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## Adigamān of Tagadūr: His Origin

BY

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The chieftain of Tagadūr now identified with the modern town of Dharmapuri in the district of Salem in this State of Madras is one of the better known chieftains of the ancient history of South India. A great majority of the poems of Avvai found in the *Puranānūru* collections celebrates one of this family of chieftains—known to Tamil scholars as well as historians as Adigamān Nedumān Āñji.<sup>1</sup> Other Sangam poems like the *Sirupānnārruppadaī* and even the *Agam* do refer to the greatness of the Adigamāns. There need be therefore no doubt as to either the ancient nature or the greatness of this chieftaincy in South India. A well-built tradition has in fact grown round the name of the Adigamāns and mention may be made here of one such traditional story to which Mr. Logan, the author of the *Malabar Manual*, refers in the second volume of his work. This tradition refers to the ancestors of this chieftain praying to the gods for the production of something sweet to eat and thus getting sugarcane which he first planted in the Kongu region (the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem).<sup>2</sup>

No investigation has so far been made as to the origin of this chieftaincy in South India. From certain references in the poems of the Sangam Age to the Adigamān as “the leader of the Malavar” (Malavar perumagan) an inquiry may be set afoot into the origin and early history of this chieftain.<sup>3</sup> The Malavar would appear to have been a great warrior race which had used for the first time in South India horses in battle. This is an interesting piece of

1. *Puram*, 91, 99, etc.

2. Logan; *Malabar Manual*, II, p. 7. The tradition is mentioned in *Puram* 99 also.

3. *Puram*, 88, 90.

information that may be gleaned from the description of them in the first poem in the *Agam* collection which calls them as "the Malavar with beautiful horses" (*Uruvakuthirai Malavar*). The *Narrinai*, another poem of the same period, relates the Oris of the Kolli hills in the modern district of Salem to the Adigamans and in doing so calls him "*Malavar perumagan mā vil Ōri*";<sup>4</sup> the use of the bow and arrow by this chieftain is also borne out here.

These proofs taken from some of the most ancient poems in the Tamil language now generally dated as early as the II century A.D. must convince the historian that the Adigamāns and the Ōris of the Kolli hills undoubtedly belonging to the family of the Malavar are some of the most ancient chieftains who had ever ruled in the South of India. It is curious that the famous poet of the II century, Mamūlānār, from whom we get important gleanings with regard to the Mauryan invasion of the South and the other ancient people known as the Kōśar, who are supposed to have formed the vanguard of the Mauryas in their southern invasion, is also the author who gives us information on the Malavar.<sup>5</sup> Whether the Kōśar had entered the south from the north, where they had known the Mauryas, is a question that has not been answered definitely. But indications are all in that direction. It is wrong to suppose that the north and the south were like water-tight compartments unknown to each other for a long time, especially in view of the Indus valley finds and the evidence they bear on the ancient civilisation of the north and the ever-increasing sources which prove the numerous and continuous migrations from north to south from very early times.<sup>6</sup> The Vēls also known as the Vēlir, who were famous in the South at the very dawn of the Christian era, also belonged to the people who had continually moved down from north to south. The Malavar who must be considered as the ancestors of the Adigamāns of Tagadūr, it would appear, must be classed along with these tribes of people who had thus come from the north into the south, though clear evidences pointing to this conclusion are still wanting.

4. *Narrinai*, 52

5. See for example *Agam*, 1, 15.

6. Arokiaswami; *Early History of the Vellār Basin*, Pt. I.

Be this as it may, the Malavar were among ancient tribes that lived in the South analogous to the pastoral and hunting tribes of India who were by nature good fighters and marksmen, who could ride horses and fight from horse-back. It is to these people we must refer the Adigamāns. In their early history centering round the first centuries of the Christian era we find them closely connected with the Cerās. The Tenimalai inscription of Vidugadalāgiya Perumāl, a VIII century successor of the Adigamān here referred to, mentions one Elini among his ancestors, which has in fact led some scholars to connect the Adigamāns with the Cerās, since Elini is considered to have been of Cerā royal birth. While it is not established that Elini was definitely of Cerā parentage we find the Adigamān chieftains of Tagadūr in constant war with the Cerā kings from Perum Ceral to the Cerā of the Elephant-Look. The later work *Tagadūryatirai* which deals with the Perum Ceral-Adigamān wars tells us that they were caused because whatever extent of territory he was given by the Cerā King, the chieftain was not satisfied. On the other hand, in their later history we find the Adigamāns steadily on the side of the Colās, especially during the dark days of Rājādhirājāh II, who had to face the Hoysala onrush under Vishnuvardhanā. During all this period the valiant chieftain of Tagadūr appears as the defender of the Colā frontier in the north as against the great generals of the Hoysala king. Thus one Hoysala inscription has the following passage:

"When Gangarājāh, the General of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala defeated Adigamān, who was then a Colā Viceroy, he ran across the Cāuvery to Mysore where he created another city Tagadūr now not far from Nanjangudu."<sup>7</sup>

Colā records on the other hand speak of Adigamān fighting some unnamed enemy in North Kalinga where he is said to have cut to pieces the army of the enemy compelling the proud kings who had vowed war on the Colā "to seek refuge in flight."

The truth of the matter appears to be that the Adigamāns like many a chieftain of the early history of South India belonged neither to the royal house of the Cerās nor to that of the Colās but were merely war-like men whom no reigning house could neglect.

7. Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II.

All our historical sources pertaining to this period bring to light numerous categories of such people—the Kongar, the Kōśar, the Karunādar etc.—and the Malavar to which group the Adigamān belonged were one such people.

It would, on the other hand, appear as very plausible that the Malavar are the originators of the Maravar who dominate the district of Ramnād at the present day. They seem to have inherited their war-like qualities from their great ancestors described as unexcelled fighting people of their times. The Śāngam poems particularly mention the fights between the Vēlir people and the Malavar and the first song in the *Agam* collections refers to the great fight between the Vēl Aye and the Malavar, in which the former is said to have won a resounding victory over the latter. These two classes of people, the fighters and cultivators, could possibly never agree and that must have led on to many and cruel battles between them and in these the Vēls seem to have generally won.

This must also account for the early rise to power of the former and the later rise of the Malavar. The name of Adigamān is heard of more resonantly and in greater fame in the XI and the XII century when the Vēls gradually settled down to live in a pedestrian way. In this connection it is good also to remember that one of the causes for the decline of the Irukkuvēls at Kodumbālūr in the modern Pudukkottāh region was the rise of the Maravar and the Kaḷḷar allied to them.<sup>8</sup>

8. Arokiaswami; *op. cit.*, *Loc. cit.*

### The Unsuccessful Expeditions of Rijcklof Van Goens and Adriaan Van Der Meyden to the Malabar Coast (1660-1661)

*Mrs. Meilink's narrative, translated from the Dutch original with the kind permission of the author.*

BY

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

Rumours went round in 1659 that Portugal had equipped a strong fleet of as many as eighty ships. With this fleet a new Viceroy would go to India as successor of Dom Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira who died in January 1656 and whose place still remained unfilled. The government in India was provisionally carried on by three governors, Manuel Mascarenhas Homem, Francisco de Mello de Castro and Antonio de Sousa Coutinho. Of this triad, Homem died on the 25th September 1657. Both the others continued the government till 14th June 1661. In the meanwhile, in 1657, a newly appointed Viceroy died on the way.

The Governor-General and Councillors at Batavia therefore decided to send a blockading fleet once again to Goa. This time also the fleet consisting of 13 ships and manned with more than 1400 persons was placed under the command of Adriaan Roothaes. Pieter de Bitter was appointed Vice-Commander.

Never did larger Dutch forces appear in front of Goa. Specially early on the 26th July 1659, the Dutch Fleet sailed out to prevent the coming of the Portuguese in front of the harbour as in previous years.

As compared with the previous blockade, Roothaes broke up the siege rather early in consequence of which there came in Goa in May a big new galleon, *Nossa Senhora de Populi*, that had wintered in Mozambique—a ship specially built for the war that could take in as many as 24 metal pieces and about 250 men and was intended to render service as Admiralship. It brought into

Goa much cash, merchandise and ammunition. Should the expected ships succeed in sailing to the harbour of Goa, then the hostile shipping would amount to 17 warships and form a superior force against Roothaes' fleet. Moreover, the Portuguese had strengthened themselves tremendously in the islets of Salcedo and Bardes to the south and north of Goa against the coming of the Dutch ships. So many men were necessary for this purpose that they could send no reinforcements to other Portuguese forts. Nay, they had even to summon soldiers from Diu and Bassein. With a general pardon to all malefactors, they hoped to reinforce the ranks of their troops.

The High Government built great expectations on this expedition. A splendid farewell dinner was given at Batavia in honour of its departure. At this dinner the imprisoned Portuguese Commanders who were to return to Goa with this fleet also sat. Roothaes was commanded to keep his ships, as far as possible, together. Further, it was hoped that Wingurla whence the fleet was provided with provisions would not fall into the hands of the Portuguese. The latter had sent an embassy to the Court of Bijapur with a considerable present of 100,000 pagodas. They requested the monarch to refuse to the Dutch permission to stay in his land and to renew the old treaties of friendship. They even offered, in addition to the present, an annual contribution of 10,000 pagodas. But the prince gave them only good words and large promises. He rather let the knife cut from both sides by remaining good friends with both rivals, the Dutch and the Portuguese. The interests of his subjects moreover advocated patronage to the Dutch who brought prosperity into the lands under Wingurla. Through them trade and business flourished. The fairly widespread private navigation was protected by the Dutch against the Malabar pirates. The king himself declared to the Dutch that piracy would magnify the unrest in his kingdom caused by the activities of the rebel Sivāji. The sympathies of the Bijapur palace and of the Adil Shah in particular were very much against the Portuguese. Also the Dutch found with them a better reception. Presents could only improve this disposition. So the Dutch decided that a moderate present of 4000 guilders would be sufficient. They did not feel entirely at ease in their settlement at Wingurla. And against the chance of this being lost, they must try to occupy

another harbour to the north of it, not to the south so that there, with a sally of the enemy from Goa, a ship proceeding to the south of Wingurla might no more reach the blockading fleet.

Not the capture of the fortresses on the Malabar Coast were the commission and aim of Roothaes' fleet; that aim in fact was the security of Ceylon and of the Company's navigation along the Indian Coast. If the whole forces of the fleet were not necessary in front of Goa, then they were, with the returning ships, to appear before Cannanore so that they might make an impression by this show. And perhaps they could venture an attempt at the reconquest of Quilon. But a special order was not given to the Governor-General and Council to do this. It went not a little to the heart of the directors of the United East India Company that from the costly blockade—the blockade of the year 1658-59 had alone cost 29,961 guilders in expenses of occupation without taking into account the cost of the equipment of the fleet and the wages of the men and sailors—the English rivals also profited in some measure as the Portuguese were, by this, prevented from putting the Indian produces on the European market. The blockade meant a heavy charge on the yearly balance and caused many doubts to arise in the minds both of the Lords Seventeen and the Governor-General whether the results would in the long run justify such heavy expenses.

As the Portuguese ships coming from Portugal must first sail to Chaul and Bombay for observing how matters stood in front of Goa, Roothaes divided his fleet. Roothaes himself went with his six ships to those places for cruising against the expected reinforcements. The rest of the squadron appeared in front of Goa under the command of Pieter de Bitter. This Pieter de Bitter who, being incorporated in the squadron of De Ruyter, made a noise for himself in the world in the naval combat of Terheide, took part in the siege and capture of Colombo as flag captain of Gerard Hulft. After the surrender of the city, he was sent to Batavia to acquaint the High Government of the conquest and of Hulft being killed in battle. In 1656 and 1657 he took part in the blockade in front of Goa under Commandeur Roothaes. During the expeditions of Van Goens for the conquest of the Portuguese fortresses on the coasts of India and Ceylon, the command of the ship *Salamander* was entrusted to De Bitter. Held up by bad weather conditions,

he came too late to be able to offer help in the capture of Mannar. He indeed took part in the capture of Jaffnapatam and here obtained the approbation of Van Goens who no further took into account his irregularities perpetrated in the seizure of a Portuguese prize. On the 17th July, 1659, De Bitter was appointed Vice-Commander of the fleet of Van Roothaes and was permitted to carry the flag in front of the top foremast.

Rumours spread by the English mentioned the coming of a Portuguese fleet of about 29 ships with which English and French vessels would also be found. If these rumours contained truth, the Dutch blockading fleet would run into great danger especially as they did not remain together. Van Goens made himself seriously uneasy about the coming of such a large squadron of which the Portuguese boasted. This brought him a reproof from his superiors who put to him the question whether in his long career he was not accustomed to the practices of the Portuguese who always knew to support their affairs with lies and to keep their subjects in expectation of some large reinforcement from Europe.

Van Goens sent two yachts and some smaller ships with one hundred soldiers for reinforcing Roothaes' fleet. But all fear appeared ungrounded. Van Goens could write to the Lords Seventeen "The mountains have brought forth a mouse." Only a patache or carravel (small and fast sailing ship for catching herring) went to Bassein as the fleet of Roothaes could see. The ship brought the news that the situation in Portugal brought about by the war with Spain did not permit the sending of the promised reinforcement this year also. The Portuguese Indian Government had to rest contented with the assurance that in the following year help could positively be expected or that otherwise peace with the Dutch would probably be concluded. Concerning the last eventuality, the Governors at Goa hoped that surely with the conclusion of peace Ceylon would be restored to the Portuguese. This was certainly a vain hope because of the breathless state in which the Portuguese kingdom found itself, a condition which made impossible the extreme exertion of strength necessary to take the island before the conclusion of the peace treaty.

For the Company which had incurred such heavy expenses for the blockade, the arrival of this one small Portuguese ship was a disappointment. There could properly be performed nothing of

importance that would in some degree make good the expenses. As no more reinforcements from Portugal were to be expected, Roothaes came away from Chaul and Bombay and sailed to Goa while three ships were to remain cruising there till the 26th October. But nothing of importance happened in front of Goa. Some small ships which wanted to go inside were made prizes and some others chased on the shore. The Portuguese shore batteries forced the Dutch to remain eventually on the sea. In consequence of this, Roothaes could not obstruct the numerous small ships that at night privately went into and out of the harbour as owing to the prevailing winds going into the harbour was more difficult than getting out of the same. The naval force which the blockading fleet in Goa faced consisted of 9 galleons, mostly large ships, and about 40 frigates. But the Portuguese failed to make these ships the means of sailing quickly and being ready for battle. How confused the conditions in the city appeared was clear to the Dutch from the news brought by their spies. Fierce quarrels raged between the Portuguese fidalgos or nobles who did not refrain from fighting out their quarrels with arms during the time of the Church service without the guilty being punished by the Government. In connection with the succession to the deceased Archbishop of Goa the clergy were no less at variance with each other. The insecurity on the street was so great that people did not venture to go out without armed escort. The police had not the courage to interfere. Even the worst ring-leaders remained moving about unpunished. Great dearth prevailed in the city and, as the salaries remained unpaid to the soldiers, there remained nothing else for them than robbery, murder or desertion.

Of the nine ships there were three which were no longer able to sail and one was wholly broken up. These ships were kept intact only for the purpose of preserving their prestige against the natives. The Indian residents on the Coast who had suffered heavy loss owing to the continual occupation of their harbours and who complained to the Portuguese Government had to be fed with the hope that a large Portuguese fleet which was expected would re-establish Portuguese influence. Otherwise the fear was indeed very great that the natives would choose the side of the Dutch.

Of an encounter with the Dutch enemy, there was no talk so that no reputation could be enjoyed by the Portuguese among the

native nations. On the command of Van Goens, Roothaes sent two yachts and a captured frigate in January to Cannanore for cruising in front of that harbour when it appeared that the enemy had nothing more in mind. Meanwhile Van Goens had arrived in front of Cochin. Roothaes sent there his Vice-Commander De Bitter with his yacht *Tholen* manned with 157 men. On a further request of Van Goens who expected that Roothaes, after the departure of the Company's ships from Taiwan, would come with some yachts to help, it was decided that a second yacht which had 200 men on board should further be despatched to Cochin for assistance.

But, further, before this yacht was on the way, news reached Roothaes that, without accomplishing his object, Van Goens had to break up from Cochin. As Roothaes' presence in front of Goa was no longer required, he sailed to Batavia on the 8th April. For complete security 5 yachts under De Bitter remained behind in front of the bar. These were to continue the blockade as long as possible.

Pieter de Bitter, during the absence of Roothaes in front of Goa, got into a serious conflict with the English. On the 20th September, he seized an English trading ship, the *Constantinople Merchant*, which wished to sail to the harbour of Goa. When the cargo was searched, the ship was found to have in it guns and ammunition. According to the English, its destination was their settlement at Surat, while it was clear that it had just come out of that place and had already been in front of Goa, but had not dared to touch at that place owing to bad weather. This was not, however, the first occasion on which the English provided the Portuguese with war material. The goods which were not considered as contraband were allowed to be brought in the sloops to the shore. The Dutch took 59 metal pieces, 3 mortars and 1974 grenades in custody. Opposition does not really appear to have been offered from the English side. Only an elaborate written protest was delivered and this De Bitter did not immediately answer because of his ignorance of the English language.

By his actions, De Bitter had strictly conformed to his instructions and had done nothing but his duty. Although the High Government had commanded a gentler action against the English so that an open conflict with them might be avoided, they had indeed

positively ordered the seizure of contraband i.e. war material for the hostile harbours. The Dutch were within their rights in this matter as, during the negotiations in Europe, it had been settled that contraband of war might be seized if an attempt were risked to bring the same to a blockaded harbour. The President and Council at Surat, however, complained bitterly over the outrage and pressed that satisfaction be asked from the Republic. Against the protest of the English, De Bitter defended himself at length. Of the influence on his career of this affair nothing is known.

The Company's interests on the Malabar Coast had suffered not a little through the events in the spring of 1659. Even the oldest commercial lodge of the United East India Company on the Malabar Coast, Kayamkulam, was in danger of being abolished. After the major portion of the merchandise and moneys was transported into the ship, there remained behind only an assistant and two subordinates to guard the lodge and collect the outstanding debts. It was again Van Serooskercken who was to negotiate afresh connections with the Malabar princes, in particular with the Zamorin, and buy as much pepper as he could secure. The Zamorin was in full war against the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin and laid siege to Cranganore. The diplomatic meddlings of Van Serooskercken with the Zamorin and other Malabar princes found little favour in the eyes of Van Goens who attached no belief to Van Serooskercken's communications of the winter, among other things that the Zamorin was only waiting for Dutch help to attack the city of Cochin itself. Van Goens had objections against giving cannon and soldiers on loan to the Zamorin. Little could he rely on those unreliable people. They were then rather to continue the negotiations through all compliments and friendliness and practise the utmost caution. Although they gave the Zamorin no material help, encouragement to maintain the fight against the Portuguese was greatly desired. The obloquy of Quilon had to be obliterated as quickly as possible. The war of the Portuguese with the most powerful Malabar prince was only too convenient for the Dutch.

The ruler of Ceylon, Raja Singa, was keeping quiet after his predatory expeditions in the lowlands around Colombo and Negombo. This added to the helpless situation of the Portuguese in Goa and made Van Goens and his Council to hazard an expedition for the capture of Quilon with the ships and soldiers present in

Ceylon as far as they could be spared without danger. Perhaps they could unite with the blockading fleet so that the latter might not remain wholly without work and the heavy expenses of the same could in some degree be made up for. If the Lords Seventeen but decided to send more soldiers and ships to India, then Van Goens supposed there was even their capture of Goa in prospect. After executing the business on the Malabar Coast, Van Goens hoped to direct his forces against Raja Singa for depriving him of his sea-ports and destroying the saltpans in the island that were still in the possession of the king.

After the departure of the Dutch from Quilon, the Portuguese under Ignatio Sernento snatched the interior of the town. The Portuguese wished to complete the fortifications which the Dutch were beginning to level. This was forbidden by the Signatty who eventually gave consent to the construction of the defensive work on the sea-coast against the Dutch. Because of these measures of the Portuguese, a reconquest by surprise attack according to the plan of Van der Meyden was not at all to be thought of. When captured, the place would require a garrison of at least four or five hundred men to protect it against the attacks of the Portuguese as well as against the Nairs. It was not easy to convince the thrifty government of the United East India Company that a military occupation was absolutely necessary. Van Goens threatened them with the English peril. With justice the High Government mentioned against this that besides Quilon yet enough other places remained on the Malabar Coast where the English could settle down without the Company being able to hinder that. Only as the first link in a chain of further conquests had the capture of Quilon any meaning.

The naval force with which Van Goens departed from Negombo on the 29th January 1660 consisted of the ships *Achilles*, *Muyden* and some small yachts and shallops. On these ships there were about 600 men, all drafted from the garrisons in Ceylon. On the Indian Coast this fleet was to join the yachts *Hogeland*, *Schelvis*, *Geldria* and *Mandarsha* and the ship *Hector* which had all previously been sent partly from Colombo to the Indian Coast and had been occupied there for some months in carrying imports from and exports to the Malabar harbours and partly summoned from the fleet in front of Goa.

When the Dutch came to the Coast, it appeared to them that the Portuguese were here very much on their guard and had a much larger force than the Dutch had originally thought. Not only the bay near Quilon which was held by Van der Meyden as such a good landing place but the whole town had been brought by them into a defensible state. In Cochin the Portuguese had built a new defence work on the sea coast. The town was, according to Van Goen's information, occupied by not less than 800 soldiers, 1500 to 1600 white citizens and besides a very large number of Topasses. As Cochin covered a very large surface, a siege with a much larger number of soldiers than sailors would be necessary. At the taking of the city, Van Goens feared there would be considerable plundering which certainly would not make the Indians favourably disposed to the Company. But the fight against the Nairs also required a large number of soldiers because of the great fierceness which the Nairs up to that day put forth in the attack.

All places which were suitable for a landing, the Portuguese had provided with fortifications (paggers). Unthought of difficulties presented themselves as, even if they succeeded to capture Quilon, Palliport (a fortress situated on the northernmost extremity of the island of Bypeen near Cranganore) and Cranganore itself, the available military forces would not be sufficient to besiege, take and occupy Cochin also. Owing to the very strong situation of the town, Van Goens foresaw a long siege which would induce him to remain in front of Cochin during the whole monsoon while co-operation with the blockading fleet could scarcely take place after the passing from Taiwan (Formosa) on the way to Persia and Surat of the ships that would otherwise chance to be attacked with their rich cargo from Goa.

While the Raja of Cranganore remained a vassal of the Zamorin, the Portuguese had the fort of Cranganore in possession. The Zamorin understood that he could not attack Cochin with success so long as the rallying lines with that state were threatened by the strong fortress of Cranganore. This fortress formed a protection for Cochin and already for a long time the Zamorin had vainly tried to capture that fort. Palliport or Pallipuram was of much less importance, but its possession would stand in good stead for the Company as it lay close to the sea on a prominent sharp corner

of the island of Bypeen through which they could control the river of Cranganore and put Cochin in a tight place.

Van Goens dared not weaken Ceylon further. He was very much disappointed over the attitude of the Malabar princes. As well disposed to the Company stood among others the Zamorin, Tekkenkur, Vadakkumkur and Cranganore; on the side of the Portuguese were Cochin, Travancore, Cannanore, Purakkad, and, since the events of the spring of 1659 in Quilon, also the Signatty.

After the fleet appeared in front of Cochin, Van Goens sailed in secret with the leading members of his Council to Cranganore to see how far he could count on the support of the Malabari princelings. Two of those Malabar kings appeared before Van Goens on board, but it appeared that their promises were very small. As Van Goens pithily expressed it, they tried with our arms to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Their aim was to play off the Dutch and the Portuguese against each other without the Dutch obtaining any of their promises.

While Van Goens with his fleet lay in front of Cochin, he was implicated in a succession war for the Cochin throne. In the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese under Albuquerque had meddled in the succession to the Cochin throne. They had driven out an old branch of the dynasty because of the fact that the claimant of this branch belonged to the adherents of the Zamorin. A collateral line of the dynasty was set up by them. This branch died out in 1646. Members of the old expelled branch as also a collateral line which claimed the succession were adopted as heirs. Immediately, a family feud broke loose between the two branches. With the help of the Portuguese the members of the old branch were driven out and five princes from Tanur who from of old were already friends of the Portuguese obtained the right of succession.

The expelled princes of the old branch invoked the help of the Zamorin who immediately chose his side. Through the intervention of the Zamorin, the chiefs of the land were divided into two parties, namely those who supported the Tanur princes and the adherents of the expelled princes. Besides the support of the Zamorin, the expelled princes obtained mostly the support of Aditya Varman, Raja of Vadakkumkur or Beckenkoer and of

the Raja of Idappalli. The newly adopted ones found support with the Rajas of Porca (Purakkad) and Valluvanad. The principal persons in the conflict were naturally the Zamorin on behalf of the older branch and the Portuguese for the younger. The Nair Chief, of Paliyam (Paliyattee), the most powerful nobleman in Cochin and hereditary first minister of the state, secretly favoured the cause of the expelled princes.

The claimant to the Cochin throne who stayed in exile at Vadakkumkur, Veera Kerala Varma, the Mootatavazhi in Dutch sources, sought contact with Van Goens. He visited the Admiral in his fleet and agreed to all that the Dutch desired from him. He even offered to leave his brother in Van Goens' hands as hostage. The invitation of the Cochin claimant furnished the Dutch a suitable opportunity to intervene for their own advantage in the internal affairs of Malabar. This was only a first connection. Speedily, in proportion to the extent to which the Dutch tried to establish their influence on the Coast, the relations between the Dutch and Veera Kerala Varma became closer and more circumscribed. But at the outset the effort to come to an agreement with the Zamorin appeared least possible. It became obvious that on him whom the Dutch had so fervently invoked and so much trusted very little reliance could be placed. With him the Dutch had the same experience as once with Raja Singa. But the deeply rooted distrust of the Indian princes against the European intruders was not devoid of foundation.

When Van Goens desired to land on the Zamorin's territory so that with good preparation and in good order he might attack the enemy, this was not permitted to him and he merely promised to give some support as soon as the Dutch would have taken Palliport. The greatest difficulty was not the taking of Quilon, Palliport and Cranganore, but the occupation of those places with men. Quilon would require 500 men and Palliport and Cranganore at least 600. Only the fleet in front of Goa could deliver such a number, but by this means the blockade would lose its effect. If, after a capture they did not occupy the place, then the way was shown to the enemy how he could properly fortify in the coming season. Van Goens felt heavily the responsibility specially for the valuable island of Ceylon which was in some degree put to the hazard by him for the benefit of this expedition. Without proper

commission from his masters and with his hands bound by the demands for economy made by the Lords Seventeen and the High Government of which the first College judged every military occupation of the Malabar Coast superfluous, Van Goens with the concurrence of the entire Council decided to give up a landing and merely blockade the different Portuguese forts till the beginning of the rainy season at the end of April. On the 23rd April Van Goens departed from the Coast with the largest portion of his military forces. A landing would probably have had to be paid for dearly by the Dutch. The Governor-General and Council also realised this and completely approved Van Goens' decision. Yet they would naturally rather have seen that the expensive expedition had further performed something of importance towards the destruction of the Portuguese. It was however better that the undertaking was suspended than it took a dangerous turn. Therefore Van Goens trusted that the High Government would be in a position in September to equip a new and proper force. If only he obtained enough ships (two or three alone would be quite sufficient), he trusted that within a fortnight he could bring the whole of the Malabar Coast under the dominion of the Company so that subsequently the joint fleet might assault Goa. And if the subsequent expedition did not come off so luckily, they were at least to try to capture Cranganore so as to cause contentment to the Zamorin to whom that town was to be delivered. Still more radical would it be to destroy the town entirely. Afterwards Palliport could be occupied with the help of the Malabar Chiefs and Quilon would also speedily follow suit. Cruising vessels must further bring to reason the rest of the Coast. Van der Meyden did not attach so much importance to Cannanore in particular. If the enemy was but once driven out and the fort demolished, this port could remain a free trading place. The Company could not now accomplish all things at once. To the possession of Cochin Van Goens attached the greatest importance. He hoped that, to attack this place effectively, at least 600 or 700 soldiers would be sent to him. Van Goens wished to have Amboynese soldiers present in Ceylon rather than add a portion of the military forces expected from Batavia. If Cochin was once captured and in the hands of the United East India Company, then the other places would speedily follow. For the Lords Seventeen Cochin owed its chief importance to the fact that it formed a defence for Ceylon. Of the profits

which that place would yield, they had no great expectations. With justice Van Goens thereupon showed to his superiors that the possession of Cochin would make the Company the master of the pepper and the cinnamon trade. Besides, the possession of Cochin would benefit not a little the shipbuilding of the Company as in the neighbourhood of the town timber could be obtained very abundantly and the river of Cochin was particularly suitable for the repair of yachts and ships. And what advantages would not the Ceylonese burgers whose prosperity and development the United East India Company laid to their heart derive? According to information which Van Goens furnished, the income which would come to the Dutch after the capture of Cochin would certainly extend to the cost of a garrison of 250 or 300 men, especially if they reduced the fortification works of that far-extending town.

An eventual peace with Portugal would be an ugly step cancelling all these plans but in any case this would not hinder a capture of Quilon. Here the Company had to deal not with the Portuguese but with the Indian princess Signatti, who by special treaty had left the town to the Dutch. Through treachery the Dutch were compelled to evacuate the town, but without losing any of their rights thereon. The possession of Quilon was of very great importance for the security of the island of Ceylon and the domination of the bay of Madura. Unconquerable, the town could, through its naturally favourable situation, be fortified. According to what Van Goens was supposed to know, the Signatti was again somewhat more inclined to the Dutch although they still followed a wait and see policy and wished to avoid enmity with the Portuguese. According to the junior Merchant De Haze who stayed at Kayamkulam for the pepper trade, the inhabitants of Quilon even wished to make a proposal to the Dutch to drive the Portuguese out of their town—a piece of intelligence which was received by Van Goens with the necessary reservation. More obvious was it that they sought postponement to see whether the Portuguese still obtained help from Europe. Only when no Portuguese squadron appeared, would they choose the side of the Company.

In order to cause a better hearing with the High Government, Van Goens wanted to carry on deliberations personally with the Government at Batavia and hoped then to obtain their gratitude for all the troubles experienced during his voyage. His Commis-

sion had not been easy and he had remarked that whosoever wished to perform so burdensome a commission must necessarily make many enemies who would not like the porridge and others who according to their judgment would consider it too much buttered so that the Directors would also remain subject to every one's judgment and nevertheless remain bound to an oath from which they should not have the power in any way to swerve.

Though the Zamorin had also very much disappointed the Dutch in their expectations, he was so greatly indispensable to them that they could not neglect his friendship. In order to be able to take action against Cochin in the ensuing season with some chance of success, the Company wanted to assure themselves beforehand of a safe landing place. Perhaps the Zamorin would provide this to them. To achieve this and to cultivate the Zamorin's friendship, the merchant Godske was deputed to the court of this prince. On this Isbrand Godske Van Goens built great expectations notwithstanding his not entirely stainless official past. Godske was to honour with presents the Zamorin and other Malabar princes who were well disposed to the Company in order that their enmity against the Portuguese might be strengthened. He was to give them the hope that in the forthcoming season the Dutch would resume their enterprise with double force. But he had himself to take care to make the princes fulfil certain promises. Only in very vague terms was support to be promised to them. When they came to a contract with these princes, it was really proper that the following requirements should be fulfilled: namely that the town Cochin with the lands belonging to it came wholly under the Company in the same way as they stood now under the Portuguese; the Dutch should decide whether they should or should not occupy Aykotta and Palliport; nobody other than the United East India Company should be allowed to carry away pepper; no Romish priests should be allowed any longer to stay in the land; they must divide the artillery at Cranganore and demolish the fort; this latter step must be taken by the subjects of the Zamorin; finally, to the Dutch must remain the freedom to demolish Cochin or to preserve its fort alone. It would be very beneficial for the United East India Company if Godske obtained from the Zamorin consent to the Dutch throwing up opposite Palliport a fortification of cocoanut trees so that in future they might possess a safe land-

ing place and (a matter which the Zamorin was naturally not told) to be secured against the possible treachery of the native Malabar side. The Zamorin assented to this proposal and made his men available for building such a fortification under the directions of the Company's servants. Eight to ten Dutchmen should stay in the fortification during the rainy season under the protection of the Zamorin. This fortification was situated in a hamlet named *Aykotta* situated opposite Palliport and close to the sea-coast. Good drinking water was present in the surroundings. The Dutchmen hoped that the settlement could develop into a trading place whither the pepper from the neighbourhood as also from Cochin could be carried. The possession of Palliport was naturally to be preferred to that of Aykotta especially if it once came to a sudden peace with Portugal, but circumstances had once prevented Van Goens from attacking and taking that fortress.

It was indeed a double game that the Zamorin played with the Dutch. Towards the Portuguese he feigned a complete ignorance. The Zamorin's unrelableness appeared only all too clearly from the letters intercepted by them. In these very letters the Dutch could read about a brilliant victory the Portuguese had obtained over them after their landing near Aykotta. The Portuguese attributed to themselves still further victories which produced such an impression on the Zamorin that he had an interview with Ignatio Sermento, Captain of Cochin, and made all possible anti-Dutch promises to him. But meanwhile he also continued his negotiations with the Dutch. In the Dutch sources we shall vainly seek for these Portuguese victories. Probably, as these letters wherein those heroic deeds were narrated fell into his hands, the Dutch Resident at Wingurla rightly took this for the usual Portuguese flaunting and roguery.

*To be continued.*

## Cultural Life as Described in the Buddhist Jātakas

BY

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The *Jātaka* is the tenth book of the *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Suttapiṭaka*. It contains the birth stories of the Buddha in previous existences when he was a *Bodhisatta* (one who is destined to attain *Bodhi* or enlightenment, i.e., to become the Buddha). Each story opens with a preface which describes the circumstances in the life of the Buddha, which led him to tell the birth-story and thus reveal some events in the long series of his previous births as a *Bodhisatta*.

The *Jātakas* as a vast store of the Buddhist narrative poems with a preponderately moralising tendency, developed from the popular ballads that needed prose narrations to clear up their connections. The *Sudhābhōjanajātaka* may be considered as a striking example of a small drama, and the *Vessantarajātaka* as a Buddhist counterpart of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The *Jātakas* as prose narratives with the verses included in them are unparalleled in the folk-literature of the world in respect of their humour, wit, information, human interest and scope (Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 273).

The *Jātaka* was composed in the Northern India in the so-called *Madhyadeśa* (middle country) (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 172). Some of the stories are found also in the *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Mahāvastu*, etc. Some have parallels in the Hindu epics as well as in the *Purāṇas* and the Jain texts. All these stories have various purposes to serve. It is most likely that the Buddha Gotama himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. The Buddhist monks and preachers also did so.

The *Jātakas* are very important for the history of Buddhism, as they give us an insight into popular Buddhism. The whole system

of the *Jātakas* is based on the most popular dogma of *karma* and the ethical ideal of the religion is not the *Arhat* who has attained to *Nirvāṇa* but the *Bodhisatta* who in all his former existences showed one or more of the great virtues by which he prepared himself to become the future Buddha. The *Jātakas* preserve an invaluable record of the history of Indian literature. They throw a flood of light on the social, economical, political, cultural and religious life of the people in ancient India. The state of civilisation described in them is no doubt very ancient in many respects. The *Jātakas* are full of materials of various kinds, which greatly help us in reconstructing our ancient history, but due care should be taken in accepting them with caution.<sup>1</sup>

Some women of the Buddhist period were not behind their male brothers in education. Buddhist literature contains references to many educated women. The verses in the *Therīgāthā* are attributed to some saintly sisters. The religious harangue of Sukkā<sup>2</sup> and the philosophical discussions of Khemā<sup>3</sup> and Dhammadinnā<sup>4</sup> may be cited as instances of attainments of Indian women. Many dancing women were employed to keep Prince Gotama in hilarity. They were skilful in dancing and singing and were as lovely as *deva* maidens. Clad in beautiful array and ranging themselves in order these dancing women played upon their musical instruments, danced, and sang delightfully (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth-stories*, p. 171). The dancing girls were accomplished in dancing and singing (*naccagītavādītakusalā-Jāt.*, II, 328; V. 249). There were 16,000 dancing girls engaged by the King (*Jāt.* I, 437). Bodhisatta born in a musician's family mastered all the branches of music and he became the chief of the musicians in ancient India (*Jāt.* II, 248). A musical competition was held between two master musicians (*Jāt.* II, 253-4). The word *nāṭakāni* occurs in *Jātaka*, V. 282. It means dancers, actors or players (cf. *Jāt.* I, 206; *ibid.*, V. 373; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, III, 88; IV, 59, 130). A dancing girl (*nāṭakīthī*) is mentioned in the *Jātaka* (V. 249). The word *Gandhabba* is used in the *Jātaka* (II, 248) in the sense

1. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, I, pp. 267 ff
2. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 57-61
3. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 126 ff; *Aṅguttara*, I, 25.
4. *Ibid.*, 15; *Aṅguttara*, I, 25.

of music. Among the musical instruments mention is made of *turiya*,<sup>5</sup> *vīṇā*,<sup>6</sup> and *veṇu*.<sup>7</sup> *Turiya* means musical instruments in general. It is said to be of five kinds (*pañcaṅgikam-turiyam*): *atata*, *vitata*, *atata-vitata*, *ghana* and *susira*.<sup>8</sup> *Atata*—the drums covered with leather on one side; *Vitata*—the drums covered with leather on both sides; *atata-vitata*—the drums completely covered with leather; *ghana*—instruments played by striking such as cymbals, bells, tambourines; *susira*—wind instruments (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 51). *Vīṇā* means lute, mandoline.

The early Buddhist texts shed sufficient light on the development of the *Gandhabbaveda* (science of music and the science of eugenics and erotics). The science of music was concerned with the four main subjects: dancing (*nacca*), singing (*gīta*), playing on instruments (*vādita*) and dramatic performances (*visūkadassanā*). Regarding *vādita* or instrumental music we are supplied with a classified list of musical instruments, which is more or less the same as that given in *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. With dancing, singing and instrumental music was associated ballad recitation (*Dīgha*, I, p. 6). The sublimation of the art of dancing and singing was attempted by some sects of ascetics and recluses, namely, the *Ājīvikas*, whose canon included two treatises one on songs (*Gītamārga*) and the other on dances (*Nṛtyamārga*) (Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 261-262).

The hereditary craftsmen or those who followed professional callings, such as, those of architects, carpenters, smiths, masons, jewellers, potters, fishermen, etc., organised themselves into various guilds, agreeing to be governed by their own laws and customs. Those who followed a common profession were led by a gregarious instinct to settle down or live in one and the same locality. Thus came into existence villages of carpenters, smiths, potters and the like. The social process was further complicated by the general tendency to segregate one class of workers from another within the same profession.

5. *Jāt.* V. 506 (*gāthā*); III. p. 40; VI. 289.
6. *Jāt.* II. 225.
7. *Jāt.* IV. 284.
8. *Vimānavatthu-aṭṭhakathā*, 37; *P.T.S. Dictionary*, p. 139.

There was a land pilot (*thalaniyyāmakā*) who used to guide the course of a caravan (*Jāt.* I, p. 107). It is interesting to note that the ship had an accommodation for 700 caravans with their beasts (*Jātaka* No. 539). One thousand families of carpenters were accommodated in a large ship built by them (*Jātaka* No. 466). The water-pilot (*jalaniyyāmakā*) used to steer the course of the ship (*Jāt.* IV, p. 138); the direction of land being sometimes ascertained by flight of crows (*disākākā—Jātaka*, III, p. 267).

In ancient civilised countries the powerful influence of religion on life was exercised through education and learning. It was by the efforts of the religious teachers of various schools of thought that the educational institutions were founded and maintained, and it was under their fostering care that the cause of education and learning prospered. The essence of education is training, physical, mental, and moral. As training education is fundamentally an art the practice of this art requires some definite methods and principles, both of which make up a science. The main object of education is the acquisition of knowledge, either for the realisation of an ideal or for acquiring fitness for work or for both. *Vijjāṭṭhānas* mentioned in some of the *Jātakas* as numbering 18 were the subjects of study apart from the first three *vedas* (*Jāt.* I, 356, 463; II, 243). The enumeration of the 18 *sippas* as *vijjāṭṭhānas* or subjects of study is not to be found in the *Jātakas*. It is not explained why the first three *vedas* were excluded from the list. But there is every reason to believe that 18 was the number fixed for the *sippas*, as also for the alphabets and the dialects other than the Indo-Aryan (*desibhāsā, milakkabhāsā*). The enumeration, however, differed (Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-east India in Buddha's time*, p. 202, n.I). In the *Milindapañha*, (3 ff) the subjects of study<sup>9</sup> are 19 (*ekūnavīsati*) in number; they are called *satthas* (*śāstras*) including the 4 *vedas*.

9. ...bahuni c' assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathidam: suti sammuti (*smṛti*) saṅkhyā yogā nīti (*nyāya*) visesikā gaṇikā gandhabbā tikichā catubbedā purāṇā itihāsā jotissā māyā (*magic*) hetu (*casuistry*) mantanā (*polity*) yuddhā (*military science*) chandasā or prosody and muddā or conveyancing. Cf. E. J. Thomas on Buddhist education in Pali and Sanskrit schools, published in *Buddhistic Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, p. 225.

The hermitage of Sarabhaṅga mentioned in the *Jātaka* (V. 132 ff) was a great centre of the Yoga practice. The early Buddhist texts give us a good deal of information about the development of the science of architecture (*Vāstuvidyā*, Pali *Vatthuvijjā*). On the art side it was known as the *Vaḍḍhakisippa*. The *Vatthuvijjā* and *Vaḍḍhakisippa* understood in a comprehensive sense, included as subjects of study the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of various styles, palaces, council-halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection and sanctification of sites, examination of soil, selection and preparation of building materials, laying out parks, gardens and the rest. The architects were known as *Sthapatis* (Pali *Thapatis*) or *Vaḍḍhakis*. Carpentry, woodcarving, stone-masonry, etc. were all connected with the art of building (*Jāt.* I, 32, 201, 247; II, 170; VI, 332, 432; cf. *Digha*, I, 9; *Milinda*, 331; *Majjhima*, I, 396; III, 144; *Apadāna*, 51).

The *Vatthuvijjācariyas* were those who knew to test the sites for house-building (*Jāt.*, I, 297; IV, 323). Wood was first used and then stone and metal (*Jāt.*, I, 287). *Kuṭāgāras* were the pinnacled houses mentioned in *Jāt.*, (V, 225-26). *Silatthambha* or stone pillar, *thūpa* or dagoba, *cetiya* or shrine, *vedikā* or platform, *toraṇa* or portal and *dvāra* or door are also mentioned in the *Jātaka* (III, 434; II, 256; V, 511; VI, 215). The *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (VI, 428-36, 459-60) contains an account of an underground construction. Two tunnels were built, the lesser and the greater. The greater tunnel was provided with a door, 18 hands high, fitted with machinery, so that one peg being pressed all were closed. On either side the tunnel was built up with bricks and worked with *stucco*; it was roofed over with planks and smeared with cement and whitened. In all there were 80 great doors and 64 small doors, which all by the pressure of one peg, closed and by the pressure of one peg, opened. On either side there were many lamp-cells also fitted with machinery so that when one was opened, all opened, and one was shut, all were shut. On either side there were 101 chambers for 101 warriors; in each one was laid a bed of various colours, in each there was a great couch shaded by a white sunshade, each had a throne near the great couch and each had a statue of a woman, very beautiful (*Jāt.* VI, p. 432). A hall for the play of the boys was built. One thousand boys contributed

money towards its construction. A master-mariner was entrusted with the task of building this hall. He levelled the ground, cut posts and spread out the measuring line. A hall for religious assemblies and a court of justice were also built (*Jāt. VI, 332-333*). The painter painted beautiful picture (*ramaṇīyam citta-kammaṃ kāresi—Jāt. VI, 333*). Clever painters made all manner of paintings in the tunnel on either side; the splendour of sakka, the zones of the Mt. Sineru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, the Himalaya, lake Anotatta, vermilion mountain, the sun and the moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions—all were to be seen in the tunnel (*Jāt. VI, p. 432*).<sup>10</sup> Paintings were drawn on the walls and on the planks (*Jāt. I, 304*).

It is stated in the *Kaṭṭhaka-Jātaka* (*Jāt. I, 451*) that the son of a rich banker of Benares used to go to learn the alphabet (*lekham*) and the son of a female slave (*dāsī*) born in the house accompanied him, carrying wooden board, meant apparently for the practice of writing. It seems that the boy used to attend some sort of a primary school. But the fact is that he learnt also other arts, even the slave-boy learnt them as a result of accompanying him. The *Jātakas* suggest the 16th year as the normal age of the Brahmin and Kṣatriya youths for study (*Jāt. II, 277; V, 127*). At the age of 16 a prince of Benares completed his education. (*Jāt. I, 262*). The same age is suggested also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kalinga. According to the law books the completion of the 16th year was the time for ceremonial introduction of a Brahmin youth into the caste through the utterance of the *Sāvitrī* (*Manu, II, 36ff*). The *Jātakas* must be taken to have mentioned the 16th year as the normal age of a boy for sending him to Taxila for his education. As a rule the time for the beginning of studies is given when the students come of age—*Vayappatto* (*Law, Buddhistic Studies, 236 ff*). In some of the *Jātakas* the parents are said to have given their sons the option of either worshipping the fire in the wood (*jātaggi*) or studying. The option given was between going to a hermitage of a

10. *Sakkavilāsineruparibhaṇḍasāgaramahāsāgara - catumahādīpahimavanta anotattamanosilātala - candasuriya cātummahārājikādichakāmasaggādī vibhattiyo sabbā ummagge dassayimse.*

sage for religious training and going to Taxila or some other seat of learning for vocational education. This option is clearly implied in the discussion of the parents of Upāli. Several *Jātakas* refer to Taxila in the kingdom of Gandhāra as an ancient seat of Brahmanical learning. The Brahmin youths, Kṣatriya princes and sons of bankers from Benares, Rājagriha, Kośala and other places were either sent or went themselves for learning the first three *vedas* and 18 sciences and arts. The science of medicine was taught at Taxila by a far-famed teacher of the subject. Jivaka learnt the science and surgery here (*Vinaya-Mahāvagga, VIII, 1.3.6; VIII, 3*).

The *Jātakas* mention various kinds of diseases: jaundice (*paṇḍuroga—Jāt. I, 431*); dysentery (*lohitapokkhandika—Jāt. II, 213*); indigestion (*ajjṇo—Jāt. II, 362*); rheumatism (*vātābādha—Jāt. VI, 179; Vinayamahāvagga, VI, 14.2*); leprosy (*kuṭṭham—Jāt. VI, 383; Cf. Vinaya texts, S.B.E., I, pp. 191, 230*); headache (*śīsābādha—Jāt. VI, 331*); and eye-diseases (*Jāt. VI, 74*). The *Jātakas* do not prescribe remedies for these diseases which may be gathered from other Pali texts and commentaries (vide my *Drugs and Diseases known to the early Buddhists* published in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume, 161-164*).

The *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* (*Jāt. No. 498*) points out that the maintenance of a school depended on its head at Taxila as at other places. He had to depend for the maintenance of himself and his resident pupils on occasional invitations and contributions from the local people, and partly on the honoraria received from some of his pupils. The honorarium expected from a pupil with means to pay, did not generally exceed one thousand pieces of money. Benares was also an important centre of learning. In the Buddha's time there were several *mahāsālās* or *snātaka* institutions in Kośala and Aṅga-Magadha maintained on royal fiefs. Side by side with these institutions there were *āśramas* or *āranyaka* schools founded and maintained by distinguished sages. The *Tittira-Jātaka* speaks of one such institution in which the *vedas* were chanted and taught (*Jāt. III, 536 ff.*). The *Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka* speaks of another in which the resident pupils became once unruly and disrespectful to their teacher under the belief that they knew as much as their teacher (*Jāt. II, 260*). The Sarabhaṅga, Mahāgovinda and other *Jātakas* mention institutions of this type, where it was diffi-

cult to make accommodation for resident pupils. Bāvarī's hermitage on the Godāvarī was one of such institutions in the Buddha's time. The Brāhmaṇa parivrājakas formed a travelling school of thought. Among the popular teachers of piety and morality mention may be made of ballad-reciters and improvisers of verses (*kavis*). Besides the colleges and religious institutions there existed technical schools. There was a technical school of the Śākyas, which was a long-terraced mansion built in a mango-grove (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., IV, p. 111). There is no mention of any such technical school in the Jātakas.<sup>11</sup>

The profession of a teacher in ancient times was undoubtedly a very noble one. Youths from different countries used to go to important seats of learning to study under the guidance of famous teachers. Princes from various kingdoms were sent to Takkaśilā (Taxila) for education (*Jātaka* I, 259; II, 278; Vol. V, 161, 210, 457). Many young princes and sons of Brahmins were trained by a famous teacher of Taxila (*Jāt.* III, 122). The Kṣatriya and Brahmin youths coming from all parts of India were taught by a famous teacher at Takkaśilā (*Jāt.* III, 158). Two Caṇḍāla youths disguised as Brahmins were learning science from a teacher at Taxila but they were expelled when found out. (*Jāt.* IV, p. 391). A young brahmin went there for learning the scriptures but for his folly he failed to master them. (*Ibid.*, I, 447). There was a charity scholar at Benares who was taught free by the inhabitants of Benares (*Jāt.* I, 239). The *Jātakas* do not mention any female student going to Takkaśilā for education. There was a custom that those who were taught either gave the teacher's fee or attended on the teacher in return for the instruction they received (*Ibid.*, II, 277 ff.). In one of the *Jātakas* (*Jātaka*, II, p. 277) a very beautiful picture of the student-life of those days has been drawn. A prince of Benares went to Taxila to learn arts from a renowned teacher. He carried with him 1,000 gold coins as teacher's fees. In those days there were two classes of pupils: (1) those who used to pay for their education; (2) those who served their teacher during the day-time in lieu of payment, and received lessons during the night. The paying pupil used to

11. Law, *India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 282 ff.

live in the house of the teacher like his eldest son. The teacher gave schooling to him on every lucky day. The youth applied himself to his work and finished his courses (*Jātaka* II, 278).

The subjects taught were the three *vedas* and the 18 *vijjās*. The three *vedas* are the *Rigveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda*. The *Atharvaveda* as the fourth *veda* has been mentioned nowhere in Pāli *Jātakas*. In many places in the *Jātakas* (II, 347; I, 406, 431, 447; V, 177, 210) pupils are mentioned as learning *sippas* but the word *sippa* appears to have been used in the comprehensive sense of learning.

A prince of Benares, a lad of 16 years old, was given one pair of one-soled sandal, a sunshade of leaves and 1,000 pieces of money and he was asked to go to Taxila and study there. The boy obeyed and went there. He reached his teacher's abode when he had finished his lecture. When the lad set his eyes on the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade and with a respectful greeting stood silently where he was. The teacher saw him and gave him something to eat. He then enquired about his whereabouts and the purpose of his coming. The boy laid at his teacher's feet his purse of 1,000 pieces for his instruction (*Jātaka*, II, 278). There was a famous teacher at Taxila in the kingdom of Gandhāra who had 500 young brahmins as pupils (*Jāt.* I, 317, 402). There was a young brahmin of learning and wisdom at Benares who was a pupil of the king's chaplain. He was taught three *vedas* (*Jāt.* I, 343). A brahmin, when he grew up, studied at Taxila under a famous teacher. Here he learnt the three *vedas*, 18 branches of knowledge (*vijjapṭhānāni*) and archery. After completing his education he left Taxila and came to the Mahimsaka kingdom<sup>12</sup> in search of practical experience (*Jāt.*, I, 356). An archer was appointed on a daily pay of one thousand *kahāpaṇas*. After he had defeated 500 archers in one contest, it was increased to one hundred thousand. In appreciation of his proficiency he was offered money amounting to 1800 crores (*Jāt.* V, 127 ff.). A young brahmin acquired all the arts and archery at Taxila (*Jāt.* III, 219, 229, 249,

12. It was near the Mount Candaka in a bend of the river Kannapannā, where it issues out of the lake Saṃkhaṇḍā. It is the Malayagiri, the Malabar Ghats (Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 67).

308, 352). The Bodhisatta was unrivalled in the art of archery (*Jāt.* II, 87). A northern brahmin perfected his education at Taxila (*Jāt.* I, 406). He learnt all arts when he grew up and became a famous teacher with 500 young brahmins studying under him. (*Jāt.* I, 436). A member of a rich brahmin's family became a renowned professor who instructed many young brahmins (*Jāt.* I, 447). Young nobles and brahmins from all wealthy families flocked to a famous teacher at Benares, who perfected his education at Taxila. They became his pupils. A country brahmin who learnt the three *Vedas* (*tayo vede*) and 18 branches of learning (*aṭṭhārasa vijjāṭṭhānāni*), and who stopped at Benares to look after his estate, daily came twice or thrice to listen to his teachings (*Jāt.* I, 463). After learning the three *Vedas* at Taxila a northern brahmin lived a mundane life for some time. After his parents' death he became a recluse. (*Jāt.* I, 505). A wealthy brahmin completed his education at Taxila. As teacher he enjoyed world-wide fame and he had many young brahmins as his pupils. One of these pupils was taught the spell for raising the dead to life (*Jāt.* I, p. 510). A son of a royal chaplain learnt the three *Vedas* and the elephant lore (*hatthisuttam*) at Taxila (*Jāt.* II, 47).

A famous teacher at Taxila preached the moral law to anyone he might see. He was requested by his disciples to preach it only to those who wished to hear him. At this the teacher was filled with regret (*Jātaka*, III, 171). The sacred texts were learnt by five hundred pupils from a famous teacher at Taxila. The senior of them named Setaketu was very proud of his caste, himself being a brahmin (*Jātaka*, III, 232). A brahmin, when he grew up, came back from Taxila, learning all the arts. He was afterwards appointed minister to the king of Benares. He taught the king things, temporal and spiritual (*Jātaka*, III, 342, 400). The son of a royal chaplain who was educated at Taxila, was appointed king's councillor in things, human and divine (*Jāt.* II, 173—*atthadhammānusāsaka*, cf. *Jāt.* III, 21). A brahmin completed his education at Taxila when he grew up and learnt all the arts there (*Jātaka* III, 428; *Ibid.*, IV, 74; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 463; *Ibid.*, IV, 22). A renowned professor of Benares gave instruction in science to 500 young brahmins (*Jāt.* III, 537). Once the family of the royal chaplain of Benares was destroyed by a peculiar disease (*ahivāta-*

*karoga*).<sup>13</sup> His only surviving son came to Taxila and learnt all arts and accomplishments from a renowned teacher. He then bade his teacher farewell and departed with the intent of travelling in different regions (*Jāt.* IV, 201). A young brahmin acquired learning at Taxila and when his education was finished, he said to his teacher, "I will use all diligence, my teacher, to bring you the money due for your teaching." He then departed from his teacher (*Jāt.* IV, 224). A young brahmin of Benares was educated at Taxila. After the death of his parents, much distressed he retired to the life of a recluse and there he cultivated the faculties and attainments (*Jāt.* II, 411). Five hundred pupils were instructed in sacred verses by a renowned teacher who was well-posted in the three *vedas* (*Jāt.* II, 260; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 18). A famous teacher of Taxila knew the art of prognostication (*aṅgavijjā*)<sup>14</sup> and was possessed of the magic power (*Jāt.* III, 122). A prince of Benares diligently learnt all the arts from a brahmin who became a world-famous teacher and who possessed the power of divination (*aṅgavijjā*—*Jāt.* III, 215; Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, 176). A prince learnt all the arts at Taxila and on his return, his father was pleased with the accomplishments he displayed and appointed him viceroy. After his father's death he became king (*Jāt.* III, 407; Cf. *Jāt.* III, 168). A prince attained mastery in all the branches of education (*Jāt.* IV, 105). Once a king fell ill. Great and renowned physicians were unable to cure him. A young man after mastering all branches of science from Taxila, came back to his parents at Benares, having attained proficiency in medicine. He asked the king as to the origin of his disease. The king said that his disease had arisen from greed and the young man was afterwards able to cure him (*Jāt.* IV, 171). A king of Benares was advised by his courtier on things, spiritual and temporal (*Jāt.* IV, 197). A prince of Mithilā, when he grew up, made up his mind to study at Taxila. He went there and sat down in a hall at the city-gate. A prince of Benares also went

13. Snake-wind disease. It is of a virulent type. This disease broke out in the most virulent epidemic form in Rājagriha, Śrāvastī and other places. See *Vinaya*, I, p. 78; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, 169, 187, 231; III, 437; *Jāt.*, II, 79.

14. Looking at the knuckles, etc., and after muttering a charm to divine whether a man is well-born or lucky or not (Cf. *Brahmajālasutta*, *Dīgha*, I, p. 9).

there for the same purpose. They became friends and went together to the teacher. They paid the teacher's fee and studied. After completing their education they took leave of their teacher (*Jāt.* IV, 315 ff.). A prince studied at Taxila. On returning he proved his knowledge to his father (*Jāt.* IV, 401-402). A prince of Magadha acquired arts at Taxila and returned home (*Jāt.* V, 161; Cf. *Ibid.*, V, 227). A prince and a son of the royal chaplain grew together in the palace and were fast friends. When they came of age they acquired all learning at Taxila and returned home. The king of Benares appointed his son to be the viceroy, and the son of the royal chaplain still lived with him (*Jāt.* V, 263). A prince of the kingdom of Kuru was sent by his father to Taxila for his education by a famous teacher. Taking his teacher's fee the boy started on his way there. A prince of Benares was sent there for the same purpose. Both of them met together and struck up a friendship. They went to the teacher's house and saluted him. After declaring their origin they said they had come to be instructed in arts. The teacher readily agreed to their proposals. Offering him fees for instruction they entered upon their studies. Many other princes also received instructions from this teacher. The prince of the Kuru kingdom being the senior pupil soon attained proficiency in teaching (*Jāt.* V, 457 ff.—*nipphattim pāpuṇi*). The king of Benares appointed his family priest as a judge knowing his wisdom and erudition (*Jāt.* VI, 131—*taṃ kira rājā paṇḍitoti vinicchaye nisīdāpesi*). A minister of a Kuru king had great eloquence in discoursing of the law. He instructed the king concerning temporal and spiritual matters (*Jāt.* VI, 255). Kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their city, used to send their sons to distant countries to complete their education (*Jāt.* II, p. 277—*Porāṇakarājāno ca attano putte attano nagare disāpāmoḁkhe ācariye vijjamāne pi sippuggahaṇat-thāya dūre tiro raṭṭhaṃ pesenti*). A king of Benares had a valuer (*agghakārako*) who used to value horses, elephants, jewels, gold etc., (*Jāt.* I, 124). A king of Benares was fond of hunting and he used to go to hunt with his subjects (*Jāt.* I, 149). A king of Kosala also liked hunting very much. Daily he used to hunt with a big retinue (*Jāt.* III, 270). A prince was educated at Taxila and on his father's death he became a righteous king (*Jāt.* II, 323; *Ibid.*, II, 349). A prince after completing his education at Taxila, was made a viceroy by his father (*Jāt.* II, 366). After completing his

education at Taxila, a prince became king on his father's death (*Jāt.* II, 400, 427). A prince of Kosala went to Taxila where he acquired the three *vedas* and 18 arts (*tayo vede, aṭṭhārasa-sippāni*). He then left Taxila and while still studying the practical uses of arts, he came to a border village (*Jāt.* III, 115). A prince of Benares was also taught three *vedas* by a renowned teacher of Taxila. This teacher had his power of divination (*aṅgavijjāvasēna*) (*Jāt.* III, 158). A prince learnt all the duties of the world within a space of 7 years. He also learnt three *vedas* (*Jāt.* II, 297). A prince of Rājagriha and the son of the royal chaplain who were friends, after educating themselves at Taxila, wandered through towns and villages in order to acquire all practical uses and understood country observances (*sabbasamayasiṭṭhaṃ ca desacarittama ca*).<sup>15</sup> A sort of liberal education was given to students in Ancient India.<sup>16</sup>

It is interesting to note that the special qualification of a priest was to understand the language of all animals (*sabbarutaññu hoti*—*Jāt.*, I, 211). The art of making straw-baskets was known to the people of Benares, who used to hang them up in several places for the shelter and comfort of birds (*Jāt.* I, 242). A member of a well-to-do family became a dice-player (*akkhadhutto*). A sharper played with him who kept on playing while he was winning. But when losing he broke up the game by putting one of the dice into his mouth and pretending that it was lost (*Jāt.* I, 379). Dice-playing (*jūtaṃ kīlanto*) was in vogue in the royal family of Benares (*Jāt.* III, 91). A member belonging to an acrobat's family learnt the javelin dance from another acrobat (*laṃghananāṭaka*) and with his master he used to travel about exhibiting his skill. His master was acquainted with four kinds of javelin dance (*catunnaṃ ñeva sattinaṃ laṃghanasippaṃ jānāti*—*Jāt.* I, 430). There was a stone-cutter (*pāsāṇakoṭṭhaka*) at Benares. He became an expert in working stones (*Jāt.* I, 478). The spell for raising the dead to life was taught at Taxila (*Jāt.* I, 510—*matakuṭṭhāpanamanataṃ*). A brahmin of Benares was a lawyer by calling (*vohāraṃ*

15. *Jātaka*, III, 238.

16. Law, Social, economical and religious conditions of ancient India according to the Buddhist texts, published in the Pathak Commemoration Volume, pp. 68 ff.

*katvā*—*Jāt.* II, 15). The hunters were in the habit of setting snares in the peacock's feeding ground (*Jāt.* II, 36). An elephant trainer's son was carefully taught the art of training elephants (*Jāt.* II, 94). The son of an elephant-trainer was taught the art of managing the elephant (*Jāt.* II, 221). Wrestling was considered as an art and the wrestling-ring (*yuddhamanḍala*) was prepared in front of the royal palace. There was an enclosure for the games (*Jāt.* IV, 81). A master-mariner's son gained a complete mastery over the art of seamanship (*niyyāmakasippe*), when he was 16 years old. After his father's death he became the head mariner and plied the mariner's calling. With him aboard no ship came to grief. When he lost his eyes by the salt-water, he was appointed by the king as the valuer (*agghakārako*) and assessor who used to assess the worth of valuable elephants, horses, choice pearls and gems (*Jāt.* IV, 137; Cf. *Jāt.* I, p. 124). Not far from Benares there was a village of carpenters (*vaḍḍhakigāma*) where 500 carpenters lived. They could shape beams and planks for house-building and put together the framework of one storey or two storey houses, numbering all the pieces from the mainpost onwards. They could build houses to order (*Jāt.* II, 18). Seven great entrance-gates were built and a palace with seven storeys (*Jāt.* IV, 378—*sattadvāra koṭṭhakaṃ satta bhūmaka-pāsādaṃ*). Near Benares there was a great town of carpenters, who could make a bed or a chair or a house etc. They also built a mighty ship (*Jāt.* IV, 159 ff.). The *Sanhajaṭaka* (*Jāt.* II, 127 ff.) refers to a merchant-vessel being 800 cubits in length, 600 in breadth and 20 fathoms in depth. The *Samuddavāṇijajātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 446) mentions a large ship which could accommodate 1,000 families of carpenters. A brahmin carpenter earned his livelihood by making chariots (*Jāt.* IV, 207). Wagons were made by professional carpenters out of the wood collected from the forest (*Jāt.* IV, 207). The spell of finding out hidden treasure was learnt by a Kosalan prince at Taxila (*nidhiuddharanamantaṃ*—*Jāt.* III, 115-16). The spell for charming snakes was learnt at Taxila by a youth of Benares (*Jāt.* IV, 456 ff.). A priest on the birth of a son looked up to the sky for the purpose of divining the son's destiny (*Jāt.* V, 127). The son of a royal priest after completing his education at Taxila, received from his teacher a valuable sword (*khaggara-taṇa*), a bow made up of the horn of a ram (*sandhiyutta-menḍaka-siṅgadhanu*), a quiver made up of joints (*sandhiyutta-tuṇhiraṃ*)

armour (*sannāhakañcukaṃ*) and a turban (*uṇhisa*). He was further requested to show more feats, viz., a stick of arrows (*saralaṭṭhi*), a rope of arrows (*sararajju*), a row of arrows (*saraveṇī*), a palace of arrows (*sarapāsāda*), a pavilion of arrows (*saramaṇḍapa*), a ladder of arrows (*sarasopāna*), a tank of arrows (*sarapokkharāṇī*), a lotus of arrows (*sarapaduma*) and a flight of arrows (*saravassa*) (*Jāt.* V, 130). Mention is made of fights of rams and elephants in *Jāt.* I, 425; IV., 53, 223 *gāthā*; cf. *Dīgha* I, p. 6. A royal priest, who also acted as a preceptor, was appointed from the group of teachers, playmates, comrades or class-fellows of the king (*Jāt.* II, 376; IV, 270; V, 127; I, 289; III, 31).

There were match-makers (*Jāt.* IV, 363). The village superintendent (*gāma bhōjaka*) collected taxes for the king (*Jāt.* I, 354). He exercised judicial powers in the villages in as much as he settled quarrels and made the guilty pay a fine (*Jāt.* I, 483). There were watchmen who guarded the fields (*Khettarakkhakā*, *Jāt.* II, 110). There were gardeners (*uyyānapālā*—*Jāt.* I, 120; III, 240); wood-gatherers (*Jāt.* I, 133; IV, 148); doctors skilled in the cure of snake-bites (*visavejjā*, *Jāt.* I, 310-11); fishermen (*bālīsikā*<sup>17</sup>—*Jāt.* I, 482); ferrymen<sup>18</sup> (*nāvikā*, *Jāt.* III, 230); smiths (*kammārā*) and tailors (*tunnakārā*, *Jāt.* III, 281; IV, 387). There were beaters of drums and blowers of conches (*bherivādakā*, *saṅkhadhamakā*) (*Jāt.* I, 283, 284; VI, 7). Bathers were found to remove bodily impurities of others by baths (*Jāt.* IV, 365).

The *Vessantarajātaka* (*Jāt.* No. 547) mentions Benares cloth, linen and fine Kodumbara, which were used by an Indian queen.

The *Giraggasamajjā* was a festival referred to in the *Jātaka* (III, 538) in which feast was indulged in.

In ancient times the people following the same occupation lived together, and the locality in which they resided, was named after the vocation of its people. Hence there existed villages of smiths (*kammāragāma*—*Jāt.* III, 281), hunters (*nesādagāma*—

17. Cowell translates *bālīsikā* as line-fishermen who lived in a family. One of these fishermen taking his tackle went off with his little boy and cast his hook into the most likely waters quite known to his fellow fishermen (*Jāt.* I, Cowell, pp. 298-99).

18. A foolish ferryman asked for his fare after taking people across.

*Jāt.* VI, 71) and carpenters (*vaḍḍhakigāma*—*Jāt.* II, 18) already referred to.

In majority of cases the slaves were employed as house-hold servants.<sup>19</sup> They were regarded as the property of their masters (*Jāt.* III, 129). The *Jātaka* (V. 313 ff.), speaks of manumitted slaves. Children born of slave parents generally took up the same profession (*Jāt.* I, 451). The male and female slaves were domestic servants who lived in the house of their masters and performed all household duties (*Jāt.* I, 200, 225, 350). A slave was ordinarily engaged in cooking, fetching water, pounding rice, carrying food, watching the field, giving alms, handing plates and dishes, bringing spittoons, fetching fans during meals and sweeping yards and stables (*Jāt.* I, 453, 484; III, 163; IV, 67; V, 105, 284, 413; VI, 138). The *Vidhurapaṇḍita-jataka* (*Jāt.* VI, p. 385, *gāthā* 1238) mentions four kinds of slaves: (a) some are slaves from their mothers; (b) some are slaves bought for money; (c) some have become slaves of their own will; and (d) some are slaves driven by fear (*āmāya-dāsāpi bhavantih'eke, dhanena kītāpi bhavanti dāsā, sayam pi h'eke upayanti dāsā, bhayā paṇunnāpi bhavanti dāsā*). Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 300—*antojātā* is used in the sense of 'begotten on slave women.' Vide also Law, *Indological Studies*, II, p. 78. The *Jātakas* contain instances where the slaves were bought for 700 *kahāpaṇas*<sup>20</sup> (*Jāt.* III, 343). There were maid-servants (*dāsīs*), nurses (*dhātīs*) and female personal attendants (*paricārikā*) mentioned in the *Jātakas* (II, 428; V, 212; III, 377, 391; IV, 79).

19. Cf. *Arthasāstra*, Chap. XIII.

20. The coin called *kahāpaṇa* was either of copper, of silver or of gold. A copper *kahāpaṇa* was probably worth a penny (Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, p. 173).

## Bengal Under the Diwani Administration, 1765-1772

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Bengal presented a scene of chaos and corruption when Clive returned from England in May, 1765, to take charge of the Presidency and Governorship of Fort William. During this second tenure of his office, Clive was called upon to remedy the evils created by English private trade and greed on the one hand and the break-down of the Nawab's authority on the other, but the system which he initiated rendered the situation still more chaotic and led to a period of oppression, the like of which is unparalleled in the history of the province. Indeed, the period of the Diwani administration witnessed not only the final collapse of the indigenous government, but also the evil consequences of a perverted organisation known as 'dual system' under which the English wielded the real power but evaded the responsibility for administration, and kept up a show of subservience to the titular Nawab for no other reason than sheer expediency and self-interest. The countless iniquities from which Bengal suffered from 1765 to 1772 were due to the divided and complicated authority which Clive's settlement had set up.

Clive's plan of government was an ingenious device whereby he sought to conceal the fundamental change that had come in the position of the Company in consequence of the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, on 12th August, 1765. The Treaty of Allahabad by which Clive secured this Diwani authority constitutes a landmark in the history of Bengal, for it not only formed the basis of Clive's political settlement after the victory of Buxar, but it also led to that administrative transition which prepared the ground for the final emergence of the modern British system of administration in India. The transition marked the extinction of the Nawab's authority, and ushered in a system under which responsibility was

carefully separated from power. Though fully conscious of the fact that nothing was left to the Nawab except the name and shadow of authority, Clive insisted cynically, "This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate."<sup>1</sup>

The historic *Farman* of Shah Alam, dated 12th August, 1765, by which the Company secured the Diwani of the Bengal *Subah*, and the articles of agreement between the Nawab of Bengal, Najmu-d-Daulah, and Emperor Shah Alam, dated 19th August, 1765, provided<sup>2</sup> that the Company was to be security for the regular payment by the Nawab to the Emperor of the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees per annum as the royal tribute and that, as the Company was to assume responsibility for the military defence of the *Subah*, it was to appropriate to its own use the remainder of the revenues after paying for the expenses of the *Nizamat* the annual sum of *Sicca* rupees 53,86,131-9-0. So far as the Emperor was concerned, the amount allotted to him was nothing but a windfall, for he had so far received nothing from Bengal, and he now received payment for granting to the Company what was scarcely his to grant. But still, even though the right of the Emperor was purely nominal, his formal recognition of the Company's status was bound to carry weight not only with the Indian powers but with the rival European merchants settled in the country. As for the Nawab who was virtually deprived of all his powers and resources, the amount sanctioned for him was barely sufficient for his household expenses and for the support of his dignity. Thus, the grant of Diwani conferred on the Company the right to enjoy<sup>3</sup> all the surplus revenues of the *Subah* after providing for the Emperor's tribute and the Nawab's allowance. The Company thus became, to all intents and purposes, 'the sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom.'<sup>4</sup>

The English Resident at the court of Murshidabad exercised the functions of the Diwani as the Collector of the King's revenue under the supervision of the Select Committee at Calcutta. Along

with Muhammad Riza Khan who was the Company's Naib Diwan for Bengal, he superintended the whole collections, received the monthly payments from the Zamindars, disbursed the stated revenues allotted to the Emperor and the Nawab, inquired into the causes of deficiencies, redressed injuries sustained or committed by the revenue officers, transmitted the accounts of his office, the invoices of treasure and a monthly account of the treasury to the President and Select Committee.<sup>5</sup> The Resident was subsequently designated 'Collector of the Dewanny'.<sup>6</sup> The collection of the revenue of Bihar was placed under the control of the Chief at Patna. Though he acted in conjunction with the Naib Diwan for Bihar, Raja Dhiraj Narayan, and after the latter's dismissal, Raja Shitab Ray, he was subject to the supervision of the Resident at the Durbar to whom he forwarded the collections as well as the monthly accounts of his office. The Resident transmitted them to the Select Committee at Calcutta. It is apparent therefore that the Resident at the Durbar occupied a key position in the Diwani machinery, and his duties were both multifarious and important. In view of this fact, the Directors insisted that this office was to be chosen not merely on the ground of seniority in the service, but on the ground of an established reputation for integrity, efficiency and a knowledge of the country language. As the Resident also held the office of the Chief of the Factory at Cossimbazar, it was soon realised that he could not be expected to exercise the functions of the two offices satisfactorily. The authorities at Calcutta therefore separated the two offices in 1768 under instructions<sup>8</sup> from the Directors, but they were entrusted to the same person once again in 1772 when the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta.

The office of the Naib Diwan previously carried no fixed salary, for the Nawab's ministers enjoyed valuable emoluments and perquisites in accordance with the custom of the country. But, Muhammad Riza Khan urged upon the authorities at Calcutta to fix a regular salary with which he could maintain the dignity of

1. Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 16, 1767.
2. Bengal Select Committee, Sep. 7, 1765.
3. Bengal Select Committee, Oct. 5, 1765.
4. Letter from Select Committee to Court, September 30, 1765.

5. Letter from Select Committee to Court, Jan. 24, 1767.
6. Bengal Select Committee, Feb. 11, 1767.
7. Letter from Court, Dec. 24, 1765.
8. Letter from Court, Nov. 20, 1767.

his office. This, he argued,<sup>9</sup> would "prove more honourable to himself and advantageous to the revenue." The Select Committee thereupon resolved at a meeting held on 31st December, 1766, that in lieu of all the emoluments hitherto enjoyed by the Naib Diwans, an annual salary of twelve lakhs of rupees would in future be assigned to them, the amount to be deducted from the monthly collections and divided among Muhammad Riza Khan, Rai Durlabh, and Shitab Ray, the three Naib Diwans of the *Subah*. The proportions<sup>10</sup> allotted to them were fixed as follows: nine lakhs to Muhammad Riza Khan, two lakhs to Rai Durlabh and one lakh to Shitab Ray. The salaries allowed to the ministers were exorbitant, but they were at first justified by the authorities on grounds of past usage as well as political considerations. Subsequently, the amount had to be reduced in accordance with the wishes<sup>11</sup> of the Directors who wanted that Muhammad Riza Khan should receive no more than five lakhs of rupees per year.

Though the Diwani implied the assumption of a fair portion of administrative jurisdiction, the fact was not realised by the Directors who thought that they could appropriate the surplus revenues without discharging the administrative duties of the Diwan. In fact, they strongly enjoined upon their servants not to interfere with the work of the government either directly or indirectly. In their letter of 17th May, 1766, the Directors wrote<sup>12</sup> as follows: "We observe the account you give<sup>13</sup> of the office and power of the King's Dewan in former times was 'the collecting of all the revenues and after defraying the expenses of the army and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the Nizamaut, to remit the remainder to Delhi.' This description of it is not the office we wish to execute; the experience we have already had in the province of Burdwan convinces us how unfit an Englishman is to conduct the collection of the revenues, and follow the subtle native through all his arts to conceal the real value of the country, to perplex and to elude

9. Bengal Select Committee, Dec. 31, 1766.

10. Letter to Court, March 17, 1769. The amount shown against Shitab Ray is slightly different according to Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, 1773.

11. Letter from Court, April 10, 1771.

12. Letter from Court, May 17, 1766.

13. Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

the payments. We therefore, entirely approve of your preserving the ancient form of government in the upholding the dignity of the *Soubah*." The Directors added, "We conceive the office of Dewan should be exercised only in superintending the collection and disposal of the revenues, which office, though vested in the Company, should officially be executed by our Resident at the Durbar, under the control of the Governor and Select Committee." "The administration of justice, the appointment of offices of *zemin-darries*", they continued, "in short, whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration, we understand is to remain in the hands of the Nabob or his Ministers."

The reasons why Clive was unwilling to accept the responsibilities and obligations implicit in the Diwani are easy to understand. *Firstly*, it was apprehended that a precipitate or extensive assumption of public authority was bound to give umbrage to other rival European nations, and thereby embarrass England's position from the European point of view. *Secondly*, the Company's position in England itself was not secure, and it was deemed politic to guard against all possible chances of Parliamentary intervention in its affairs. *Thirdly*, the authorities did not have at their disposal an adequate number of trained and competent English officials who could be called upon to fulfil the obligations of the Diwani in spirit and letter. *Fourthly*, an open avowal or assumption of public power was dangerous also from the Indian point of view, for such a step might cause displeasure both in and outside Bengal. *Fifthly*, it was considered more economical to leave the actual work of administration in the hands of the Nawab's officials than to take over the whole responsibility on the shoulders of the Company's own servants, for, as Clive wrote<sup>14</sup> to the Directors, "three times the present number of civil servants would be insufficient for that purpose." *Sixthly*, under the sanction of a titular Nawab, it was believed, all encroachments could be more easily checked, and all grievances more expeditiously examined and redressed. *Lastly*, Clive and his Select Committee considered it financially more profitable to avoid the responsibilities of government, for in that way alone they hoped to save a huge sum<sup>15</sup> annually which

14. Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

15. 122 lakhs of *sikka* Rupees or £ 1,650,900 Sterling. (Clive's letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765).

could defray all the expenses of the Company's investment, furnish the whole of the China Treasure, meet the demands of the other English settlements in India, and still leave a considerable balance in the treasury.

In justification of their plan, Clive and his Select Committee mentioned the following advantages thereof in their letters<sup>16</sup> to the Court of Directors. *Firstly*, revolutions would no longer be possible in Bengal, for the means of effecting them would in future be wanting to the Nawab. *Secondly*, the Company's servants would no longer find it profitable to foment disturbances from which there could be no benefit to themselves, for restitution money or donations could not be obtained from the revenues now under the control of the Company. *Thirdly*, the abuses inevitably resulting from the assumption of public authority would be effectually obviated. *Fourthly*, the possessions and influence of the Company would be rendered permanent and secure. *Fifthly*, the surplus revenues would be sufficient to finance the Company's China trade, provide for its investment, relieve the wants of the other Presidencies, and pay off the Company's Bonds. *Sixthly*, the Company would no longer depend for the support of their military establishment on the Nawab's bounty. *Seventhly*, the Nawab henceforth would have nothing but the name and shadow of authority, and he could no longer answer the expectations of the venal and mercenary out of his insufficient stipend. *Lastly*, the worst that might happen in future to the Company would proceed from temporary ravages only, which could never become so general as to present the Diwani revenues from yielding a sufficient balance to defray the civil and military charges and furnish the necessary investments.

Under the dual system that Clive introduced, the Nawab remained the ostensible source of power, but actually he was turned into a pensioner of state, a rubber stamp at the disposal of the authorities at Calcutta. Though the Company was the *de facto* sovereign, everything was done in the name of the Nawab, and the fiction of a Nazim's government was carefully maintained. In view of the inexperience and incapacity of the young Nawab,

16. Letter to Court, Sept. 30, Nov. 28, 1765, Jan. 31, Sept. 8, 1766.

Najmu-d-Daulah, who was recognised as the Subahdar of Bengal after the death of his father, Mirjafar in 1765, Clive and his Select Committee placed the administration in the hands of deputies, and partitioned the central executive in a manner which prevented all power from being concentrated in the hands of Muhammad Riza Khan, Naib Diwan, and associated the latter in the work of government with Rai Durlabh and Jagat Seth, each of whom was to enjoy an equal share of influence. This triumvirate managed the affairs of the Nizamat jointly, and none of them could act singly in any measure of government, and all were subject to the control of the Company. The state treasury was placed under three different locks and keys, and each of the ministers had a key, so that no money could be disbursed for any purpose without the joint knowledge and consent of all of them. The Resident at the Durbar was authorised to inspect the treasury accounts from time to time. If any minister acted contrary to the opinion of the other two, the latter were required to give advice to the Governor so that the matter might be placed before the members of the Council or Committee. Under this partition of ministerial authority each minister became a check upon the conduct of the others, and together with the nominal Nazim they allowed their continuance to the Company.

Under the regulations<sup>17</sup> of the Diwani administration framed by the Select Committee, the Nawab's military power was totally undermined, for he was no longer to be allowed to maintain a regular army. The regulations provided that the Nawab could keep only such number of horse and foot as the Company should deem necessary for the business of revenue collections and for the support of his own dignity. Clive believed that if the Nawab were to be allowed to have a regular military force, he would easily raise sufficient money with which he could think of regaining his sovereignty. "Even", he argued,<sup>18</sup> "our young Nabob.....who has little abilities, and less education to supply the want of them; mean, weak and ignorant, as this man is, he would, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, pursue the very paths of his predecessors. It is impossible therefore to trust him with power

17. Bengal Select Committee, June 21, 1765.

18. Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.

and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army and receipt of the revenues must be kept in your hands. Every wish he may express to obtain either, be assured, is an indication of his desire to reduce you to your original state of dependency, to which you can never return, without ceasing to exist." Deprived of soldiery, the Nawab was powerless to exercise the functions of the Nizamat, and the Company which alone now possessed the forces for the defence of the *Subah* concerned itself only with the supervision of revenue collections and refused to undertake the administrative responsibilities inherent both in the Diwani and the Nizamat. While nobody was responsible for law and order and for welfare of the people, the mock pageantry of a Nawab's administration continued its pitiful existence, with the Company acting as 'the spring which concealed under the shadow of the Nabob's name secretly', gave 'motion to this vast machine of government'.<sup>19</sup>

The land revenue system introduced by Clive was in its essentials based on that which had formerly obtained under the Mughal regime. The ownership of all the lands in the *Subah* was vested in the State, and the right of the zamindar or the ryot implied only a certain share of the produce. The state claimed so much of the produce in the form of rents or revenues that the land itself had little economic value beyond that of the standing crop. In the best days of the Mughal Empire the ryot was usually free from oppression, but after its decline he was squeezed by the zamindars and other middlemen to the point of exhaustion. The Diwan collected the revenues with the assistance of his deputies or *naibs* who had under them a hierarchy of officials with varied functions and powers. These officials fell under two groups: (1) Collectors, and (2) Supervisors. The first group included the zamindars, taluqdars, jagirdars, chaudhris, tahsildars and mutahids; the second the qanungos, daroghahs, mutasaddis and amils. The sources of the Diwani revenue may be classified under four headings: (1) land revenue, (2) duties and customs, (3) farms of trade privileges, and (4) fines and forfeitures. Of these, the revenue derived from lands formed the main item of state receipts. The other sources were more or less minor ones in point of value and importance.

19. Letter to Court, Jan. 24, 1767.

The land revenue was farmed out either to the zamindars who holding their title by *sanad* or charter had in course of time acquired a sort of hereditary right and were not normally removed so long as they produced the fixed farm, or to other temporary farmers such as *Ijarahdars*, or to officials directly appointed by the Diwan under such designations as Faujdars, Amils and Tahsildars. The Government made yearly contracts for the land revenue with all these various classes of tax-collectors. Unless he was a defaulter, no tax-collector was ordinarily removed or deprived of his lands. But, so long as he paid the state dues he could usually exact the maximum profit out of land revenue because of the absence of effective checks on his malpractices.

The annual *Bandobast* (or rent roll) was fixed or renewed every year on the festival day named the *Punyah* (holy day), which ordinarily occurred in the month of May for Bengal, and in the month of September for Bihar. The Government usually settled the rent roll for each area with zamindars, if there were any, and where zamindars were not available, other farmers or even officials had to be appointed to take charge of the collections. This general *Bandobast* was followed by separate agreements, into which the zamindars, farmers or others entered with ancient owners or tenants, or with new tenants. In accordance with ancient usage, such agreements once made with tenants for lands held by them and their families were to be treated as inviolable, and the tenants were not to be oppressed so long as they paid the dues originally agreed upon. But, this usage was, however, often violated because of the absence of proper supervision. Being without appeal, the tenants not unoften deserted their lands in despair and became vagabonds or dacoits. Besides, the farming system under which the Company tried to squeeze as much revenue as was possible to collect could hardly be conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the poor tenantry.

"What a destructive system," wrote<sup>20</sup> Mr. Richard Becher, Resident at the Durbar, in a letter to Mr. Verelst, Governor and President at Fort William, on 24th May, 1769, "is this for the poor inhabitants! The Aumils have no connection or natural interest in the welfare of the country where they make the collections, nor

20. Bengal Select Committee, July 8, 1769.

have they any certainty of holding their places beyond the year; the best recommendation they can have is to pay up their Kist-bundees punctually, to which purpose they fail not to reck the country whenever they find they can't otherwise pay their Kists and secure a handsome sum for themselves." "On this destructive plan, and with a continual demand for more revenue," continued Mr. Becher, "have the collections been made ever since the English have been in possession of the Dewannee."

Within the frame-work of the revenue sytsem established by Clive, certain minor reforms were introduced by his immediate successor, Governor Verelst. Verelst appears to have believed that the existing system, if duly corrected, could still be made to work satisfactorily. That is why he sought to preserve it "as entire and unimpaired as possible."<sup>21</sup> On the occasion of the very first *Punyah* attended by him as Governor, he took steps to provide for the reformation of a number of glaring abuses in the collection of the revenues. *Firstly*, the settlement being too high in some cases, the balances happened to be large, and recurred from year to year. As it was clear that the revenue of such over-rated lands could not be fully collected, reductions were allowed and the over-rates were struck off. *Secondly*, the heavy charges of the collections were substantially reduced by the dismissal of the numerous rabble of troops maintained by the Faujdars and other officials. *Thirdly*, the zamindars were strictly enjoined upon to promote the cultivation of their lands and afford every protection to the industrious ryots, and were at the same time warned that any misconduct on their part would meet with condign punishment. *Fourthly*, to stop the confusion caused by the frequent change of the names of the districts in the revenue accounts, and to prevent the frauds that might be concealed under such practices, the Governor strongly recommended to the ministers that one particular name should always be used to specify the same district. *Fifthly*, the practice of incorporating the outstanding balances of former years with the rents of the present year was found to be productive of many inconveniences. The frequent dismissal of the collectors, either on account of inefficiency or misconduct, rendered the outstanding balances heavier

21. Bengal Public Consultations, Dec. 16, 1769.

every year, and no collector could be easily available to accept the office under such conditions. It was decided, therefore, to keep the account of the balance apart, and enter into a separate agreement with the collector, whereby he made himself responsible for such balances as upon enquiry should appear equitable, or might be pointed out to him by the government or by his predecessor in office. By this means the obvious inconvenience of combining the accounts of different years was avoided. Lastly, as it appeared to the Governor that large tracts of land had been alienated under the designation of 'jagirs' by force or fraud, it was decided to resume all such lands for the benefit of the exchequer. Orders were issued, directing all persons holding 'jagirs' to register 'sanads' in the head cutcherry within six months to prove their rights and title, and it was further notified that the 'jagirs' would be continued only to ancient and respectable families, and to those who had just claims.

One of the principal defects of the revenue system of this period was the overassessment of many areas, due to the lack of an exact knowledge of their real value. It was impossible to fix the just value of the lands until a complete measurement was made thereof, and their gross produce fully ascertained. This is why Clive and his successors took a keen interest in the work of survey, and encouraged Captain James Rennell, Surveyor General,<sup>22</sup> to complete his survey of Bengal and form one general chart from those already made by him. At his request, more assistants were allowed to him by Verelst, and a larger number of menial staff was sanctioned. The increase of expenditure on the work of survey was justified on the ground that "the benefit of such an undertaking will be an ample compensation for the charges that are attendant upon it."<sup>23</sup> That the work of survey in those days was neither safe, nor easy would be apparent<sup>24</sup> from the fact that, during one of his surveying tours, Rennell was severely assaulted by a party of 'Sannyasis', as a result of which he received several serious cuts

22. Rennell was appointed by Clive to this post by an order of Jan. 1, 1767.

23. Letter to Court, March 28, 1768.

24. Captain James Rennell's Journal, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, edited by Mr. T. H. D. Latouche, 1910. The Journal unfortunately ends on March 23, 1767.

from their broadswords 'Parvanahs'<sup>25</sup> were, therefore, issued to the gumashtahs of all Faujdars, Amils and Zamindars, directing them to afford the surveyors every possible assistance, and the zamindars were cautioned that if they obstructed the surveyors in their work, they would be severely punished, and even dispossessed of their lands. Despite the issue of the official 'Parvanahs', the surveyors were often badly treated by the hostile zamindars and high-handed Faujdars who complained that the collection of the revenues was greatly interrupted by survey operations.

Arbitrary assessment under the designation 'Mathaut' constituted an additional burden on the ryots during this period. The 'Mathaut' was a general name for all extra demands made for defraying certain special expenses, e.g., for the presentation of robes of honour, etc., on the occasion of the 'Punyah' ('Khalat Baha'), the repairing of bridges and river banks ('Pooshtebundy'), the payment of a customary fee to the Nazir and the Mutasaddis of the Cutcherry ('Rasum Nazarat'), or the maintenance of the state elephants ('Fil Khanah'). The 'Mathaut' was exacted from the ryots in addition to the normal revenue, probably because the authorities feared that the Directors might not allow the aforesaid expenses. That this was an entirely vexatious taxation was, however, fully realised. After his appointment as Resident at the Durbar, Mr. Bécher strongly pleaded for the abolition of such exactions on the ground that this was one of the principal causes of the distressed state of the country. "I wish," he wrote, "the word (i.e., 'Mathaut') could be abolished and never heard of more."<sup>27</sup> Verelst was willing to abolish these arbitrary demands, and, at his instance, the Select Committee even agreed to forbid the levy of the 'Mathaut' in future. This decision, however, could not be immediately enforced, and the reform was postponed until the time of Warren Hastings.

While the land revenue was collected with the utmost strictness, the revenue demand itself was considerably enhanced after the assumption of the Diwani. Even Clive saw the danger inherent in this policy. On April 25, 1766, he wrote to Mr. Palk, "To attempt

25. Persian Correspondence: Cop. 1, 1766-67, Nos. 53, 68, 85, etc.  
26. Bengal Select Committee, April 28, 1770.  
27. Letter from Mr. R. Becher, May 24, 1769.

further increase of the revenues will be drawing the knot too tight." On September 22, he wrote similarly to Mr. Blomer, "The Company's revenues are already immense; nor can I think of increasing them by the least oppressive mode." At the time of his departure, he advised his successor "not to be very desirous of increasing the revenues, especially where it can only be effected by oppressing the landholders and tenants".<sup>28</sup> Verelst, be it said to his credit, was also opposed to the policy of increasing the revenue, and did recommend and enforce substantial abatements in 1769. "Permit me", he wrote to the Directors in 1768, "to give you my most serious opinion, founded on almost nineteen years' experience in the various branches of your revenues and in various districts of your possessions, that it is totally beyond the power of your administration to make any material addition to your rents, or remit a single rupee in specie home." But, the insistent demand of the Directors for a steady increase in the investments without any corresponding export of specie from England, coupled with the heavy drain of silver from Bengal forced the authorities to raise the collections even against their better judgment. In vain did the latter protest that<sup>29</sup> the enforced increase of the collection was bound to prove "destructive to the country."

The Ceded and Calcutta lands being directly under the management of the Company's servants were free from the oppression of the Amils employed in the Diwani lands, while as a result of the system initiated during the time of Clive and continued by his successors, these were more prosperous and better cultivated.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the work of the Company's servants in this sphere is in some respects of greater importance than the measures for the Diwani lands. Such was the success of the reforms in the Ceded lands that Verelst who had been mainly responsible for these as supervisor during the time of Clive claimed after his own Governorship that the condition of these lands formed so striking a contrast to that of the other parts of Bengal, where oppression and rack-rent prevailed, that foreigners as well as Indians eagerly wished for a more extensive application of these reforms.

28. Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 16, 1767.  
29. Verelst's View, p. 76, July 8, Oct. 12, 1769.  
30. Bengal Select Committee, Aug. 11, 1769.

These reforms<sup>31</sup> were as follows: *first*, the oppressive auction system was stopped, and fairly long leases were encouraged; *second*, a moderate rent was fixed; *third*, the increase of *Bazi Zamin* or charity lands was checked by a proper scrutiny of the sanads; *fourth*, many of the *Ryotty* lands hitherto fraudulently shown as uncultivated areas were brought to the credit of the exchequer; *fifth*, the lands held by the servants in office and their dependents were assessed at a fair rate; *sixth*, the Europeans were forbidden to hold farms on their own account, or in the name of their dependents; *seventh*, nobody holding any post was allowed to hold a farm, except for a small piece of land necessary for the maintenance of his family; *eighth*, to prevent frauds and embezzlement, *pattahs* were granted to the tenants, and the amount of rent which each tenant was to pay was shown in the *pattah*; *ninth*, the cultivation of the mulberry tree was encouraged by the assessment of the mulberry plantations at a reduced rent, and waste lands were granted on favourable terms; *tenth*, to ascertain the true value of the lands, surveyors were appointed to measure them, and note the quantity of land each tenant held; and, *eleventh*, the collection of additional cesses and *abvabs* was strictly scrutinised to prevent the impositions of the 'Mutasaddis' and the oppression of the farmers.

While the Ceded and Calcutta lands were in no unsatisfactory state, the condition of the Diwani lands was admittedly deplorable mainly on account of the abuses of the revenue system. The Diwani revenues were in themselves a perplexing subject, and the Indian collectors who alone could have supplied any authentic information found it profitable to conceal their knowledge. Besides, most of the old records had either been burnt, or carried away by Mir Qasim during his flight from Bengal. Thus, without an accurate survey of the country, which was bound to take time, a just valuation of the lands was impossible. Conjectural hence frequently excessive, estimates had therefore to be adopted with disastrous consequences, and the balances too were often so heavy that they could not be recovered without oppression.

Despite stringent measures taken against the oppressive Amils and faujdars, their rapacity could not be effectively checked.<sup>32</sup>

31. Verelst's View, etc., Bengal District Records.

32. Bengal Select Committee, Oct. 12, 1769.

The oppressed tenants were usually too poor to quit their homes and seek justice at the capital. Illegal exactions were thus made with impunity, and the long train of 'gumashtahs,' 'dallals,' 'paikars,' 'pykes,' 'barqandazes', and other subordinates employed in the work of collections combined to perpetuate a thousand modes of oppression and taxation, and, in the words of Verelst "fattened on the spoils of the industrious ryot."<sup>33</sup> The resumption of the charity lands re-acted adversely on the economic condition of the people, as a large number of people were suddenly reduced to beggary.<sup>34</sup> Such was the misery of the former holders of the charity lands that they were obliged to pay the revenue by selling their necessary household goods, or even by pawning their children.<sup>35</sup>

The administration of the revenue was further complicated during this period by the anomalous and unscientific character of the silver currency. As no two mints struck coins of a uniform fineness or weight, no actual coin could be treated as the standard coin. In consequence, a nominal coin, called the current rupee, was invented, by which the numerous types of rupees were valued by the *sarrafs*. Besides, a varying rate of 'batta' was charged on the 'sikkahs' which were triennially recoined, and as the ryots had to pay the revenue in the newly coined 'sikkahs' of which a sufficient quantity obviously could never be available, they had to pay an additional 'batta' for paying the revenue in rupees of previous years. The 'batta,' therefore, considerably added to the burden of the tenants. The latter had to receive payment for their produce in coins whose value they could not understand, and when they paid those very coins for rent, their value was deducted according to a calculation which they were too ignorant to grasp. The issue of gold coinage during the time of Clive and Verelst only made matters worse. Although the tenants were encouraged to pay the revenue in gold mohurs, the experiment did not succeed owing to the over-valuation of the *Mohurs*.

It was because Verelst was fully convinced of the iniquity of the existing system that he ultimately proposed the institution of

33. Verelst's View etc., p. 75.

34. Siyarul Mutakhkhirin (Lucknow Text), p. 828.

35. Muzaffar Namah (Allahabad University MS.), p. 438.

English Supervisors in all districts—a policy which constitutes the first step towards the direct assumption of administrative responsibility by the Company's servants, and was the remote beginning of a new system ultimately introduced in the time of Warren Hastings. The success of the English supervision of the Ceded lands had already been so conspicuous that it naturally created the impression that a gradual extension of that system in the Diwani lands was both necessary and practicable. The Resident at the Durbar could alone neither prevent oppression, nor obtain authentic information of the grievances of the people. It was expected, therefore, that if English supervisors were appointed, the tyranny of the local officials would be restrained by them. Besides, the authorities were sensible of the fact that the abuses of the existing system could not be eradicated without a thorough local inquiry. Hence, to provide for an adequate reformation, and at the same time to keep the revenues intact, it was necessary to appoint independent Supervisors whose researches alone could enable the authorities to formulate their future plan of reform. It was further hoped that the appointment of the Supervisors would not only lead to the destruction and prevention of all trade monopolies, but would also promote the growth of the general trade of the country and the prosperity and happiness of the common people. The Supervisors were also meant to be a "nursery" for trained officials, capable of succeeding, when called upon to do so, to the highest offices in the Government.

The circumstances that finally led to the adoption of the scheme may now be briefly analysed. It was Mr. Sykes, the first Resident at the Durbar who had originally stressed the utility of appointing English gentlemen as a check<sup>36</sup> on the collections in the Diwani lands. His successor, Mr. Becher, was more emphatic in his denunciation of the malpractices of the Indian collectors and pressed<sup>37</sup> for the application of the plan "now practised at Burdwan" to the whole of the province. In July, 1769, the Select Committee considered the problem in all its aspects, and, in August, after considering the joint letter of the Governor and Mr. Becher, together with their separate opinions on the miserable state of affairs ob-

36. Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 4, 1769.

37. Bengal Select Committee, July 8, 1769.

taining in the country, came to the conclusion,<sup>38</sup> "That, in every province or district, a gentleman in the service be appointed with or without assistance, in proportion to the extent of the district, whose office or department is to be subordinate to the Resident of the Durbar, and managed as is expressly set forth and defined in the following letter of instructions which the President has prepared and submitted to our consideration with such additions as may occasionally be deemed necessary by the Resident at the Durbar". This decision, it may be noted, was taken by the Committee on the basis of "an equivocal permission" given by the Directors in one of their recent letters.<sup>39</sup> The letter in question carried the Directors' approval of the plan adopted for the revenue administration of the Ceded lands, and, as such, was not unjustifiably interpreted as an implied sanction for the extension of the said plan to the Diwani lands. The Select Committee's action was later fully approved by the Directors.

*To be continued.*

38. Bengal Select Committee, Aug. 16, 1769.

39. Letter from Court, Nov. 11, 1768.

## Gayā-Tīrtha

BY

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*Ootacamund*

The antiquity of the Gayā-tīrtha has been the subject of controversy for a long time.<sup>1</sup> Very recently, Mr. Y. Mishra has published a paper entitled "Bihar in the Agni-Purāṇa" in *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part I, 1954, pp. 1-7, where the problem has been referred to without a discussion of the views of earlier writers. In the concluding part of the said paper, the author draws our attention to the well-known stanza :

*Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñchī Avantikā |*  
*purī Dvāravatī ch=aiva sapt=aitā moksha-dāyikāḥ ||*

and observes, "This couplet was composed probably in the eighth century A.D., and, from the absence of any mention of Gayā, it appears that any importance it may have had then was only local and that it did not acquire a pan-Indian celebrity before this time. This is strengthened by the fact that while in (of?) the Gupta period there is only one inscription found at Gayā, in (of?) the Pāla period (c. 750—c. 1200) no less than six inscriptions are found here. These things evidently point to the growing importance of Gayā in the period subsequent to 750 A.D., i.e., in the period of the Agni-Purāṇa." I am sorry that I cannot agree with the author's contentions.

In the first place, it is not possible to assign the text of a Purāṇa as a whole, in all cases, to a definite date because it usually contains matter interpolated by various redactors in different ages. Moreover, the incorporation of a tradition in a work at a particular

1. Cf. R. L. Mitra's *Buddha-Gayā*, 1878; Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*, 1892; O'Malley's *Gazetteer of the Gaya District* (also his article in *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, 1903, No. 3, pp. 1-11); B. M. Barua's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vols. I-II, 1934; J. C. Ghosh's article in *JBORS*, Vol. XXIV, 1938, pp. 89-111; P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV, 1953, pp. 642-79.

date does not prove that it was non-existent in an earlier age. It is therefore impossible to determine the antiquity of Gayā from its mention in the *Agni Purāṇa* alone.

Secondly, the date of the composition of the stanza *Ayodhyā*, etc., quoted above, is uncertain. But a theory based on the absence of Gayā in it seems to be merely a case of *argumentum ex silentio*. It is certainly impossible to believe that Prabhāsa, Pushkara and Prayāga, which are not mentioned in the verse, attained all-India importance after the seventh century. The pilgrimage of a ruler of the North Marāṭhā country to Prabhāsa and Pushkara is mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D.<sup>2</sup> while Prayāga is not only referred to in a Khila verse placed in the *Rigveda*, X, 75, but is also mentioned in an inscription<sup>3</sup> as a holy place where a sixth century king of East Malwa committed religious suicide according to the injunction of the Dharmaśāstra writers. There is absolutely no doubt that these three *tīrthas*, not represented in the stanza relied on by Mr. Mishra, became widely known many centuries earlier than the eighth century when the said verse is supposed to have been composed. The verse is found with some modifications once in the *Brahmāṇḍa* (IV, 40, 91) and *Garuḍa* (Pretakhaṇḍa, 38, 5-6) *Purāṇas* and twice in the *Kāśikhaṇḍa* (6, 68 and 23, 7) section of the *Skanda Purāṇa*.<sup>4</sup> There is hardly any doubt that the date of its composition is later than that of a traditional stanza regarding the sanctity of Gayā, which is found in the epics as well as in most of the *Purāṇas* and Dharmaśāstra works. But this is not the only evidence to show that Gayā was already one of the most famous Indian *tīrthas* long before the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century.

The *Mahābhārata* is believed to have assumed its present form between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.,<sup>5</sup> while the *Rāmāyaṇa* is supposed to have had its present extent and contents as early as the second century A.D.<sup>6</sup> The *Tīrtha-yātrā*

2. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 160 ff.

3. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 200.

4. See N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 179; Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 678, note 1535.

5. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 258; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 465.

6. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 516.

section of the Vana-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* contains two sub-sections on Gayā,<sup>7</sup> which point to the place as a great *tīrtha*. But what is more important is that both these sub-sections have one stanza in common, which is introduced in one case by the passage *kīrtayanti purāṭanāḥ*<sup>8</sup> showing that it was an old Gāthā handed down by tradition. The stanza runs as follows :

eshṭavyā bahavaḥ putrā yady=apy=eko Gayām vrajet |  
yajeta v=Āsvamedhena nīlām vā vṛisham=utsrijet ||

That it was an old traditional Gāthā is also clearly demonstrated by the fact that the same verse is quoted sometimes with slight modifications (not affecting the reference to Gayā), again in the *Anuśāsanika-parvan* (Ch. 88, 14) and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, 107, 13) as well as in numerous *Purāṇas* (cf. *Matsya*, 22, 6; *Vāyu*, 105, 10; *Kūrma*, II, 34, 13; *Brahma*, 220, 32; *Padma*, *Sṛisṭī-khaṇḍa*, 11, 65 or 68 and *Adikhaṇḍa*, 38, 17; *Nāradya*, *Uttara-khaṇḍa*, 44, 5-6; etc.) and Dharmaśāstra works (cf. *Vishṇusamhitā*, 85, 63; *Atrisamhitā*, verse 55; *Bṛhaspatīsamhitā*, verse 21; *Likhita-samhitā*, verse 10; etc.). In many of these works the verse is introduced as a Gāthā sung by the Pitṛis or Ṛishis. There cannot be any doubt that this Gāthā was composed many centuries before the Pāla age and probably even before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.

The *Mahābhārata*, III, 95, describes how, at Brahmasaras (within Gayā), Rājārshi Gaya, son of Amūrtarayas, performed many sacrifices distinguished by "hundreds of mountains of food and thousands of lakes of clarified butter, many hundred rivers of curds, and streams of curries in thousand" and how people in all lands used to sing Gāthās on the subject. Elsewhere the same work (VII, 64) speaks of Gaya's sacrificial altar of solid gold that was 30 *yojanas* long, 26 *yojanas* broad and 24 *yojanas* high and how, upon the completion of the sacrifice, 25 hills of food remained over together with many lakes and rivulets of savoury drinks. In consequence of this glorious performance, Brahmasaras and the "eternal-making banyan-tree" (i.e. the Akshaya Vāṭa) at the place are stated to have become famous throughout the three worlds.<sup>9</sup>

7. Calcutta ed., ch. 84, verses 82-98; ch. 87, verses 8-12.

8. Cf. critical ed., III, 85, 7.

9. See also S. Sörenson, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, pp. 302-03.

The same saintly king named Gaya is also known from the *Rāmāyana* (Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, ch. 107), *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (V, ch. 15), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (ch. 34), *Agni Purāṇa* (ch. 107), *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (IV, ch. 11), *Vāmana Purāṇa* (ch. 76), etc., although his parentage is sometimes given differently. The antiquity of the tradition is definitely proved by Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* (XII, 87-88) composed in the first or second century A.D. during the age of the Kushāṇas. This work speaks of Buddha's visit to the hermitage called the city of the royal sage Gaya. The same person was later conceived as a great giant; cf. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 105 ff., etc. The demon's body is said to have been 125 *yojanas* in height and 60 *yojanas* in girth. It will be seen that, while the 25 hills of the *Mahābhārata* story were imagined to explain the existence of sacred hills in the Gayā area, the huge body of the demon was conceived as the hilly region, studded with holy spots, extending from Gayā to the coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal. Gaya's head was believed to be represented by Gayaśiras or Gayaśirsha (Gayaśiras or Gayaśirsha) at Gayā while Virajā or Jāipur in the Cuttack District of Orissa and Pithapuram in the Godavari District of Andhra were taken to represent respectively his navel and feet.<sup>10</sup> The frequent mention of the shaking of the earth in this connection in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 106, possibly hints at earthquakes that occasionally depopulated Gayā.<sup>11</sup>

It may be noticed in this connection that the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*, which does not specially deal with *tīrtha-māhātmya*, also recognises the greatness and sanctity of Gayā (*Āchārādhyāya*, verse 261):

*yad=dadāti Gayāsthāś=cha sarvam=ānantyam=aśnute |*  
*tathā varshā-trayodaśyām maghāsu cha viśēshataḥ ||*

The code of Yājñavalkya has to be assigned to the fourth century A.D.<sup>12</sup> although some scholars are inclined to ascribe it to "the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier".<sup>13</sup>

10. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 64-5.

11. Cf. the deserted appearance of the holy place referred to by the Chinese pilgrims.

12. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 279.

13. Kane, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 187.

That Gayā was a famous place of pilgrimage during the Gupta age is also clear from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hian visited the place about the beginning of the fifth century when the locality offered a rather deserted appearance.<sup>14</sup> According to Hiuen-tsang, who visited Gayā about 637 A.D., "This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were about 1000 Brahmin families, descendants of the original Ṛishi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence.... From ancient times, sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain (the Gayā mountain to the south-west of the city) and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone tope (stūpa) above 100 feet high built by Aśoka at the place where Buddha uttered the Pao-yun and other Sūtras".<sup>15</sup> The Pao-yun has been taken to be the *Ratna-garbhā Sūtra* said to have been communicated to the disciples of Buddha, assembled on the Gayaśiras or Gayaśirsha (Gayāśiras or Gayāśirsha) hill, identified by many scholars with the modern Brahmayoni hill near Gayā. The objections to this identification and to the location of ancient Gayā at the site of the present city of that name are not quite convincing. Moreover those who object do not say that the ancient Gayā *tīrtha* lay far away from present Gayā in a region outside Bihar. The Brāhmaṇas of Gayā referred to in the Chinese account are no doubt the ancestors of the celebrated Gayā Brahmanas of today. These Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in the Śaktipur copper-plate inscription<sup>16</sup> of king Lakshmaṇasena (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. They appear to have claimed descent from *Rājarshi* Gaya. Hiuen-tsang's observations show beyond doubt that Gayā was already a famous holy place long before the seventh century if not actually in the age of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 269-232 B.C.). But there is evidence to show that Gayā is a much older *tīrtha*.

Gaya as a personal name, with which the holy place called Gaya or Gayā (cf. also Gayaśiras or Gayā° and Gayasirsha or

14. Cf. *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, translated by James Legge, pp. 87 ff.

15. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 110-11.

16. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 216 ff.

Gayā<sup>17</sup>) is intimately associated, is well known from the *Rigveda*<sup>17</sup> and *Atharvaveda*.<sup>18</sup> The unanimous testimony of the Puranic writers and medieval lexicographers suggests that the Gayā region was known to the Ṛgvedic seers as Kīkaṭa.<sup>19</sup> Although pilgrimage to holy places for the sake of merit seems to be a non-Aryan religious institution which took some time is being fully approved by the Brahmanical society, the importance of the holy hill called Gayaśīras at Gayā appears to have been recognised in very early times. This is suggested by Yāska's *Nirukta* (12, 19) which, while explaining the Vedic passage *tredhā nidadhe padam*, quotes the view of an earlier authority named Aurnāvābha saying that Viṣṇu plants his foot at Samārobhaṇa, Viṣṇupada and Gayaśīras. These were evidently three holy spots. Since, in the whole of India, there is only one Gayaśīras or Gayaśīrsha (Gayāśīras or Gayāśīrsha) near Gayā in Bihar, the tradition attributed to Aurnāvābha by Yāska who is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C.<sup>21</sup> certainly points to the antiquity of Gayā as a recognised holy place. The conclusion is supported by the frequent mention of the holy spots at Gayā and its neighbourhood in early Buddhist literature.

The earliest literary works of the Buddhists very often mention Gayā (also Gayātīrtha, Gayāśīrsha, Gayā-nadī and Gayā-pushkariṇī) as well as a festival held there and called Gayā-phalgu or Gayā-phalgunī. See the *Vinaya-piṭaka*,<sup>22</sup> *Saṃyutta Nikāya*,<sup>23</sup> *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,<sup>24</sup> *Sutta Nipāta*,<sup>25</sup> etc. All these works are to be assigned to dates before the beginning of the Christian era. The Buddha is stated to have stayed at Gayā on several occasions. It was at Gayāśīrsha that the well-known Gayā Sūtra was preached by him.<sup>26</sup> The evidence of the Buddhist works of the Gupta age

17. V. 9, 1; X, 63, 1 and 64, 1.

18. I, 14, 4.

19. Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 17-19.

20. *Rigveda*, I, 22, 17.

21. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 69, note.

22. Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. I, pp. 8, 34.

23. P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 207.

24. P.T.S., Vol. IV, p. 302.

25. P.T.S., p. 47.

26. Cf. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 302 ff.; *Mahāvagga*, I, 21, 1 (S.B.E., Vol. XIII, p. 134).

supports what has already been said above on the strength of Brahmanical literature. Buddhaghosha (5th century) applies the name Gayā both to a locality and a bathing place near it; but Dharma-pāla (circa 6th century)<sup>27</sup> in his *Udāna* commentary<sup>28</sup> mentions Gayā-nadī and Gayā-pushkariṇī as two distinct bathing places both known as Gayā-tīrtha and supposed to possess the power to wash away sins. "People went there, offered sacrifices to the gods, recited the Vedas, and immersed themselves in the water."<sup>29</sup> In Buddhist literature Gayā is sometimes called Brahma-Gayā (cf. the name of old Brahmasaras and of modern Brahmayoni at Gayā) to avoid its confusion with Buddha-Gayā.

The facts discussed above do not appear to support Mr. Mishra's contention that Gayā became an all-India *tīrtha* during the age of Pālas (circa 750-1200 A.D.).

27. Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 205.

28. P.T.S., pp. 74-75; cf. *Sutta Nipāta* commentary, P.T.S., Vol. I, p. 301.

29. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. I, p. 752.

## Origin of Indian Epigraphy \*

BY

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1. The origin of Indian Epigraphy is veiled in obscurity. The earliest epigraphical records found in India are the small Indus Valley seals generally assigned to the third millenium B.C. But the script on the seals cannot be deciphered. The earliest decipherable records found are therefore, practically the edicts of Aśoka which are written in the Brāhmi and Kharoshtri scripts and belong to the third century B.C. The Kharoshtri script continued to be used upto the fifth century A.D. in particular localities and altogether disappeared leaving no descendant. But from this time to the present day there is fortunately a continuous record of the Brahmi epigraphical records in India . Since no epigraphical records are found of the intervening long period of more than two

\* Part of the first out of the eight lectures on Indian Epigraphy delivered at the Bombay University in February 1953 under the auspices of the Bhagavanlal Indraji Lecture Series.

thousand years, many scholars, who have traced the history of writing in other countries with the help of the Epigraphy of those countries, suppose that the ancient Hindus were ignorant of the art of writing. People of other ancient countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, etc., who knew the art of writing have left a large number of inscriptions on stone and metal, on clay and wooden tablets. Chronology of those countries rests on a safer basis than that of India so there cannot be any doubt about their inscriptions being thousands of years old. If the ancient Indians had known the art of writing they would have also left some ancient inscriptions. Allowing five hundred years for the evolution of the Brāhmī script as we find it in the edicts of Aśoka and taking into consideration all the references to writing in the travel records of earlier foreigners and in the most ancient literatures of the Aryans who according to them could not have entered India before 1500 B.C. these scholars have come to the conclusion that the Indians learned the use of writing in about 800 B.C. from the Semitic people in Western Asia with whom they had then come in commercial contact (Indian Paleography by G. Bühler). If this theory is accepted we have to suppose that Indian Epigraphy originated sometime after the 8th century B.C. But with the recent discovery of a large number of inscribed Indus Valley seals of a very remote period in India itself the question of the foreign origin of the Indian script at the late period altogether disappears and the origin of Indian Epigraphy can at once be carried back from the Buddhist period to the Indus Valley period. But the unfortunate thing is that the Indus Valley script cannot be deciphered as yet and the still more unfortunate thing is that no epigraphical material is found of the intervening long period of two thousand years between the Indus Valley period and the Maurya period from which it begins to appear regularly. Consequently the question of the origin of the Indian script is still unsettled and there are scholars who are not prepared to give up the foreign origin (Diringer, *The Alphabet* p. 328). Let us first see if the theory of the Semitic origin of the Indian script can stand.

2. In the first place the absence of epigraphical records does not mean that the ancient Hindus were ignorant of the art of writing. In fact by ascribing the invention of writing to the creator

Brahmā they claim it as a national invention of the remotest antiquity. But this point does not carry much weight since attribution of the invention of the alphabet to mythical personages is found in many peoples' traditions. As the question of the origin of Epigraphy is linked up with that of Writing let us see whether the ancient Hindus were really ignorant of the art of writing and whether they borrowed the art from the Semitic people.

R. B. Gaurishankar Oza refuted the theory of foreign origin of the Brāhmī script by quoting older references to writing in the ancient Brahmanical literature from the epics back to the Vedas and showed that it was already known to the ancient Hindus thousands of years back and that there was, therefore, no question of borrowing it from outsiders at a later date of their civilization (Indian Paleography, ch. I.)

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who was also convinced of the indigenous origin of the Brāhmī script thought it unnecessary to seek support from the post-Vedic literature when he could quote references to writing in the Vedic literature itself in which two of the principal features of writing namely numerical notations and alphabet are discussed in detail. (Origin of the Indian alphabet Proc. Ori. Conf. I, ii, 305, Ashutosh Mookerji, Vol. III, p. 493).

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal approached this question in a third way. It is according to him an impossibility to make the *maṇḍala* division of the Vedas, i.e., division by authors, division by length, etc., without having a system of writing. The very idea of classifying songs could occur to no one when they are known only orally and the art of writing is unknown. The conclusion seems to be inevitable that at the time of the Vedic division the art of writing must have existed. Nor could we have commentaries on the Brāhmaṇas without the art of writing (J.B.O.R.S., VI. 188).

Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala has discussed this question in detail and refuted all the arguments which are advanced in favour of the theory of foreign origin of the Indian Writing from Greek or Phoenician models or from North Semitic or South Semitic models. He has also disproved the arguments brought against the theory of indigenous origin of the script and has shown that the only alternative is to suppose that the Brāhmī script is of indigenous origin. He has also shown that the Brāhmī script contains groups of letters

arranged exactly as one may expect from the precise phonetic analysis of Sanskrit, made in the *Prātisākhya* of the Veda many centuries before the date of Aśoka and that a people who could produce such masterly analysis of their language about 1000 B.C., the latest date of the *Prātisākhya*, had no reason to borrow the symbols from the Semitic script for the same sounds several centuries later from the Semitic people whose script was so imperfect. (The origin of the Brāhmi alphabet, Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference, p. 625).

3. To all these proofs of writing of the ancient Hindus one more from the Vedic literature itself can be added which is so convincing that it will silence all doubts about the point. It shows that the Vedic Aryans not only knew the art of writing but had also preserved Vedic manuscripts carefully. The concluding verse constituting Sūtra No. 72 of the 19th Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda contains the following expression:

"I now keep down the Veda (or I now keep it) in the box from which I had taken it out."

The Sūtra means that the Vedic manuscript which was taken out for recitation or for copying another manuscript was placed back in the box or bundle carefully. This fact shows that manuscripts of the Vedas did exist in the Vedic times and were carefully preserved. As this verse is at the end of the Kāṇḍa in the form of a post-script it seems to have been uttered at the end of the day's work when the manuscript was packed and was to be kept back in the box. It may be supposed that this kind of verse might have been uttered at the end of other Kāṇḍas but no where else it is found used.\*

\* It may be suggested here that the name Tripitaka given for the three most important sacred books of the Buddhists might have been inspired by the practice of the Vedic people to keep the manuscripts of the three main Vedas in boxes. It is known that sometimes an object receives the name of the object contained in it, e.g., in such expression as "He drank a bottle" meaning that he drank the liquid in the bottle or as "One tiffin box is insufficient to me" meaning that the food contained in one tiffin box is

In fact those who knew something of the Vedic Aryans from their vast and beautiful Vedic literature ought not to have entertained a doubt about their knowledge of the art of writing. It is inconceivable that the people who were long engaged in various cultural and literary activities did not know how to write and did not feel the necessity of the art. Either it must be supposed that the Vedic Aryans were uncivilised savages or if they were a civilised people, it must be supposed that they did know the art of writing. For as a linguist has said, writing exists only in a civilisation and a civilisation cannot exist without writing. The interrelation between speech and writing and their mutual influences are very strong. It is frequently difficult to study a speech without knowledge of its writing and it is almost impossible to understand a writing without knowledge of the speech for which it is used. (A Study of Writing by J. J. Gelb, London, 1951, p. 222).

Thus if the Vedic Aryans knew the art of writing already about 1500 B.C. there was no question of borrowing it from outside, in about 800 B.C.

Leaving aside the question when the Aryans entered India from outside, there is sufficient evidence to show that the Indians had come in contact with the people of western Asia long before 800 B.C. If the theory of westward migration of the Indo-Iranians from their common home maintained by some scholars is accepted on the ground that the Aryan names are recognisable in the case of the Kassites who ruled Babylon from about 1760 B.C. and that the names of the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatyas are mentioned in records of treaties discovered at Bogaz-koi in Capadocia between the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiuaza of about 1450 B.C. the question of borrowing the art of writing in 800 B.C. from the less civilized Semitic people cannot arise. (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vedic Age,

insufficient to me. In the same way the three sacred books of the Buddhists which were like the three Vedas of the Hindus and which according to the old practice of the Brahmanas were kept inside the boxes came to be named as three boxes—tripitakas. It is well known that the Buddha when he referred to the Vedas meant the three Vedas only as the Buddhists regard the Atharvaveda as of less authority and he is himself described as Tevijja meaning learned in the three Vedas.

p. 204). See also Sayce, the Early Home of Sanskrit, Asia Minor Modi Mem. Vol. p. 68.

4. Now the question arises if the ancient Aryans knew the art of writing why then are no epigraphic records found anywhere in India before the Maurya period, i.e., before the fourth century B.C.? The following reasons can be given in reply to this question.

All literature was committed to memory by the ancient Aryans and the marvellous, indeed the astounding, feats of memory were performed by those who made it their business to commit to memory a library of religious and philosophical literature. As an aid to memory this was consequently put in verse. This practice, it is well known, has been continued to some extent even to this day with rare rigidity by the Brahmans. To keep the sanctity of their sacred texts, the Buddhists and the Jains too, had adopted this method. So the fact that reciting was preferred to reading is not a proof of the absence of the art of writing. Owing to this exceptional quality the ancient Aryans took less interest in writing and still less in epigraphy. No other people in the world had cultivated this art of oral transmission and consequently they had no other course but to write down what they thought to be important.

Another reason why epigraphical records are not found is this. The epigraphical records are mainly of three kinds: Donative, Commemorative and Eulogistic, i.e., they relate to the land grants or to the building of temples or wells or are composed in praise of the achievements or qualities of kings. This object was accomplished by the Vedic Aryans by composing hymns in praise of the kings for their military achievements, for performing Vedic sacrifices and giving rich donations to the priests and for doing acts of public utility. These hymns called *dānastutis* were incorporated in the Vedic texts, and with additions made from time to time they were recited among assemblies on important occasions (Ojha Comm. Vol., p. 34 and A.B.O.R.I. 28. 36). The Vedic Aryans could accomplish by composing hymns, what the later people in India or the people in other countries wanted to accomplish by inscriptions.

When absence of epigraphical records is brought forward as the proof of ignorance of the art of writing of the ancient Aryans it may be equally asked, if the Indus Valley people knew the art of writing and if they had received a regular training in Epigraphy

why then are only small seals of a stereotyped form which might have served the purpose of the creed formula or Dharani tablets of the Buddhists of the later period found with them in hundreds and not a single inscription in the proper sense of the term on a stone slab or on a copper plate or on the pedestal of an image is found when all these objects were not unknown to them and when many lengthy inscriptions are found of the period in other West Asian countries like Sumer and Babylonia? We cannot suppose that though the Indus Valley people did not set up long inscriptions they might not have written long letters or notes to conduct the necessary usual business of their highly civilized society. We have to suppose that they must have written them on some fragile material which is completely lost to us.

But it is not true that the Vedic Aryans had never recourse to writing. The Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads were no doubt transmitted from generation to generation by oral recitations and the Sūtras comprising very short neumonic formulae were purposely composed for oral transmission and for facility in remembering. But there must be a limit to human memory however prodigious. For literary works of some length and grammatical and specially phonetical works, need of writing and of some symbols must have been felt. For copying such works the Aryans must have used the *bhūraja-patras* or *tāḍa-patras* or *Kārpāśa paṭṭikās*, or *Valkala paṭṭikās*, which were abundant in India. (Ancient India by I. W. M'Crindle, 1896, p. 186). The use of cloth for writing goes back to the fourth century B.C. being mentioned by Nearchos, in the service of Alexander (Strabo, 15.1.67). No manuscripts on such a material can be expected to endure to a long time in spite of all precautions of preserving them in boxes as shown above. In course of time such frail material must have perished. There is reason to believe that not only a vast literature but even some parts of the Vedic texts in spite of the attempts to commit them to memory were lost. The well-known pre-Buddhist grammarian Yāska refers to a number of works and authors known to him. (Keith, Hist. Skt. Lit., p. 423). Vedic literature was available to Pāṇini even in Mss. (Goldstucker Pāṇini, pp. 11-47). Pāṇini hints at the use of writing in several significant expressions (Agarwal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 371). Yāska

is clearly seen to have consulted some *pada-pāṭhas* of older scholars like those of Śākalya in recording the different interpretations of the Vedic stanzas. From the use of the *gaṇapāṭhas* and *dhātupāṭhas* in Pāṇini we have reason to believe that there was a vast Sanskrit literature in different branches of learning before the time of Pāṇini who can be definitely assigned to the 5th century B.C. if not to the 8th century B.C. as is often supposed (Agarwal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 473). All this literature could not have been committed to memory but must have been written down on some kind of material before the period when the art of writing is supposed to have been borrowed by the Indians from the Semitic people. There must have been learned men of all kinds and not merely those reciting the Vedas and performing the Vedic sacrifices. A pre-Aśokan writer on political science, Kauṭilya, mentions many works and calls his work to be a critical compendium. All these works not known now must have perished. The fact that manuscript copies of some of the literature are available to us shows that the work of preparing new manuscript copies from older ones, must have been continued from generation to generation. Even the Vedic manuscripts which we have now must have been copied and re-copied in ancient times and could not have been prepared in modern times by making a Vedic scholar sit down and recite the Vedic texts.

5. Having seen that the Vedic Aryans knew the art of writing, that they did write manuscripts from time to time and that they were not in a particular need of issuing inscriptions let us now see whether there was any relation between the Indus Valley civilisation and the Vedic civilization, secondly between the Indus Valley antiquities of an unknown date and the earliest antiquities of a known date of the people of the Mauryan period who were the direct heirs of the Vedic civilization and thirdly between the earliest Indian, though undeciphered, script of the Indus Valley of the third or second millenium B.C. and the decipherable script of the Mauryan period of the fourth century B.C.

With regard to the first point it may be said that Dr. Wheeler correlates the Indus Valley chronology with the age of the Vedas. He has produced Archaeological evidence in support of a hypothesis that, Indra, the Aryan war-god, Purandara or fort-destroyer

who is said to have demolished the hundred ancient castles of the aboriginal leader Śambara, must have been responsible for the destruction of the Indus Valley Civilization (Ancient India, No. 3, p. 82). Similarly while referring to an Indus Valley seal which represents in its lower register seven figures in a row Wijesekara suggests that they are symbolic representation of the R̥gvedic river goddesses and that the whole seal represents the fertility cult common to the Indus Valley and the Vedic civilizations (C. K. Raja, Comm. Vol., p. 428): Similarly similarity between the funeral rites and customs of the Indus Valley people and the Vedic people as shown by Shri M. S. Vatsa (Excavations at Harappa p. 209) and by Dr. Altekar (A.B.O.R.I., Vol. 21 (1941), p. 291) gives support to this supposition. Some more scholars have similarly shown connection between the two civilizations.

With regard to the second point it may be said that actually some antiquities have been found from Mauryan sites which show wonderful family likeness with the Indus Valley antiquities. For instance some of the antiquities found at Kasaravad near Mahesar in the Narmada Valley which are of a peculiar nature are very much like some of the antiquities found in the Indus Valley. (Diskalkar, I. H.Q., 1949, p. 17). The triangular pottery tablets found in the Indus Valley are of different sizes and so are Kasaravad tablets. The use of these peculiar objects is still a puzzle. Sir John Marshall thinks that the Indus Valley tablets might be votive offerings or intended for burial use. (Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Marshall, p. 480, pl. CXXXI, 56-59. Further excavations at Mohenjodaro by Mackay, p. 429). The Kasaravad tablets found buried in the Buddhist Stupas might have served the same purpose. Similarly pottery pieces of different shapes, the purpose of which is not known are found in the Indus Valley as well as at Kasaravad and in some other Mauryan sites. Perforated pottery pieces are found in the Indus Valley as also at Kasaravad, and other Mauryan sites. They are supposed to be heaters. (Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization by Marshall, p. 313 and Further excavations at Mohenjodaro by Mackay, p. 207) but it seems more likely that the perforated pots served the purpose of jars through the 'thousand' holes of which water was sprinkled on bone relics according to the Vedic rites e.g. the Atharvaveda, (18.4.36) as shown by Ramanprasad Chanda. (Indus Valley in the Vedic period, Archl.

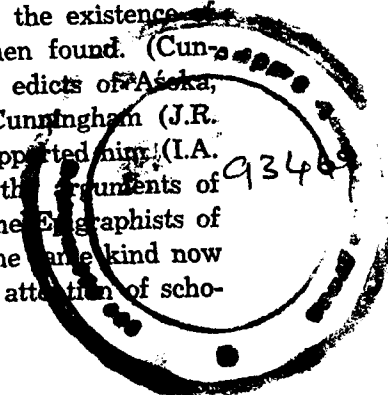
Mem. No. 31, p. 11, 14). Similarly pottery cones, the purpose of which is not known and some other objects which bear some likeness are found in both the places. A comparative study of the antiquities excavated from all the Mauryan sites with those from the Indus Valley will bring out many more similarities. If this supposition is correct it further proves the relation between the two civilizations (see also Archl. Mem. No. 41, Survival of the pre-historic civilization of the Indus Valley). It may also be said here that the peculiar figures of Yogis in the Indus Valley, with *ūrdhvalinga* and contemplative attitude seem to anticipate the Lakulīsa-pāśapata sculptures of the later period in Indian religious history, the antiquity of which can be traced back definitely at least to the beginning of the Christian era. (D. R. Bhandarkar, J.B.R.A.S., 22.157 and Ep. Ind. 21.7). For other survivals of the Indus Valley civilization like the punchmarked coins see The Vedic Age, p.197.

But there is no wonder at finding the two civilizations related to each other and at finding likeness between the antiquities of both the periods if we realise that at the destruction of their civilization the Indus Valley people could not all have sailed away from India but must have walked as refugees to the east which was not arid as now but was rich and prosperous and must have been assimilated in the great Indian society and continued to keep some of their deeprooted beliefs and customs. The recent discovery at Ruper and other places in east Punjab of the Harappa deposits successively overlain by those bearing painted grey ware objects and of the Mauryan age supports the view and connects the Mauryan culture with the Harappa culture only through the painted grey ware culture. The occurrence of the Harappa culture as far east as Rūpar is significant in itself, but more important is the fact that that culture was found superimposed by the painted grey ware culture thus providing direct means for linking up the former with later culture. (A. Ghosh, Pres. Add. Archl. Sec. Ahmedabad Ori. Conf. p. 3).

This fact raises a doubt that the groups of antiquities of the Indus Valley period and the Mauryan period so closely resembling each other may not be so widely separated in time as has been supposed. It must not be supposed, as Dr. Coomaraswamy has said in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, that a complete

hiatus divides the early period from the later times. A part of the remains at Mohenjodaro probably dates between 1000 and 400 B.C. and on the other hand the minor antiquities from various Indian sites as at Basrah, Taxila, Pataliputra and South Indian pre-historic sites go back at least to the fifth century B.C. Cannot therefore the date of the Indus Valley antiquities be brought down? In fact Mackay had already thought that the Indus Valley antiquities cannot be so old as Sir John Marshall and the first pioneers guessed. Dr. Fabri had felt the same doubt. (Indian Culture III. 670-72). If therefore, the entire chronology of Western Asian pre-history is revised we can bring the Indus Valley civilization somewhat nearer to our own.

With regard to the third point it can be said that having seen the relation between the Indus Valley civilization and that of the early historical period and having also seen the family likeness between the Archaeological exhibits of the Indus Valley period and the Maurya period it is not impossible to detect a continuity of writing from the Indus Valley period onwards. We may not be able to decipher the Indus Valley script at present but if by an external examination of the signs it is shown that some of the signs at least in the Indus script bear resemblance with some characters of the Brahmi script, we may be able to say that the later script was derived from the earlier one or both of them were derived from a third script. With only one or two Harappa seals before him Cunningham with the instinct of a true Palaeographer detected similarity between the Harappa script and the Brāhmi script and suggested seventy-nine years ago that the Harappa script contained the origin of Brāhmi. Following Cunningham, Dowson and Lassen held that the Aryan priests had developed the Brāhmi script from indigenous Indian hieroglyphics. Bühler had objected to this theory on the ground that it presupposes the existence of Indian hieroglyphic pictures which were not then found. (Cunningham Archl. Rep. V, (1875) p. 33, pl. 1; his edicts of Asoka, pl. 28 and I.A. 1886, p. 1). Dr. Fleet supported Cunningham (J.R. A.S. 1912, p. 699). Dr. K. P. Jayaswal further supported him (I.A. 1913, p. 203 and J.B.O.R.S. 1920, p. 198). But the arguments of these scholars had no effect upon the minds of the Epigraphists of the time. The discovery of a vast material of the same kind now in and outside India has naturally attracted the attention of scho-



lars all over the world. Now that the Indian hieroglyphics have been found in the Indus Valley Bühler's objection is removed.

Dr. Hunter after tabulating every occurrence of each sign appearing on this vast material has shown how the Brāhmi alphabet can be derived from the Indus script. He has found that strokes are applied to certain symbols in the Indus script on exactly the same principles as in the Brahmi script and with the same effect. Dr. Hunter also thinks that those scholars were not mistaken who connected Brāhmi with the South Semitic and Phoenician scripts because there is much evidence to show that those scripts also were derived from the script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro which may be called the Proto-Indian script. The Proto-Indian forms are in fact an important link in the history of the constitution of the alphabet from pictographic writing. (*The script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other scripts* by G. P. Hunter. Introduction by S. Langdon, 1934).

Dr. Hunter's theory has been accepted by Prof. Langdon, Hutton and many other scholars. It deserves to be accepted though the likeness of the signs belonging to the two systems cannot yet be shown to correspond with the identity of their phonetic values. (Diringer, *The Alphabet*, p. 329).

6. The only objection to this theory of tracing the origin of Indian Epigraphy to the Indus Valley script is that it was not kept alive during the intervening period of 2,000 years. Although it is not easy to fill up the lacunæ and meet the objection it can be said that the possibility of connection between the two scripts cannot be rejected categorically. The pre-historic cairn pottery dug out at Rajgir and Dornekal in the Hyderabad State and in several places in the Madura, Tinneveli, Bellary, Anantapur, N. Arcot, S. Arcot, Vellore, Chingleput, Nilgiris, Salem and Coimbatore Districts in Southern India contain some marks which are certainly letters of some sort and which seem to be the fore-runners of the Brāhmi characters. (E. H. Hunter in *Journ. Hyderabad Archl. Soc.*, July 1916, p. 183, *Ann. Rep.*, Hyderabad A. S., 1915-16, p. 1933; Yazdani, the same Report for 1916-17, p. 5). At least five of the marks are almost identical with those in the Brāhmi script. Similarly in these symbols, we see signs for expressing medial vowels as in Brāhmi

on one hand and in the Indus script on the other. The pottery pieces cannot be later than 1500 B.C. as they were associated with megalithic structures. It may also be pointed out that some signs like *damaru*, star, cross, etc., are found in prehistoric rock carvings on the Gombiguddai hill near Jamkhindi. (A.R. Kannad, R. I. Dharwar 1939-40, p. 21, pl. 3). Secondly, the Vikramakhhol (Rewa State N. I.) inscription assignable to 1500 B.C. also contains signs which are similar to those in the Indus script and in the Brāhmi script. According to Dr. Jayaswal this inscription whose characteristics seem to be those of the Brāhmi script supplies a link between the passage of letter forms from the Mohenjodaro script to Brāhmi. (I. A. 1933, p. 60 Pres. Add. Seventh Ori. Conf. p. 4). Dr. G. Piccoli also thinks that the Mohenjodaro script contains signs in common with the Vikramakhhol inscription. (I. A. 1933, p. 214). Some unknown rock carvings are found at Mansar near Ramtek. The presumption is that in these we have an example of writing of the folks who lived in M.P. before the Aryans. (J.B.O.R.S., 11.20.10.) Thus although the evidence of connection between the three scripts is extremely slender we have reason to believe that there was a sort of continuity in epigraphical traditions of the country. Since the Indus Valley records are the earliest, we can say that Indian Epigraphy originated in the Indus Valley period. Since a number of marked pottery pieces bearing a somewhat similar script are found in Southern India it is not impossible that similar finds may some day be discovered in future excavations in North India and the gap between 1500 B.C. and 400 B.C. may be filled. Under the present circumstances we can say that apathies of the people responsible for issuing inscriptions and destruction of those issued at times by the ravages of nature like floods, earthquakes, etc., might explain the absence of epigraphical records of the intervening period between the Indus Valley period and the Mauryan period.

7. Things continued to be in this way till the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. which seems to be specially responsible for the revival of Indian Epigraphy. Before the rise of Buddhism it was the specially trained Brahmin priest class alone who could do all the rites of religion for the welfare of their own and of all other classes who maintained them. Buddhism enjoined anybody and everybody to do pious deeds so that he may attain *nirvāṇa*

himself and bring welfare to all beings and not to depend upon the priest class for that. In Buddhism nobody because of his birth was prevented from becoming a monk or a nun. The kind of preaching infused in the masses a sense of self-elevation and facilitated their contact with the classes for religious purposes. In the orthodox system no one particular personality however religiously great was to be worshipped. Buddhism created a mentality of devotion to Buddha and his followers and of implicit faith in their words. The movement of devotion was spread among the masses. It attracted the casteless foreign immigrants to India so much that they left every thing of their old faith and flocked under the Buddhist standard. The religious discourses had, therefore, to be written down in the simple language of the people, and the age-long importance of Sanskrit for religious writings was intentionally ignored. The ordinary people could not commit to memory even those simple injunctions of religion as the Vedic Brahmins could do and thus began the free use of writing. From what we know of the Indian Society in the time of Buddha (558-478 B.C.), we feel no doubt that the people did as a general rule make use of written correspondence. In fact the Buddhist texts contain allusions to correspondence of letters in the time of Buddha. The new teachings of the Buddha with their popular appeal have long been recognised as the potent cause of the development of the languages of the people. Buddhist monks and nuns carried far and wide the gospel of the Enlightened One. There is no doubt that while the knowledge of writing may have favoured the diffusion of Jainism and Buddhism, these two religions, and especially the latter, contributed much to the diffusion of the knowledge of writing. (Diringer, *The Alphabet*, p. 334). The scope of Epigraphy was considerably widened.

Another thing is this. The Vedic sacrifices which formed the main religious rites of the orthodox Hindus required heavy expenditure and were only performed by a big sovereign or by many chiefs or wealthy persons in co-operation. So one man or a limited few could only expect to get the religious merit and had the chance of being eulogised. Practising penance was the course open for those Vedic Aryans who could not afford to perform the sacrifices. But Buddhism, encouraged anybody from the masses to contribute his mite towards religion by making votive offerings or by making

big or small constructions, without in any way bothering about the Vedic sacrifices or the hard penances. Whenever a man had made his contribution, he naturally wished to get it recorded somewhere in his name. The practice of making offerings, increased so much that even the Buddhist monks and nuns who could not really possess any money obtained it by begging and paid the cost of a rail or a pillar of a Buddhist stupa as we see at the Bharhut and Sanchi stupas. The Jain ascetics in the same way exhorted the laymen to make donations and to take care that the fact was mentioned in the votive inscriptions. In this way Indian Epigraphy initiated with an all-India outlook by Aśoka who thought Epigraphy was the best means of propagating religious ideas among the common people and who can therefore be said to be the father of Indian Epigraphy began to develop rapidly, specially due to the peculiar religious beliefs of the Buddhists which gave more opportunities for setting up inscriptions than those of the Brahmanical Hindus or even of the Jains. It would be seen that most of the early epigraphs are due to the urge to record gifts and are of a donatory nature and when the idea of putting down a record gained root, records for other purposes began to be issued.

It may be argued against the statement that Buddhism was responsible for the revival of Epigraphy that strictly speaking the edicts of Aśoka which speak of Buddhism are not the earliest epigraphical records but at least two or three records on the Eran coin, on the Sohgaura copper-plate and on the Mahāsthāna stone pillar are found which are earlier in date than the edicts of Aśoka, but which cannot be said to be Buddhist in nature. It may be replied that the very fact that such different kinds of epigraphical records were found shows that it was not an uncommon thing to issue inscriptions and secondly the fact that few inscriptions are found, shows that although writing had existed for a long time past as is evidenced by the development of the script, inscriptions began to be largely issued from this time and due to the influence of Buddhism only. What other thing than the spread of Buddhism which made the common people think of religion and make donations and get them registered in their own names to bring them religious merit must have been responsible for the revival of Indian Epigraphy?

Whatever may be the reason for the abnormally long silence of Indian Epigraphy in the pre-Mauryan period, when once it was broken the number of epigraphical records began to increase very rapidly in all possible ways. As a result of the ceaseless activities of the people in general and the interest of their innumerable rulers the collection of epigraphical records in India during the last twenty-five centuries has grown so enormously that it can very well be said that no other country in the world is so rich in the wealth of its epigraphical material.

From the mere signature of a Buddhist pilgrim on a rail of a stupa to the long edicts of the great emperor Aśoka in different parts of his vast empire bearing no signature of his, from an obscure notice of a poor villager who met his death in a cattle raid to the lengthy record of the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, who could get no sleep by his anxiety to protect his vast empire against the raids of the wild Hūṇas, from the memorial record of a *sati* to that of a fasting Jain Sadhu, from the Allahabad pillar inscription recording the victorious expedition of Samudragupta to the Kauśāmbi Yūpa pillar inscription recording the performance of a Vedic sacrifice, from a modern uncouth record of the digging of a well by a pious lady for the use of people and cattle and birds in a waterless tract, to the beautiful poetic *praśasti* of the Śaka Rudradaman describing the bursting by heavy floods of the ancient Sudarśana lake, from a few lines inscription on a small thin copperplate from Sohagaura recording the state provision of grain and fodder against famine days, to a long book-like inscription on fifty-five large sheets of copper weighing more than 216 lbs. found at a village near Tanjore recording a grant for the maintenance of a number of Brahmanas, from the mere mention of king Kubiraka in a Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription nothing of whose family is known to the elaborate panegyric Sanskrit poem or *mahākāvya*, of the Mahārāna of Udeypur recording in details the long history of the family, from a copy of the short but famous Buddhist creed formulae on a clay tablet to the copy of a little known Prakrit drama incised on very large stone slabs fixed in the walls of the Bhoja Śālā at Dhar and lastly from the Śivamahimna stotra inscribed on the temple wall at Amaleśvar on the Narmada to the text of a Nidānasūtra engraved on a copperplate found in the excavations at Kasia—all sorts of inscriptions on stone and metal, on clay and wood,

on cloth and palm leaf, in Brāhmi and Kharoshtri scripts and in Prakrit and Sanskrit, South Indian and further Indian languages and dating from the fourth century B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D. have been found throughout India and outside India where Indian culture and religion had spread. Some inscriptions are found to commemorate the deposit of Buddhist relics, others celebrate the virtues and exploits of the princes, some place on record the endowments to monasteries, *derāsaras* and temples and to the Buddhist monks, Jain Sadhus and Vedic Brahmanas while the purpose of others is purely secular. In short there is scarcely any conceivable topic, of public or private interest which is not represented by the Indian inscriptions. They supply most valuable evidence as to the political, social and economic condition of the people and the province to which they belong. They testify on the one hand to the restless activity of a military class and on the other to the stability of the institutions which were as a rule unaffected by military conquest.

## Yama and Yamī

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

Yama being acknowledged as the father of the human race in the *Ṛgveda*<sup>1</sup>, one may naturally ask, who is the mother according to the Veda? The *Ṛgveda* introduces her in the act of inviting Yama to procreate mankind. She is named Yamī, one equal to Yama in all, but female.<sup>2</sup> They are supposed to be the children of the same parents: "Gandharya in the floods, the Dance of Water — such is our most lofty kinship."<sup>3</sup> And both are described as having been conceived at the same time: "Even in the womb God Tvaṣṭar, Vivifier, shaping all forms, Creator, made us consorts."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly they are called twins. All the Basutos called Matoome and Matoomyan—the first man and the first woman, brother and sister.<sup>5</sup> In the same way according to Chinese tradition "one became two," viz. Yin and Yang.<sup>6</sup> In the *Yajur-veda* Yamī appears as both sister and wife of Yama.<sup>7</sup> The existence of the first human pair actually created by God is a universal belief in all traditions and legends throughout the world.<sup>8</sup>

The relationship of origin existing between the first parents of the human race was indeed something unique. The *Manu Smṛti* narrates that after the creation of the waters the Supreme Being placed an egg on them. From this egg, was born Nārāyaṇa, a male, also called Puruṣa "created by the eternal imperceptible First Cause" (He is also at times called Brahmā). After a number of details concerning the creation this male Brahmā divided his own body into two halves, one of which was a male (Puruṣa), and

1. Cf. my article on "The Personality of Yama in the *Ṛgveda*" in the *Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume*.

2. Sometimes Yamī is called Yamunā.

3. *Ṛg.*, X, 10, 4.

4. *Ibid.*, X, 10, 5.

5. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, I, p. 306 (London, 1822).

6. *Tao Te Ching*, II, 42.

7. *Maitrayaṇi Saṁhitā*, I, 5, 12; 81, 2.

8. Cf. Schmidt, *Primitive Revelation*, pp. 196-198 and 206 and also my forthcoming book *Fall and Rise*, Ch. XXIV.

the other a female named Virāj.<sup>9</sup> This is fully in agreement with the biblical account in *Genesis*: "Then the Lord cast a deep sleep upon Adam: and when he was fast asleep, he took one of the ribs, and filled up flesh for it. And the Lord God built the rib which he took from Adam into a woman and brought her to Adam."<sup>10</sup> We do not know for certain whether it was a rib of Adam that God built into a woman. It is admitted even by the orthodox biblical scholars that we owe some of these most ancient traditions of the Bible to the Sumerians.<sup>11</sup> Now the Sumerian ideogram TI (L) has the meaning of both 'rib' and 'life', a possible clue to the precise choice of the *ṣēlā*, "rib", from which Moses depicts God creating Eve.<sup>12</sup> In any case this word has not this meaning in other passages of Holy Writ. It only means "something from the side." Such is also the traditional meaning, that Eve was made "from the side of the man",<sup>13</sup> which is also in agreement with the iconographical tradition.<sup>14</sup> One thing is certain that the woman was made out of the living body of the first man,<sup>15</sup> which was also faithfully recorded in Indian tradition, as well as in Icelandic literature. Ymir, Yama's parallel hero of Northern Europe, the first man of the Icelandic people, is said to have slept very profoundly, and during his slumber a maiden and a child sprang up from under his armpit. Says the *Edda*:

"Under thee armpit grew  
Tis said of Hrim-thurs,  
A girl and boy together."<sup>16</sup>

9. *Manu Smṛti*, I, 8-32. Viraj is also the wife of Puruṣa according to *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, IV, 2, 3. Cf. *Rg.*, X, 9, 5. "Haec vocabitur virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est", *Gen.*, II, 23.

10. *Gen.*, II, 21-22.

11. Cf. Deimel, "The populo Sumerorum", *Verbum Domini*, I, p. 159.

12. Cf. Junker, *Die biblische Urgeschichte* mentlichen Offenbarung, pp. 41-44 (bonn, 1932).

13. Cf. Messenger, *Evolution and Theology*, p. 252 n.

14. Some Talmudist scholars maintain that when Adam was created he was endowed with a tail. God cut it off afterwards and thereof formed Eve. Eisenmenger, *Neuentdecktes Judenthum*, I, p. 365; Bartolucci, *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, III, p. 396. A Gipsy story of Spain echoes the same legend.

15. Cf. Reply of the Pontifical Biblical Commission of June 30th, 1909, No. 3 in *Rome and the Study of Scripture*, p. 85 (St. Meinrad, Ind., 1943).

16. Translation by Benjamin Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, I, p. 4 (1866). Myth had already built its fanciful work upon the original historical tradition by adding a child to the primitive maiden.

A legend of Madagascar also narrates the production of the first woman out of the body of the first man, though intermingled with the story of the first sin. They say that shortly after the first man disobeyed the command of God "a pimple appeared in his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl... He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men."<sup>17</sup>

Accordingly, Yājñavalkya, remembering the origin of the first human pair, used to say "Oneself (*sva*) is like a half-portion."<sup>18</sup> This unique creation of the first woman from the body of man has a mystical significance which is emphasized by St. Paul: "For the man is not of the woman, but the woman is of the man. For the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man."<sup>19</sup> Very wisely, therefore, Dr. Dandekar remarks after the study of all the Vedic passages concerning Yama: "Out of the pair of twins Yama alone remained as the first born progenitor of mankind."<sup>20</sup> For the man was indeed the head of the whole human race, including the first woman. This headship of the man over the woman is also indicated in the Indian tradition, which, though always styling Yama and Yamī as twins, it also records that Yama was the older of the two.<sup>21</sup>

Manu, the hero of the flood, is also spoken of in Brahmanic literature as being united with his only daughter Idā to reprocreate mankind after that great catastrophe.<sup>22</sup> We sincerely believe that this is an episode originally belonging to the history of Manu, the first man, which has afterwards been narrated as the history of Manu, the Flood Hero. In Purāṇic literature the daughter of Manu, the first man, is named Ilā.<sup>23</sup> Again, the *Rgveda* speaks of a daughter of Manu, apparently the progenitor of the human race,

17. Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Character*, p. 20.

18. *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3.

19. *I. Cor.*, II, 8-9.

20. Dandekar, "Yama in the Veda", *B. C. Law Volume*, I, p. 206.

21. Saunaka, *Bṛhaddevatā*, cited by Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, II, p. 529.

22. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 8, 1, 7-11.

23. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 1.

who bore him a score of children at a birth.<sup>24</sup> This daughter is named by the ṛṣi Parṣu, which name precisely means "rib."<sup>25</sup> There seem to be many reasons for identifying these three women Yamī, Idā and Parṣu. The fact that the two latter are said to be daughters not sisters of the first man is not a serious objection, for in any case the first woman was neither a daughter nor a sister of the progenitor of mankind; and the way how she was created, according to the Bible, the *Manu Smṛti* and the Icelandic tradition gives grounds to call her daughter rather than sister. Among the American Indians called West Algonquins the tribal ancestor actually "creates his wife;"<sup>26</sup> while according to those called Joshua he only "participates in the creation of his wife."<sup>27</sup>

In Iranian tradition the Avestic first man Yima has also a sister called Yimak or Yimeh from whom with him men are sprung.<sup>28</sup> Another tradition calls them Maschia and Maschiāna, who are said to have issued from the ground in the shape of a rubarb plant, which was first one, but which in course of time became divided into two.<sup>29</sup>

At a later period when the original historical tradition became obscure and the human mind was obfuscated by materialistic conceptions and pantheistic speculations, God himself wishing to have a companion, is described as splitting his own body resulting in a pair, male and female. The first time that this myth appears in Indian literature is in the *Rgveda* itself, in a passage, which undoubtedly belonged to the original story of the creation of the

24. *Rgveda*, X, 86, 23.

25. The Todas of the Nilgiris narrate that once En, the first man, thrust a stick into the earth from whence came eighteen hundred buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding the tail of a buffalo. En took a rib from the side of this Toda man and made a woman and from these two came all the Todas. Brecks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, p. 37.

26. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

28. Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, pp. 105-106.

29. Manhard, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbartstämme*, p. 7; Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, I, pp. 25-26. Another ancient tradition records that the first man was androgynous, male and female, who were cut asunder afterwards by God. Cf. Rappoport, *The Psalms in Life, Legend and Literature*, p. 203.

first woman, and which is now interpolated in the famous *puruṣa Sūkta*: "From him *Puruṣa* (i.e. originally the first man) *Virāj* was born; again *Puruṣa* from *Virāj* was born. As soon as he was born he spread eastward and westward over the earth."<sup>30</sup> We may note that the female *Virāj* is said to be born (*ajāyat*) from *Puruṣa*, as if she were his daughter; she in turn generates the *Puruṣa*, viz. not the same *Puruṣa* of whom she was born, but another one, another man, "who may be regarded as the symbol of further procreation."<sup>31</sup> That is the reason why it is said that after being born he, i.e., mankind, spread over the whole earth, eastward and westward.

A repetition of this version is found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, where again the *Puruṣa*, mythically described "as large as a woman and a man closely embraced", caused himself "to fall (*pat*) into two pieces, wherefrom arose a husband (*pati*) and a wife (*patnī*)." And it is significant what the text adds here: "Therefrom human beings were produced."<sup>32</sup>

In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* a similar description is given of the origin of mankind. While *Brahmā* was meditating upon what course he should follow to propagate the human species, his own form divided itself: one half became man and the other half became woman. The man was called *Manu* and the woman *Śatarūpā*, from whom all mankind have sprung.<sup>33</sup>

The *Rgveda* has kept a very ancient tradition concerning the first act of the procreation of the human race in the famous dialogue between *Yama* and *Yamī*, which has been discussed so many times and has been so often misunderstood.<sup>34</sup> According to it the first amorous proposals leading to the procreation of men came from *Yamī*. "The procreative instinct of the female is quite un-

30. *Rg.* X, 90, 5. The generation of the *devas* was also described after the pattern of this human generation in *Rg.*, X, 72, 4-5. Other parallelisms of *Yama* and *Yamī* may be seen in Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, p. 312.

31. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

32. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 3.

33. *Srimad Bhāgavatam*, III, 12, 51-56.

34. *Rg.*, X, 10. Bergaigne, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 96-98, on the supposition that *Yama* is the fire, gives a symbolic unreasonable interpretation of this otherwise obvious hymn.

mistakable there," says Dandekar.<sup>35</sup> "So may the Sage (Yama)," says Yamī, "come through the air's wide ocean, remembering the earth and days to follow, obtain a son, the issue of his father."<sup>36</sup>

Such is the first overture of Yamī, clear and unmistakable, that must be included in the first chapter of the history of mankind. This famous *sūkta* contains a most primitive erotic dialogue, by far more ancient than the *Rgveda*. The main argument of the hymn, says Macdonell "was doubtless the survival of an already existing myth of the descent of mankind from primæval twins."<sup>37</sup> And again: "The dialogue of Yama and Yamī is, as we have, been based on a still older myth."<sup>38</sup> From the literary point of view the dialogue, as it is, is "full of dramatic strength."<sup>39</sup> Owing to this, the hymn is qualified as "an early form of dramatic literature,"<sup>40</sup> or "a fertility drama from which the prudishness of the Vedic age has omitted the vital part of the union of the pair."<sup>41</sup> The hymn is evidently spoiled by the sophisticated Vedic *ṛsis*, with their scrupulous misunderstood code of ethics. The "great Law of Varuna and Mithra,"<sup>42</sup> invoked in the course of the dialogue could not but admit an exception in the beginning of the history of man. *Rta* precisely is *ṛta*, because it is universal. The proposal of Yamī was fully according to it. "The Vedic poet," says Dandekar, "has tried to make the ancient myth of Yama and Yamī a vehicle for a sermon on *ṛta*, moral law — but undoubtedly without success."<sup>43</sup>

The real original tradition seems to be contained in the odd *ṛks* that embody the overture of Yamī. She exposes her reasons in a masterly way: the divine expectations regarding the future of mankind,<sup>44</sup> their original union so ordained by the Creator,<sup>45</sup>

35. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, *et loc. cit.*

36. *Rg.*, X, 10, 1.

37. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 118.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

39. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 105.

40. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

41. Schroeder, *Mysterium and Mimicry*, pp. 275-276 Charpentier, *Suparnasages*, p. 99. (Cf. W. Z. K. M., XXIII (1909), pp. 118-119).

42. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama in its origin, Development Theory and Practice*, p. 19.

43. *Rg.*, X, 10, 4 and 6.

44. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

45. *Rg.*, X, 10, 3.

her own love,<sup>46</sup> the example of nature,<sup>47</sup> the destruction (*nirṛiti*) of mankind if her proposal is not accepted.<sup>48</sup> The even *ślokas* express the protest of Yama which "only reflects the moral scruples of the author of that hymn." The last words put in the mouth of Yamī do not seem to belong to the original piece of literature. The final issue of Yamī's erotic song was indeed quite successful. But the Vedic author could not countenance such a scandalous event. He wants to produce the impression that the incestuous union did never take place. Accordingly he makes Yamī despise Yama, as a feeble-minded person, incapable of doing anything by himself: "Alas! thou art indeed a weakling, Yama; we find in thee no trace of heart or spirit. As round the tree the woodbine clings, another will cling about thine girt as with the girdle."<sup>49</sup> Strong words, indeed, which though possessing great poetic effect are not complimentary to the head of the human race and cannot therefore reflect an early tradition. They are the product of a late sophisticated age. Hence we may conclude with Dr. Dandekar saying that "the real motif of that episode was therefore altogether changed and was presented in quite a different perspective."<sup>50</sup>

Owing, perhaps, to this impression they wanted to create that the supposed incestuous union did never take place, the sages of the Brahmanic period tell us that Yama and Yamī are both "of one mind with *nirṛiti* (destruction),"<sup>51</sup> this precisely being the word used by Yamī as an argument in favour of the intercourse.<sup>52</sup> Yet somewhat later in the same work the intercourse is clearly spoken of, though not void of unreasonable scruples: "He cohabited with her. From them men were born. She reflected: 'How does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear! She became a cow.'"<sup>53</sup> The prudishness of the Rgvedic *ṛsis* is still reflected in these words, though here pro-

46. *Ibid.*, 5.

47. *Ibid.*, 7.

48. *Ibid.*, 11.

49. *Ibid.*, 13. An echo of these words of Yamī is found in *Ath.*, VI, 8, 1, as a charm to win a maiden's love: "Like as the creeper throws her arms on every side around the tree, so hold thou me in thine embrace that thou mayst be in love with me, my darling, never to depart".

50. Dandekar, *op. cit.*, *et loc. cit.*

51. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 2, 1, 10.

52. Cf. above p.

53. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 4, 2, 5-7.

nounced by the woman. The man in this case does not seem to have felt any scruples. The story is also recorded though in a different way in another *Brāhmaṇa*: "He asked her: 'Who art thou?' She answered: 'I am she,' 'Verily, then, I am he. Let us two here have intercourse', 'No', he said, 'verily I find no one with whom I might have intercourse; let me have intercourse with thee' ..... He said: 'Verily this is a device; it will become the living people' ... Therefore is this device the living people."<sup>54</sup> These discrepancies once more detect the artificiality of these remarks and how far they are from the original tradition of early mankind. In point of fact, as Macdonell rightly remarks, "the attempt to clear Yama of the guilt of incest in *Rg. X, 10*, shows that the belief in that incest already existed."<sup>55</sup> Actually the *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā* of the black Yajurveda calls Yamī sister and wife of Yama.<sup>56</sup> The tradition of the intercourse is therefore very early.

Nor is the fact that Yama is spoken of as the son of Vivasvān<sup>57</sup> an objection against Yama's first parentage of men, for Vivasvān is not a human father. Also Manu is said to be the son of Vivasvān.<sup>58</sup> In another hymn the names of father and mother are given, viz. Vivasvān and Śaraṇyū:<sup>59</sup> while in this dialogue between Yama and Yamī the names are given as Gandharva and the Water Nymph.<sup>60</sup> Now Vivasvān or Gandharva is the Sun and the name of this Water Nymph seems to be Śaraṇyū. Both twins are said to be generated "in the floods."<sup>61</sup> i.e., in the waters of the firmament,<sup>62</sup> or more likely in the original cosmogonic sea of water wherefrom the whole creation was produced.<sup>63</sup> In point of fact,

54. *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I, 53, 4-8 (Oertel, pp. 130-131).

55. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 174. Cf. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 106.

56. *Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā*, I, 5, 12; 81, 2.

57. *Rg.*, X, 14, 1, 5; 1; 60, 10; 164, 2.

58. *Ibid.*, Valakhilya, 4, 1.

59. *Ibid.*, X, 17, 1-2.

60. *Ibid.*, X, 10, 4.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Cf. Ludwig, *Ueber die neuesten Arbeiten*, p. 107.

63. This is an opinion which is found in many Vedic works and even in some of a later period. Cf. *Taittiriya Samhitā*, VII, 1, 5 1; *Tittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 1, 3, 5; *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I, 56, 1; *Sathapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 1; etc.

man is described as formed from the waters in the passage of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* quoted above.

As regards Yama's filiation of Vivasvān, it is our considered opinion that in the beginning Yama was called "the son of Vivasvān" with no reference to the material Sun at all. Vivasvān was a name of God; even down to the period of the *Upaniṣads* God is invoked under denominations of the Sun.<sup>64</sup> To say that Yama was the son of Vivasvān has therefore the same meaning as when in the *Brāhmaṇa* period they affirmed that Parameṣṭhin, the first man, was the son of Prajāpati.<sup>65</sup> In the same way when St. Luke finishes the human genealogy of Jesus Christ, he says: "Chainan who was of Henos, who was of Seth, who was of Adam, who was of God,"<sup>66</sup> which is equivalent to stating that as Chainan was the son of Henos and Henos the son of Seth and Seth the son of Adam; so was also Adam the son of God. In the same way the *devas* were also called the offspring of Vivasvān.<sup>67</sup>

64. *Iṣa Upaniṣad*, 16.

65. *Satopatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 1, 6, 16.

66. Luke, III, 38.

67. Cf. Griffith, *The Hymns of the Rgveda*, I, p. 40.

## Mubārak Shāh

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In the previous article, Mubārak Shāh's reign in respect of events in the North-western Provinces has been described. The object of this article will be to record, critically, Mubārak Shāh's campaigns in (I) Rohil-Khand and the Doāb, (II) Gwālior, Miwāt and Bayāna and his relations with the rulers of the Provincial Dynasties. It ought to be realised from the previous narrative, that the attention of the Sultān was drawn more towards the Punjāb, than to any other part of the kingdom, because the Punjab was the danger-spot during his reign to a greater extent than it was during the reign of his father. He led fewer campaigns in the Doāb and Rohilkhand.

*The Sultān's Campaigns in Rohilkhand and Doāb, 1422.* In 826/1422, the Sultān crossed the Ganges to lead a revenue-collecting expedition in Rohil-khand, plundered the country-side and punished the rebels including Mahābat Khān, the hero of a rebellion in the Badāon Fort during the reign of his father. After receiving Mahābat's homage, the Sultān came to Doāb, plundered the Rāṭhōr areas and attacked the neighbourhood of Khōr (near Shamsabād,) held by the Panwārs.<sup>1</sup> Encamping for some days on the bank of the Ganges, he left Malik Mubārīz, Zirak Khān, and Kamāl Khān, at the Khor fort, in order to make the Rājputs law-abiding. He deputed Malik Khairuddīn Khān against Rāi Subir's son who had fled from Khizr Khān's court, and had, later on, rebelled. After the investment of Etāwa Fort, the Rāṭhōrs offered their submission. Having realised arrears of revenue from the

1. *Badāoni*, A.S.B., I, 291.

Doāb and Rohil-Khand he returned to Delhi and dignified Malik *Khairuddin*, by appointing him 'Ariz-i Mumalik.'<sup>2</sup>

*His second Rohilkhand Doāb campaign 1424.* The Sultān led his second and last campaign in Rohilkhand and the Doāb, in 824 Muḥarram/1424, and put Rāi Harsingh, who waited on him on the bank of the Ganges, in detention, for sometime, because of his accumulating three years' arrears of land revenue. He was released after payment of the amount in cash.<sup>3</sup> Crossing the Ganges, he punished other haughty chiefs of Rohilkhand, and chased them upto the Kumāūn-hills.<sup>4</sup> During the summer of the same year he marched along the courses of the Kālī Nadī, and crossed to Kanauj through Kāmpil. The news of an uprising in Miwāt, and the outbreak of a dreadful famine, prevented him from proceeding further.

*Miwāt, Gwalior and Ravānā campaigns.* The prevalence of a famine did not prevent the Sultān from under-taking a campaign towards Miwāt 828/1424, which had remained unsubdued during the reign of *Khizr Khān*. Its chiefs openly defied the Sultān, after his accession, by withdrawing their allegiance to him. The Sultān began the expedition, by destroying the country-side of the Meos, and driving them for safety to the Jhirka hills, one of their strong positions. The Sultān abandoned the siege because the fort was strong and there was an acute shortage of provisions.

*Miwāt Campaign 1425.* Next year, 829/1425, the Sultān renewed his Miwāt campaign. Malik Jallū (Jalal Khan) and Qaddū (Qadr *Khān*) grand-sons of Bahādur Nāhir *Khān*, evacuated their habitations and entrenched themselves in the Indōr Hills,<sup>5</sup> and when the situation became critical, they retreated to the Alwar hills.<sup>6</sup> Reduced to extremities, Qaddū *Khān* submitted and was put in confinement. While the Sultan remained encamped in the Alwar hills, his troops plundered the Miwātis, and destroyed their

2. Tār Mub Shāhi 201; Tab Akb I, 274. 'Ariz-i Mumalik is the abbreviation of the 'Ariz-i Lashkar-i Mumalik, the Master-Master and Pay-Master of the Army.

3. Tār Mub Shāhi 203.

4. Tār Mub Shāhi 203.

5. Indōr is mentioned in the Aīn, as one of the Mahāls of Tajjāra Sarkār. It contains a hill redoubt. Aīn II. Jarrett 192. It is now a ruined town in Alwar state, about 10 miles east of Tajjāra. Hodivala, Studies 405.

6. Tār Mub 204.

habitations. The Sultān marched back to Delhi without effecting the final subjugation of Miwāt, due to the shortage of provisions and difficulties of supply.

*The Miwāt Campaign of 1428, and the submission of the Khānzādās.* In Shawāl 831/1428, Mubarak Shāh ordered the execution of his prisoner, Malik Qaddū for his treasonable dealings with the Sharqīs, and deputed Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk to crush a fresh rebellion which had started in Miwāt in consequence of Qadr *Khān's* execution. The plains being devastated by the invading troops, the *Khānzāda* chiefs, Aḥmad *Khān* and Malik Fakhruddin, took refuge with their retinue in the Indor hills (in Miwāt). Being besieged and reduced to straits they offered submission and purchased their liberty by clearing the arrears of revenue. Two years later, in 833/1429, the Sultān himself led an army towards Miwāt for realising revenue. When the expeditionary force reached near Maṇḍawār,<sup>7</sup> the Miwātī leaders hastened to pay the arrears of revenue.

*Campaigns in Bayānā and Gwālior, 1426-29.* In 830/1426, Mubarak Shāh led an army to punish Muḥammad *Khān*, the revolted chief of Bayānā, who had murdered his uncle Mubarak *Khān* Karīm-ul-Mulk<sup>8</sup> a vassal of the Delhi court since 827/1423. Muḥammad *Khān* stood out the siege of the Bayānā Fort for 16 days, but the sources of his supply being cut off, he surrendered himself by tying his turban round his neck,<sup>9</sup> and handing over all his horses, arms, drums and other paraphernalia of sovereignty. He and his family were brought out to Delhi and lodged in the *Jahānumā* Palace of Sultān Firūz Shāh,<sup>10</sup> and the Vilāyat of Bayānā was split up into two parts, Bayānā proper and Sikri, given in charge of Malik Muqbil *Khān* and *Khairuddin* Tuḥfa respectively. The Sultān returned to the capital in Jamādi, I, 830, after easily realising rents and revenue from the Rājas of Gwālior, Thāngarh and Chandwār.

*Operations in Miwāt, 833/1429.* Malik Muḥammad *Khān*, soon

7. Placed by Abul Fazl, Aīn II, Jarrett, 192, in Alwar Sarkār.

8. Ferishta, I, Newalkishore, p. 165.

9. Ferishta 165, following Yahyā mentions about turban. Nizāmuddin (Tab. I, 276) and 'Abdul Bāqī (Maasir I, 415) have rope instead of turban which appears crude even to that less enlightened but chivalrous age.

10. Ferishta, Newalkishore, I, 165.

after, effected his escape from Delhi, fled to Miwāt and found asylum with his countrymen. With the support of the Zamīndārs of Bayāna, Muḥammad Khān made a surprise attack on the forces of Malik Muqbil and drove him straight to Delhi. The Sultān being displeased with Malik Muqbil for his incompetence, conferred Bayānā on Malik Mubārīz and deputed him to take the field against Muḥammad Khān. The Bayāna fort being tightly besieged by royal troops, with the country-side in full control of the latter, Muḥammad Khān fled, one night, from the back-door of the fort to seek asylum with Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr. The flight of Muḥammad Khān involved Mubārak Shāh in a war with Jaunpūr, then in the heyday of its power and glory. It was not till 833/1429, that Bāyāna was reconquered and its territories incorporated with the Delhi kingdom. But it appears that Muḥammad Khān was afterwards pardoned by Mubārak Shāh<sup>11</sup> and consequently the Auhadī family continued to reign as nominal vassals of the court of Delhi, as will be described later.

*Wars with rulers of independent Dynasties, 1422-1433.* Sultan Mubārak Shāh was involved in three wars with the rulers of independent dynasties, one with Hushang Shāh Ghōrī of Mālwa, the other with the Sharqī Sultān of Jaunpūr, and the third with the Sultāns of Gujrat.<sup>11a</sup> In 826/1422, Sultān Hushang Shāh Ghōrī, ruler of Mālwa led his forces for the capture of Gwālīor. When the Mālwa forces had effectively isolated the fort of Gwālīor, Mubārak Shāh as the liege lord of the Rāja, marched to its relief via Bayānā. Crossing the Chambal, a detachment of the royal troops under Khān-i 'Azam Nuṣrat Khān plundered the baggage of the Mālwis and scattered their forces after taking many prisoners. To avoid needless bloodshed,<sup>12</sup> the Mālwis were not closely pursued. On the next day peace was concluded on condition that Hushang Shāh retires from Gwālīor and Gagrangarh, and pays a ready indemnity. Both these conditions were promptly fulfilled, and Hushang Shāh retired to Dhār, and Mubārak Shāh to Delhi, after realising arrears of revenue from the Gwālīor Rāja.

11. Maasir-i Rahīmī I, 418.

11a. For these episodes vide the writers "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India in the 15th century", published in the Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum, No. 78, Vol. 26, p. 236 ff.

12. Tār Mub Shāhī, 208.

*War with Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, 1426-1427.*

Mubārak Shāh's operations against Muḥammad Khān, the Khānzāda chief of Bayānā, involved him in a very costly war. News of a Sharqī invasion of the Delhi territories was conveyed to the Delhi court by the emissaries of Qādir Khān, the semi-independent chief of Kālpī (Jalaon District, U.P.). The news of the attack and plunder of Bhongāon<sup>13</sup> was followed by the report of their advance on Badāon. Postponing his march towards Bāyānā, the Sultān deputed Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan ('Imād-ul-mulk) to oppose the vanguard of the Sharqī army under the command of Mukhlis Khān,<sup>14</sup> brother of Ibrāhīm Shāh, marching on Etāwa with one hundred thousand cavalry. Malik Maḥmūd was out-witted by the enemy. The Sharqī forces marching through the Doāb, succeeded in joining the main army under Ibrāhīm Shāh, by hugging the courses of the Kālī Nadi. It appears that Sultān Mubārak Shāh was on his way towards Bāyāna, for, we learn from histories<sup>15</sup> that he lost no time in crossing the Jumna from the Noh and Tappal side<sup>16</sup> and marching through the main high-way to the east (via Kōl), he punished the rebels of Atrauli and Jartauli, who, it appears, were helping the invaders.

*Battle of Burhānabād.*

The Sultān encamped near Burhānabād,<sup>17</sup> described as a dependency of Mārghara.<sup>18</sup> After an indecisive encounter, following a 24 days' encampment, the Sharqī forces retreat-

13. In Mainpuri Distt., U. P. on the Shikuhābād-Farrukhabād Section of the E.I.R. 7 miles NE of Mainpuri town.

14. Mukhlis Khān acc. to Ferishta, not Mukhtas Khan of Nizāmuddin.

15. Tabaqāt I, 277, and Tār Mub Shāhī, 208.

16. A Pargana town in Aligarh Distt., 31 miles W. by S. of Aligarh town.

17. I have not been able to identify this Burhānabād described as 'a dependency of Marghara', situated on the high road to the east. Till now, I accept the suggestion made by Dr. Ishtīaq Husain Qurēshī who hails from Patiali, that it might be Sikandra Rāo, a locality which was given this name during the reign of Akbar. This is very likely explanation for the sudden disappearance of Burhānabād which was not a small place, as is surmised from its frequent mention during the early medieval period.

18. Tār Mub Shāhī, p. 208.

ed during the night by fording the Jumna near Rāpri, and dashed towards Bayānā to install Muḥammad Khān there. The Delhi forces gave a close chase to the Sharqīs by crossing the Jumna near Chandwār, and entrenched themselves on the bank of the Gāmbhīr river within 8 miles of the enemy camp.<sup>19</sup>

*Battle of the Gāmbhīra, 1428 and the retreat of the Sharqīs.*

A pitched battle was fought after a 20 days' watching on 7th Jamādī 831/1428, lasting from mid-day till sunset, after which both the armies entered their camps without yielding any ground to their opponents. It must be admitted that Mubārak Shāh had the better of the fight in the sense that he had meanwhile drawn a huge reinforcement, under the command of Malik Sarwar-ul-Mulk, Malik-us-Sharq Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Khān 'Azam Faṭḥ Khān, son of Muẓaffar Shāh Gujrātī, Majlis-i 'Alā Zirak Khān, Malik Kālū Malik Aḥmad Tuḥfa and Malik Muqbil Khān. This over-whelming superiority in numbers enabled him to make up losses in casualties with a vast reserve in hand. The Sharqī forces were badly mauled. Consequently, the latter slipped off towards Jaunpūr via Rāpri. Mubārak Shāh chased the enemy upto the bank of the Jumna.

*Sultān marches to Bayānā to punish Muḥammad Khān.*

The Sultān preferred to divert his attention to Hatkānt,<sup>20</sup> the abode of the sturdy Bhadauria Rajputs, to collect revenue from its chief. He then marched to Bayānā to punish Muḥammad Khān, and compelled him to surrender after a seven days' siege. He was pardoned by the Sultān but he managed to fly to Miwāt to enlist the support of his clans-men. He was punished for this perfidy by the forfeiture of his Jāgīr. This exclusion of the Auḥadī dynasty seems to have been only temporary, for, soon after in his very reign, we find Maḥmūd Khān Auḥadī, son of Muḥammad Khān installed in Bayānā, perhaps as the result of a second amnesty by the clement Sultān.

*Loss of Nagaur, and its occupation by Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt 1432.*

In 836/1432, Nagaur, which had been attached to the so-called Saiyad Dynasty, since the time of Khizr Khān, was lost to

19. Tār Mub Shāhī; pp. 207-209.

20. In Bāh Tahsil, Āgra Distt.

Delhi, when it was captured by Sultān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujrāt. Busy as Mubārak Shāh was in fighting a life-and-death duel against the Khokhars, Mughals and Turk-bachchas, he could not succour a distant out-post like Nagaur. Firuz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandani who was an uncle of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh I (of Gujrāt), offered homage, and cash to Aḥmad Shāh, when the latter marched on him at the head of a large force. Aḥmad Shāh however retained him over Nagaur, but he placed Gujrātī garrisons in strategic places to ensure its control by the court of Gujrāt.

*Mubārak Shāh mobilizes to save Kālpī from Sharqī and Malvi attack.*

In 837/1433, during the year of Mubārak Shāh's death, news was conveyed by Qādir Khān, the chief of Kālpī to the effect that the Sharqī forces under Sultān Ibrāhīm and the Mālwa forces under Hushang Shāh, were both heading towards Kālpī. A strategic position like Kālpī, a stepping stone towards the east and the south could not be abandoned by a warrior-king like Mubārak Shāh. He was marching with a huge army for the succour of Kālpī, when his life was cut short by assassination. The circumstances are as follows :

*Circumstances of Mubārak Shāh's assassination 1433.*

It has been narrated in the previous pages, that Mubārak Shāh returned to Delhi, after a successful completion of a campaign against the Mughals and Khokhars, on the 10th Zilhaj, 836/Nov. 13, 1433. He busied himself in looking after the affairs of administration long neglected due to military pre-occupation. It appears that during the absence of the Sultān, Sarwar-ul-Mulk had tried to consolidate his position for an eventual usurpation of power. Under the pretext that "the duties of the wazir could not be discharged satisfactorily by Sarwar-ul-Mulk," the Sultān had put the Department of Ishraf which involved an overall supervision of the administration in charge of Kamal-ul-Mulk, but retained Sarwar in the control of the finances, and gave orders that both he and Sarwar should decide matters jointly. And since Kamal-ul-Mulk was the more intelligent of the two and was a favourite of the Sultān, he secured an upper hand in all spheres of administration. Sarwar took offence at this lack of the Sultān's confidence.

*Assassination of the Sultān at the mosque of Mubārakabād.*

He bore malice and swore vengeance, and made up his mind to reverse the new arrangement, by hook or crook. He took to his confidence, the sons of Gangū and Gājū Khattrī, who from the time of their fore-fathers, had been favoured by the kings of this dynasty and also Mirān-i Sadr, the Naib-i 'Arz-i || Mumalik, Qāzī 'Abdus Samad, the Khās Hājib. They were on the look out for an opportunity. It was the habit with the Sultān to pay frequent visits to the city of Mubarakabād,<sup>20a</sup> which he had founded on the bank of the Jumna in 830/1426, to supervise the construction works. On the eve of conducting a campaign to succour Kālpī from a threatened attack by the Mālwa and Jaunpur forces, the Sultān found time to pay a visit to his favourite Mubārakabād, to direct constructions. As he entered the chief mosque of the city, with a handful of guards, to offer Friday prayer on the 9th Rajab, 837/Feb. 19, 1434, Mirān Sadr scattered the guards by a cunning devise and Sidhāran Gangū with his following stood at the entrance ostensibly to keep guard but really to prevent succour reaching from outside. The Sultān, as could be expected, did not suspect any foul play. And as he was entering the mosque, Sidhpāl, the grand-son of Gājū Khattrī, struck his sword on the Sultān's head, so that "the blood of his life ran out".<sup>21</sup> His tomb stands on an octagonal stone-paved Chabutra in the centre of an enclosure surrounded by embattled rubble walls in the centre of the village of Mubārakpūr-Kōtla. Sultān Mubārak Shāh reigned for 17 lunar years and 20 days (16 years, 8 months and 29 days by solar calculation).<sup>22</sup>

20a. The city of Mubarakabad of which not the slightest trace now remains is supposed to have been founded near Khizrābād in the village known as Mubārakpūr Reta. Zafar Hasan, A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 23.

21. Tār Mub Shāhī, 235.

21a. For full description see Zafar Hasan's A list of Mahammadan and Hindu Monuments, Vol. IV, No. 41. The tomb is occupied by villagers, a few of the houses being built on its stone-paved Chabutra.

22. Hodivala, [Studies 410], and Nelson Wright are inclined to put his reign upto 839/1436, on the basis of coins found after 837 H.

*Character of Sultān Mubārak Shāh; his vigilance and death.*

No Muslim historian, not even the author of Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī, has given a single paragraph to describe the character of Sultān Mubārak Shāh. All that we get in this regard in Persian sources, is a sentence here or an allusion to a certain trait there. Fortunately we have enough material to form a sufficiently accurate analysis of this Sultān's character. He was undoubtedly the ablest ruler of his line. He was fond of an active and vigilant life, passed the greater portion of his time on the battle-field, neither caring for the inclemency of the elements, nor the resources of a powerful enemy. His personal initiative and dash enabled the Sultanate to tide over many crises, such as the invasion of his territories by the Khokhars, the Mughals and the Sharqīs. When occasion demanded, he poured the entire resources of the kingdom, against a determined enemy, and swept him clean by sheer force of number.

*His kindness, avarice, cruelty, mistrust.*

Kind hearted and benevolent by nature, he was a cherisher of his people, and extremely clement to a fallen foe. But he had his weakness too. He was avaricious and a little too fond of wealth, for it was his avarice which caused the rebellion of Fūlād Turk-bach-cha, in Tabarhind, when he demanded a portion of the huge treasures left by Saiyad Sālem of Amrōha. Then again, his revenue-collecting expedition in the Doāb and in Miwāt at times of famine and severe scarcity of provisions, cannot be supported by any ethics. In Miwāt and Bayānā and at least once in Gwālīor, his soldiers sacked towns and the country-side, almost before the eyes of the Sultān, and perhaps at his orders. And this was one of the reasons as to why the Miwātīs bore such a bitter hatred towards Delhi, with which they were not prepared for a reconciliation under any condition. And secondly suspicion gained the uppermost in his dealings with governors and military officers. Though it cannot be denied that it is a good thing to prevent the provincial governors and army officers accumulate power, by staying in one place for too long a time, it cannot be denied that many of the needless and irritating shifts of officers who deserved recognition for their services in the defence of the country, were unjustifiable. The Sultān was a diplomat of the first rank in addition to his being an intrepid warrior and a good general. But a diplomat often gets entangled

in his own net. His suspicion of Sarwar's designs, and the half-way solution of dividing the powers and responsibilities of the Wazir cost him his life. He ought to have acted with more firmness and strength, by curing the ill by the imprisonment or removal of the cunning and designing Sarwar.

*Command over army and eye over strategic positions.*

What testifies to the greatness of the Sultān is the manner and extent to which he kept the army in control, in an age of mercenary soldiery. Though a very nominal personal army of the Sultān seems to have been in existence, on every occasion when necessity demanded, he drew on the feudal army on a very large scale, and there is not a single instance of hesitation, desertion or insubordination. Huge armies each under its own chief moved at his bidding like pieces on a chess-board, and even insufficient recognition of merit, did not prompt any war-lord to adopt a policy of defiance or open rebellion. It was his policy to keep an argus-eyed vigilance over the strategic frontier out-posts and to keep the forts in the marches well-supplied with fighting men and well-stocked with provisions. Kanauj or Kālpī, Bayānā, Lāhore, Dīpālpūr and Multān always attracted the attention they deserved. It was this factor, as we have seen, which enabled him to stem the Mughal and Sharqi tide and keep the ship of state afloat. To a student of military history, the defences of the North-western border, and Multān and Dīpālpūr in particular, will always go to his credit and serve as an illustration as to how the western frontier can be protected without protruding the defence belt in the hilly areas and mountain passes.

*Lack of bigotry.*

Though a great observer of the Sharia, fairly punctilious in the observance of prayers, he was not a bigot. Modern historians who have painted him in the colour of an iconoclast have done him injustice. There is not a single instance of his harsh or partial treatment towards a non-Muslim on account of his being so. The victims of his cruel rent-collecting expeditions were Hindus and Muslims alike. I have already cited the example of Miwāt where resistance was being offered by the Muslims and the same holds true of Bayānā. He did not come to settlement with Hushang

Shāh of Mālwa to divide Gwālior between two Muslim sovereigns.<sup>23</sup> When Hushang Shāh led his army for its conquest from the Tonwārs, he led an army to protect a Hindu vassal. To cite one more example, it has been established in the earlier narratives that several Khattrī families of Delhi were attached to his court and had been favoured by the Sultān and trusted by him and his father.

*His love for fine arts and of architecture.*

It is difficult to say authoritatively to what extent Mubārak Shāh was a patron of the learned, but it is established beyond doubt that he was a man of refined tastes, and a lover of fine arts, and of architecture especially. In 830/1426, he had founded a new Delhi on the bank of the Jumna and named it Mubārakabād, and spared no pains and lost no opportunity, to pay visits to it and supervise its new constructions. That the city possessed a Juma mosque testifies to the fact that it had grown up into a fairly big town.

It must be said in his favour that he kept in tact territories handed over to him by his father. But for his readiness and resourcefulness, the dynasty would have come to an earlier end before the combined onslaught of the Khokhars and Mughals. It will not be too much to say that he delayed the Mughal occupation of India by a century.

"He was a wise monarch of laudable traits", says Ferishta, "and a lover of justice, and during the whole course of his reign, no abuse or vulgar words passed from his lips. . . . He investigated all affairs of the state himself".<sup>24</sup>

*To be continued.*

23. Tār Mub Shāhi, 202. Tab Akb III, 298.

24. Ferishta, Newalkishore I, 169.

## Reviews

**THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VELLAR BASIN—By Dr. M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Dedicated to Lt.-Col. Sri A. L. Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University. Forward by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Printed at the National Art Press with 3 plates and 2 maps and published by Amuda Nilayam Ltd., Madras 1954. Price Rs. 8.**

This publication is the outcome of a thesis submitted by the author for his Ph.D. Degree and it is a study of the origin and early history of the Vellalars, one of the major castes of the Tamil Nad. The connection between the Vellar Basin and the Vellalars may not be apparent. The Irukkuvels (Velir), according to the author, are found gathered together roughly in the basin created by the Vellar, of which an old Tamil poem mentions two as forming the Southern and the Northern boundaries of the Early Chola Kingdom. The Vels or Velirs being the originators of the Vellalars, the author holds that the history of the Vellar Basin reveals also the history of this influential caste.

The thesis has been prepared under the inspiring guidance of the Rev. Heras, S.J. The introduction briefly describes the sources of information and emphasizes the general importance of the subject. The main book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the early history of the Vellar Basin. The Gangetic origin of the Vels and the Tamil poet Kapilar's statement about their origin are discussed in full. The chronology of the early Vels and the date of their southern migration, including the route taken by them, are next indicated. It is said that six prominent families of the early Vels are known to have existed during the Sangam period and that one of them was the family of Irukkuvels.

The second part is a detailed study of the Irukkuvels of Kodum-balur based on a careful investigation of the Muvar Koil inscriptions. The result is embodied in five chapters (Chapt. V-IX). A genealogy of the Irukkuvels is constructed and the achievements of some of them are then narrated.

It is surmised that the Irukkuvels had come to stay in the south at least as early as the Sangam period (i.e. 2nd cen. A.D.), and that one of them was attempting to establish his rule in the South. This ruler is taken to be Irungovel mentioned in Pattinapalai (line 282) and Ahananooru (36). Madurai-Kanchi also makes an implied reference to this Vel while describing the battle of Talaiyalangam. He formed a confederacy with Ezhini and other chieftains and with Krumbers (identified by some with Pallavas) who wielded great power and influence. As the leader of this confederacy, he fought with Karikala and Nedunjeliyan of Talayalangam fame.

An Irukkuvel of a later period vanquished a Pandya, probably with the help of the Pallavas and established his rule at Kodumbalur. From him, 10 successive rulers are mentioned and the approximate period of their rule is stated to be from A.D. 435 to A.D. 765, giving an average of 30 years to each of them. This period is roughly identified with what the historians call the period of 'Kalabhra Interregnum.' The author discusses the various views regarding the identity of the Kalabhras. But whoever they are, the Irukkuvels, it is said, remained comparatively unaffected by their impact. The question whether the Kodumbalur Irukkuvels belong to a new family or to the old family of Velirs is left undecided, though the writer inclines to the view that they are of a different family.

Paradurgamardhana, the 7th in the line, is mentioned in the Kodumbalur inscription as having conquered Vatapi, and this, it is held, furnishes a definite date on which the Kodumbalur chronology may rest. Samarabhirama, his successor married a Chola princess and he is said to have defeated a Chalukya. The author identifies the latter with Pulakesi. Bhoothi Vikrama Kesari, his successor, is responsible for the inscription. This Vikramakesari routed the Pallava army on the banks of the Kaveri, defeated Virapandya in battle and destroyed a certain Vanchi Vel. Much ingenuity is shown in identifying the Chalukyas, the Pallava and the Vanchivel.

Next, the relationship between Irukkuvel and the Muttaraiyans who came into prominence just about this period are discussed in full. The importance of Irukkuvels as Royal Officers and

the nature of the Public service they rendered form the subject-matter of two sections. Their power as generals and their influence in shaping the foreign policy of Cholas are dealt with in two more sections. The ninth chapter narrates the events which led to the downfall of the Irukkuvels. A new line of chieftains by the name Pallavarayar were taking their place in the Chola service. The Cholas themselves declined about this period. Internal troubles and the arrival of foreign powers completed the end of the Irukkuvels' glory.

The last chapter deals with the influences of the Irukkuvels on society, on administration, and on art and architecture.

The above is a brief summary of the contents of the book. The author gives us a lucid account of a subject, obscure but important. His method of presentation is commendable. The book is an exhaustive treatment of all questions relating to Irukkuvels' history. We are glad to find that no relevant matter is left untouched. But there are several points which need further consideration and further proofs. With regard to some, it may not be possible to agree with the author.

In the introduction, a stray, fugitive stanza beginning with கடல் கிழக்கு ' and ascribed to Kambar, is taken as evidencing the existence of the Velirs round about the Vellar Basin during the Sangam period. This shows that scant regard is paid to chronology. A hazy notion that the Velir and the Vellar are somehow connected seems to be at the bottom of this view. In the first part of the book, the author depends mainly on legends. The Vels are said to have arisen from the sacrificial pit of a northern sage (Puram 201). The vellalars on the other hand are said to be the sons of the Ganges, perhaps on the basis of a popular derivation of the word from Vellam meaning water. This difference in the origin must put us on our guard in identifying Vels and Vellalas. The first, no doubt, appears in the Sangam Period; but there is no mention of the Gangaputra legend in any of the Sangam works. Moreover this second legend arose far later in date and most probably it is not much earlier than Tondaimandala Satakam (18th century). The evidence of Pliny and Ptolemy to the contrary, adduced by the author must be examined more closely. The reference seems to be incorrect. Besides, the term Vellala itself is not found in Sangam literature. There is a possibility of a different

origin of the word and if this origin is the correct one, then even the partial similarity in south does in no way help the identification. So the author's proposed origin of Vellalas rests on the quicksand of conflicting legends, one of them hardly two centuries old. We may legitimately conclude that this portion of the thesis remains unsatisfactory.

The existence of the Irukkuvels during Sangam Period is another surmise. There is no mention of any Irukkuvel in Sangam literature and we find references only to Irungovels. The latter means the great Royal family of Vels and it is a far cry from this to Irukkuvel. The author himself admits that the Irukkuvels who set up his rule at Kodumbalur might have belonged to another family.

The chronology of the Irukkuvels is also constructed on a series of doubtful identifications, the corner-stone being Paradurgamardana's claim as the conqueror of Vatapi. As the author puts it, this conquest has become a regular storm-centre of controversy between the historians. If the author's view be correct, then Kodumbalur would have been made capital of the Irukkuvels about the first half of the fifth century A.D. But there are reasons to hold that the city itself was founded centuries later. The Sangam literature has nothing to say about it. Its earliest mention appears in\* *Silappadikaram*. (XI, 7) and scholars tend to

\* *Silappadikaram* is indebted to *Bharata Natya Sastra*, *Panchatantra* etc.; it quotes from *Palamoli*, *Nanmanikadikai* etc.—all works of the 8th century; it adopts later legends such as the story of *Manu-Niti-kanda Chola*, *Pandya* wearing *Indra's* necklet; it contains stories in forms much developed from their originals in Sangam works; it refers to sacred shrines such as *Thiruvengadam*, *Srirangam* etc., which attained religious importance only during the period of *Vaishnava Bhakti* cult in the *Tamilaham*; it mentions the local dance of *Sakkaiyar Kuttu* found only in inscriptions of the 10th century A.D.; it shows an advanced knowledge of astrology, and mentions the five elements, *Panchangam*; it refers to *Bangala*, a late form of *Vanga*, found in inscriptions of 9th century A.D.—all these are evidences which militate against the view that *Silappadikaram* belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D. The highly developed metres of this *kavya*, the late words, the late forms of words such as *nam*, *un*, *inda*, etc., the late case-terminations, the late infixes and suffixes of verbs and the increased percentage of *Sanskrit* words—are all pointers in the same direction and leave us little in doubt as to the date of this great classic.

the view that this *kavya* has to be assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.D. It follows therefore that the foundation of *Kodumbalur* may not be much earlier than the 8th cent. A.D. In this view, the author's chronology of the Irukkuvels might require considerable alteration and, more probably, Mr. Venkayya is right in his conclusion regarding this.

Such controversial matters apart, the book is a welcome addition to our historical series. It is a valuable contribution towards the study of the little-known Irukkuvels of *Kodumbalur*.

S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI.

THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM OF MAGADHA (circa 455-1000 A.D.) by Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, with a Foreward by Dr. L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.Litt. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Patna, 1954. Pages 481 with plates.

As pointed out in my *Tribes in Ancient India* (Chap. XLVI) *Magadha* occupied an important position in very early times. King *Bimbisāra* was the real founder of the *Magadhan* Imperial power. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the two neighbouring states of *Kośala* and *Vaisālī*. His marriage paved the way for the expansion of *Magadha* both westward and northward and enabled him to add a portion of *Kāśī* to his dominions and to launch *Magadha* on that career of conquest and aggrandisement which only ended when *Aśoka* sheathed his sword after the conquest of *Kalinga*. One of his sons *Ajātaśatru* succeeded not only in permanently annexing *Kāśī* but also in absorbing the land of the *Licchavis*. *Udāyi Bhadda* succeeded his father *Ajātaśatru* on the throne and reigned for 16 years. The successors of *Udāyi Bhadda* were *Nandivardhana* and *Mahānandin*. *Śiśunāga* was made king and he reigned for 18 years and was followed by his son *Kālāśoka* who reigned for 28 years. *Kālāśoka* had 10 sons who ruled for 22 years. Then came in succession the nine *Nandas* who took possession of the throne of *Magadha* and are said to have reigned for 22 years. The *Nanda* dynasty was overthrown by *Chandragupta Maurya* with the help of his minister *Kauṭilya*. He

was succeeded by his son Bindusāra who, according to the *Purāṇas*, reigned for 25 years. After Bindusāra came his son Aśoka who reigned without coronation for 4 years and then consecrated himself as king in the city of Pāṭaliputra. He assumed the title of *Devānampiya* and loved to speak of himself as *Devānampiya-dasi*. He was at first called Caṇḍāsoka on account of his evil deeds; but he became known as Dhammāsoka on account of his meritorious deeds. During the first 13 years of his reign Aśoka appears to have followed the tradition of Maurya policy of expansion within India and of friendly co-operation with foreign powers. The annexation of Kalinga like that of Aṅga by Bimbisāra, was a landmark in the history of Magadha and that of India. Aśoka's change of religion after the Kalinga war, resulted in a change of the monarch's internal as well as foreign policy. He renounced once for all the old policy of violence, of conquering peoples, suppressing revolt by force, and annexing territory. This change of policy darkened the political horizon of the Magadhan empire in its heyday. Magadha before Bimbisāra was merely a tiny state in south Behar. During the interval from the time of Bimbisāra to the Kalinga war of Aśoka it expanded to a gigantic empire from the foot of the Hindukush to the borders of the Tamil country. After the Kalinga war the political destiny of Magadha was reversed. The empire gradually became smaller and smaller till it sank to its pre-Bimbisarian area and position. Brihadratha the last king of the Maurya dynasty was treacherously murdered by his commander-in-chief Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who established himself on the throne and set up the Śuṅga dynasty. The last of the Śuṅga monarchs named Devabhūti was overthrown by his minister Vāsudeva Kāṇva. At the beginning of the 4th century A.D. the Magadhan monarchy again rose into prominence under the Guptas. The first independent sovereign was Chandragupta, son of Mahārāja Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, and grandson of Mahārāja Gupta. Like Bimbisāra he strengthened his position by a matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. His son and successor Samudragupta often felt pride in describing himself as a son of the daughter of the Licchavis (*Licchavi-dauhitra*). It was the aim of Samudragupta to bring about the political unification of India and to make himself the sole sovereign over this united empire. He made the rulers of the *Āṭavikarājyas* (forest-kingdoms) his servants, led an expedition to the south, and made his power felt by the

powerful rulers of eastern Deccan. The most important among the eastern kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta Emperor were Samatāṭa, Davāka and Kāmarūpa. The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th century comprised all the most populous and fertile provinces of northern India. It extended from the Brahmaputra on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. Beyond these wild limits the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta as well as those on the southern slopes of the Himalayas and the free tribes of Rajputana and Malwa were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance, while almost all the kingdoms of the south were overrun by the Emperor's army and compelled to acknowledge his suzerainty. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II who assumed the title of Vikramāditya. He was also called Siṃhachandra and Siṃhavikrama. He was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. The greatest military achievement of Samudragupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian sea through Malwa and Gujrat and his subjugation of the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra or Kathiawar governed by the Śaka satraps. As a result of the western expedition Malwa and Saurāṣṭra were added to the Gupta dominions. Another event of political importance was his matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭaka kings of the Deccan by the marriage of the Emperor's daughter Prabhāvatī with king Rudrasena II, son of Prithivīśena I. Smith finds it reasonable to believe that in the 5th century A.D. Ayodhyā rather than Pāṭaliputra was the premier city of the Gupta empire. Detailed information regarding the administration of the Magadha empire under Chandragupta II is not available. But the narrative of Fa-Hien and the hitherto discovered inscriptions throw much light on the character of his administration, and on the social and religious condition of India at that time. After Chandragupta II the Gupta power in Magadha was temporarily eclipsed by the Puṣyamitras. Then followed the Hūna invasion in which Skandagupta was, according to some, presumably victorious but according to others, was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners. But the Magadhan empire did not wholly perish on the death of Skandagupta. It was ruled by Puragupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumāragupta

II and Budhagupta. Then the imperial line passed on to a dynasty of 11 Gupta princes known as the later Gupta monarchs of Magadha. The Gupta empire continued to exert sovereign rights in the latter half of the 5th as well as the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. In the first half of the 7th century A.D. Śrīharṣa, the great Kanauj monarch, overshadowed the Gupta power which was revived by Ādityasena who assumed the titles of Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. Ādityasena and his successors as proved by Aphṣad and Deo-Baranark inscriptions were the only north Indian sovereigns who laid claim to the imperial dignity during the last quarter of the 7th century A.D., and appear actually to have dominated Magadha and Madhyadeśa. The last king of the line of Ādityasena was Jivitagupta II who reigned early in the 8th century A.D. About this time the throne of Magadha was occupied by a Gauḍa king named Gopāla. Then the great Magadhan empire decayed politically, being included in the Gauḍa empire of the Pālas and Senas, but it continued to remain the centre and headquarters of Buddhist learning upto the time of the Mohammedan conquest at the close of the 12th century A.D, when the monasteries with well-stocked libraries were reduced to ashes. The author has done justice to these points in his book covering the period from the 5th century to the 11th century A.D.

The author has chosen an interesting subject. He says in his *Preface* that his work is substantially the thesis approved by the University of London for Ph.D. degree, and he further says that he is indebted to Dr. Barnett who has not only supervised his study and given him numerous valuable suggestions, but has taken great pains to go through every line of the book. This book contains 15 chapters with an introduction. The introduction deals with the location of Magadha and its importance in the early history of India. He refers to Magadha as one of sixteen *Mahājana-padas* mentioned in early Buddhist literature. Then he has said something about the Nandas, Chandragupta and Aśoka, the Śuṅgas, the Kānvas, the Kuṣāṇas and the Imperial Guptas. In page XVI the author ought to have said something about the fields of Magadha in connection with agriculture. The *Vinaya-piṭaka* (I. p. 287) distinctly says that they were well-divided for the purpose of cultivation. Paddy was destroyed by deer, which used to come to the fields during harvest. The Magadhas devised various means to

kill them (*Jātaka*, I, 143; 1.154). He ought to have supplied the reference to the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyāna*. It should be 10th svarga, 37th śloka. It is undoubtedly an exaggeration when the author says that from the *Jātakas* we learn that Magadha was full of big merchants and bankers. I do not find much in the *Jātakas* to support this statement. Regarding conch-shells no reference is given. It should be *Jātaka* VI, 465 (*Māgadhasaṃkhā* = *Magadharatṭhe sañjātā saṃkhā*). It is a pity that no reference is given to the Magadhan banker named Saṃkha who possessed 80 koṭis of riches. It is found in the *Jātaka* I, p. 466—*Seṭṭhi ahosi asitikoti-vibhavo Saṃkha-seṭṭhīti*. In page XVII the author says that according to Yuan Chwang, Magadha was a country of rich soil and luxuriant crops. Similarly no reference is given. It should be Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 86. He could give us a little more information about the special variety of rice. It had extraordinary savour and fragrance, called by the people 'the rice for grandees.' The author has quoted my book, *The Magadhas in Ancient India* with no page-number. It is page 29. He has distorted the fact stated in my above book regarding the houses of merchants. It should be 36,000 houses of merchants and not 3,600. The author should note that there were 36,000 houses, half of which belonged to the Buddhists and the other half to the Jainas. There are several printing mistakes and some serious mistakes too. There was no such village as *Ratthigāma*. It should be *Hatthigāma*. The quotation from Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* (pp. 103-104) needs verification. Where does the author get 'east' instead of 'coast'? Where does he get from? In the *Preface* the author says, 'In spite of my care there are some proof mistakes in the book.' The author ought to know that I am pointing out only the serious mistakes and avoiding such mistakes as *Sehavya* in place of *Setavya*, *Patitthana* in place of *Patitṭhāna*, *Savatthi* in place of *Sāvattṭhī*. The chapter I deals with the death of Kumāragupta I and accession of Purugupta. This chapter is interesting and well-written. But I must point out that there are some references which are wrong. In page 3 reference No. 5, in page 19 reference No. 1, and in page 46 reference No. 4 should be verified. The part played by Skandagupta and Kumāragupta II in Magadhan expansion in chapter 2 is quite readable. All that is said about Budhagupta in chapter 3 and his successors in chapter 4 may be read with interest. But

there are some blemishes here and there which need the attention of the author. In page 73 reference No. 1 is wrong; it should be p. 501 instead of p. 365. The reference No. 2 is also wrong; the page number is 111 and not 115. In page 78, the reference No. 3 is wrong and the quotation is incorrect. In page 105 reference No. 8 is incorrect; reference No. 3 is also wrong; in page 106 references Nos. 1 and 3 are wrong. We can gather this much from Smith's *Early History of India* (4th Ed. p. 128) that from the time of Chandragupta Pāṭaliputra was surrounded by a broad and deep moat filled from the waters of the Sona river. I request the author to verify his statement in page 107 of his book. The reference No. 9 is incorrect. In page 110 *Sung Yun* should be *Song Yun* (vide Smith's *Early History*, p. 374, f.n.1). In page 112 the reference No. 4 about the *Records* is wrong. In page 125 the quotation No. 5 is not accurate.

The chapter V dealing with the later Guptas (circa 500-600 A.D.) is informative and useful. In this chapter the author relying on the authority of Raichaudhury says that in the time of Ādityasena Magadha replaces eastern Malwa as the chief centre of Gupta power. He has quoted PHAI, 4th Ed. pp. 492-493, which do not contain this fact. It is in a footnote on page 493. The history and chronology of the later Guptas treated in chapter VI refer to two important points to which the author has already drawn our attention: the contemporaneity of Īśānavarman Maukhari and the Gupta king Kumāragupta and the synchronism of Mādhavagupta with Harṣavardhana the king of Kanauj. In page 160 of the book under review there is nothing in the *B.C. Law Volume I*, p. 25, to support the author's contention that in Malwa Yośodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana came into power. His rise may not be as meteoric as generally supposed. In page 179 the author should verify the quotation from my book *Ancient Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 41. Magadha under the Imperial Maukharis in chapter VII and Magadha under the Gauḍas in chapter VIII are, on the whole, useful, although there are some inaccuracies here and there. In page 215 *Rāḍhapurī* should be *Rāḍhāpurī*. The reference No. 2 is wrong. The page number is 509 and not 508. The author's dissertation on Magadha under Śaśāṅka has thrown much light on the subject. In page 226 f.n.3 the quotation is not accurate. In page 253 the footnotes 2 and 3; in page 254 the footnote No. 3; and

in page 258 the footnote No. 2 are all wrong. In page 259 the author is quoting Yuan Chwang who observes that in Kārṇasuvarṇa there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries and not ten only as pointed out by the author. The fact should be correctly stated in a learned and scientific work.

Magadha under Pūrṇavarman and Harṣa, which forms the chap. IX of the book, reveals the fact that the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha was Pūrṇavarman according to Hiuen Tsang. Harṣa's rule existed not only in Magadha but also it was extended to the countries east of Magadha. He was also the ruler over a large part of Bengal. In page 264 footnote No. 3 needs verification. In page 269 f.n. 3 the author refers to 80 towns which should be 80 large towns. In page 275 f.n. 2 the quotation from Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 173 is totally wrong. In page 275 f.n. 4, 400 li should be above 400 li. In page 276 f.n. 4 I have failed to trace the reference to Watters, II, p. 322. In page 324 of Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Matipura occurs and not Mātīpura. In page 277 f.n. 5 references to C.A.G.I. p. 648 and pp. 159-160 are wrong. The author should verify the reference to Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 196-197. I have noticed tens of towns instead of tens of thousands of towns. The chap. X deals with the history of Magadha under the restored later Guptas (from cir. 647-725 A.D.). The account of Ādityasena is very interesting. In page 296 f.n. 5, I have consulted *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* by Beal (p. xxxvi) which refers to a ruined establishment with only its foundations remaining called the *Tchina* or (*China*) temple. The author ought to see to it.

His account of Magadha under Gopāla, Dharmapāla and Devapāla of the Pala dynasty given in chapters XI, XII, & XIII is interesting and instructive. The author has well utilised relevant epigraphic data in this connection. Then follow the chapters XIV & XV dealing with Magadha under Śūrapāla, Vīgrahapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, Vīgrahapāla II, and Mahīpāla. The author has then given a concluding note. In the Appendices the late Gupta and Maukhari coins have been re-examined by the author. He says that the Maukhari coins may suggest the nature of relationship of the Maukharis with the Guptas. The epigraphic source refers to the hostile relations between them. He has examined current views about Sūryavarman. He also has dealt with the

empire of the early Pālas, Dharmapāla and Devapāla. He is right in pointing out that it was from Magadha that the rays of the Pāla imperialism radiated to different parts of India. Then come the genealogical tables of the Imperial Maukharis. In the *select Bibliography* given by the author he ought to have mentioned Dr. B. M. Barua's *Gayā* and *Buddha-Gayā* and Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*. The titles of some books are wrongly given. In pages 462-463 the correct titles are *Progress of Indic studies* and not *Progress of Indian studies*, *The Magadhas in ancient India* and not *Magadhas in ancient India*, and *Ujjayinī in ancient India* and not *Ujjainī in ancient India*, which should attract the attention of the author.

A serviceable index given at the end will greatly enhance the utility of the book. The list of errata is not complete. There are many more errors, e.g., *rebuiit* in page 164; *raktamrita* in page 259; *beneficient* in page 105.

The book as it stands is on the whole useful, but the collection of some statements is not at all careful. The documentation is not precise. We may not accept some views which appear to us untenable, but we can easily rely on facts carefully and conscientiously collected from important sources and sifted with considerable ability.

B. C. LAW

### Select Contents of Periodicals

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- II. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XL, Part 2, June 1954, Patna.
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  2. *A Report on Dhobadiha Rock Carvings* by Sri Vijayakanta Mishra.
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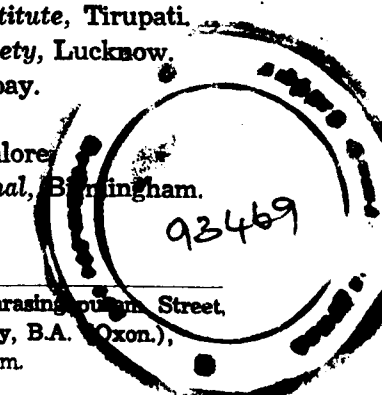
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1. *Samma-Pasa and other Allied Sacrifices in Pali Literature* by Prof. P. V. Bapat, Poona.
  2. *A Rare Manuscript of a Commentary of the Siddhanta Kaumudi called Lilavati by Mimamsaka Giridhara* by P. K. Gode.
  3. *Rudra in the Veda* by R. N. Dandekar.
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29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
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