto, who had been kept in touch with all these discussions and correspondence was not the person to sit quiet and watch things taking their own course. He had seen the copy of the letter in which Baillie had recommended to Saadut Ali a scheme for triennial settlement in Pratapgarh and Sultanpur districts. This idea developed itself in the Governor General's mind. And he decided to propose to the Nawab-Wazir a plan for an overall reform of the existing revenue settlement in the whole of his dominions, in a direct address to that Prince from himself. At the same time Minto was a man of few illusions and very great tact and moderation. He knew that he could not expect the scheme in its entirety to be accepted by Saadut Ali nor could it be expected to succeed if forced on him against his will. Although in his own letter to the Nawab-Wazir he mentioned only the overhauling of the Revenue system of Oudh, he knew that the success of this would be impossible unless it was accompanied by reforms in the judiciary and Police departments in this principality. The Resident was furnished with detailed instructions on all these points. Minto's justification in coming out with this plan of reforms was his anxiety about the engagement of British troops in Oudh for several months every year in operations in support of the civil authority. This civil authority he honestly considered as synonymous with "the destructive system of administration"⁶⁵ which had engendered "these acts of violence, injustice and extortion"⁶⁶ that were notorious in the conduct of the amils towards the ryots. He perhaps was unaware of Saadut Ali's side of the picture and

64. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 119.

65. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 133.

66. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 125.

from the information supplied by Baillie and others could never realise that Saadut Ali's requisitions for British troops were not directed against the welfare of the ryots but were part of a programme to clean the Augean stables that this conscientious and cautious prince had inherited.⁶⁷ Moreover, Saadut Ali always tried to avoid, as much as was possible, making a requisition for British armed help.⁶⁸

Minto was, at the same time, acutely conscious of the British right of interference in the affairs of Oudh and this he rested on two grounds: (a) that it was on the basis of British arms that the Nawab-Wazir asserted his authority over his refractory subjects, and, therefore, the British government has a right to make enquiries into and suggestions about the administration which they upheld.⁶⁹ (b) Article VI of the Treaty of Cession 1801. He realised that from the date of Wellesley's departure up to his own time there had been too little exercise of this right of interference which, he thought, the British Government were legally possessed of. The lawyer in Minto was quick to perceive that this right "by disuse might prescriptively be lost or essentially impaired, and which, if not at the present, may on some future occasion be efficiently exercised."⁷⁰ Consequently, by addressing this letter, he felt he was serving "the interests of humanity and justice, those of His Excellency and his subjects",⁷¹ and also reviving a right that was getting obsolete by disuse. Minto was clear too in his mind that Oudh was an entirely dependent state,⁷² but at the same time he did not intend a literal construction to be placed upon his suggestions. He wanted only a start to be made towards better government in Oudh and for this, even if only some of his suggestions were adopted and defectively executed, he thought, it would be satisfactory.⁷³

The four fundamental principles of his reform plan of December 28, 1810 were:— (a) a just and moderate assessment; (b)

67. Irwin 'Garden of India': Op. Cit. pp. 102-103, 108-109.

68. Heber: 'Journey', Op. Cit. page 83. "Still Saadut Ali had used this right very sparingly. He was not fond of admitting far less requesting, and more foreign interference than he could help. His own guards were enough for all usual occasions, and were in excellent order and discipline."

69. Oude Papers: Op. Cit. p. 131.

70. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

71. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

72. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 129.

73. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 128.

a settlement for a term of years; (c) the conclusion of engagements by gradation from the *amil* to the *ryot*; and (d) the guarantee of these engagements. What Minto really aimed at was some kind of definite settlement, having a certain amount of permanence—this was to be patterned after the system of revenue established in the ceded districts by the company's government. The whole thing was explained in some detail and with much force in his letter from the Governor General to the Nawab Wazir.

It is understood that Saadut Ali was not cordial in his reception of the Civil Reforms Programme that was put before him. One does not feel inclined to blame him too much if he was not able to forget that the negotiations that had culminated in the treaty by which he was made to cede about two-thirds of his territories to the Hon'ble Company, had commenced with some talks about military reforms. To him naturally the word 'Reforms' had a sinister connotation, and revived unsavoury memories.

In Baillie's hands the reform plan became an engine of oppression. The negotiations that ensued between him and the Nawab-Wazir were, to him, an opportunity which he could (and forcefully did) utilise in voicing his own personal grievances against Saadut Ali, in reminding him again and again of the support and good grace that he enjoyed from the Governor General and that without running the risk of being paid back in his own coin he could insult and humiliate the old and sensitive prince. Baillie formally handed over the letter of the Governor General to the Nawab-Wazir in an audience on February 23, 1811, which started these negotiations. From this date to the 4th of April 1811 they had had six interviews⁷⁴ to discuss the plan; and had exchanged a whole heap of letters and documents.⁷⁵ The course of the whole thing was pretty uniform. The Nawab-Wazir expressed doubts regarding almost all the measures that had been set forth in this plan. In the interviews, Baillie invariably assumed a thundering and intimidating attitude. Saadut Ali was by nature weak but obstinate. His dislike for the measure proposed to him was insuperable. At the same time he realised that the British were not only in a position to dictate to him but also they had intentions of taking advantage of this position. So, in the presence of Baillie, almost invariably, after a little shying and attempts at evasion, he yielded. When left alone, however, and free from the obsession of fear that Baillie's

74. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 153-163.

75. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 163-183.

flustering and thundering inspired in him, he invariably recovered the hauteur of an Eastern Potentate and sent to the Resident another set of reasons in support of his dislike of the proposed reforms.

At last on March 30, 1811, when the Resident was closetted with the Nawab-Wazir, the latter was forced to acquiesce in every detail of the plan excepting one, and that one, Baillie decided to overlook for the moment.⁷⁶ Saadut Ali remained inflexible on the point of not permitting the Resident's participation in the selection of his amins, to be appointed under the new programme,⁷⁷ to replace the old amils. The reasons he gave for this were perfectly valid and proper. He said that if the Resident had final authority in these appointments naturally they would try to owe allegiance to the Resident, with whom they would also attempt to curry favour. This, according to the Nawab-Wazir, would have a tendency to subvert his authority and so it would be against the spirit of Articles VI of the Treaty of Cession 1801, and XVII of the Treaty of 1797, both of which guaranteed his full authority over his dominions and subjects. Even the Supreme Government expressed doubts about their own title to go so far as to "insist upon having a voice in the appointment of the Vizier's officers."⁷⁸

The Nawab-Wazir, however did not send any written confirmation of the acquiescence he had verbally made in this interview, and five days elapsed. Now Baillie started getting apprehensive of some new trouble and decided, therefore, on April 4, 1811 to go to the Palace and force a showdown. He went, he bullied and he won. The necessity of a showdown never arose. The Nawab-Wazir sent in a written confirmation as had been required.⁷⁹

In Saadut Ali's diplomacy temporising was one thing and implementing the plan quite another. And the irony of the situation was that Baillie and Minto and everybody knew this but could not do anything.

In the course of these negotiations Baillie had submitted to Saadut Ali the draft of a proclamation and the instructions for the guidance of the amins to be appointed. The next logical step that had to follow upon the Nawab-Wazir's acquiescence in the general

76. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 161.

77. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 179.

78. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 184.

79. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 163.

principles of the Reform Plan, was to make a beginning by adopting and issuing the proclamation and the instructions.

Both these documents, as drafted by Baillie, in their respective preambles, included the words "with the friendly advice and concurrence of the Hon'ble Company's Government".⁸⁰ These words were expunged by the Nawab-Wazir when the documents came to him for final sanction. The Resident tried to argue the point out and force him to keep this expression in the text.⁸¹ Saadut Ali said that he considered the words "totally redundant" and would not, therefore, "on any principle, consent to their insertion in the drafts".⁸² The reality was that, with all his ideas of his own prestige Saadut Ali was sensitive and vain, and did not wish to permit these words to remain because from these the natural inference to be drawn by his people would have been that even the portions of Oudh remaining to him after the Treaty of Cession were his in name only; the authority even there was that of the East India Company.⁸³

The keener and more impatient Baillie grew to put these reforms into operation from this very Fusly year, the greater Saadut Ali's ingenuity became in putting forth difficulties and objections in the way of the accomplishment of these plans. It was a regular game of chess in which, on both sides, each step was taken, each pawn placed in new positions, with remarkable and deliberate calculations.

At this stage Baillie suggested that they should divert their attention to the four fundamental stages for realising the reforms plan: (a) A division and sub-division of the country into zillahs and mahāls; (b) amins to be deputed to investigate, and collect data which should form the ground of future arrangements; (c) the conclusion of a triennial settlement under a gradation of engagements from the tehsildar to the ryot; and (d) establishment of the courts of justice and an efficient police in the zillahs and mahāls.⁸⁴

The Nawab-Wazir had selected six persons to be appointed as Amins later on, at the time of the implementation of the plan.

80. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 176-177.

81. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 194.

82. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 208.

83. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 213.

84. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 216-217.

To them he gave instructions and unfolded plans regarding the duties that they would be required to undertake. They presented him with a long 'Arzi' enumerating a whole battalion of objections and statements of doubts and difficulties.⁸⁵ Baillie alleged that he had definite information that this was all a tutored affair and that the whole draft was made by orders and under supervision of the Nawab-Wazir.⁸⁶ Another objection was that the terms of many of the amils under existing engagements with them had still sometime to run and, therefore, it would not be possible to resume their farms and put into operation the Reform plan, which would necessarily have to wait.⁸⁷ And now the Nawab-Wazir suggested that the reform plan might be put into operation not wholesale but as a measure "partial and experimental".⁸⁸

The real grounds of objection on the part of Saadut Ali were that he felt this system had not been a successful one in the company's dominions where it had been in force for over ten years,⁸⁹ that his own peasantry was contented and cultivation was flourishing,⁹⁰ and this new system would spoil it all. He saw no reason to change his own administrative system in those districts which were peaceful and prosperous, even if the reform system might be taken into consideration for those areas where troubles usually occurred.⁹¹ He was justified in reasoning that, for technical reasons it would be impossible to effect the transition from one system to another with such peremptory haste as the Resident insisted upon.⁹² He also apprehended that during the period of transition his revenue would suffer and Saadut Ali was not the man to allow a loss to his exchequer for any reason whatsoever.⁹³

However hard Baillie tried to answer these doubts and to set the Nawab-Wazir's apprehensions at rest, he could not succeed, firstly, because there certainly was much force and truth in Saadut Ali's arguments, and secondly, because Saadut Ali was as convinced of the justice of his fears as he was shy of any change in his administration forced from above. The Resident grew peevish and

85. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 203-205.

86. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 193, 211.

87. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 192, 195-196.

88. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 192.

89. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 209.

90. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 196.

91. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 195.

92. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 195.

93. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 196, 207, 209.

developed the irritating habit of branding these objections and apprehensions as "frivolous and imaginary and groundless",⁹⁴ and attributed them to "the want of a cordial concurrence on your own part in the necessity of the measures proposed."⁹⁵ At this stage Baillie was even prepared for some sort of compromise, but Saadut Ali would have none of it as he believed in his ability to argue the whole thing and evade its implementation till the English grew weary and left him at peace.⁹⁶

At this stage, Minto left for Madras and from there onwards to Java, accompanying the expedition sent to damage and uproot the French power in the South East Asian Archipelago. There was one thing above all others, the true hall-mark of inherent aristocracy, which distinguished Minto; and it was that he knew the way to win the loyalty and affections of his subordinates as well as how to make them work. Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Lumsden, Adam, Edmonstone have all left testimony to that effect. His technique was to extend all encouragement, co-operation and confidence to the man on the spot,⁹⁷ and to make him feel that his work was being appreciated—the one necessary factor that makes work a pleasure for a subordinate. In the meanwhile the reins of the Supreme Government at Fort William were in the hands of the Vice President-in-Council, General George Hewett, who was efficient, honest, upright and a man of principles but essentially a soldier. Things naturally were different for Baillie while Hewett was in charge at Fort William between May and December 1811. The old unencumbered confidence from Headquarters to which Baillie had been used was wanting now.

The Government at Fort William being convinced that the negotiations would be unfruitful, made no secret of it.⁹⁸ They also warned Baillie not to fall into a trap, which might enable the Wazir to point out later that he had predicted the loss occasioned by "the pursuit of a chimerical system of theoretical improvement."⁹⁹

94. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 192, 199.

95. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 198.

96. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 218.

97. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. pp. 70, 73, 81, 83 etc. He always approved of Baillie's actions, set forth lines of policy for him and so long there was no deviation from the broad pattern laid down by him, his soothing and patriarchal confidence could be relied upon. Even when he disapproved of some of Baillie's acts, as in Hyder Buksh's case, he never chided in an offensive manner.

98. Oude Papers: Loc. Cit. p. 211.

99. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 211.

Although this strain of discussion was telling upon the health of old Saadut Ali, he obstinately held out against all the threats and reproaches Baillie hurled in his face. Baillie said that the Nawab Wazir was bound by the terms of the Treaty of Cession, 1801 and the agreement with Lord Wellesley, 1802 as well as by his own letter of acquiescence of April 4, 1811. The Nawab-Wazir replied that neither the Treaty nor the agreement contained any particular term which bound him to accept the very scheme of reform now proposed to him and that the letter of April 4th contained no positive promise—it was a letter in a correspondence the subject matter of which was still under consideration.¹⁰⁰ He alleged that Baillie had confessed in his letters that he would suspend the implementation of the reforms till all His Excellency's doubts were set at rest and to this Baillie returned a vigorous negative reply.¹⁰¹

The Nawab-Wazir was against including those words "with the advice and concurrence of the British Government" in his proclamation etc., and he did not like the idea of sending new amins to investigate conditions in his districts. To overcome these initial difficulties as well as because he was himself not fully sure about the propriety of his pressing these rather obnoxious demands Baillie yielded on these two points.¹⁰² He thought this would help to set the ball rolling; but Saadut Ali was too shrewd and too obstinate not to understand the game. He declared that he was not prepared to move an inch in the matter till all his doubts were set at rest.¹⁰³ Baillie was as discourteous during these discussions as any diplomat could be,¹⁰⁴ he stigmatised the advice of His Excellency's confidential servants (Roy Daya Krishna¹⁰⁵ and Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan¹⁰⁶) as "the pernicious and interested counsels of a few designing individuals";¹⁰⁷ he even threatened that the Nawab-Wazir should realise that after the end of the present Fusly year "the future support or assistance of a single soldier of the British army, to the present baneful system, or to any of its instruments, in the persons of your Excellency's amils, was entirely out of the question".¹⁰⁸

100. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 231.

101. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 224.

102. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 220.

103. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 222-223.

104. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 223; His straight refusal to reply a letter.

105. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 162-163.

106. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 220.

107. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 233.

108. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 229, 233.

Saadut Ali refused to budge an inch. His dislike for the proposed system was whole-hearted and solid. In the meanwhile, Baillie, in effect, reported to Head-quarters, "I have done my best and failed. What next?" He suggested also that perhaps a direct address from the Vice-President-in-Council to the Nawab-Wazir might be helpful to bring nearer the success of his negotiation.¹⁰⁹

The despatch which, in reply, Baillie received from Fort William was an eye-opener. Hewett refused to send a direct address to the Nawab-Wazir as had been suggested by Baillie.¹¹⁰ It was plainly said that as Saadut Ali was irrevocably determined to oppose these reforms, in case he were to be 'compelled' and not 'persuaded' to acquiesce into implementing them he would later find means to sabotage the whole plan and against this contingency the British had no remedy.¹¹¹ Baillie was told outright that in putting that threat about the discontinuance of military aid to Saadut Ali, he had "exceeded the intention of the Governor General-in-Council."¹¹² In case these negotiations ended in the severance of relations with Oudh, it was candidly confessed, great harm to the British Government would result.¹¹³ To justify extreme measures being taken, it was Hewett's opinion, there must be, on the part of the Nawab-Wazir, 'an essential and indisputable' violation of the engagements and stipulations between the two Governments, which these expressions of hesitation and doubt could not be construed conclusively to constitute.¹¹⁴ Hewett was perhaps eminently just and honest when he said that dictation was not the underlying motto of the late engagements with Oudh;¹¹⁵ and supposing for a moment that this refusal of the Nawab-Wazir was a culpable dereliction even then this offence was not sufficiently serious to merit such exemplary punishment as to stop the military aid to Oudh. It was emphasised in this despatch that the motive of the Governor-General in writing the letter of 28th Dec. 1810 regarding the reforms was more to assert the right of the British Government to interfere in Oudh affairs than to press the exercise of that right to absurd extremes. And then suppose on getting notice from the British Government that he would get no further

109. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 230.

110. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 237.

111. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 234-235, 241.

112. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 234.

113. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 234-235.

114. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 235.

115. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 10, p. 235.

military assistance, the Nawab-Wazir turned and said, "Gentlemen! I ceded two thirds of my territories to purchase this right of getting military assistance from you. Now that you withdraw this right please restore my ceded territories."¹¹⁶ In effect Hewett's line of argument was that there were three alternatives:

I. To consider the Nawab-Wazir as having "placed himself in the condition of a public enemy and absolve us from the engagements which we have contracted."¹¹⁷

II. To agree to "a dissolution of the compact involving the restoration of the ancient order of things."¹¹⁸

III. To acquiesce "in this unavoidable imperfection of the original arrangement".¹¹⁹

Hewett was candidly clear that the "system of evasion and subterfuge qualified by an ostensible regard to the counsels of the British Government, to which his Excellency has had recourse" is not a grave enough dereliction to justify the first alternative being taken. The second one was ruled out as being inexpedient. The only remaining alternative was the third and so it was recommended to Baillie.

These instructions put Baillie into an untenable position. He tried as best as he could to justify what he had told the Nawab-Wazir about the discontinuance of British military aid to Oudh.¹²⁰ It was necessarily a weak defence and in their reply, the Supreme Government exposed its weakness,¹²¹ but Baillie's conduct was not censured. The Resident was now under orders to suspend negotiations, but his personal inclination was averse to the course of policy laid down for him. He reported that he thought he could yet catch Saadut Ali in a good mood and get his assent for the Reforms, after all.¹²² The fact, however, seems to be that he now discovered that he had advanced too far to retrace his steps honourably.

116. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 13, p. 236.

117. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. }

118. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. } paragraphs 12 and 13. page 236.

119. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. }

120. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 241-243.

121. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 244-246.

122. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 3, p. 244.

His difficulty was solved because the Nawab-Wazir, on whose health this strain has told, fell seriously ill.¹²³ This resulted in the suspension of all official business between Baillie and Saadut Ali. The former was sedulous in his attentions to the latter and all possible courtesy was used.¹²⁴ Saadut Ali got well, but under the pretext that he was still convalescing refused to open talks on the matter of reforms with the British Government.¹²⁵

In the meanwhile the Nawab-Wazir himself took steps towards abolishing the system of farming of revenues altogether and extending the amani system to the whole of Oudh.¹²⁶ He also took some steps towards improving law and order in his dominions and reforming the Police administration.¹²⁷ He informed Baillie of his intentions and Baillie with his characteristic thoroughness and vindictiveness sent him a really detailed and nasty rejoinder.¹²⁸ Therein the Nawab-Wazir was, in effect told that the measures he proposed to take were inadequate, bound to be of no help, and it was imputed that he had taken such a half-hearted measure because, it seemed, he was interested in the continuance of chaotic conditions in his dominions!

By this time Minto had come back to Bengal. When on December 17, 1811, Baillie received a requisition from the Nawab-Wazir for a detachment of troops to quell some troubles in the district of Dariabad (troubles arising out of the rebellious conduct of a zemindar who had proved refractory and committed some murders),¹²⁹ Baillie felt free to give vent to his choleric feelings. After that letter of instructions from the Vice-President-in-Council he could not outright say 'No' to this demand from the Oudh Government, but he made it plain that the required assistance could not be rendered unless he had satisfied himself that the demand was justifiable; by deputing an Amin appointed by himself to investigate the matter.¹³⁰ In the letter embodying this reply Baillie criticised the amils of the Oudh Government, expressed his suspicion that the disaffection now sought to be quelled was the result of the

123. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 239-240.

124. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 243-244.

125. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. para 1, p. 246.

126. 'Oude Papers' Loc. Cit. para 5, p. 238.

127. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 254-255.

128. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 255-262.

129. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 264.

130. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 264-267.

amil's oppression, and went to the extent of saying that "the seizure and punishment of a murderer" and "the apprehension of criminals and felons",¹³¹ were jobs of the Oudh Police and not of the Company's army. He argued, and, from his own point of view of course, proved that the British Government had "an unquestionable right to investigate and arbitrate all such claims and demands."¹³²

Upon this course of action adopted by Baillie, Minto set the seal of his "high approbation".¹³³

The Nawab-Wazir's reply to all this was that he had never, so far, been refused aid by any of the British Residents for seizing marauders and robbers; that under the terms of the existing treaties and engagements he could not see how the right of arbitration between the Nawab-Wazir's authority and his subjects had been taken over by the British; that he refused to allow Baillie to appoint an amin because he was going to do so himself; that he was not prepared to appear in the situation of "plaintiff and defendant" as against his own subjects because that would subvert his sovereignty; and that now it seemed, his land-holders, seeing that he had no armed backing, would withhold payment of dues to his Government, and the blame of it should squarely rest on Baillie's shoulders.¹³⁴ Baillie's rejoinder was caustic. He made it plain that British forces would not aid the collection of Oudh revenues and that their right to arbitrate would be insisted upon. He also openly claimed British supremacy over Oudh. Baillie was a talented equivocalist. He tried to moralise and said that in the British territories the Government and the individual always appeared as defendant and plaintiff in courts of justice; and that if the Nawab-Wazir said he was not prepared to take up this role vis-a-vis his subjects it meant his government was neither just nor virtuous, and he notified the Nawab-Wazir of his intention to insist upon appointing an amin for investigations because he had the Governor-General's orders for doing so.¹³⁵ Perhaps he forgot that an independent state as plaintiff versus one of its subjects, in its own court was a different matter from making such an appearance before another sovereign power. Such a thing signifies the end of the sovereignty of the former. Perhaps the real trouble was that

131. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 266.

132. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 266.

133. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 268.

134. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 292-294.

135. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. pp. 294-297.

Baillie was keen to make Saadut Ali confess that he was a dependent Prince, while that ruler did not appear to be in any particular hurry to confess or declare this.

It is significant to note here that even as these unpleasant notes were being exchanged, the negotiations for a "supplemental treaty for the decision of questions of disputed boundary between the two states"¹³⁶ which had been going on for sometime now, ended in a perfectly satisfactory treaty being concluded between the British and the Oudh Governments on January 14, 1812.¹³⁷ This helps to show that the diplomatic stalemate over the Reform question had rendered neither party absolutely unreasonable and incapable of realising its own interests.

(To be continued)

136. 'Oude Papers': Loc. Cit. p. 229.

137. Aitchison: Op. Cit. p. 138-141.

The Services of St. Francis Xavier to the Travancore State

BY

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It is not widely known that the great Catholic missionary, St. Francis Xavier, rendered yeoman service to the State of Travancore in warding off a formidable attack from the Naick-Ruler of Madura in A.D. 1544. As the Fourth Centenary of the death of the Saint is to be celebrated in the coming December by Christians throughout India, a brief account of this historical event may be timely.

When young Francis Xavier, previously a noted Professor of the Sorbonne University of Paris, scion of a noble family of Spain, came to India in 1542, his mind was fully taken up with the work of ameliorating the condition, economic as well as moral, of the poorest people of the Coast. He worked assiduously for many years among these poor people, with Kottar (part of Nagercoil Town) as his headquarters. While engaged in such humanitarian labours, an opportunity came to him for rendering valuable service to the then ruler of Travancore. It came about this way.

Although long an independent kingdom, Travancore State had to enter into some sort of subordinate alliance with the Vijayanagar Empire after its meteoric rise in the 16th Century. Various efforts were made since to push to the extreme south the sway of the Vijayanagar empire.

Chellappa, one of the subordinate governors of Vijayanagar, revolted against Krishnadevaraya, the then Emperor of Vijayanagar. The former was defeated in battle by the imperial army and so fled to Travancore where he was welcomed by the Maharaja. The Maharaja made an alliance with him. Both together then invaded the Pandian kingdom to recapture the southernmost portion of Travancore on the Tinnevely side which the Pandian Kingdoms had taken from the predecessors of the King of Travancore. According to Fr. Heras, the name of this Maharaja is Bhuthala Sri Vira Udaya Marthanda Varma (1494-1535) of the Thiru-

pathur branch. With the help of Chellappa and taking advantage of the Emperor's illness, Marthanda Varma over-ran a large portion of the Pandian territory, consisting of the whole District of Tinnevelly.¹

Kumaralinga Naik of Madura also rebelled against the Pandian and joined the invaders.² The unfortunate ruler, Sri Vallabha Deva, retreated and sent an appeal for help to the Emperor, who had passed away in the meantime. The new emperor, Achutharaya, being apprised of the rebellion of Chellappa, and of the attacks of the Raja of Travancore against the Pandian, resolved to invade Travancore and redeem the Pandians. Hence he ordered his brother-in-law, Chinna Thirumaladeva to prepare an expedition to the South. Achutharaya himself took up the command and proceeded with the army till Srirangam. Thence he sent his troops under the command of Chinna Thirumaladeva, who in his turn appointed one of his subordinate officers to march against the allied enemies. Marthanda Varma was defeated in the battle and was led to Sreerangam where the Emperor was halting. The Maharaja was not only made a tributary again, but also was ordered to hand over Chellappa and to give up the southernmost portion of his kingdom to the Pandian, who was reinstated as a vassal of Vijayanagar.³

Later, availing himself of the disturbed conditions existing both in Vijayanagar and in Pandia, the Maharaja of Travancore refused payment of the tribute and tried to regain his lost possessions. Visuananda, the Pandian king appealed to the Emperor. Hence Vithala, the cousin of Ramaray the Regent, was appointed Generalissimo of the army of Vijayanagar to lead an army to the south. The first country which Vithala invaded was Travancore of which the king at the time was Buthala Vira Sree Vira Kerala Varma, alias Unni Kerala Varma.⁴

1. Faria Y. Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, Vol. I, p. 81, Nagam Ayya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 297.

2. Rangacharry, *The History of the Naik Kingdom ofr. Indian Antiquities*, XLIII, p. 189.

3. See inscription of Bhuthala Vira Rama Varma at Sucheendrum.

4. See S. Paramesura Aiyar, Article in *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 22 p. 188.

The Pandian king naturally offered every facility to the invaders and joined the Vijayanagar troops. Bartoli and Souza are of the opinion that the Madura Naik was at the head of this expedition.⁵ Krishnappa, the son of the Naik was also in the campaign together with Chinna Timma, the brother of the Generalissimo and the Governor of Chandragiri.

Accompanied by all these stalwart chiefs, Vithala set out for Travancore at the beginning of July, 1544. They entered Travancore through the Aruvamushi Pass. Souza says that Aruvamushi pass was the only way to Travancore on that side, which came round by Cape Comorin.⁶ But across the hills of Papanasam there is a way that was formerly used for traffic. Ranganatha Aiyar says that this was likely the way followed by the army of Vithala on this occasion.⁷ Fr. Souza, on the contrary, is of opinion that they came down through the mountains in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, that divide Travancore from the Coromandel Coast.

When the news of this attack spread in Travancore, the people got alarmed and a large number of them fled northwards. Francis Xavier writes in one of his letters, that he visited these unfortunate people who were constantly the target of the attacks of Badagas, the vanguard of the Vijayanagar Troops.

Unni Kerala Varma also gathered a large army from all his dominions and got ready to encounter the enemies. When they were approaching the capital, Kalkulam, he was informed of the fact that the Telugu and Tamil armies were not only more numerous but also more formidable than his particularly due to their disciplined cavalry and superior equipment. Fr. Souza says that the Brahmin chronicles of Travancore relate that the king at this juncture sent for Francis Xavier and asked him for help since the independence of his kingdom was threatened. It might be that the Sovereign wanted to make all alliance with the Portuguese through the influence of the Saint. But the holy man, engaged as he was only in matter spiritual answered that the sole help he

5. Bartoli, *Dell'Istoria della Campagna di Jesu. L'Asia*, I.P. 123, Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I., p. 142.

6. *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142.

7. Ranganatha Aiyar, *Aruvamushi Pass, or the Open Gateway of Travancore*, p. 19-20.

could render him was his prayers, a missionary as he was and not a soldier. No doubt, Xavier fulfilled his promise.⁸

Meanwhile Vithala's army advanced triumphantly through the country, when they were but a few miles north of Kottar, the Vanguard stopped suddenly, being unable to take a single step further. The officers in the rear ordered the soldiers to march on but their efforts failed and the officers learned with dismay the reason of that sudden halt from the very mouth of the soldiers, for they said. "A tall majestic man dressed in black appeared in front of us reprimanding and ordering us to retreat at once."⁹

The officers of the army, with Visuanatha and Vithala themselves, could then verify the fact; for Xavier was still standing in front of the army in a gigantic form with dignified countenance, barring the way to the capital.¹⁰ Such a stern command Vithala dared not disobey, and so he ordered the troops to retreat.

Thus was Travancore saved through the intervention of Francis Xavier when Unni Kerala Varma, having absolutely no hope of victory, was on his way with the army to meet the dreaded enemy.

We can very well imagine what relief he consequently felt when he was informed by the witnesses of the sudden retreat of the Vijayanagar troops at the command of Xavier. No wonder, then that the Maharaja, in a transport of joy, came out of his camp near Kottar to welcome the "Saviour" of his country with unusual marks of affection, gratitude and veneration and addressed him thus. "They call me the Great King; but hereafter they will always call you the "Great Father". Accordingly the king issued a proclamation commanding his subjects throughout the kingdom to give the title to the Father in future and also to obey him as if he were the person of the king himself.¹¹ This explains why St. Francis Xavier is known as "Valia Padree" in our country.

The above incident has been narrated in various authoritative books dealing with the missionary labours of the Jesuit Society some of them of early date, especially L. Bartoli, "History of the

Society of Jesus in Asia" (1603), Vol. I, Thursellini's "Life of St. Francis Xavier (1598), and Lucena's *Historia da Vida do Padhe Francis Xavier*" (1600). The Travancore State Manual by Nagam Aiyah (1908) states as follows. "The Raja of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger, a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand. Thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore."

St. Francis, however makes abundant references to his intimate relations with the King of Travancore, particularly in his letters addressed to Fr. Mansilhas. For brevity's sake, I shall quote only their dates. Manapad, Aug. 3, 19, 20, 1554; Punnakayal, Aug. 21, 1554; Alannthalai, Sept. 5, 1554; Trichendur, Sept. 7, 1554; Manapad, Sept. 10, 1554 etc.

This extra ordinary intimacy between a foreign Christian missionary and a Hindu King could not be satisfactorily explained unless the King himself felt indebted to the former in a special manner.

8. Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 142-3.

9. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I.P, 148 (Cologne, 1615)

10. Souza, *Op. Cit.* p. 143.

11. S. Paramesura Aiyar, *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. 22, p. 190.

Linguistic Investigation of some Place-names in Karnatak

BY

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Place names in any country have a valuable history behind them. They are worth studying from linguistic point of view. An attempt is made here to study a few place names in Karnatak linguistically.

A large number of village names end in Koppa, e.g., Bannikoppa, Chikkoppa, Hirekoppa etc. If we take into consideration the adjectives Chikka and Hire in place names like Chikkoppa, Hirekoppa, it is evident that 'Koppa' should mean a village. Is that its root meaning ?

The root is Kuppu. It means to heap, to heap up, to lay in a heap. (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary and Shabdamanidarpana-Dhatukosha). The word 'Gumpu' may be derived from Kuppu. Kuppu > Kumpu > Gumpu. Tamil word for Gumpu is Kumpu. Gumpu or Kumpu as we all know means a mass, a heap, a crowd, a number. Another derivative noun from the root Kuppu is Koppal. (Vide Shabdamanidarpana pp. 48 Mangalore Edition-1872). Kittel gives the word 'Koppal' as equivalent to Koppala, Koppa-meaning a heap or a small hamlet. In Tamil it is used as Kuppal. It is clear from the above analysis that the original root is Kuppu meaning to heap. The noun Koppal meaning a hamlet is derived from this root Kuppu. Koppala and Koppa are the derivatives from the noun Koppal. So, Koppala and Koppa mean a village or a hamlet since a village or a hamlet means a group of people living together. It is of course a secondary sense. Koppala and Koppa both are used to convey this secondary sense viz., village. Ancient Koppananagar or the modern Koppal is still called Koppala. The word which in general means a village is given to that particular hamlet. Koppa is used with and without adjectives to convey the sense of several villages. This is how we find that a number of place names end in Koppa. Kuppi and

Guppi that are derived from the same root are used in the same sense as Koppa, a village. Mukkuppi, Shiraguppi, Yaraguppi etc., may be named here for example. Gumpi, which means a heap or a mass can be derived from this Kuppi or Guppi.

'Gunda' is another word very often associated with place names. Navalgunda (Navil-Gunda), Naragunda (Nari-Gunda), Mulugund (Mul-Gunda), Hunagunda (Hon-Gunda) Okkunda and many names of this type may be cited. Gunda means a village. There is a village by name Gunda, Head Quarters of a Range Forest Officer, in Dharwar District. This word 'Gunda' seems to have been derived from Konḍa which means a hill or a mountain. (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). The word Guḍḍa seems to have been derived from Konḍa.

Konḍa-> Gunḍa > Guḍḍa.

The interchange of O and U is quite common in Dravidian languages. ḍ is duplicated the nasal in the middle being assimilated. Konḍa (Kannada), Kunra (Tamil) Konde (Telugu) and Kunna (Malayalam) are all the derivatives of one and the same root and convey the same sense. (Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). Konda is equal to Gunda and means a hill or a raised spot. (Cf. Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary). From this it is clear that Gunda is derived from Konda and primarily means a hill or a mountain or a raised spot. Navilgunda would then mean a mountain of peacocks; Narigunda a mountain of jackals. The villages close to these mountains were called by the very names of the mountains by virtue of their vicinity. Thus the word Gunda which meant a mountain primarily conveyed secondarily the sense of the village near the mountain, and later on it might have in general meant a village.

Keshiraj gives in his *Shabdamani Darpana* the word Kondam as the Tadbhava of Kundam (Sūtra 270). In Pampa Ramayana, Ashwas X after the verse 183 we find the expression- 'Konḍanga-ḷanoḍedu'. In that context it means Yajñakuṇḍa or a hole where sacrificial oblations are offered. Konḍa then means a hole. It has then attained the meaning pond. Gunḍa might thus mean Kunḍa or pond. It is used in this sense by the village folk. Can we derive the word Gunda denoting a village from the Sanskrit Kunda. But the village names like Mulgund, Navilgund and Narigunda support the first interpretation as they are quite close to hills. Other Dravidian-languages have the same word in a

slightly changed form. So, for the present we cannot derive the word Gunda from Sanskrit Kunda until we find several villages which possess Kundas or ponds and on that account the word Gunda is applied to their names. Gundi of Nidgundi also might have been derived from Gunda or Kunda.

Kurudigi, Nandargi, Karajagi, Mundargi, Kundargi-names of this type are quite common in Karnatak. Here 'gi' appears like a suffix suggesting various places. Place names like Athargā, Bāligā that end in gā are also to be found. In all probability 'gi' and gā might have been related to each other. Gā might have been derived from Gāma — *tadbhava* of Grāma. Grāma becomes gāma and gāma has changed to gaon and gā. Names like Belgaum, Degam are pronounced as ending in gaon. Nasal at the end having been dropped only gā appears to remain in names like Athargā, Baligā etc. Words ending in ā are changed to e and i in Kannada. In colloquial Kannada words ending in ā are all changed to i like Shalā-sāli, Malā-Mali etc. Similarly gā might have been changed to gi. Thus we derive 'gi' from grama —

Grāma, > Gāma, > Gaon, > Gā, > gi.

Polal of the old Kannada, meaning a town, a city seems to have been changed to bal and oḷ. Names like Dambaḷ, Hombaḷ, Kotabaḷ, Mudhoḷ, Siroḷ indicate these changes.

Dharma-Polal.> Dhamma Polal.> Dambol > Dambaḷ.

Similarly Honna Polal-> Honboḷal-> Hombaḷ.> Hombala and so on. The same Polal is changed to oḷ. Mudu Polal-> Mudhuvoḷal-> Mudhol. Siri Polal-> Sirivolal-> Sirol.

Thus 'bal' and oḷ being derived from Polal are used as suffixes, and such names form a class by themselves.

Hills and mountains afforded protection for the people in ancient times. Hence, towns and cities were built by the side of such hills or mountains. The word 'Kal' was used to express this sense. Hanagal, (Panungal), Torgal (Toregal), Kandagal, Taḷakal, Naregal, Yaragal, Bhandargal etc., may be cited here for example.

Just as towns and cities were built by the side of hills and mountains, so also they were founded near rivers and ponds i.e., in places where water could be had easily and in plenty. Koḷa has been used to convey the sense of villages built near the ponds. Anagoḷ, (Ane-koḷa), Huilgoḷa (Puil-Koḷa), Kundagoḷ, Amaragoḷ, Gummagoḷ etc., are names of this type.

A large number of places like Mālawaḍa, Dodvāḍa, Dhārwaḍa, Kōḷiwāḍa, have their names ending in wāḍa. Wāḍa, Bāḍa and wāṭa are synonyms and mean an enclosure, a piece of enclosed ground, a court yard, a compound, an enclosure of a village or a town and so on. Bāḍa is used in the sense of a village in ancient classical Kannada works. 'Sandhigeyalke Beḍidare Pāṇḍu Taṇu-bhavareydu Bāḍamam' (Gadayuddha). Wāḍa may be derived from the Dravidian root Paḍu to sleep.

Paḍu > Pāta > Wāta > Wāḍa.

Uru and Kēri are the two words very often applied to the names of places in Karnatak. In fact majority of place names end in Ūru or Kēri. Kallūru, Mallūru, Antūru, Bentūru, Navalūru, Annigēri, Abbigēri, and so on. This list perhaps can go to any length. So commonly are these terms used. Ūru itself is a root and means to be, to exist, to stay, to stop, to reside, to settle, to take up one's abode, to put down, or fix on the ground, to plant etc. Nomadic people giving up their wanderings settled at some time in some place where they could get food, water and shelter. The new villages or towns were planted thus. Hence the term Ūru came to express this sense of planting new places. The word Ūru is still used in the sense of planting (Bija Ūru).

Kēri (Tamil Cheri, Telugu and Tulu Gēri) means a street. So it came to have the sense of a village ultimately and began to be used with place names.

Haṭṭi and koṭe are two more words which are generally used to express the idea of a village, town or city. Haṭṭi might have been derived from the root Paḍu to sleep viz., Paḍu > Paṭṭi > Hatti just as Bidu > Bitti. The place where sheep sleep or take rest is called kuri hatti. Ultimately the place where people sleep or take rest also came to be termed as Haṭṭi; and this was used to express place names like Kuru Hatti (a small village), Siri Haṭṭi (a place of prosperity), Bana Hatti (a place in the forest) and so on.

Kōte is a well known word both in Dravidian languages and Sanskrit. It means a rampart, a fort or a wall round a town. This word has been largely used in Karnatak and else where in India to express the idea of village, town or city. Hulkoti (Hul-Kote), Taḷikoti- (Taḷi-kote) Bagalkoti (Bagal-kote) etc., are a few names amongst many of this group.

The word Katti (Katte) which means a structure of earth or stone to sit upon for resting is very often used to express the sense of a village or town. Hunshikatti, Benkatti, Mavinkatti etc., may be named here. In a village a 'Katte' built round a tamarind tree was very prominent and so the village was gradually called Hunshikatti. In another village a 'Mavin Katti' was prominent and hence it was called Mavinkatti and so on. Katti (katte) thus came to convey by lakṣhṇā the secondary sense—'village'.

Bīdu, Bidi—derivatives of the root Bidu are sometimes used as terminations, suggesting place names. Names like Haḷe Bīdu, Hārubidi, Bidi, may be given for example.

It is very interesting to notice that words like Sāgara, and Samudra are used to convey the sense of a village. Hanamasāgara, Gudisāgar, Nagasamudra, Mallasamudra etc., such names can be quoted profusely.

We have so far considered a few groups of place names with regard to their bases. Since the purpose of the present article is to discuss only the bases, the adjectives that describe those villages and thereby help us to get the history of those places, have not been considered. That may form the historical study of place names. This is only a linguistic investigation of some of the place names. Many more groups of place names can thus be taken up for linguistic investigation.

A Note on the Ancient Political Geography of the Indus Valley

BY

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*The Geographical alignment of north-western India—towards the
Middle East rather than towards the Gangetic basin*

Some modern circumstances have accustomed us to think of north western India as closely connected with the Gangetic plain. Geographically, however, these two regions are separate from each other.

At first sight the chains of the Hindukush and Soliman mountains appear to shut out the Indus Valley from the western world leaving it only in contiguity with northern India. These ranges are, however, merely broad ridges, backed by no plateaus and notched by some relatively low passes. They, therefore, have never been effective barriers either in military operations or in commercial communications. On the other hand, the river-system of the Indus, being connected with the Kābul river-system, verges towards the north-western border adjacent to Iran, and forms, as it were, a common Indo-Iranian domain stretching far away in western Asia without any check. This natural alignment of north-western India with the western world has been further augmented by an ever-open and free sea-course. But in the east the Indus river-system is not only not connected with any river of northern India, but it is even separated from the rest of India by the sandy lands of Thar which must have been a great obstacle to communication in olden times. Moreover there are indications in the old Indian literature that belts of dense forests separated the Indus basin from the Gangetic plain. While there was a deep forest near the source of the Ganges,¹ the banks of the river Sarasvatī were covered by the Kāmyaka forest,² and those of the Jumna by the Khāṇḍava.³ Somewhere near about these forests we have to place

1. Rig-Veda, V, 61, 17-19; Mbh., I, 138, 74; 150 f; 166; IV. 5. 4; IX, 41.

2. Mbh., III, 5, 3.

3. Mbh., I, 222, 14; 223, 1.

even the wild region called Kurujāngala.⁴ Communication through these forests must have been rendered still more difficult by a number of rivers passing through them. Within these parts flowed the rivers Aruṇā (which joined the Sarasvatī near Pehoa), Aṁśu-matī, Hiraṇvatī, Āpayā (Āpayā or Oghavatī, a branch of the Chitang), Kauṣikī (a branch of the Rokshī) as well as the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī or the Rokshī.⁵ Here, too, was situated Saryā-nāvati, which the authors of the Vedic Index consider to have been a lake,⁶ like that known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa by the name of Anyatahplakṣhā.⁷ The Mahābhārata mentions the lake Dvaitavana as well as a forest called Dvaitavana which spread over the banks of the river Sarasvatī.⁸ Though controlled considerably in modern times by the scientific inventions, all these geographical conditions must have told strongly upon our early history as the consequence of which in ancient times the Indus valley appears much more related to the western world rather than to the other parts of India.

*Relationship of north-western India with the Middle East
from about 2000 B.C. onwards.*

There are indications that from the earliest times of the Indus Age north-western India had been closely connected in the west not only with Baluchistan and Afghanistan but perhaps even with Iraq, Egypt and Crete. The existence of this connection is proved even in the period of composition of the earliest parts of the Avesta and the Rigveda, when the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus and Persians still formed an undivided branch of the Indo-European stock. Prior to the seventh century B.C., and for numerous ages afterwards, there is further proof of relations between Persia and western India through the facts of trade in antiquity, especially through the early commerce between India and Babylon.⁹ But

4. Mbh., I, 109, 1; 149, 5-15; II, 26-32; III, 83, 204; Ptolemy, VII, 1, 42.

5. For the identification and location of some of the streams see Mbh., III, 83, 95, 151; V, 151, 78; Cunningham's Arch. Rep. for 1878-79 quoted in JRAS, 1883, 363 n.; Smith, Oxford History, p. 29; and H. C. Raychaudhuri, Pol. Hist. of Anc. India, 5th Ed., 1950, pp. 21-23, 68-70.

6. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Ved. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 169-170.

7. Sat. Br., XI, 5; I, 4.

8. Mbh., III, 24-25.

9. J. Kennedy, The Early Commerce of India with Babylon, 700-300 B.C., JRAS., 1898, pp. 241-288; V. A. Smith, Early History of India, 4th ed., Oxford, 1924, p. 29 n, 1; W. H. Schoff, JAOS, XXXIII, 352; Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 104; Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western

north-western India does not seem to have any such intimate relations with the Gangetic valley.

*But the Gangetic basin unknown in north-western
India before the 4th century B.C.*

Although the Aryans most probably came over the Indus valley to the Gangetic plain, the oldest Purāṇic traditions of the Hindus betray complete want of information about the ruling dynasties of the north-west. The earliest Buddhist traditions also have little knowledge of this part. There are some passages in the quite early works, which, pouring detestation on these parts of India, show, in their own way, ignorance of the Hindus about them. Thus a passage of the Atharvaveda consigns Takman or fever to the Gandhāris along with other peoples like the Mujavantas, the Aṅgas and the Māgadhas.¹⁰ A similar account of the Baudhāyana-Dharmaśūtra enjoins that one should perform purificatory ceremonies if per chance he goes to the land of the Arattas etc.¹¹ A verse of the Mahābhārata states that sacrifice gives no result in the lands of the Madras and Gandhāris.¹² North-western India also in its part appears to have little intercourse with eastern India.¹³ Skylax of Caryanda, who surveyed the Indus,¹⁴ and thus came himself to north-western India about 515 B.C., seems to have been given no information even about the existence of the Gangetic plain. Persian documents and the work of Skylax possibly formed the basis of the Indian account of the Geography of Hecataeus of Miletus,¹⁵ which was composed C.

World from the Earliest times to the Fall of Rome, pp. 1-32; Dr. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, IHQ, XXVI, 1950, pp. 101-102; and the Hist. and Cult of Ind. People, Vol. I, ch. IX and Vol. II, ch. XXIV.

10. Atharva, 22, 14.

11. Baudh. Dharm., 1, 2, 14.

12. Mbh., III, 40.

13. Speaking about the Gangetic basin in his speech, as reported by Curtius, Alexander states that this region was quite new and unknown even to the Indians of the north-west, "We are standing now almost on the earth's utmost verge, and yet you are preparing to go to a sphere altogether new—to go in quest of an India unknown even to the Indians themselves. You would fain root out from their hidden recesses and dens a race of men that herd with snakes and wild beasts, so that you may traverse as a conqueror more regions than the sun surveys". (Curtius, IX, 3 Cf. M'Crindle, Invasion of Alexander, p. 228).

14. Herodotus, IV, 44.

15. C. Muller, Fragmenta Historicum Fragments 174-179.

500 B.C., and that of the History of Herodotus,¹⁶ which was written C. 450 B.C. The knowledge of India of both these writers stops almost completely on the river Indus beyond which they know nothing but a great desert of sand. Towards the end of the fourth century B.C., Alexander himself, even after making enquiries from Poros and Phegeus,¹⁷ could not come to know of the actual circumstances of the Gangetic plain, and he thought that across the river Indus he was soon at the end of India coming to the sea situated at the end of the earth.¹⁸ Curtius has stated clearly that Alexander could not go further in east only on account of difficulties of the path caused by vast deserts, rapid rivers and forests.¹⁹

Thus it seems that in ancient times north-western India formed a part of the western world, and not that of the Gangetic basin.

16. Herodotus, III, 89-106; and IV, 44. Cf. M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described in Class. Lit. by Herod. etc.*, pp. 1-5.

17. Diodorus, XVII, 93. Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 281; Curtius, IX, 2 Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 221.

18. Arrian, V, Cf. M'Crindle, *Inv. Alex.*, p. 123; Curtius, IX, 3. Cf. M'Crindle, p. 228.

19. Curtius (IX, 2. Cf. M'Crindle, p. 221) says that Alexander learnt from Phegeus that "beyond the river (Beas) lay extensive deserts which it would take eleven days to traverse", and further that "the attestation of Poros to the truth of what he had heard made the king anxious on manifold grounds; for while he thought contemptuously of the men and elephants that would oppose him, he dreaded the difficult nature of the country that lay before him, and in particular, the impetuous rapidity of the rivers". Further more Curtius (IX, 3 Cf. M'Crindle, p. 228) makes Alexander speak to his soldiers about the wild people of the Gangetic basin, "We are standing now almost on the earth's utmost verge, and yet you are preparing to go to a sphere altogether new—to go in quest of an India unknown even to Indians themselves. You would fain root out from their hidden recesses and dens a race of men that herd with snakes and wild beasts so that you may traverse as a conqueror more regions than the sun surveys."

Reviews

SELECTIONS FROM THE ORME MANUSCRIPTS, Edited by Diwan Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A. Published by Annamalai University, Annamalaiagar, 1952. Pages xxv + 394. Price Rs. 15/-.

The editor of this volume Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari did not live to see its publication and passed away only when a small part of the book had been printed. The Introduction, more a sketch of Orme's life and work and of the well known general history of the Carnatic wars than a specific comment on the documents printed here, is furnished by Prof. R. Sathianathier, the successor of the late professor in the Annamalai University. We learn from the Preface, also by Mr. Sathianathier, that the publication of the book was undertaken by the Annamalai University in accordance with 'a five-year publication plan' drawn up in 1942 by the then Imperial Record Department, now the National Archives of India. The plan was in three parts: (1) Fort William—India House Correspondence (21 Volumes); (2) Selections from English Records (5 Volumes)—both to be financed by the Government of India; and (3) (a) Records in oriental languages (8 Volumes) and (b) Selections from English Records 5 Volumes—both these to be published by Universities and learned Societies at their own expense.

The present reviewer has had occasion to review a volume of selections from Sanskrit Records published by the G. Jha Research Institute; the passing doubt which arose then in his mind whether these selections were worth the trouble and expense of publishing *in extenso* is now more or less confirmed by a perusal of the present volume. It seems that except on the principle that all material that has found its way into archives must be published irrespective of its present historical worth it is difficult to justify the third part of the ingenious plan which purports to take the universities and learned societies into partnership but in reality relegates to them a very insignificant part of the work; but the latter seem to have taken the bait.

The present selection, we are not told who made them, when and on what principles, include fifteen sections covering events from 1751 to 1760, and varying in nature and content from a long journal of the Coromandal war (over a hundred pages) to small notes elucidating points referred to his correspondents for elucidation, and dry-as-dust diaries of sieges and route marches. These

are in fact the raw material out of which Orme prepared his epic account of the Carnatic Wars, and their present importance lies almost exclusively in the peep they afford into the historian's workshop. The editorial notes are not few, nor always quite relevant, and are gathered in an unhandy form at the end of each section under the curious caption 'footnote'. They are not also free from factual errors which, however, we should do well to remember have not had the benefit of a final revision by the editor. The printing and get up of the book are quite good though there is no index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN COINS, PART II (Muhammadian and Later Series) compiled by C. R. Singhal, Published by the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1952. Pages vi and 220.

This is a welcome addition to the slender stock of bibliographical aids to Indian historical studies and it completes Mr. Singhal's bibliography of which Part I was published in 1950. In addition to the titles of articles and references, it contains brief workmanlike summaries of the articles which are very helpful indeed. The arrangement is convenient and makes for easy reference, and to this extent Mr. Singhal may rest assured that Part II of the Bibliography will command as friendly a reception as Part I. The author says modestly in his Introduction 'No pretence, however, is made that this is an absolutely exhaustive work on the subject. Still (the) utmost attempt has been made to make it as exhaustive as possible.' No one can reasonably expect more of the Compiler of a work of reference of this character. Omissions noticed later can find publication as a supplement in the journal of the Society.

It seems, however, a pity that there should appear in the book some glaring defects which with a little care could easily have been avoided. Section M (Muhammadian Miscellaneous) concludes on p. 75 with a tail attached to the page and containing an entry numbered 'M 37. Unvala. J.M.' after 'M 36. Whitehead. R.B.' — the numbers should really be reversed in the alphabetical order, but this perhaps involved a reprinting of two pages. Again after page 180, the page numbers 180 A—D occur before 181, and the section on Sassanian Coins pages 180 D—186 seems to have come in as an after-thought which does not bear a serial number which must have been AA as Z had already been reached with the section on Maldive Islands, and which has been ignored

in the Index of Authors. Likewise the Bibliography of Reference Books (pages 187-95), and of Indo-Portuguese books, Journals and Catalogues (196-202) do not also figure there, and the reader has to discover these things for himself as he gets no warning of them from the author.

I am not a numismatist, and would not presume to tell the numismatists of India their plain duty. But I cannot help expressing my feeling as a general student of Indian History that there is a wide gap between the standard of publication that prevailed in the Numismatic Supplements of the J(R)ASB and those of the Numismatic Society of India, including its now well known Journal. The defects I have pointed out above, technical and mechanical, are symptomatic of the acceptance of lower standards of technique which must be deemed unfortunate in a work of this kind. Hoping that this matter will attract the attention of the Society and be set right in due course, I have no hesitation in recording my entire accord with the praise Dr. V. S. Agrawal has bestowed in his Foreword on the work of Mr. Singhal and with his exhortation to Museum officials and others that a more systematic and regular use should be made by them of the Society's Journal to keep its work up-to-date and up to the mark.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

EXCAVATIONS AT BRAHMAPURI (KOLHAPUR) 1945-46 by Hasmukh Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D (London) and Moreshwar Gangadhar Dikshit, B.A., Ph.D. Published by the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1952, (Price Rs. 30/-).

Archaeological excavations in India have been comparatively few and even they are not well distributed. Excavations at the sites of the early historical period are important on account of the great help they give for a study of the sequence of the earlier and later cultures. Work on such sites in the Deccan is particularly valuable. Already some work has been done in this direction viz., excavations at Chandravalli and Kondapur. Of late the work of the Archaeological Department in this field is supplemented by the work of institutions engaged in Indological research. The Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, is one such institution and it has done well in undertaking excavation work at Brahmapuri in the former Kolhapur State with a view to find out the possibility of establishing a sequence of cultures representing the little known historical periods in the Deccan. Interest in the excavation at the site was created by the discovery

of a bronze Graeco-Roman statuette (Poseidon, Roman God of the Sea), bronze vessels, a toy cart and other interesting objects in trial diggings on the western side of the mound. Fruitful excavations on scientific lines were conducted at the site by Prof. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. E. Dikshit of the Institute in 1945-46 and the monograph under review is an authentic account of the same.

Kolhapur as revealed from the excavation and stratigraphy of the place appears to have had a very ancient history starting from as far back as the second of the first century B.C. During the early period it stood on the banks of the R. Panchaganga with a number of well-built brick houses. Probably destroyed by fire late in the Satavahana period, it was reoccupied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during the Silahara rule when huge temples were constructed there. After the period of the Yadavas and the Bahmanis the place was submerged by floods; but it seems to have become once again important under Sivaji and Aurangzeb.

The different layers of the excavated site have yielded many objects of interest, among which are several coins belonging mostly to the Satavahanas, Silaharas and the Bahmanis. A fragmentary coin of considerable importance has been doubtfully ascribed to the reign of Aurangzeb. Quite a large number of pots, complete and fragmentary, belong to the post-Satavahana and Bahmani periods and they are generally wheel-turned ones rather than hand-made ones. Terracotta figurines as also those made of stone and metal have also been found. One metal figure is that of Goddess Parvati with unique features, and interesting for the student of Hindu iconography. The numerous beads excavated are found to be made of different metals and the time span over which they are distributed must help one interested in the study of the history of bead-making at the place. Many places of monochrome and polychrome glass bangles have been recovered from the upper layers and a few chank shell, lac, bone and ivory things from the lower ones, the former belonging to the Bahmani period and the latter to the Satavahana period. Brahmapuri has not however yielded many tools and weapons. The few that have been found are arrows or javelin heads, hunting dagger knife etc.

The volume contains a number of useful illustrations which include a contour map of the Brahmapuri mound, 31 line drawings and 37 plates. Probably chapter V is a mistake for Chapter IV in the contents.

Though it is not possible to establish proper links between the objects excavated at Brahmapuri and elsewhere in India now the monograph under review throws much useful light on the

cultural affinities and local peculiarities in the material culture as revealed by the excavations at the place. The book which is written with much care and based on available data is a welcome addition to the slender literature we have on the history and culture of the region with which it deals.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE GUPTA POLITY by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University; published by the University of Madras, 1952; pp. viii + 427; Price Rs. 15/-.

The above is a companion volume to the learned author's work on Mauryan Polity which was published by the University of Madras in 1932. In the two works, the author has given an exhaustive treatment of Hindu Polity that functioned with so much success during the long period — between the Mauryan and Gupta Empires. The success upon which he has drawn in writing the present work are literary texts on political treatises like the *Kamandakiya Nitisara*, the *Puranas* and the Gupta Inscriptions and coins, besides the unique account of India left by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien of the fifth century A.D. The Literary texts dealt with do not include the important literature of Kalidasa, as the author has come to the 'irresistable conclusion' that Kalidasa did not belong to the Gupta period but to the earlier Sunga period and lived in the second century B.C. It is a matter of particular pleasure to me personally that I have myself throughout held that view. The chapter on the sources of information is very full and exhaustive. In the chapter dealing with the extent of the Empire, it is pointed out that the Gupta Empire included not only considerable territories in the Deccan and South India, but also colonies in the Far East. There are chapters dealing with the Central Government, Provincial Government, Local Institutions, and Military Administration. The subject of Religion in the Gupta period has also been dealt with very fully. The author has presented a new point that the Imperial Guptas were not really devotees of Vishnu as usually supposed, but were *Smartas* worshipping different gods like Siva, Vishnu, Kartikeya and Devi. On the whole, the work forms an important contribution to Gupta history in one of its important aspects. It is a notable addition to the list of numerous erudite works with which the author has throughout his life enriched the knowledge of ancient Indian history in its different aspects.

R. K. MOOKERJI

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE: A SOUVENIR OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OF HIS ARRIVAL IN INDIA. (52-1952 A.D.). Published by the Centenary Celebrations Committee, Ernakulam, 1952.

In this small volume of exactly 114 pages a galaxy of learned men veritably steeped in the lore of the Thomistic traditions current in Malabar from times immemorial deal in the most scholarly way on the great questions connected with this Christian Apostle of revered memory. Dr. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil (Oxon), who has contributed more than half of the studies made in this booklet, is also its editor and he has also contributed in that capacity a very useful introduction to the volume, which deals in a few pages with the salient points connected with St. Thomas, and his sojourn in India.

The book contains eight papers and is divided into three parts dealing respectively with St. Thomas in South India, the Testimony of the early Fathers of the Church and the other missions of the Apostle. The subject of the Thomistic mission to India and particularly to South India is still considered a problem of Indian history and one feels after reading the learned treatises of these authors that the sooner we cease considering this as one of our historical problems the better it will be for the history of our land and for all those who wish to know something definite about it. It is the gibe of the western scholars that though Indian history dates from very early times it has little or nothing to say definitely about the history of many centuries particularly of the pre-Christian and early Christian eras; and the sooner we come to some decision on some at least of the vital points of our history the better it will surely be for all concerned. This seems to be obviously the case especially in matters for which evidences leading to a definite conclusion are not wanting, unless one is prejudicially or tendentially inclined.

The book under review presents before the reader a case in point. All the different strands of evidence drawn from tradition, the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, both Greek and Latin, and the Syriac writings and Liturgies have been massed together in this book proving in the first place that St. Thomas came to India, that he preached the Gospel here and died a martyr near San Thome where his remains lay buried for some time until Khabin in the IV century removed them to Edessa. Beginning from the well-known evidence of St. Ephrem (c. 390 A.D.) who sings in his *Carmen Nisibena* that St. Thomas preached to the dark

people of India (whom he made fair by baptism), this work gathers together the more or less continuous evidence down the centuries, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Jerome (both contemporaries of St. Ephrem) of Gregory of Tours in the VI century of the emissaries of King Alfred of England in the IX, of Marco Polo and Monte Cormino in the XIII, of Oderic and Marignoli in the XIV, of Nicolo Conti in the XV and thus down to the coming of the Portuguese to India and the excavation they made at the site of the Apostle's tomb in San Thome, Madras in 1523 A.D. To these must be added the evidence of the Syriac Work entitled "Doctrine of the Apostles" placed beyond doubt in the II century A.D. which says very clearly: "India and all its own countries and those bordering on it even to the farther sea received the Apostle's hand of priesthood from Judas Thomas."

The book however seems to lay an even greater emphasis on the continuous evidence of tradition in Malabar pointing to the truth of the Thomistic role in the history of our country. Referring to what he describes as "the unique testimony" of tradition, the learned editor of these papers remarks that it "can be more reliable than coins or copper plates". This may be an astonishing statement from a person like Dr. Thomas; but all well intentioned students of our history do have many an occasion in the course of their investigations to exclaim in the same manner. There is something peculiarly trustworthy in traditions kept in a country like ours, which pay such homage to custom and what was heard from our ancestors. It is no secret that such an honoured work as the *vedas* were themselves passed from person to person for ages only through the ear; and nobody questions their authenticity to-day. Dr. Thomas argues further and says that Kerala with its peculiar social custom and practices its traditions ought to furnish one "unassailable evidence for the Apostolate of St. Thomas in South India".

The Kerala tradition is conveyed prominently by the "Song of Thoma Ramban", said to have been composed by Thoma Ramban II of the Malickal family from Niranam and redated in its present form by Thoma Ramban XLVIII of the same family c. 1600 A.D. The date of the first composer is generally given as 600 A.D. This is a song that has gone down for nearly a thousand years from mouth to mouth and ear to ear; still the matter it contains is strongly against the possibility of its being untrue to facts. It makes mention of the Cera and Cola reigning families and incidentally also of the Pandya at the time of Thomas i.e., in the I century A.D., and when

we bear in mind the fact conveyed to us by tradition that St. Thomas worked in South India, in Malabar and in the Coromandel coast round the region of Mylapore the mention of these two families of rulers and only incidentally the Pandya house seems to be very reasonable.

The crucial point which this tradition as enshrined in the *Song* referred to conveys is that St. Thomas was commissioned by the Cola King to build a palace for him and that Habban, who is mentioned by the Syriac work the *Acta* also called *Acts of Judas Thomas*, was a messenger of the Cola King. Leaning on the Coin finds of Gondophares discovered in the last century, scholars like Fleet and others have made this Habban the agent of this Indo-Parthian King and even accepted the fact of the Apostle's arrival in his court and his mission in his kingdom. It is argued in this book that while the entire bottom of this theory is knocked out by the conclusion arrived at by the Dutch scholar, Van Lohuizen, who places the date of Gondophares round 315 B.C., the *Song* of Ramban is actually more trustworthy than the *Acta* referred to above. While the Syriac work, which is largely apocryphal, contains absolutely fanciful names, the names in Ramban's work are identifiable; and it is too much to base one's theory on the single name 'Gudnapher' (found in the *Acta*) which also may not be easily taken as being the same as Gondophares. Reference may also be made to a Latin work (author not known) in which the name of the King who ordered the execution of Thomas is mentioned as a South Indian ruler named Kandappa Raja; and the name Gudnapher may be a variation of Kandappa as well as of Gondophares. More than all this is the internal evidence of the *Acta*, which mentions many customs and depicts a way of life which are distinctly South Indian. The last argument advanced is the fact that in the face of the long control which the East Syrians had maintained over Christianity in Malabar the *Song* of Ramban would not have been tolerated if what it contained was a travesty of true facts or even something to which the Syrians did not subscribe. It is not denied in all this that Thomas went to Persia or N. W. India. He might have gone there and even farther as far as China; but what is maintained here is that he came to South India and the *Acta* must be taken to bear testimony to this than to anything else in the life of the Apostle.

Much historical criticism decrying the fact of the advent of Thomas in India has no doubt been levelled from early times; and it seems to have gone on in a cycle of belief and disbelief.

When the Portuguese began to spread this as an unassailable truth in the XVI century, the scholarly world received it with a smile of disbelief; but later in the XIX century great savants like Dr. Buchanan of the *Christian Researches* came to accept it without reservation. Writing in 1806, he says: "We have as good authority that Apostle Thomas died in India as that Apostle Peter died in Rome". The depression appeared again when Dr. Smith wrote that there was no evidence in proof of the Thomistic martyrdom in South India; and he himself closed the cycle in the last edition of the *Early History of India* when he said that opinion must veer round to the contrary view point. In our own times the cycle was commenced again by a few writers, who began questioning the truth of this mission of Thomas. The *Journal of Indian History* itself, to take but one example, has to show in the pages of its previous numbers many doubting views expressed in this particular. The dates of his arrival and death, the identity of the India to which he is said to have gone evangelising according to as old a work as the *Doctrine* to which reference has been made and lastly the place of his death and burial have all been called in question.

It is true that the dates which have now become more or less conventional with regard to the Thomistic activity in South India, the year 52 A.D., the date of his arrival at Meliankara near Cranganore, and 68 A.D., the date of his death given in the Latin inscription on the gospel side of the San Thome tomb — are doubtless drawn from tradition. But granting that the dates given in the Catholic Encyclopaedia for the death of the Blessed Virgin at which St. Thomas was absent and for the I council of the Apostles — the dates 48 A.D. and 50 A.D. respectively — are acceptable then the date 52 given for the arrival of St. Thomas on the west coast seems very reasonable. In view of the ingenious explanation given by Medlycooa which posits two separate missions of Thomas to India one being to the N.W. part of it and the other to the south it is easy to see that the apostle must have been in the N.W. round 48 A.D. and in the south round 52 A.D. after attending the council of the Apostles referred to above. It is to be admitted that the date 68 however is purely traditional. There may not be anything scientific at the basis of these decisions; but at least they appear natural. Mr. T. K. Joseph of Trivandrum has no doubt set forth elaborately arguments drawn from certain chronograms pointing to the date 317 for the arrival of some Christian preceptors from Baghdad and he would imply that this was the date of the first arrival of Christianity in Malabar. Besides the fact that there is a lot of confusion of Thomases in the Hindu traditions and records

of Malabar like the *Kerlorpathi* a chronogram drawn up by a *nambudri* for his own purpose cannot be pressed too far. But the difficulty felt about the India which Thomas, the Apostle, visited, though of a more fundamental nature appears too much of the nature of battling against the open door. When Periplus in 60 A.D. has no difficulty of referring to the Tamil country while speaking of the ships sailing from Cana on the Arabian coast to Demirica, what could withhold us from saying that India was well known to the West during the time of St. Thomas and to Thomas himself. In fact south of India in the first century A.D. was a land known to those in the West as well as it is to-day. The last great difficulty is the problem of the identification of Calamina to which Ahataalla refers as the place where St. Thomas died. Scholars have wandered as far as Kalyan near Bombay and far into the ocean as the Malaya Archipelago to find this place; and have not succeeded in finding it. If the Apostle should have died in some far-away place of this name surely it would have beckoned them by this very repute. The fact seems to be that by Calamina only Mylapore is intended and we can say this without going into any kind of fanciful explanation as the one given by Bishop Teixeira once. There is more similarity between *Myla* and *Cala* than does exist between the placenames on the Parava coast and the synonyms found for them by St. Francis Xavier. A glance at his letters preserved in the *Monumenta Xaveriana* would bear out what is said here.

The small book, Thomas the Apostle meets all these doubts very satisfactorily indeed and it can be safely foreseen that it will close the ever-recurring cycle of doubts arising concerning the Thomistic connection with India and let us hope, for ever. Eminent writers like Rev. Dr. Placid, Rev. Dr. Ettumanookaran and Mr. K. E. Job besides Dr. P. J. Thomas have combined to make the book a remarkable success. Special attention of the reader must be drawn to the most thought-provoking article of Dr. Thomas on "Palli Vana Perumal — A Royal Disciple of St. Thomas," found as the IV paper in Part I of the book. It throws a much needed beam of light on the first conversions effected by the Apostle in Malabar especially on their nature. It is a pity that this valuable addition to the already existing literature on Thomas and India does not indicate by its *format* what it contains. Though it contains not very many pages the substance they enshrine is very meaty indeed.

M. AROKIASWAMI

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Bihar Research Society — The Journal of the*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, June 1952, Patna.
 1. *The Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782* by Dr. Bankey Bihari Misra, Ch. IX (contd. from last issue).
 2. *Studies in Hindu Political Thought and Its Metaphysical Foundations* by Dr. Viswanath Prasad Varma (continued from last issue).
 3. *Early History of Mithila* by Radhakrishna Chowdhary.
- II. *Ceylon Historical Journal — The*, Vol. II, July and October 1952, Nos. 1 and 2, Dehiwela.
 1. *Life in an ancient Tamil City, Cauveri Patanam* by S. Vaidyapuri Pillai.
 2. *The Foreign Trade and Commerce of ancient Ceylon IV— the exports and imports of ancient Ceylon* by B. J. Perera.
 3. *The Treaty of 1766 between the king of Kandy and the Dutch* (1) by E. Reimers.
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