

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. XXXVIII, Part III

December, 1960

Serial No. 114

CONTENTS

REFLECTIONS ON ARCHIVAL ORGANISATION IN INDIA—by V. K. Bawa, I.A.S. ..	473	HISTORY—ITS FUTURE ROLE IN FOSTERING HUMAN UNITY—by Dr. Bhabes Chandra Chaudhuri, F.R.A.S. (London) ..	581
THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT TAMILAHAM—by Dr. N. Subrahmanian, M.A., Ph.D. ..	485	SOME TERMS IN ANCIENT LAND GRANTS—by Dr. Lallanji Gopal ..	587
SOME ANCIENT SCULPTURES AND TERRACOTTAS FROM RAJASTHAN—by R. C. Agrawala, M.A. ..	497	KARNATAK AND ORISSA (Political and Cultural Links)—by Prof. P. B. Desai, M.A. ..	593
PIRATES AND CONVICTS: BRITISH INTEREST IN THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY—by Nicholas Tarling, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) ..	505	PRESS—AND INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, 1858 TO 1909—by M. M. Ahluwalia, M.A., Ph.D. ..	599
MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPTION OF POLITICS—by Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. ..	527	THE IMPERIAL PRATI HARAS: MAHENDRAPALA I AND MAHPALA (A Revised Study)—by Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D.Litt. ..	605
THE ANCIENT CITY OF SAKALA—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., Hon. F.R.A.S. ..	533	SYSTEM OF ESPIONAGE IN THE NITISARA OF KAMANDAKA—by Dr. R. K. Dikshit ..	627
QUALIFICATIONS AND SUBJECTS OF STUDY OF INSCRIPTIONAL POETS—by D. B. Diskelkar ..	547	SCULPTURAL REPRESENTATIONS OF LAKULISA AND OTHER PASUPATA TEACHERS—by Dr. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi ..	635
EVOLUTION OF 'DWARF DVARAPALA' ON THE STUPA SLABS AT NAGARJUNAKONDA — by T. V. G. Sastri ..	567	CULTURE—CONTACTS IN SOUTH INDIA—by T. K. Venkataraman, M.A., L.T. ..	645
REVIEWS ..			653
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS ..			687
OUR EXCHANGES ..			689



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

689
581
108
12
120

Journal of Indian

History

1960 - December

VOL - 35, Part. 3, Ser-1



V2m, N22

N60.383

79663.

Journal of Indian History

CONSULTING EDITORIAL BOARD

1. DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., HON., D.LITT., *Emeritus Professor, University of Lucknow.*
2. PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR, *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandal, Poona.*
3. PROFESSOR R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., *College of Indology, Hindu University, Benares.*
4. PROFESSOR MUHAMMAD HABIB, B.A. (OXON), *Professor of History, University of Aligarh.*
5. PROFESSOR D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A., *University of Poona.*
6. DR. TARACHAND, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON).
7. A. N. TAMPI, B.A. (OXON), *BARRISTER-AT-LAW, formerly Director of Public Instruction, Kerala.*
8. SUBANAD P. N. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., *Editor, Malayalam Lexicon, Trivandrum.*
9. V. NARAYANA PILLAI, M.A., B.L., *formerly Principal, University College, Trivandrum.*
10. DR. YOUSUF HUSSAIN KHAN, D.LITT., (PARIS), *Osmania University.*
11. DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT., *University of Lucknow.*
12. DR. P. M. JOSHI, M.A. (BOMBAY), PH.D. (LONDON), *Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay.*

PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR

April, August, and December

Annual subscription: Rs. 10, or by cheque Rs. 10-65 Naye Paise

Advertisement charges :

Full page cover : Rs. 15

Half page cover : Rs. 8

Full page inside : Rs. 10

Half page inside : Rs. 6

Contributions, remittances, books for review and correspondence should be sent to :—

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Editor,
Journal of Indian History,
University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.

Vol. XXXVIII, Part III

December, 1960

Serial No. 114

JOURNAL of INDIAN HISTORY

EDITOR

P. S. RAGHAVAN, M.A.,
Professor and Head of the Department of History and Politics,
University College, Trivandrum.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

K. P. PILLAY, B.A. (OXON.)

Professor of Politics,
Sree Narayana College, Quilon.

T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.,
formerly Superintendent, Department of Publications,
University of Kerala.

DR. K. K. PILLAY, M.A. D.LITT. (MADRAS) D.PHIL. (OXON.)
Professor of Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.



Published by
THE UNIVERSITY OF KERALA
TRIVANDRUM

REVIEWS : (1) Fort William—India House Correspondence (Public), Vol. I, 1748-56. Edited by K. K. Datta; (2) The Soma-Hymns of the Rig Veda. A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50)—by S. S. Bhawe; (3) Select Asokan Epigraphs (with annotations). Sachidananda Bhattacharya, M.A.; (4) Union List of Commonwealth Newspapers in London, Oxford and Cambridge, compiled by A. R. Hewitt; (5) Bahman Shah, by Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini; (6) Historians of Medieval India, by P. Hardy; (7) Colonial Labour Policy and Administration: A history of labour in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941, by J. Norman Palmer; (8) Browne Correspondence, Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava; (9) Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. X, 1792-93. National Archives of India; (10) Indian Armed Forces Year Book, 1958. Editor—Jaswant Singh; (11) Gaikwads of Baroda, Sayaji Rao II. A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1830, by G. B. Pandya; (12) Origin and Development of Caste, by G. K. Pillai; (13) A. Mendoza: Panorama de las ideas contemporáneas en los Estados Unidos; (14) A Review of "Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature"; (15) A Handbook to old records of the Assam Secretariat, by Kesav Narayan Dutt, M.A., B.L.; (16) Chronology of Gujarat—Historical and Cultural, by M. R. Majumdar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.; (17) Principles of Agricultural Economics, by B. N. Pal; (18) Theory of Marketing in Under-developed Countries, by J. N. Chaturvedi; (19) Indian Economics Year Book—1959-60	.. 653
SELECT CONTENTS OF PERIODICALS	.. 687
OUR EXCHANGES	.. 689

Reflections on Archival Organisation in India

BY

V. K. BAWA, I.A.S.,

Director of Records, Hyderabad-Deccan

Introduction

An anniversary is traditionally an occasion for reflection upon the past history of an institution. It is now about forty years since the establishment of the Indian Historical Records Commission. This may perhaps be an appropriate time to reflect on the state of archival science in the country and to assess the role the Indian Historical Records Commission plays in the field of scholarship.

The provocation for this paper has been the need felt by the writer for a re-assessment of the functions of archival institutions in the country. The theories which have held the day for several decades still influence the minds of archivists, administrators and research scholars, although the facts on which these theories were based have long since disappeared. The recent publication of an extract of a letter from Professor Ramsay Muir to the then Education Secretary to the Government of India in the "Indian Archives" was accompanied by the remark that the views expressed therein were largely responsible for shaping the policy of the Government in these matters. It seems, therefore, worthwhile to examine the extent to which the remarks are applicable to the present situation. A thought-provoking article by Dr. Tous-saint on "The Archives of the Indian Ocean" has also appeared recently in the Indian Archives." He argues that the archives of the Indian Ocean area have little in common with those of mediaeval Europe. Regional co-operation between archivists of the countries of the Indian Ocean is therefore more important than discussions among archivists at world conferences. This contention has also to be critically examined with reference to the actual nature of records in Indian repositories. In this paper, it is proposed first to define the problem by re-examining some basic concepts of archival science, viz., relationship between manuscripts

ration between these three institutions is necessary, both in the interests of research scholars and of public education. To these three, we should now add the manuscript library, which has a distinct purpose to serve in the community. Under ideal conditions these four institutions would be located near one another, in the neighbourhood of academic institutions which make use of them. Efforts should also be made to co-ordinate the conferences of archivists with those of librarians and museologists to ensure a fruitful exchange of views.

(b) *Uses of Archives:*

The Indian Historical Records Commission was created to provide a liaison between keepers of Government records and historians who make use of them. Indian scholars had, till the formation of this body, either to depend upon local family papers or to make expensive journeys to Europe to work on the material on modern Indian history. The Indian Historical Records Commission has thus provided the necessary basis for the development of an Indian historiography, serving as a forum for historians to present their views to the government on archival matters which vitally affect historical research. In recent years the field of historic research in India has acquired new dimensions. The study of local history is gaining more significance. The days of pioneering work by men like Sir Jadunath Sarkar are gone. At the same time the development of social sciences like Economics, Politics, Sociology and Anthropology has made possible the use of historical material for these studies. Studies like the recent "Parties and Politics in the Moghul Court" by Satish Chandra, should appear in increasing numbers. The wealth of material in record offices has to be used not only to establish historical events, but also to interpret the laws of human behaviour as portrayed in historical events. Archives have already been used in the construction of economic history. Statistics of ports, shipping lists, census records — all these contain material that is of import for economic history. The study of social sciences (which now often depends upon factual observation and field work) can be enriched by taking into consideration the wealth of material in historical repositories such as newspaper collections and archives. Apart from this, the use of records, current and semicurrent is of considerable value for research in specialised fields of public administration. This is perhaps the most immediate use to which records can be

put both by research workers and by departments of government. Governments often appoint commissions to study situations and make recommendations. Their work would be considerably lighter if proper use of public records is made by them.

In a sense, history includes all knowledge; and the study of history itself would be deepened and strengthened by the "behaviour approach" of the social sciences. It is now time to consider whether the Indian Historical Records Commission should not widen its scope by drawing upon the experience of social scientists and others. An alternative can be found in the establishment of separate Records Commissions for political scientists, economists, and others. This would give rise to a most undesirable compartmentalisation of knowledge. By inviting scholars from other fields of knowledge to serve in the Indian Historical Records Commission, we will be taking a step towards the integration of knowledge, which is one of the objects of scholarship. It will ensure a varied use of records by persons with different disciplines. This will enrich the field of historical research by giving historians an opportunity to see the records from a dynamic and functional angle.

(c) *Record Management:*

When the National Archives Establishment was transferred to the General Services Administration of the United States by an Act of Congress in 1949,¹ the administrator was authorised to

- i. make surveys of Government records and records management and disposal practices and obtain reports thereon from Federal agencies;
- ii. promote, in co-operation with the executive agencies, improved records management practices and controls in such agencies, including the central storage or disposition of records not needed by such agencies for their current use;
- iii. report to the Congress and the Bureau of the Budget from time to time the results of such activities.

1. Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, quoted in Appendix I of Fifteenth Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1948-49, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1950.

and archives, uses of archives for purposes of research, and the function of archivists in the management of public records. These three problems are closely related to research, which is the primary function of the majority of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The second section of this paper deals with the functions of state record offices, which are the basic archival units in this country, just as the County or Department's record office is in Europe. The functions and nature of this work will be examined in relation to the needs of present and future research. The training of archivists is discussed in the third section. The problems of regional co-operation among different record offices within the country and outside, with special reference to the benefits of such co-operation to research, are discussed in the fourth section, which is followed by brief concluding remarks.

I. *The problem.*

(a) *The contents of archival repositories:*

It is generally accepted that the contents of archival repositories as distinct from those of libraries and museums are the records created by a governmental agency in the course of its business. But the logical consequences of this demarcation are seldom examined in detail. Archives are accumulated in consequence of organised activity, and consist of series which are complete in themselves. Manuscripts are individual items which lack the cohesiveness of the archive group, although these may be grouped in relation to persons, families and institutions. The archives of a government form only a part of the archival material in the country; in addition to public records, there are semi-public records of corporations, municipalities, councils, trusts. There are also the records of educational institutions, libraries, Societies, religious and business organisations. The question for consideration is whether these non-public archives and individual manuscripts have a place in the State Record Office or whether they should form part of the State Museum or the Public Libraries? Strictly speaking, they do not come within the purview of any of these organisations. For historical reasons, however these records were maintained by all the three types of institutions, besides research institutes and Universities. The British Museum, besides being a museum, functions as a public library and a manuscript repository. Such historic

accidents should not, however, blind us to the fact that manuscripts and non-public archives deserve special treatment which cannot be given to them by the partial attention of archivists, libraries and museologists. The lack of interest on the part of private bodies in keeping these records under proper conditions, leads one to the conclusion that libraries and archival repositories should be set up in state capitals or important centres of research by the Government and by Chambers of Commerce, and other private organisations serving a wide clientele. This will ensure the exclusive attention required for editing, cataloguing, and publication of non-public records. The only non-governmental records which have a place in state record offices are those records, like the commercial records of the East India Company, which later developed into a state series due to the functions being taken over by the State.

The distinction between library science and archival science has been pointedly brought out by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan in his articles on "Laws of Archival Science" published in the Indian Archives in 1947. These are related to the Laws of Library Science enunciated by him. First, "Books are for use, but records are meant for preservation." Therefore there is need for a technical branch, air conditioning, facilities for repair and binding, and restrictions on access to records. Secondly, "Books are for all" and have a universal appeal, whereas archives have a limited appeal; "public records are for the chosen few." From this law the restrictive rules of archives are derived, as also the obligation of the staff to provide a reference service based on cataloguing and classification. The third Law of Library Science, "Every book its reader", has its corollary in the archival law, "Every record its historiographer". As the users of archives are few, the publicity required is limited to a small group of scholars. There is no open access; and the cataloguing is done on a different system.

In spite of all these differences, however, the common points between librarians and archivists should not be undermined. Both deal with cultural materials and are of assistance in research. There are some common points of technique; the material of each institution is of assistance in the work carried out by the other; for example, an archivist needs library materials in order to arrange his records in accordance with their provenance. Museums too have much in common with libraries and archives. Close co-ope-

The management of public records is a field which has made great strides in the U.S.A. and Australia. The association of an archivist with this specialised work may at first sight appear unnecessary, since record management is primarily concerned with the efficient disposal of business. The archivist along with the research scholars has an interest in this problem for three reasons. First, as the ultimate custodian of the records, he should be consulted as to the method of their creation. To provide for a smooth transfer of records from the creating agencies to the record office, there is need for advance planning and co-operation between the two departments. Record officers for departments should be trained in the state archives, and be able to visualise the needs of the permanent repository of the records created by his department. In some countries departmental record officers are even under the control of the archivists, but in a homogeneous administration such as ours this may not be necessary.

Secondly, the archivist is interested, along with the research scholar, in the removal of redundant matter in order to bring the records to manageable proportions. Archivists have discovered that the best way of reducing the volume of records is not through the process of systematic weeding, but by so simplifying the method of work that the quantity of records produced will be comparatively small. He is therefore naturally in favour of simplifying administrative procedure and cutting down red tape. Thirdly, an archivist is anxious to see that every important decision should be recorded for posterity. Slipshod methods of work and the tendency to the taking of oral decisions without recording them cannot receive his support.

It should be the function of archival and research bodies, therefore, not only to ensure the preservation of records which have already been created, but also to ensure, through an intelligent awareness of developments in the field of records management (1) that the creation of records is kept to a minimum, (2) that automatic destruction systems do not destroy matter of importance to research, (3) that records are preserved on scientific lines in departmental record rooms by trained archivists, and (4) that all important facts and decisions are recorded in the regular course of business. Perhaps the appointment of a separate committee to review developments and make recommendations on these points would be the most effective step towards a solution of these problems.

II. *Functions of Central Record Offices.*

The "Indian Archives" journal published recently an extract of a letter from Professor Ramsay Muir to the then Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education. The editor remarks that the views expressed in the latter were to a large extent responsible for shaping the policy of the government in these matters. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine the extent to which his remarks are still applicable today. The essence of his argument is that state record offices are not feasible due to (1) the excessive cost, (2) transport difficulties and distances in India (which make research in more than one record office difficult), (3) the voluminous nature of records and (4) the difficulties of the provincial languages, which are unknown to Indians from other states. Except for the last point none of these arguments still applies to the same extent today.² In spite of financial stringencies, many state governments have allotted funds for the constructions of record offices under the Five Year Plans. Transport facilities have enormously improved in the last hundred years. Scholars like Sir Jadunath Sarkar have made use of material in many state archives. The difficulty is not transport but lack of Indexes and Guides to records, to assist research. It is true that records are being produced in increasing quantity, but they are also being reduced by processes of weeding. Muir did not visualise Disposal System such as that of Madras, which provide for the automatic destruction of certain categories of records after a specified period. Nor could he foresee the possibilities of microfilming, which enable the archivists to save space by destroying the originals and retaining microfilm copies. The problem of language still exists, but it can be solved by training scholars and archivists in the paleography and diplomatic of the language of the records, such as Persian and Marathi.

Muir proposed a Historical Materials Commission at the centre in order to lay down rules for press listing, select documents for publication, carry out translation and publication of Indian language documents, train research scholars, and carry on

2. On the last point, however, the problem has become even more acute, as the language of the records does not always coincide with the state language after the re-organization of states.

The management of public records is a field which has made great strides in the U.S.A. and Australia. The association of an archivist with this specialised work may at first sight appear unnecessary, since record management is primarily concerned with the efficient disposal of business. The archivist along with the research scholars has an interest in this problem for three reasons. First, as the ultimate custodian of the records, he should be consulted as to the method of their creation. To provide for a smooth transfer of records from the creating agencies to the record office, there is need for advance planning and co-operation between the two departments. Record officers for departments should be trained in the state archives, and be able to visualise the needs of the permanent repository of the records created by his department. In some countries departmental record officers are even under the control of the archivists, but in a homogeneous administration such as ours this may not be necessary.

Secondly, the archivist is interested, along with the research scholar, in the removal of redundant matter in order to bring the records to manageable proportions. Archivists have discovered that the best way of reducing the volume of records is not through the process of systematic weeding, but by so simplifying the method of work that the quantity of records produced will be comparatively small. He is therefore naturally in favour of simplifying administrative procedure and cutting down red tape. Thirdly, an archivist is anxious to see that every important decision should be recorded for posterity. Slipshod methods of work and the tendency to the taking of oral decisions without recording them cannot receive his support.

It should be the function of archival and research bodies, therefore, not only to ensure the preservation of records which have already been created, but also to ensure, through an intelligent awareness of developments in the field of records management (1) that the creation of records is kept to a minimum, (2) that automatic destruction systems do not destroy matter of importance to research, (3) that records are preserved on scientific lines in departmental record rooms by trained archivists, and (4) that all important facts and decisions are recorded in the regular course of business. Perhaps the appointment of a separate committee to review developments and make recommendations on these points would be the most effective step towards a solution of these problems.

II. Functions of Central Record Offices.

The "Indian Archives" journal published recently an extract of a letter from Professor Ramsay Muir to the then Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education. The editor remarks that the views expressed in the latter were to a large extent responsible for shaping the policy of the government in these matters. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine the extent to which his remarks are still applicable today. The essence of his argument is that state record offices are not feasible due to (1) the excessive cost, (2) transport difficulties and distances in India (which make research in more than one record office difficult), (3) the voluminous nature of records and (4) the difficulties of the provincial languages, which are unknown to Indians from other states. Except for the last point none of these arguments still applies to the same extent today.² In spite of financial stringencies, many state governments have allotted funds for the constructions of record offices under the Five Year Plans. Transport facilities have enormously improved in the last hundred years. Scholars like Sir Jadunath Sarkar have made use of material in many state archives. The difficulty is not transport but lack of Indexes and Guides to records, to assist research. It is true that records are being produced in increasing quantity, but they are also being reduced by processes of weeding. Muir did not visualise Disposal System such as that of Madras, which provide for the automatic destruction of certain categories of records after a specified period. Nor could he foresee the possibilities of microfilming, which enable the archivists to save space by destroying the originals and retaining microfilm copies. The problem of language still exists, but it can be solved by training scholars and archivists in the paleography and diplomatic of the language of the records, such as Persian and Marathi.

Muir proposed a Historical Materials Commission at the centre in order to lay down rules for press listing, select documents for publication, carry out translation and publication of Indian language documents, train research scholars, and carry on

2. On the last point, however, the problem has become even more acute, as the language of the records does not always coincide with the state language after the re-organization of states.

spend long hours in painstaking work. It should be pointed out here that the critical study of material based on a training in historiography, which was one of the objects of Ramsay Muir's proposals, is not as widespread as one would wish. The Indian Historical Records Commission might seriously consider the establishment of an Institute of Historical Research to ensure that only the highest standards prevail.

(3) Archivists and research scholars, along with librarians, have an interest in the maintenance of high standards of intellectual life in the country. Research at present is the pastime of a few, and lacks a sound foundation due to the absence of a broad based tradition of research in the Universities. Whether the Universities follow the American system or the tutorial system of Oxford and Cambridge, research papers should be made compulsory, for under-graduates. The post-graduate student should take up research only after several years of experience in writing research papers based on library materials. This would widen the field from which real scholarship could arise, as well as give a critical sense and training in expression which most of our students lack. This ought to be a matter of concern not only to academicians, but also to librarians and archivists, who want the best use made of their material. A solution of the problem requires close contact with University authorities and inter-university bodies in various disciplines.

III. *The Training of Archivists*

There is no agreement in countries advanced in archival science as to what should be the background and qualifications of an archivist. The traditional 19th century practice was to choose a historian as an archivist, to enable him to work on the archives for purposes of historical research. Recent opinion has however veered in favour of the view that a historian tends to take too narrow a view of his functions and to specialize in some branch of historical research at the cost of his duties to the repository as a whole. Jenkinson, as already mentioned, holds the view that the primary duty of an archivist is to preserve the records, and this he discusses under the two heads of the "physical and moral defence of archives".

While, in the United Kingdom, recruitment to the Public Record Office is from Universities which favour the classics, the

German practice is to require a Ph.D. Degree in History as a pre-requisite for archival training. The trend in America is towards a shifting emphasis from History to the Social Sciences. There was till recently also a less desirable increase in the emphasis on Library classification schemes such as the Dewey Decimal system, which classify records according to subject matter, instead of according to the office of origin. There are post-graduate courses in Archives Administration organised by American Universities in conjunction with nearby record offices. The main consideration in the training of archivists should be a sound academic background in History and the Social Sciences with special training in Public Administration. It is desirable, therefore, to recruit young lecturers and civil servants with scholarly interests and broad outlook on life and give them thorough training for about six months. Recruitment for appointment should be made on an All-India basis and not only from persons domiciled in the state concerned.

The programme of training of archivists in India must consider first of all the openings available for the persons who have qualified themselves. The traditional view that there is no demand for trained archivists should be combated by widening the scope of archival training to include personnel for manuscript libraries, semi-public, institutional, and private archives, and the field of Record Management. The training which has so far been made available to archivists in India has emphasized the theory and practice of archival administration and the preservation of records. It has neglected the role of Administrative History, Public Administration, and Constitutional Law on the one hand, and the study of languages, paleography and diplomatic on the other. The student or trainee has been left to acquire this knowledge and skill in his own archives as best he can. It is now time to consider whether a University course would not be necessary to impart specialized training at a sufficiently high level. Such a course could be carried on with the co-operation of related departments, such as History, Librarianship, Constitutional Law, Public Administration, and Languages. It would be both a theoretical and a practical training, conducted on the basis of close co-operation between the record office and the University.

The training scheme outlined above would serve the research scholar and the archivist; it would not entirely serve the purpose

research in Indian chronicles. These functions are to some extent being carried out by the Indian Historical Records Commission, but without a full time research scholar at its head. The Indian Historical Records Commission is an advisory body rather than a governmental agency. Its advice is not always accepted, (and when accepted not always enforced) by the state governments and the Government of India. Much of the work proposed by Muir still remains to be done, e.g., the translation and publication of records in Indian languages and the preparation and publication of press lists. It is necessary therefore to take a comprehensive view of the problem, as Muir did, and chalk out a plan of future action. The following suggestions are offered as a starting point for further discussion.

(1) The demand on the part of Research scholars for record offices to publish original records in large quantities can only be satisfied at the cost of thorough and comprehensive indexes and guides, which are the primary function of an archivist. Jenkinson gives priority to the "physical and moral defence of archives" over all other functions. The physical defence of archives implies the preservation of records against danger of damage by theft, fire, insects and atmospheric conditions. The moral defence of archives requires the preservation and arrangement of records in accordance with the principle of "provenance", i.e., according to the classification system in use in the creating agency, and not in accordance with any artificially created system of subject classification. "The only correct basis of arrangement is exposition of the administrative object which the archives originally served". (Jenkinson).

After providing for the arrangement and classification of a record series, the primary duties of an archivist are the making of an inventory and the preparation of repository lists, and lists of indexes. The secondary duties of the archivists are the preparation of (1) a general guide to the contents of a repository, (2) descriptive indexes, starting with some class or series selected on account of public interest, (3) calendars or abstracts using the words and language of the original, (4) printed transcripts.

From the above summary it will be seen that the printing of transcripts occupies a very low place in Jenkinson's scale of values. Research in the sense of the analysis and editing for

publication of documents does not find a place in the functions of an archivist at all. The archivist is primarily a keeper and not a research scholar. With the limited staff and funds at his disposal he should devote all his attention to keeping the records according to archival principles under modern conditions. His next duty is the preparation of guides, indexes, calendars and transcripts. Only when this is done can he afford to give time to research, editing and publication of specific documents. Archival organisation requires a knowledge of Administrative History which often takes years to acquire, as it is a process of trial and error based on study of the records themselves. Editing and publication is a full time job requiring concentrated attention; and an archivist can work on a part of the records only at the cost of the repository as a whole. It is therefore proposed to lay down a principle that specific historical research should be done only by research scholars, or by an archivist in his private capacity in his spare time. The only exceptions should be where special staff has been provided exclusively for research.

(2) The diverting of research functions from the archivists will put a greater responsibility on research institutions and individual scholars to edit and critically annotate original documents, or selections from them. This is as it should be. Research by officials is necessarily restricted by governmental regulations, and may even tend to be biased. Unless Universities and research scholars come forth to undertake basic research of this kind, the future of scholarship is bleak.

Although the pioneering days of scholars who covered in a lifetime a whole era of Indian history, such as the Moghul, are perhaps over, yet it is interesting to note that these pioneers did not exhaust the material in the state archives. For example the Central Record Office of Hyderabad, known formerly as the *Daftar-e-Diwani*, has not received the attention it deserves from any historian. This was for two reasons, first, because there was a wealth of material in Manuscripts which was more accessible, and secondly because of the lack of guides, indexes, calendars and transcripts. The history of the Moghul period and of the Asafias has been partially written from manuscripts and official sources, but it has to be rewritten taking into account the state records. This presupposes, on the part of the archives, a systematic set of "finding aids", and, on the part of the scholar, a willingness to

spend long hours in painstaking work. It should be pointed out here that the critical study of material based on a training in historiography, which was one of the objects of Ramsay Muir's proposals, is not as widespread as one would wish. The Indian Historical Records Commission might seriously consider the establishment of an Institute of Historical Research to ensure that only the highest standards prevail.

(3) Archivists and research scholars, along with librarians, have an interest in the maintenance of high standards of intellectual life in the country. Research at present is the pastime of a few, and lacks a sound foundation due to the absence of a broad based tradition of research in the Universities. Whether the Universities follow the American system or the tutorial system of Oxford and Cambridge, research papers should be made compulsory, for under-graduates. The post-graduate student should take up research only after several years of experience in writing research papers based on library materials. This would widen the field from which real scholarship could arise, as well as give a critical sense and training in expression which most of our students lack. This ought to be a matter of concern not only to academicians, but also to librarians and archivists, who want the best use made of their material. A solution of the problem requires close contact with University authorities and inter-university bodies in various disciplines.

III. *The Training of Archivists*

There is no agreement in countries advanced in archival science as to what should be the background and qualifications of an archivist. The traditional 19th century practice was to choose a historian as an archivist, to enable him to work on the archives for purposes of historical research. Recent opinion has however veered in favour of the view that a historian tends to take too narrow a view of his functions and to specialize in some branch of historical research at the cost of his duties to the repository as a whole. Jenkinson, as already mentioned, holds the view that the primary duty of an archivist is to preserve the records, and this he discusses under the two heads of the "physical and moral defence of archives".

While, in the United Kingdom, recruitment to the Public Record Office is from Universities which favour the classics, the

German practice is to require a Ph.D. Degree in History as a prerequisite for archival training. The trend in America is towards a shifting emphasis from History to the Social Sciences. There was till recently also a less desirable increase in the emphasis on Library classification schemes such as the Dewey Decimal system, which classify records according to subject matter, instead of according to the office of origin. There are post-graduate courses in Archives Administration organised by American Universities in conjunction with nearby record offices. The main consideration in the training of archivists should be a sound academic background in History and the Social Sciences with special training in Public Administration. It is desirable, therefore, to recruit young lecturers and civil servants with scholarly interests and broad outlook on life and give them thorough training for about six months. Recruitment for appointment should be made on an All-India basis and not only from persons domiciled in the state concerned.

The programme of training of archivists in India must consider first of all the openings available for the persons who have qualified themselves. The traditional view that there is no demand for trained archivists should be combated by widening the scope of archival training to include personnel for manuscript libraries, semi-public, institutional, and private archives, and the field of Record Management. The training which has so far been made available to archivists in India has emphasized the theory and practice of archival administration and the preservation of records. It has neglected the role of Administrative History, Public Administration, and Constitutional Law on the one hand, and the study of languages, paleography and diplomatic on the other. The student or trainee has been left to acquire this knowledge and skill in his own archives as best he can. It is now time to consider whether a University course would not be necessary to impart specialized training at a sufficiently high level. Such a course could be carried on with the co-operation of related departments, such as History, Librarianship, Constitutional Law, Public Administration, and Languages. It would be both a theoretical and a practical training, conducted on the basis of close co-operation between the record office and the University.

The training scheme outlined above would serve the research scholar and the archivist; it would not entirely serve the purpose

of record offices of various departments, who will be expected to specialize in the management of public records. For these, the National Archives of India may organise a practical training scheme in conjunction with the Indian Institute of Public Administration, which has considerable experience of this kind in other fields of administration.

IV. *Regional Co-operation*

A recent article in the "Indian Archives" journal by Auguste Toussaint, Director of Archives of Mauritius, propounded an interesting theory that the records of the Indian Ocean Region have much in common, as it is the Ocean which has shaped the history of the region, including the East Coast of Africa, Arabia, the Indian sub-continent, and South-East Asia. The records of Europe are mainly mediaeval, and the problems of archivists, both with regard to organisation and preservation, are completely different. The writer, therefore, makes out a case for an association of Indian Ocean archivists. A meeting was, in fact, called in Madagascar in 1959, which had to be postponed to the next year because of the cyclone which hit the island.

There is much to be said in favour of the development of a tropical archivology. The climatic conditions give rise to preservation problems which are of a distinct type. Exchange of information, research conducted on a wide scale, and periodical regional conferences are necessary in this area. The same may be said to some extent about the organisation, arrangement, and cataloguing of records. The archives of the region are primarily the product of commercial activities of the western nations. In many countries the government records are a continuation of commercial records. The records of business firms, newspapers, and missionaries are also a major source of the recent history of the region. But the importance of regional co-operation should not blind us to the fact that the Western maritime activity in these countries is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Even with the Western rule in the Indian Ocean region, there were large areas which continued to be independent, or at least under indirect rule, such as Indian States, Malaya and Java. The records of the native rulers in India do not reflect the maritime history of the Indian Ocean. They are in some respects similar in nature to those of mediaeval Europe. These countries are in a sense emerging from

feudalism, although of a distinctive type. The Peshwas and Moghuls were not primarily sea-faring nations and their power was based on the land. Unless we see the maritime records of the Indian Ocean as a break with the past history of India, we cannot understand the revolution which European sea-power accomplished in the area. Regional co-operation therefore need not be based only upon the commercial records; it should be widened to include also the records of the native rulers, who had common problems and to some extent a common cultural background, resulting from the spread of Buddhism and Islam in the Indian Ocean Region.

Toussaint's arguments for the study of Indian Ocean History are in one respect a refutation of the views put forth by Ramsay Muir in his note. Muir argued against Central Record Offices in the States on the ground that it was not possible for a scholar to visit all record offices in the country, and the state records would therefore be useful only for the study of "local antiquities". This view has become outdated as a result of two remarkable features, (1) the development of transport facilities, and (2) the possibilities of mutual assistance in research that have been opened up in recent years. Toussaint evidently visualises the exchange of information between scholars and archivists, which would eventually lead to the development of a regional history for the Indian Ocean area. New avenues of research have been opened by the light thrown on Moghul history by Burmese sources. It is not perhaps too visionary to look forward to the day when such material will be made available as a matter of course to scholars in other countries, and this may give rise to an Indian Ocean History. This cannot, of course, be achieved in a day; the meeting of Indian Ocean archivists would be only the first step in a process that would take some years to operate satisfactorily. But it would be fruitful to investigate the possibilities of regional co-operation of scholars within the country. The transcription and publication of the Poona Akhbars of the Central Record Office at Hyderabad, which are really diplomatic papers, has been instrumental in clarifying many issues in Maratha History. There must be many groups or series of records whose analysis and description will enable research scholars to investigate hitherto unknown or untapped materials. The study of local or state history would be supported by regional co-operation and the exchange of data

between scholars and archivists. It must always be remembered, however, that the function of the scholar is research, and that of the archivist is to assist research in every possible way, (once he has ensured the "physical and moral defence of archives") short of carrying on research himself.

Conclusion

The future of the archival field in India and in the neighbouring countries depends upon a willingness of archivists and scholars to continually increase the range of their consciousness. The archivist must on the one hand keep in touch with museums and libraries, with whom he has common problems of classification of source material, exchange of information, publicity and service etc. On the other hand he must keep in touch with the ever-widening frontiers of research. He cannot confine his services to historians alone. The social scientist, the administrator and even the natural scientist have much to learn from the archives.

The archivist cannot however benefit in the long run by expanding into fields which require separate treatment. The distinction between manuscript libraries and archival repositories needs wider acceptance; both institutions should establish traditions of mutual co-operation to ensure that the research scholars and the lay public make the maximum use of both, along with the public library and the museum. The field of Record Management is a legitimate area into which the archivist may enter, as it directly concerns the records which are to come to him in the future. The training of archivists, and the provision of guides and other types of assistance to research scholars—these are major problems requiring the concentrated attention of archivists. It is clear therefore that there is no necessity for the archivist to become a collector of individual manuscripts, or to carry on research functions which can more appropriately be performed by librarians and scholars. Archival science will develop when the archivist realises both his potentialities and his limitations.

The Status of Women in Ancient Tamilaham

BY

DR. N. SUBRAHMANYAN, M.A., PH.D.

The status of women in ancient Tamil Society is well described in the Tamil literature of the Śaṅgham age and that description can be generally relied upon, though it is not corroborated by any other source of historical information.

The Śaṅgham society, from the point of view of the sexes, was not an egalitarian society and the men granted a markedly inferior status to their women who consciously or by habit accepted that position. There was no contemporary demand for a revision of that status on philosophical or even practical grounds; and till recently that position has remained without appreciable change.

The etymology of the Tamil equivalents for 'Male' and 'Female', viz., *Āṇ* and *peṇ* will clarify the basic Tamilian idea on the matter. *Āṇ* is 'he who rules or possesses'¹ and *Peṇ* is 'she who is desired or sought after' and therefore 'is to be owned'; and *Nacchinārkkiniyar*, the noted commentator means 'a pacific nature' (*Amaidī*) by *Peṇmai*.² The assignment of the active and tutelary role to men and the passive and dependent role to women is basic in the ancient Tamils' attitude to every question relating to the sexes.

An ancient Tamil text suggests³ that it is desirable in an ideal marriage that the man and the woman are equal to each other in beauty, attainments, wealth, manners, etc.; but that if a difference is unavoidable then it is better that the man is superior to the woman. That text, in another place, says⁴ that the most desirable feminine traits are (a) sympathetic concern for a beloved person, (b) shyness, and (c) an unquestioning acceptance of elder-

1. As in the expressions *Ātchi* and *Maṇavālan*.

2. *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi*: 356—Commentary.

3. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 93.

4. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 99.

ly advice. Another and a later text, in a similar context mentions⁵ (a) shyness, (b) holding steadfast to what one is taught, (c) recoiling from the unfamiliar, and (d) a sense of disgust at unaccustomed things as the most essential among feminine qualities. These two statements should make it clear that the role of woman in that society was not only passive but also that of a conservator of traditional and accustomed values.

The wise men of the community really treated women as the 'weaker sex' and put them on a par with brahmans, cows, old persons, infants, etc., that is, those who were deemed too weak to defend themselves from dangers.⁶ It is believed that it was a Tamilian martial practice to warn women, brahmans, cows, etc. off the vicinity of battlefields to save them from avoidable killing;⁷ but the gap between theory and practice in this regard was quite wide; for we get mention of Kings who not only enslaved the womenfolk of the conquered land but put them to shame and to torture in a variety of ways.⁸ Perhaps the very saving of the women from the hazards of the battlefield was due to an anxiety to catch them alive; for it is known that women were taken captive and treated as such captives usually are.⁹

The idea of chivalry which includes special solicitude to women was familiar to medieval Europeans; they deemed it one of the noblest of social virtues. Tamil Society was not a stranger to kindness and mercy to weaker persons in general and to women in particular; but that sense of kindness, one suspects, was mixed with a certain contempt as towards dumb and helpless animals. *Jivakachintāmaṇi*¹⁰ records the 'heroine being defeated by the hero'. The statement is in the passive voice; and *Nacchinārkkiniyar*, the resourceful commentator,¹¹ says that this is purposely so; for 'it would not redound to the hero's glory to say that he defeated a mere woman'. Here, clearly, the sentiment is not one

of chivalry but is only a feeling that defeating 'a woman' would be unbecoming his position as a male victor.

The Tamil society of the Śaṅgham age presents a curious picture in which we come across, on the one hand, a large number of highly accomplished women who were learned to the point of being able to write poetry equal to the best of that age; and on the other hand, a tradition which assigned women a subordinate position in society. 'Avvai' was the most famous among the women versifiers of that age; but *Naccheḷḷai*, *Ādimandi*, *Vēḷivādi*, *Okkūr Māsātti*, *Nannāgai*, *Neḍum Palliyattai* and many others like them are no less significant. So there was no objection to the education of women and to their eminence in the fine arts and to their playing a helpful if ancillary role in social life.

There was a persistent feeling that boys were to be preferred to girls. It was the fulfilment of an *Illarattān's* dream if he became the father of a male child; it was the beginning of his misfortunes if the baby chanced to be a girl. Perhaps this feeling could be traced to the certainty that a daughter would leave her parental home after her marriage. The poet was merely echoing the sentiment prevalent in contemporary society, when he said that "like the sandal, the pearls, the music of the harp" etc., the daughter will leave her birthplace for an alien's home.¹² Of course, the idea that a son had the exclusive privilege of performing the religious rituals which were expected to save the father from 'an otherwise inescapable purgatory', made the parents look upon a son as absolutely essential and a daughter as useless and of no moment.

This way of thinking has in later days led to certain statements about woman in general. *Parimēlaḷagar*, the commentator on the *Kuṛaḷ* explicitly states that 'women are congenitally incapable of understanding by themselves and so they require to be told by others.'¹³ *Tiruvalluvar*, the author of the *Kuṛaḷ*, himself assigns an inferior place to women in society for he mentions chastity (i.e., monogamy) as an essential female virtue;¹⁴ he does not specifically prescribe monogamy for men, nor does he explicitly

5. *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*: Sūtram 2—Commentary.

6. *Śilappadikāram*: XXI, 53, 54.

7. *Puṇānūru*: IX, 2.

8. *Paṭṭiruppattu*: V Ten-Padiham.

9. *Epigraphia Indica*: XVI, p. 74.

10. A Jain work belonging to the Post-Śaṅgham period but still near enough to be able to remember the traditions of the preceding age.

11. *Jivaka Chintāmaṇi*:

12. *Kalittogai*: 9; 12 to 20.

13. *Kuṛaḷ*: 69—*Parimēlaḷagar's* commentary.

14. *Kuṛaḷ*: 56; *Śilappadikāram*: XX. 80.

prohibit polygamy; he condemns adultery¹⁵ and association with the hetaerae,¹⁶ no doubt; but that is not the same as condemning polygamy. The *Kuraḷ* chapter (Peṇ Valicchēraḷ)¹⁷ says that "He is a shameful man who would follow the advice of women".¹⁸ It is an entire chapter of ten verses that harps on this theme. The commentator improved on the text and condemned women as incapable of understanding by themselves the *Aṟam* of the householder and of playing the role of an adviser.¹⁹ Other commentators like *Nacchinārkkiniyar*²⁰ and *Rāmānuja Kavirāyar*²¹ continued this tradition of referring to the 'naturally inferior condition of women'. Innumerable proverbs and clichés have grown around the sentiment that 'women may become learned but cannot become wise'.²² So having prescribed different levels in society for men and women, the Tamils proceeded to recognize different standards of personal and social behaviour for men and women; e.g., there is a literary convention in the *Ahapporuḷ* literature which attributes to the hero the practice of returning home after a scandalous sojourn with the professional harlots of the *Cheri*.²³ The *Śilappadikāram* illustrates the liberty which men enjoyed in this matter and the rectitude that was expected of women. *Kaṇṇagi* did not question her husband's right to consort with *Mādavi*. As the general attitude of that society towards women was such, it is no wonder that the Jain writers described woman as 'but a pack of bones, nerves, blood, marrow and skin'.²⁴

Two important reasons could be assigned for this social philosophy of the ancient Tamils which was not particularly solicitous to women, though it cannot be called misogynic. One was the institution of marriage; the other was the institution of property. The eightfold system of marriage mentioned in Sanskrit works was not unknown to the author of the earliest extant Tamil

work, the *Tolkāppiyam*.²⁵ But the more ancient Tamils, i.e., belonging to a period prior to that of recorded history, seem to have preferred the *Gandharva* system of marriage glorified in the *Kuṟiñji* situation or the voluntary coming together of man and woman which is the first and the most important of the five Aham situations: *Kuṟiñji*, *Pālai*, *Neidal*, *Marudam*, and *Mullai*. Poetry which derives its theme from these love and conjugal situations, forms a good part of the Tamil Muse. But the *Tolkāppiyam* records²⁶ this *Kuṟiñji* behaviour led to aberrations which necessitated the introduction of ritualistic marriage. Ritualistic marriage was known earlier, too; but now the process was reversed; i.e., instead of the ritualistic marriage being the culmination of free love, ritual became the starting point of conjugal relations. Rituals made marriage a sacrament; and at once the status of woman became inferior to that of men. The payment of bride's price²⁷ made the bride a purchased commodity, a consumer good bought for a price. The wife becomes the possession of a husband. Hence, the Tamil expression *Urimai*²⁸ (she who is rightfully owned) meant 'wife'. The expressions *Manaivi*,²⁹ *Illāl*,³⁰ etc., do not indicate a superior or even equal status; they just indicate her status as a housewife. The period of transition from *Kuṟiñji* to a system in which the bride is *given away* to the bridegroom, who thereafter *owns* her is the period during which the status of woman must have deteriorated.³¹

Kuṟiñji presupposes adult lovers and the marriage that followed was a post-puberty one. But even after rituals had become common as the first stage in marriage, the bride's age seems to have been round about twelve;³² and attaining puberty at that age is not unusual in this country. Megasthenes refers to girls

15. *Kuraḷ*: Chapter XV.

16. *Kuraḷ*: Chapter XCII.

17. *Kuraḷ*: Chapter XCI.

18. *Kuraḷ*: 907.

19. *Kuraḷ*: 908; *Parimēlalagar's* commentary.

20. Vide f.n. 11.

21. *Nannūl*: commentary on *Sūtram* 73.

22. *Śilappadikāram*: XXI, 24; *Tiruvilaiyādal Purānam*; XLV; 34

23. e.g. *Kalittogai*: 72.

24. *Nāḷadiyār*; 46.

25. *Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 92.

26. *Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 145.

27. Called 'Mulai Vilai': vide *Kalittogai*: 103- 71 to 73.

28. *Kuruntogai*: 351 : 5.

29. *Tolkāppiyam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 165.

30. *Kuraḷ*: 52.

31. It is significant that Sanskrit sources also indicate that *Pānigrahaṇa* as a form of marriage is older than *Kannikādāna*, the former indicating a slightly more independent status for the bride than the latter.

32. *Śilappadikāram*: I : 24; commenting on this passage, *Adiyārkkunallār* believes that it is unusual for girls to attain puberty at that age.

Some Ancient Sculptures and Terracottas from Rajasthan

BY

R. C. AGRAWALA, M.A.,
*Superintendent of Archaeology & Museums
Rajasthan, Udaipur*

Archaeological excavations and explorations in Rajasthan have thrown a flood of light on the pre-historic culture of the region during the *Palaeolithic*, *Neolithic* and *Chalcolithic* periods. Besides this, the discovery of a number of *Indus Valley* and *Grey Ware sites* in different parts of Rajasthan has also added considerable information to our existing knowledge about the early art and archaeology of Rajasthan during the Proto-historic period.

Early centuries before Christ: The life size stone statue of a standing Yaksha,¹ now under worship in the village of Noh—distant about 4 miles from Bharatpur—is an important relic of the late—Maurya period and can well be compared with somewhat identical colossal statues from Parkham, Besnagar etc. It has been nicely executed in strict accordance with early art traditions of the country. The ancient sites of Sambhar, Bairat, Rairh, Nagar etc., have also yielded a number of Śunga and later terracottas and sculptures. Of these, one clay toy from Rairh (near Newāī) presents a female head depicting two hair-strings falling on her back and a turban on her head in a traditional manner.² Equally interesting are the Buddhist Railing Pillars³ which now form a part of a dilapidated *Chhatrī* in front of the Dak Bungalow at Lālsot, about 60 miles distant from Jaipur. The male heads, different types of lotus-motifs and the figure of a miniature *Stūpa* carved on these red sand-stone pillars in the art of the second or first century B.C., bear close resemblance with

1. *Journal U. P. Historical Society*, Old Series, VI—2, 1933, figures 1, 2, 3; pp. 88-9.

2. K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, Jaipur State, p. 30, plate XV.

3. They are being published by the author elsewhere.

fact that the eldest son of the king was the heir-apparent⁴⁹ and the younger sons were the heirs-presumptive.⁵⁰ If a younger brother seized the throne from an elder brother it was 'usurpation'.⁵¹ Inheritance was *Tāyam* and that was 'property inherited by sons from father'.⁵² There is another reference which mentions the birth of a prince as the arrival of the inheritor of the Kingdom.⁵³ Inherited property was *Paitiram*,⁵⁴ derived from *pitru* (father)⁵⁵ and so matrilineal succession and matriarchy were unknown to the ancient Tamils and women had no property rights.

Nothing that has been so far said should be construed to mean that woman in ancient Tamil society was held as a miserable slave or was treated harshly. She was well looked after, provided with dress and ornaments, given opportunities for learning and other accomplishments. The number of women poets of the *Saṅgham* age proves that many women were vastly learned. Though none of them held high administrative offices, some of them functioned as bodyguards of the Kings,⁵⁶ some were spinners and weavers,⁵⁷ many helped their men in agriculture.⁵⁸ But most of them preferred merely to look after the routine duties of a housewife; they were excellent cooks.⁵⁹

Though we hear of the married status as the most common for women⁶⁰ and of widowhood or sati inevitable if the wife happened to outlive her husband, we do not hear of many instances of celibate women, a determined spinster: *Avvai* was a rare instance, if we are to believe the legend about her celibacy.

It seems that housewives were moderately accomplished while the *hetaerae* were well acquainted with not less than sixty-four

arts,⁶¹ and they took pains to improve their looks by artificial aids and complicated modes of hair-do. They wore a large number of ornaments and they were crazy for flowers,⁶² they wore their loin cloth in folds,⁶³ but did not wear stitched garments.

In the *Saṅgham* literature, we come across certain references to a class of warlike women⁶⁴ whose ways were by no means pacific and who seem to have been the very definition of what *Peṇmai* was not. But even they are not referred to as fighters. They just belonged to the martial community and to them the normal attributes of the average Tamil woman would not apply.

Thus, the ancient Tamil woman had little independent legal status and such a position for her was thought justifiable by the contemporary intellectuals and accepted as normal by the men and as inevitable by the women of that age.

49. *Kōmahan*.

50. *Ṭaṅṅō*.

51. *Puranānūru*: 165; Colophon.

52. *Tolkāppiam*: *Poruḷadikāram*, 221; *Nacchinārkkiniyar's* commentary.

53. *Padirrupattu*, 74.

54. *Padirrupattu*: 19.

55. R. Raghava Iyengar: *Tamiḷ Varalāru*: 141, 142.

56. *Śilappadikāram*: XVI: 138.

57. *Puranānūru*: 125, 326.

58. *Padirrupattu*: 29.

59. *Perumpanārruppaḍai*: 297 to 310.

60. *Puranānūru*: 200, 201.

61. *Maṇimēkhalai*: II: 19; *Śilappadikāram*: XIV: 167.

62. *Śilappadikāram*: V: 14.

63. *Koīśaham*.

64. *Maṇakkūḍi Mahalir*: *Puranānūru*: 19, 277 to 279.

rama Year 744 i.e. 687 A.D., another bronze of this hoard depicts a male divinity in the *Kāyotsarga* pose.

Unique sculptures: Equally important are a number of post-Gupta and later images carved out of greenish-blue schist (locally known as *Parevā*) and discovered by me in the regions of Udaipur, Chittor and Dungarpur. A detailed note on these finds, published in the *Lalitkalā*, No. 7, pp. 63-71 reveals that the Gupta plastic art was imparted sufficient impetus in South Western Rajasthan during the 5-6th centuries A.D. The art of the neighbouring regions of Idar state and Gujrat appears to have been highly influenced by contemporary art traditions and devices of Rajasthan. The Museums at Dungarpur and Baroda preserve sufficient sculptural wealth in support of this statement. The image of Jaina Kubera from Bānsi¹⁶ and now on display in Udaipur Museum is of superb workmanship of the eighth-ninth century A.D., because of the depiction of the miniature figures of a *Jina* both in the crown and on the head of the deity seated by the side of a couchant elephant in an elegant manner. Another image of Kubera of this type will be eagerly awaited from other parts of the country. The statue under reference is in a state of fair preservation and is a unique specimen in the realm of early Jain art. Equally graceful is the four-faced statue of standing Ādinātha and preserved in the Museum at Bharatpur. This *Sarvatobhadra*¹⁷ image appears to have been chiselled in strict accordance with the principles of *Samavasaraṇa* of the Jaina pantheon. Still more, it is the nude deity, with matted locks on the head, that appears on all the four sides and faces the cardinal directions. Such icons are very few in number.

It was from a tank at Dīḍawānā (Distt. Nāgaur) that a black stone and well preserved image of Yoga Nārāyaṇa¹⁸ was excavated some years back. It now graces the Archaeology Section of Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, and may also be ranked as a finished

16. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums*, XII, 1956, Bombay, pl. VII, p. 32.

17. Illustrated by R. C. Agrawala on the occasion of a Radio-talk from the Radio Station, Jaipur, on 27th July 1959. It has been published in the *Artibus Asiae*, op. cit. XXII (3).

18. R. C. Agrawala, *Artibus Asiae*, op.cit., XVII (3-4), 1954, pp. 235-7; *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, op.cit., p. 63 and fig. 5.

PLATE II



Dāna-Līlā Scene; Terracotta from Raṅgamahal
(Bikaner Museum)

PLATE I



Krishna lifting the Govardhana Mountain from
Raṅgamahal; Terracotta Plaque (Bikaner
Museum)

identical devices represented by the Buddhist railing pillars from Bharhut and other places of the country. White Kaolin terracotta plaques from Nagar⁴ and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Amber (near Jaipur) are also valuable finds and present the goddess Mahishamardīnī, Indra—Indrānī, four-armed Vishnu, Kāmadeva—the God of Love.....etc., in a vivid manner. Having an important bearing on the early plastic art of Rajasthan, they have been duly described and illustrated by me in various Indian and foreign research journals. Reference may also be made to a hollow pendant found at Sambhar⁵ and representing some royal person in the company of consorts on both the sides. The use of the turbans by the ladies too is very interesting here.

Kushāna Period: During my exploratory tour in the region of Bharatpur in February 1959, I discovered a unique Kushāna relief⁶ at Noh and carved out of the white spotted red sand-stone. The typical V-shaped necklace, crown on the head and the pose of all the standing four male figures, each holding a water pot in the left hand and the right hand having been raised up in the *abhaya* pose have been vividly executed. In fact the contemporary sculptor tried to depict identical figures of Bodhisatva Maitreya standing side by side in a single row. This type of Buddhist relief from Rajasthan has been found at Mathura as well.

Early Gupta terracottas & sculptures: The ancient mounds at Raigamahāl, Pir Sultan, Mundā....etc., are well known for the well-baked terracotta reliefs pertaining to the Early-Gupta or late-Kushāna period. Executed in an elegant manner, some of these moulded-bricks are quite unique from iconographic point of view and have been displayed in the Bikaner Museum.⁷ The panel, depicting Lord Kṛishṇa as holding the Govardhana mountain, is the earliest extant specimen of its type in the realm of

4. R. C. Agrawala's papers in *Lalitkalā*, nos. 1-2, pp. 72-4, pl. XVIII, fig. 1; *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona-Switzerland, XXI-2, 1958, pp. 123-30 and plates; *Journal of Gujrat Research Society*, Bombay, XIX-4, 1957, pp. 45-6 and plate; *Lalitkalā*, no. 7, pp. 63-71.

5. D. R. Sahni, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Sambhar*, pl. VIII-C.

6. R. C. Agrawala's note in *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, ed. by A. Ghosh, New Delhi, p. 73, pl. 76-A.

7. *Arch. Surv. of India—Annual Report*, 1917-18, part I; H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, 1950, Oxford, figures 1-6.

ancient Indian⁸ art. Equally imposing is the second plaque presenting Kṛishṇa in the guise of a cowherd⁹ boy and conversing with a milk-maid. The smiling face of the latter and so also the lovely skirt put on by her as a nether garment are equally imposing and graceful. *Early finds of this very nature and having a bearing on some of these prominent episodes from the life of Kṛishṇa, have not been reported even from Mathura as yet.* The artists of Rajasthan really deserve immense praise for the execution of such interesting themes in the reliefs of the third century A. D. Other reliefs depicting Śiva and Pārvaṭī,¹⁰ One-faced Śiva-Liṅga,¹¹ Lady holding a mirror, *chakra-purusha*, Garuḍa—etc., in the contemporary art are also worth taking note of. The Sardar Museum at Jodhpur also preserves two colossal red stone pillars,¹² each measuring about 13 feet in height and presenting *Kṛishṇa-Līlā* scenes such as Kṛishṇa's lifting of the Govardhana mountain, fight with Ass-Bull and Horse demons, suppression of Kāliya Serpent, Upturning of the Cart....etc., in an elegant style of the Gupta period. A terracotta Buddhist Railing plaque¹³ from Bikaner region and now exhibited in Bikaner Museum suggests some influence of Buddhist pantheon in that area during the early-Gupta period. The handle of an earthen pot,¹⁴ excavated at Sambhar, and datable to the Gupta period, is all the more important because of the representation of river Gaṅgā jutting out of the matted locks of Śiva.

Early Mediaeval Jaina Bronzes: A number of early-mediaeval Jaina bronzes,¹⁵ now under worship on a Jaina shrine at Piṇḍawādā (near Sirohī) throw a flood of light on the art of metal-casting in Rajasthan about 1250 years ago. One of these images represents Saraswatī, the goddess of Learning. Dated in the Vik-

8. Goetz, *op.cit.*, fig. 5.

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.

10. R. C. Agrawala, *Artibus Asiae*, *op.cit.*, XIX, pt. 1, 1956, pp. 61-3 and plate.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65 and plate.

12. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, XXIII (i), 1957, pp. 63-4 and figures 1-2.

13. Unpublished as yet.

14. D. R. Sahni, *op.cit.*, pl. XVI-A.

15. U. P. Shah, *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 55-65 and plates IX-XVI.

The early mediaeval and later temples at Osian, Kiradu and later ones at Kekind in Jōdhpur region, Harshanath-Sikar, Ramgarh-Kotah, Patan-Jhalawar, Bāḍoli and Nāgdā near Udaipur, and Ābānerī-Jaipur have also to present sufficient sculptural wealth having an important bearing on the contemporary art and iconography. The Liṅgodbhava²³ relief from Harshanath-Sikar and now on display in the Museum at Ajmer, Ardhanārīśvara²⁴ (composite image of Śiva and Pārvati) and Surya-Narayan²⁵ in Jhalawar Museum, Skanda Kārttikeya²⁶ and Śeṣhaśayī Viṣṇu in Kotah Museum,²⁷ Mātṛikā sculptures in Dungarpur collection, Gaṇapati and Ardhanārīśvara from Ābānerī,²⁸ Jīvantaswāmī²⁹ in Jodhpur Museum, dancing³⁰ Vārāhī and Aindrī³¹ in Udaipur Museum, Harihara³² from Bedlā (near Udaipur) . . . etc., are some of the sublime products of Indian artistic genius. A Gupta image of Kubera³³ from Kāmān (Bharatpur) graces the Victoria Albert Museum of London whereas the well-known Jaina Saraswati from Bikaner and female head from Rajorgarh have been beautifully exhibited in the National Museum of India, New Delhi. A few decent specimens from Rajasthan may be seen in the valuable collections of Dr. Stella Kramrisch as well. The post-Gupta image of Viṣṇu³⁴ from Bhinmal, now in Baroda Museum, is equally interesting.

The well known Tower of Fame at Chittor, constructed during the regime of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā of Mewar also deserves

23. Stella Kramrish, *ibid.*, pl. 67; *Mārg*, *op.cit.*, fig. 9, on p. 17.

24. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, 36(2), Aug. 58, pp. 229-32 and plate; *Mārg*, *op.cit.*, fig. 11 on p. 18.

25. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian History*, *op.cit.*, 36(3), pp. 377-8; *Journal of Indian Museums*, *op.cit.*, XI, 1955, pl. VII-2.

26. R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitkalā*, Nos. 3-4, plate 52, fig. 2, pp. 110-11.

27. R. C. Agrawala, *Lalitkalā*, No. 7.

28. R. C. Agrawala, *ibid.*, Nos. 1-2, pp. 130-1, plate 52, fig. 1; *Mārg*, *op.cit.*, fig. 1 on p. 30.

29. R. C. Agrawala, *Brahma Vidyā* (Adyar Library Bulletin), Adyar, XXII (1-2), pp. 32-4 and plate.

30. R. C. Agrawala, *Mārg*, *op.cit.*, fig. 5 on p. 15.

31. R. C. Agrawala, *ibid.*, fig. 2 on p. 13 and *Journal of Indian Museums*, XII, 1956, pl. VIII-A.

32. R. C. Agrawala discovered and reproduced this unique statue in *Lalitkalā*, No. 7.

33. V. S. Agrawala, *Nāgarī Prachārīnī Patrikā*, New Series, XVIII pl. 18.

34. U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, Baroda, XII, pl. 39, fig. 6.

due reference here. It presents a number of deities, male and female carved on all the sides. The identification of each deity has also been engraved on the pedestal of each image below, a feature which is of immense help for the study of contemporary Brahmanic. Iconography and bears testimony to the great architectural skill achieved by architect Jaitā and his sons who were responsible for the construction of this monumental edifice several hundred years ago. Mahārāṇā Kumbhā was really a great patron of music, art, architecture, and sculpture. It was at his court that *Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana*, the State³⁵ Architect of Mewar compiled several Sanskrit treatises on Indian sculpture and architecture. Not only that, he is said to have taken up the construction of a number of temples, images and monuments including the well known fort of Kumbhalgarh. This architect of Rajasthan won great name and fame within two hundred years from the date of his demise with the result that his literary works found due place in the library of Kavindrāchārya of Banaras as early as the 17th century A.D. The descendants of Maṇḍana inherited these art traditions for several hundred years and undertook the construction of Jagadīśa Temple at Udaipur and the well-known Rajasamudra dam near Kankroli (40 miles from Udaipur) during the 17th century A.D. These monuments are living examples of highly developed contemporary art and architecture of Rajasthan.

The aforesaid brief survey of some ancient bronzes, sculptures and terracottas from Rajasthan is very interesting. In fact the whole material has got an important bearing on the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic art of the country. Studied in that context, the ancient art specimens from different parts of Rajasthan are decidedly of superb workmanship and high order. They have to contribute a lot to contemporary Indian Art and Iconography.

35. R. C. Agarwala, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, 33 (4), Dec. 57, pp. 321-324.

V2m, N22 N60.38.3

product of 8th century A.D. The palms of the lower two hands of the meditating deity, therein, have been placed over each other whereas the upper ones hold the Vaijayanti garland so characteristic of Lord Vishnu—a device which is quite unusual and unique indeed. The utter absence of the prominent weapons of Vishnu is all the more interesting and such a rare representation of Yoga-Nārāyaṇa can hardly be supported by extant religious or literary texts. The sculptor of Rajasthan really deserves every praise for introducing this innovation in the field of *Vaiṣṇava* Iconography.

Mention may also be made of a rock cut panel¹⁹ in front of the railway station of Maṇḍor, about 6 miles distant from Jodhpur. In this early mediaeval relief we notice dancing Śiva in the company of standing Gaṇapati, and six Mātṛikās appearing in a single row. Beginning from Gaṇapati, the figures under reference bear 2, 4, 2, 4, 2, 4, 2 and 6 hands respectively. This peculiar arrangement is quite unusual and requires careful scrutiny by scholars and art critics.

It was a few years ago that I could also discover an interesting sculpture of *Tripāda*²⁰ (i.e. three-legged) Bhairava pertaining to the 15th century A.D. It is now under worship on a solitary hillock facing the well-known group of Brahmanic temples at Kirāḍu²¹ in district Bārmer of Jodhpur region. The inscription on the pedestal of this image corroborates the details of the figure wherein the deity has actually got three legs. This representation of *Samhāra* aspect of three-legged Bhairava is also quite unusual in Indian Art. Still more interesting is the tiny relief carved on the exterior of a *Saiva temple* at Kirāḍu and presenting a graphic depiction of "Bhishma²² on the Bed of Arrows." The minutest possible details of the arrows have also been chiselled with sufficient care and skill in the art of the 10th-11th Century A.D., at such a far off place. The particular sculptor also deserves due credit for the successful venture on his part.

19. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Behar Research Society*, Patna, 24 (1-2), 1957, pp. 111-114 and plate facing, p. 112.
20. R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of Indian Museums*, X, 1954, pp. 21-2, fig. 5.
21. R. C. Agrawala, *Mārg (Rajasthani Sculpture Number)*, Bombay, XII-2, March 1959, pp. 45-48 and plates.
22. R. C. Agrawala, *March of India*, Delhi, July 1956, plate on p. 33; Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, II, pl. 80.

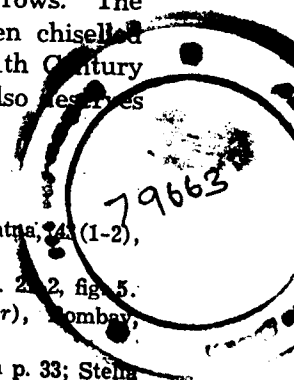


PLATE VII



Ekamukha Siva-linga from Raṅgamahāl Terracotta, (Bikaner Museum).

PLATE VI



Yoganaraya Siva in the company of Parvati, Siva Parvati from Raṅgamahāl; Bikaner Museum.

Pirates and Convicts: British Interest in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

BY

NICHOLAS TARLING, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.),
University of Queensland

It was the establishment of territorial dominion in India and the development of the Company's trade with China that gave the Andaman and Nicobar Islands their importance in British policy in the later eighteenth century. After the experiences of the war of American Independence, for instance, stations were sought on the east side of the Bay of Bengal partly in order to protect the China trade, but particularly to ensure naval control of the Bay during the northerly monsoon. These motives lay behind the foundation of the settlement at Penang and the attempts to secure Trincomalee from the Dutch; they also led to Lt. Blair's forming in 1789 a settlement on the south-east coast of the Great Andaman "at first called Port Cornwallis", removed in 1793 to the north-east harbour, "afterwards called Port Cornwallis". This was finally abandoned in 1796 as unhealthy,¹ and by then, in any case, Trincomalee was in British hands. The importance of some such station in the Bay had been emphasised by the wartime exploits of the French Admiral Suffren, for he had made use of Atjehnese ports and also of Nancowry in the Nicobars, and in the Revolutionary wars enemy privateers followed his example.² The Nicobars, however, had been annexed by Denmark in 1756, and this minor power maintained a frail colony on the fringe of greater empires, supporting it by subventions from home and by the missionary endeavour of the Moravians.³ It was only in 1809, shortly after

1. Grant to Marine Superintendent, 25 May 1850. Board's Collections 131280, p. 10, Commonwealth Relations Office.

2. Chabod to Butterworth, 2 June 1844. Board's Collections 98711, p. 72.

3. J. L. Christian, "Denmark's Interest in Burma and the Nicobar Islands", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. XXIX, Part 3, pp. 219-22

they had occupied the Danish possessions on the Continent of Asia as a means of excluding foreign interference, that the British authorities removed the Danish guards from Nancowry harbour.⁴ No British settlement was formed on the island, and, upon the conclusion of the general European peace, when the Danes were, under the treaty of Kiel, restored to Tranquebar and Serampore, they were informed that they might renew their settlement on the the Nicobars or not as they thought proper.⁵ It was clear that from this time at least neither of the island-groups possessed their earlier strategic significance, though the development of British interests in Arakan and Tenasserim from the 1820s gave the Andamans some new importance: Sir Archibald Campbell indeed assembled his forces at Port Cornwallis at the beginning of the first Burma war.⁶

In any case there were considerations other than strategic. Both groups of islands had some commercial value. The islands provided water and refreshment for passing ships and for the sperm whalers in the surrounding seas. The cocoanuts and areca nuts of the Nicobars, which had attracted the Danes, had also attracted the Malays, who appear to some extent to have settled and mixed with the natives. As the century proceeded, the islands were increasingly visited by local inhabitants and by European "country traders" from the British provinces in Burma and from Rangoon: by 1848 it could be asserted that "near one hundred British vessels load at the above islands annually for Tenasserim or Arakan".⁷ The Andamans were of less commercial value because cocoanuts were scarcer but, though there was therefore less Malayanisation of the population, it was reported about this time that "during the north-east monsoon the people of the Malay Coast of Sumatra visit the Andamans in prahus, for the purpose of

4. Christian, p. 224.

5. Governor-General in Council to Court of Directors, Foreign, 7 Dec. 1816, para 22. Board's Collections 80477, p. 7.

6. Memorandum on the Andaman, Coco and Nicobar Islands, n.d., Board's Collections 192739, p. 25, also in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department) published by Authority*, No. XXV: *The Andaman Islands, with Notes on Barren Island*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 53.

7. Crisp to Dalhousie, 19 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 57.

collecting the edible nests, and fishing for the sea slugs, called 'tripang', or beche de mer, which is also a Chinese dainty".⁸

The commercial prospects did not at once revive the interest of the British Government in the island-groups: but the misfortunes which traders suffered there finally compelled it to give them some attention. The savagery of the Andaman natives had more scope than the nature of their trade suggests: not only did ships crossing the Bay call for water and refreshment, others from Burma touched at the islands en route for the Nicobars. The natives' hostility to strangers—noted by Sir Archibald Campbell and confirmed, for instance, by the experiences of the shipwrecked soldiers on board the "Runnymede" and the "Briton" in November 1844^{8a}—was probably stimulated by the slave-trade in which the Malays apparently engaged: even in the 1840s it was understood that Andaman islanders were frequently taken off to the Siamese-Malay ports to the northward of Penang.⁹ In 1856 the British Commissioner in Arakan thought that much of the natives' hostility could be blamed on the Burmese, "as I have heard that they used to capture them to carry into slavery".¹⁰

The jealousy that Malay visitors felt for commercial rivals no doubt prompted some of the outrages or "piracies" committed upon country boats touching at the Nicobars, but the plundering of vessels watering at the islands was also an attractive proposition and probably some Burmese as well as Malays were prepared to trade in stolen goods.¹¹ For a time, however, piracy at the Nicobars appears to have been restrained by the Danes, who in 1831 established a new settlement, called Frederickshoj, on Camorta.¹² Admiral Owen, then Commander-in-Chief on the East Indies station, suspected that the colony was designed to facilitate a trade in munitions with the neighbouring mainland states,¹³ but

8. As footnote 6.

8a. See Joseph Darvall, *The Wreck on the Andamans*...., London, 1845.

9. Lewis and Gottlieb to Garling, 20 Sept. 1845, Board's Collections 113363, p. 10.

10. Hopkinson to Bengal Secretary, 8 Feb. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 8, also *Selections*, p. 38.

11. Cf. statement of Booth, 18 Mar. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 17.

12. Christian, p. 225.

13. Owen to Metcalfe, 3 Jan. 1832, Secret Letters Received from Bengal, Second Series, Vol. 6, Commonwealth Relations Office.

it was, as H.M.S. "Magicienne" found in 1833, attempting rather to develop a monopoly trade in betel nuts and edible nests.¹⁴

In these circumstances there was at this time little inclination on the part of the British to interfere in the Nicobars; nor were they interested in the Andamans, although these might be deemed to have been still in their possession. Nevertheless Captain Crisp, a country trader from Moulmein, brought before the Madras Government in 1836 schemes to cover both groups of islands. He had, he declared, made frequent voyages to Car Nicobar, and

"established feelings of good fellowship with the influential men or Patriarch [s] on that island.

"On my last visit thither in February last, I ascertained they had killed three men and one woman of their own class or tribe, two, a man and woman, for eating children, one man, an Elder, for securing and holding communication with some outlaws in the wood, one man for attempting to spear another.

"On my remonstrating with them for killing their fellows, they justified themselves on the plea of the smallness of the island and their known inability to transport them elsewhere.

"Having often considered Interview Island on the west side of the Great Andaman as an eligible place whereby the Andamans might be made the great jail of India by simply removing the jail establishment at Amherst thither...., the same train of thoughts occurred to me in reflecting on what the Patriarch [s] of the Nicobars had said in justification of themselves, and while I was yet revolving the whole in all its bearings in my mind an American whaler which had been there two years previous came in for supplies.

"I submit with due deference to the judgment of Government that to facilitate the increase of American Whalers by allowing them to get a footing and a place for themselves and their missionaries would be to increase their seamen and their naval strength, to avoid which I submit, it would be advisable to induce the Danish Government to abandon the Harbour of Nancowry in our favour and good Policy supported by Humanity [should induce us] to make a settlement at Interview Island whither the malefactors from the Island of Car Nicobar might be removed, who again might be made the means of civilising the inhabitants in the Andamans."¹⁵

14. As footnote 6.

15. Crisp to Madras Secretary, 8 Apl. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 3.

A few weeks later Crisp produced further reasons for intervention. Two French missionaries, Chabord and Plaisant, settled in Car Nicobar,¹⁶ and the Captain reported the fact to the Government.

"Presuming the right now exercised by the Danish Government over the island and harbour of Nancowry to have emanated from their missionaries having settled thither, it is to be apprehended that this may be the intention of the French Government with the view to transport their convicts thither from Pondicherry.

"In my opinion the time has arrived when our Government should openly indicate their intention to exercise a paramount influence over these Islands to prevent other Powers from obtaining either influence or footing."¹⁷

There had been convicts at Blair's settlement, but the notion that criminals from Burma, or even from Car Nicobar, might be the instrument of civilisation in the Andamans was a new one. It was important for the future, but as yet the Indian Government was not interested, and did not "consider that it would be politic to take any steps for establishing more intimate relations than now exist with the native chiefs and population" of the Nicobar Islands.¹⁸ Later Crisp heard that one of the missionaries had decided to settle on Teressa, and this strengthened his "suspicion that the French Government intend making a settlement on one or more of the Nicobar Islands". The British could support their interests by "affording to the influential men (say three) at each village the means of securing any of their criminals preparatory to their removal from the Island at the same time to promise to reward these three men's fidelity by an annual gift of stout silver wire...."¹⁹ The Government, however, was clearly not attracted by these apparently cheap and easy methods of civilising the islands; it had "no apprehension of the designs of other European nations and no desire to establish relations ... with the chiefs and tribes of the Nicobar Islands".²⁰

16. Christian, p. 226. Chabord's name is variously spelt in the documents, but in this paper Christian's version has been followed.

17. Crisp to Madras Secretary, 11 June 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 5.

18. Prinsep to Crisp, 13 July 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 8.

19. Crisp to Prinsep, 6 Dec. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 9.

20. Prinsep to Crisp, 7 Dec. 1836, Board's Collections 72400, p. 11.

was "advisable to purchase such detached portions of foreign territory as those in question, where it can be done at a reasonable price...upon many points of fiscal or other administration, the intervention of such patches of independent jurisdiction must obviously be productive of serious inconvenience".²⁷ By March 1845 a treaty was concluded that was subsequently ratified, under which Serampore, Tranquebar, "and a piece of ground formerly a factory at Balasore", were ceded to the British Government "for a pecuniary consideration".²⁸ Hanson's draft of this treaty of September 1844 had included a clause declaring that "the Nicobar Islands...not being included in the present transfer, His Majesty's rights, claims and supremacy to and over the said islands are not in any way affected by the present treaty". Later events suggest that it was as a result of British unwillingness to recognise these rights that in the later draft, which subsequently became the definite treaty, Hanson omitted this reference to them, and that he determined to seek a final decision from his Government about them.²⁹

There was thus no immediate decision over the future of the Nicobars, but there had been meanwhile new reports of piracy there. The "Moulmein Chronicle" published a letter declaring that a vessel had been taken at Nancowry in January 1844. The Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, Broadfoot, did not attach much credence to the report, which emanated from a country trader, Booth of the "Patriot", but he thought an investigation desirable.

"I would have requested Captain Smith of H.M.S. 'Siren' to go down at once, but the instructions to Captain Halstead are not preserved, and as there are some old claims of the Danish Government to these Islands, I shall cause further enquiry to be made, and if there be no reason for haste shall solicit further instructions before acting."³⁰

27. Governor-General in Council to Secret Committee, 16 Dec. 1841, No. 103, Secret Letters Received from Bengal, First Series, Vol. 26, Commonwealth Relations Office.

28. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 2 July 1845, No. 24, Draft 513, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 45, pp. 349-55.

29. Draft enclosed in Hanson to Hardinge, 23 Sept. 1844, Board's Collections 97802a, p. 128; Hanson to Currie, 31 Oct. 1844, *ibid.*, p. 149.

30. Broadfoot to Currie, 18 Mar. 1844. Board's Collections 98711, p. 15.

Subsequently, another country trader, Moniot, commander of the brig "Sophia", repeated the report that a vessel had been destroyed and its crew murdered earlier in the year, apparently, according to Chabard, then at Teressa, again in Ho-ho bay. This was still vague information, Broadfoot commented, and in the coming season few vessels could visit the Nicobars; but in the next monsoon it would be desirable to commence periodical visits by men-of-war and steamers from Penang and Moulmein, "with definite authority to act in certain cases". Mere descents from a man-of-war had been proved insufficient, he added, "and it is for the Government to consider what stronger measures should be taken. The Islands are worthless and unhealthy, but they will if unpunished become very prejudicial to our trade..."³¹

At Penang a notice appeared in the newspapers about the loss of a vessel, presumably in the Nicobars, in January; and there had also been an attack on the cutter "Emelina" of Malacca, the Captain of which had been murdered. Something, declared Broadfoot, must be done, and he believed it would be possible to render naval forces effective for suppressing piracy by using them to seize the ringleaders of the pirates. In an earlier period, he wrote, only the Great Nicobar (Sambelong) people had been considered unfriendly; now only the people of Car Nicobar and Teressa could be considered friendly. The piracy in Camorta and Nancowry probably originated with the attack on the "Pilot", perhaps the result of a quarrel, and with the resulting punishment, which drove the natives to the Camorta jungle and encouraged the adoption of piracy as a habit. Destruction of the cocoanuts on Camorta and Nancowry would, the Commissioner concluded, merely induce further piracy: what was needed was some continued pressure which would force the people to come out of the jungle and give up the ringleaders; and these could be dealt with as the Governor-General saw fit. "Both in punishing them and providing for the future", Broadfoot added, "it would not be forgotten that our traders often defraud and oppress unprotected savages and for all we know may have so caused in the first instance the atrocities Government is now obliged to put down". This, however, was

31. Broadfoot to Currie, 29 Apl. 1844, 1 July 1844, Board's Collections 98711 pp. 27, 37.

In 1838 the Danes, as a result of a royal decree, withdrew from the Nicobars, though maintaining their sovereignty.²¹ In the succeeding years there was an increase of piracy that prompted the Indian Government at last to consider action. It was still not prepared to adopt Crisp's suggestions for bringing the islands under control, but wished to confine itself to naval patrols and expeditions. This cheap and easy method of civilising the islanders was, however, to be subjected to criticism, for the isolated visits of men-of-war were insufficient to create lasting fear among them, while the occasional destruction of their villages, apart from its doubtful moral justification, incited them to look to irregular modes of making a living.

In December 1840 H.M.S. "Cruizer" picked up a boat belonging to the whaler "Pilot" of London about two hundred miles west of the Nicobar Islands. The ship had put in at Ho-ho on Camorta for water and refreshments—not at Nancowry, as an earlier report stated—and the natives had taken possession of it, apparently murdering the captain and most of the crew. Commander Giffard of the "Cruizer" burned the village, about seventy huts, and destroyed its canoes. He reported that other ships had undoubtedly suffered a similar fate, and other islanders, such as those of Teressa and Bompoka, were certainly concerned in these practices.²² Accounts of this transaction appeared in the Calcutta papers in February, and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, recognising that the Andaman and Nicobar Islands lay "directly in the track of vessels bound to the Straits", urged measures for "providing to commerce in that quarter a security for the future against atrocity and plunder". The Governor-General asked Captain Halstead of H.M.S. "Childers" to visit the Nicobars, together with the steamer "Ganges", to investigate "the present feelings and habits of the people... towards the vessels that may visit their Islands", and rescue any mariners detained by them in captivity.²³

These instructions were issued despite a communication from the Governor of Serampore pointing out that, though the settle-

21. Christian, p. 225; Hanson to Maddock, 15 Feb. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 11.

22. Giffard to Bonham, 25 Jan. 1841, Board's Collections 84262, p. 1.

23. Governor-General to Court, 3 Mar. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 1.

ment on Camorta had been abandoned, the Danish Government had "not given up their claims to the sovereignty of the islands which had been acknowledged by the Natives at several periods..." Hanson remarked that the natives were

"generally unoffensive and have frequently had it in their power to do away with the few Danish settlers and take possession of their stores and property, but they have treated them with uniform kindness and acknowledged their superiority. I therefore suspect that some offence has been given by the British Sailors, and as the Natives are exceedingly jealous of their women occasion of offence can easily have been given."²⁴

The weakness of the Danish position was obvious to the Serampore Governor, and there was in this perhaps an added reason for supporting this explanation of the origins of piracy. The British authorities came later to share in part his attitude on that subject, but it did not really provide a satisfactory argument for Governmental inactivity, for failure to exercise any control over natives or sailors.

The Court of Directors of the Company remarked that it was for Her Majesty's Government

"either to acknowledge or dispute the alleged sovereignty of the Danish Crown over these Islands, one of the consequences of which if admitted would be that reparation for any injury done by the Nicobar islanders to British subjects might be demanded from the Danish Authorities".²⁵

The future of the Danish settlements in India was in fact under discussion at this point: early in 1841 there had been indications that, consequent upon reform and retrenchment under their new king, Christian VIII, the Danes were proposing to dispose of their costly possessions in the East.²⁶ With reference to Serampore and Tranquebar, the Governor-General in Council commented that it

24. Hanson to Maddock, 15 Feb. 1841, Board's Collections 80477, p. 11.

25. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Foreign, 28 July 1841, No. 1, Draft 523, para 4, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 28, pp. 317-8, Commonwealth Relations Office.

26. Wynn to Palmerston, 31 Jan. 1841, extract attached to Secret Committee to Governor-General in Council, 3 Apl. 1841, No. 729, Board's Drafts of Secret Letters and Despatches to India, all Presidencies, First Series, Vol. 14, Commonwealth Relations Office.

only a reason for more Government activity, and ships of war should visit the islands two or three times a year during the north-east monsoon.³²

The Governor of the Straits Settlements was also following up the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina", apparently, he learned, off Nancowry, and proposed to use his steamers in the next monsoon "to beat up the piratical hordes" in that area. Chabard, then visiting Penang, advised, like Broadfoot, against indiscriminate punishment, and thought that only the leading criminals should be punished. The only real remedy, he added, was the expansion of Christianity.³³

The Indian Government referred the whole matter to Commodore Chads, then in command of the East Indies squadron, commenting that from available information it was impossible to tell whether or not the natives might have been provoked. Chads had had much experience of piracy in the Malay Archipelago, as a result of a special commission given him by Lord Auckland in 1836, and he drew upon this in recommending to the Governor-General that

"much may be done by forbearance and warning these inhabitants of the certainty of punishment to the extreme of our means, and in every manner, if they persevere in their lawless proceedings, and showing them that our attention is drawn towards them, by the frequent and lengthened presence of a small steamer or the vessel of war stationed at Moulmein".³⁴

Crisp meanwhile had his own plans for the Nicobars. Allegedly at the request of the natives, he removed the French missionaries from Car Nicobar and took them to join Chabard on Teresa. Upon the latter island the Captain himself was planning to settle, in order to promote rice and betelnut cultivation and set an example to the piratically-inclined in the neighbouring islands, and he thought the Government might find Nancowry valuable as a coal depot for steamers going to Singapore and China. Meanwhile he realized that it was confining itself to naval

operations, and advocated visiting "the principal Pirates of Nancowry and Camorta with retributive vengeance by the execution of one or more of them on the spot". These could be captured by means of a decoy.³⁵

Some unsatisfactory attempts at using decoys had been made in Malay waters. Chads did not adopt such suggestions, but sent Commander Jervis of H.M.S. "Pilot" to the Nicobars with instructions that were simply a development of his remarks to the Governor-General. Lascars of Indian country vessels—and reference to them was more relevant than one to "British sailors"—were unlikely to have been provocative, he observed, but it was advisable to give the natives the benefit of the doubt, and he recommended in the first instance "conciliatory conduct...endeavour to convince them that we wish to be their friends, at the same time to give them solemn warning that any repetition of the activities they are now suspected of, will be punished with the utmost severity". Warnings could be given through the French missionaries, who might join the occasional cruises round the islands. If piracy continued, but not otherwise, there must be executions of leading criminals, if apprehended, or, if necessary, destruction of huts and trees.³⁶ As Chads knew from his Malayan experience, it was certainly difficult to execute the plan of civilising the islands through the instrument of naval operations: for instance, as Durand, now the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, observed, it was almost impossible to secure the criminals, yet quite undesirable to punish indiscriminately.³⁷ The best that could be done was to cruise and attempt to create a lasting impression by the threat of force. These views resulted in orders for an increase in naval strength in the area: H.M. steamer "Spiteful" was instructed to join the expedition and the Straits Settlements was to send a steamer.³⁸

The "Spiteful" had in the event to undertake other duties, and was not at the islands when early in 1845, the Straits steamer,

35. Crisp to Tenasserim Commissioner, 12 Oct. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 93.

36. Chads to Jervis, 12 Nov. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 104.

37. Durand to Maddock, 12 Feb. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 122.

38. Blackwood to Governor-General, 16 Dec. 1844; Currie to Butterworth, 18 Jan. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 119.

32. Broadfoot to Currie, 10 Aug. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 41.

33. Butterworth to Turnbull, 1 July 1844; Chabard to Butterworth, 9 June 1844, Board's Collections 98711, pp. 62, 79.

34. Chads to Governor-General, n.d., Board's Collections 98711, p. 91.

H.C.S. "Phlegethon", cruised there, wooded and watered at Nancowry, and called on the French on Teressa.³⁹ H.M. sloop "Wolverine" had, however, visited the Nicobars late in 1844. Chabord had pointed out the place of the Ho-ho bay attack of January, and, with this information corroborated by Nancowry natives, the acting-Commander, so far from fulfilling the Commodore's intentions, proceeded at once to destroy the villages, and, for good measure, also a village at the northern end of Camorta, which some Nancowry natives declared responsible for another outrage, apparently the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina".⁴⁰ In Mergui information was received about the cutting-off of the brig "Mary", and it was thought the Nancowry people were themselves responsible. Durand determined in April 1845 to send the Moulmein steamer, "Ganges", down to investigate.⁴¹

The Bengal Acting-Superintendent of Marine indeed thought that, as there was "always one of H.M. Men-of-war stationed at Moulmein, ... she should occasionally cruize among those Islands instead of remaining for months at anchor off the Town of Moulmein". The "Pilot", which was shortly to replace the "Spiteful", might also survey the Andamans, and "report whether a suitable locality can be found for a settlement, as there can be no doubt as to the great advantage that would result to all vessels navigating the Straits from our having a settlement there, it would also tend more than anything else to put a stop to Piracy..."⁴² The Court was not prepared to go nearly so far, and in October advised that "all commanders of trading vessels likely to touch at the Nicobar Islands should be recommended to employ a portion of their crew as an armed watch over the safety of the rest, whether on board or on shore". This might avoid the need for measures of repression, though the Indian Government might adopt them if it appeared "practicable and advisable".⁴³

39. Butterworth to Currie, 27 Mar. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, p. 161.

40. Morris to Butterworth, 23 Dec. 1844, Board's Collections 98711, p. 162. It is possible that Chads' orders had not been received.

41. Moore to Durand, 25 Mar. 1845; reply, 4 Apr. 1845, Board's Collections 98711, pp. 149-150.

42. Acting-Superintendent to Governor of Bengal, 23 Apr. 1845, ex., Board's Collections 103303, p. 65.

43. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Oct. 1845, No. 34, Draft 747, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 46, pp. 522-6.

Meanwhile, the "Ganges" had investigated the fate of the "Mary", which, it was learned from Chabord, had in fact been destroyed in the bay formed by the islands of Teressa and Bom-poka, and had visited Ho-ho bay and Nancowry to look again into the murder of the Captain of the "Emelina". Captain Moore, the Assistant Commissioner at Mergui, who accompanied the expedition, was suspicious of a native called "Captain Smith", and of a European, Goldsmith, left behind by a Chittagong ship in 1838 and resident in Nancowry. No vengeance was taken but his report revived the idea of punishing ringleaders, and Durand proposed that in the healthy season, in January, a party of the Local Corps should be sent to Teressa, with the "naval forces of the Tenasserim Provinces", perhaps the steamer "Proserpine", and one of H.M. Cruisers, to induce the guiltless to yield up the guilty. A special commission could try these persons on the spot and if necessary execute them.⁴⁴ This latter recommendation, the Indian Government remarked, was impracticable: "persons charged with offences of this nature should be apprehended and brought for trial to one of Her Majesty's Courts of Admiralty".⁴⁵ The problem of administering summary justice in this way had been met in dealing with Malay piracy, and possibly this had contributed to preserving Chads' adoption of plans like Crisp's: it was difficult to punish even the ringleaders, even if they were taken.

Commodore Blackwood, however, took up the suggestion of a naval expedition to the Nicobars, to consist of his ship, the "Fox", a large steamer, a sloop, and three of the Company's small steamers,⁴⁶ but the President-in-Council in Calcutta thought it better to postpone these measures, and as also the execution of the Court's instructions of October. The Danish frigate "Galatea" had early in November arrived from Europe in connection with the transfer of the Danish settlements. The President, Maddock, noted that the Commander, Captain Steen Bille, proposed to send

"a steamer under the Danish flag to the Nicobars with the object...of making scientific enquiries as to the resources

44. Durand to Currie, 15 May 1845, and enclosures, Board's Collections 105974, p. 3.

45. Resolution in the Home Department, 5 July 1845, Board's Collections 105974, p. 38.

46. Blackwood to Hardinge, 18 July 1845, Board's Collections 105974, p. 41.

of the islands, for which purpose the Danish vessel and the exploring party which accompanies it will remain for some time on the islands. [Perhaps] it would be well for us to refer to the commander of this vessel for the redress of any injuries our subjects may have sustained from the inhabitants.

"To do this [however] would be to acknowledge indirectly the sovereignty claimed by [the King of] Denmark and to send ships without reference to his officer to enforce redress from the guilty inhabitants by our own means would lead to inconvenient discussion, whereas if we remain passive for the present the probability is that the Danish steamer will deter the islanders from any fresh aggressions for a time and that the sickness which their party is likely to encounter and the disappointment of their hopes of finding the islands adapted for a colonial settlement will lead to an early abandonment of their design, after which we shall feel ourselves at liberty to treat the people of the Nicobars as if no claims of superiority over them had ever been advanced by another European power.

"If the Danes on the contrary should feel disposed to form permanent settlements on these islands, and the British Government does not see fit to deny their pretensions, we must hold them responsible for the conduct of the islanders."

This statement did not reach the Governor-General, and Maddock's plan of "lying low" was therefore adopted by accident rather than by design.⁴⁷

Earlier in the year the Danish Consul-General in Calcutta had organised the expedition of the schooner "L'Espiegle" to the Nicobars to investigate alleged coalfields and experiment with cotton growing. The coal was found to be of little value,⁴⁸ but more information was apparently sought. Steen Bille declared that it depended upon "the result of our different surveys if the Danish settlements will be renewed or not on this old possession of the Danish Crown, but until the question can be settled a Danish Force will be left on the station amongst the islands to maintain security against piracy".⁴⁹ The visit of the "Galatea" and the pre-

sence of the "Ganges", which had been purchased and placed under the Danish commander Aschlund, seems to have had the effect Maddock anticipated, and no complaints were received of Nicobar piracies for the next two years. In June 1847, however, the President minuted that the Danish expedition had apparently left the islands, and he proposed an enquiry into the security or otherwise of the Andamans and Nicobars. Decisions about the future must involve the Danish claim to the latter, and Maddock now openly doubted if the Indian Government "could be justified in acknowledging the Right of Denmark to dominion in any Islands in the Bay of Bengal, surrounded as that bay is by the continental possessions of Great Britain under the Government of the East India Company, and to which the claim of Denmark rests on very slight grounds".⁵⁰

The Tenasserim Commissioner confirmed that his force having been attacked by a "violent jungle fever", Captain Aschlund had withdrawn from the Nicobar Islands, recommending their abandonment to the Copenhagen Government. No cases of piracy, however, had as yet been reported.⁵¹ Aschlund told the Resident-Councillor at Penang that he thought vessels would be safe

"while attention is paid to those prudent precautions which are universally necessary when dealing with an uncivilised people. Prudence would dictate the preventing of numerous bodies of the natives coming on board at the same time, abstaining from intoxicating the Natives with ardent spirits, keeping a good lookout, and preserving good discipline on board, and discouraging and if possible preventing the crews when on shore from meddling with the women of the place."⁵²

In the following year, however, the Tenasserim Commissioner reported a dispute between the crew of a Moulmein vessel and the inhabitants of Nancowry, which, he suggested, showed that visits by men-of-war were desirable "for the purpose alike of controlling, and of giving due security to our Traders"; but H.M.S. "Acorn" had left the Tenasserim station, and there was no vessel available to patrol the Nicobars.⁵³ Crisp suggested occasional

47. Maddock to Governor-General, 9 Dec. 1845, Board's Collections 105074, p. 55; Note by Melvill, 10 June 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 3.

48. Christian, p. 227.

49. Steen Bille to "the Government of the East India Company", 21 Dec. 1845, Board's Collections 101479, p. 51.

50. Minute by Maddock, 11 June 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 6.

51. Bingham to Colvin, 21 July 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 15.

52. Garling to Butterworth, 17 Sept. 1847, Board's Collections 118871, p. 25.

53. Colvin to Elliot, 20 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 31.

visits during the period November-April,⁵⁴ and the pressure on the Government to act was increased by the announcement from the commander of His Danish Majesty's sloop "Valkyrien" that he was instructed finally to remove the Nicobar settlement; "and considering that acts of Piracy might be committed by the inhabitants of those Islands, when left without a military force, I feel it my duty to report my intended proceedings, in order that His Lordship [the Governor-General] may take such steps that he may consider necessary in consequence".⁵⁵ This announcement supplemented a despatch from Copenhagen.⁵⁶ No major decisions were, however, taken about the Nicobars.

In 1849 the Tenasserim Commissioner sent the "Proserpine" to the Andamans to search for the missing crew of the barque "Emily" wrecked on Interview Island. The wreck was found, plundered, but no survivors could be discovered.⁵⁷ The inaccuracy of the charts of the area was again illustrated, and, as Rogers, the Bengal Superintendent of Marine, observed, other considerations might render a survey desirable. The "Proserpine" had met distrust and hostility among the natives, and

"the institution of a survey of the coast of the Islands might be made the means of familiarising the inhabitants with strangers, and drawing them within the pale of civilisation...."

"The importance of conciliating the people of the Andamans and rendering them less hostile to shipwrecked Mariners, or others who may land or be thrown on these islands, situated as it were in the centre of what may be considered the peculiar sea of the Indian Empire, I have no doubt Your Honour [the Deputy-Governor of Bengal] will at once recognise...."

If nothing were done, "it may hereafter be made matter of reproach to the enlightened Government of British India that it has

54. Crisp to Dalhousie, 19 May 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 57. In this letter Crisp also forwarded to the Government a declaration from the chiefs of Car Nicobar, offering to cede the island to the British in order to avoid coming under Danish control.

55. Becher to Elliot, 2 June 1848, Board's Collections 118871, p. 55.

56. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Feb. 1848, No. 2, Draft 35, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 56, pp. 539-40.

57. Bogle to Grant, 22 Oct. 1849; Brooking to Bogle, 29 Oct. 1849, Board's Collections 128660, pp. 3, 6.

so long left these people within three or four days sail of this great commercial Port [Calcutta] in a state of barbarism and misery".⁵⁸ The Deputy-Governor felt that a survey could not effect these aims, while there were areas more in need of a survey, such as the Pedir coast of Sumatra or the Nicobars. It was finally decided that the work of the Danes in 1845 covered the Nicobars, and so the surveying vessel, the "Krishna", was sent to Sumatra.⁵⁹

Rogers next called attention to the "horrid crimes" committed in the Nicobars. The Company's steamer "Tenasserim" had visited the islands to investigate reports of vessels cut off there, and the commander had come to the conclusion that "two or more" vessels had been cut off by Camorta or Nancowry natives within the space of a few months.⁶⁰ Even this apparently did not stir the Calcutta Government, for no action resulted, and the Court itself asked its intentions.⁶¹

Later the Directors commented rather sharply on a new outrage in the Andamans, the attack upon the shipwrecked crew of the "Fyz-Buksch" of Moulmein: "we cannot doubt that the subject has received the consideration its importance deserves".⁶² This prompted the Indian Government, if not to act, at least to consider action. The President-in-Council decided that the occupation of the islands, "the only effectual remedy", was impracticable, but a convict settlement might be made on the south-west part of the southern island which was "reported to be healthy".⁶³ Captain Hopkinson, the Commissioner in Arakan, was asked to comment, and he considered that if "the only effectual remedy" was the occupation of the islands, the next best thing was "the establishment

58. Rogers to Littler, 9 Apl. 1850, Board's Collections 131280, p. 3.

59. Grant to Rogers, 25 May 1850; Rogers to Littler, 18 July 1850, Board's Collections 131280, pp. 10, 15.

60. Rogers to Dalhousie, 13 Mar. 1852; Dicey to Lambert, 11 Mar. 1852, Board's Collections 142296, pp. 3, 5.

61. Court to Governor-General in Council, Bengal Marine, 18 May 1853, No. 15, Draft 359, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 81, P. 229-30.

62. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Marine, 29 Aug. 1855, No. 47, Draft 802, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 92, pp. 1204-5.

63. Dalrymple to Grey, 28 Nov. 1855, Board's Collections 171873, p. 5; Selections, p. 37.

of a British Settlement on one of the Islands which might extend itself hereafter as circumstances allowed". The climate and natural features were not unlike those of Arakan thirty years before and could thus be improved; the valuable harbours might be better in the hands of the British than of others; and they had a duty to protect seafarers, especially in view of their claims over the islands. The cheapest way to begin a colony would be by a penal settlement for Burmese criminals, which could be sited at "old" Port Cornwallis, or on the western side of the Archipelago, at Port Andaman or Interview Island. "Any project for the reoccupation of the Andaman should also comprehend arrangements for exercising from them a surveillance over the neighbouring group of the Nicobars. Those islands have acquired a horrid notoriety of late years for the murderous piracies committed by the inhabitants", the latest report upon which was from the commander of the "Tenasserim". "It would be well if these Islands could be reduced to an authority, and if the establishment of a penal settlement were the only consideration, they would probably answer as well for that purpose as the Andamans." The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal supported Hopkinson's views.⁶⁴

The Governor-General, Lord Canning, was, however, opposed to a settlement in the Andamans. There was no need for a new penal settlement, the establishment of which would involve "a sure expenditure of life and money". Nor would a convict settlement at one point render the whole group of islands safe for traders or the shipwrecked. It was indeed true that "property has its duties as well as its Rights", but

"we must consider our means and the further and more weighty liabilities which we may bring upon ourselves before we undertake even a duty. The possession of an island, unless it be so situated and armed as to be a bulwark or an advanced guard, becomes in war a positive weakness...."

"Surely it would not be wise to encumber ourselves with new outlying points of defence which must either be made, at considerable expense, strong enough to protect themselves, or, upon the approach of danger, be guarded by a force which will have more than enough to do elsewhere or be abandoned with discredit..."

64. Hopkinson to Bengal Secretary, 8 Feb. 1856; Grey to India Secretary, 29 Feb. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, pp. 8, 7; *Selections*, pp. 38, 38.

It might indeed be argued that the British claim over the Andaman Islands was weak: "however, as we shall probably assert it against any intruding Power, it would not be honest to argue as though it did not exist".⁶⁵

Grant, a member of the Council, disagreed with Canning. Certainly security for traders and the shipwrecked could be provided only by the complete occupation of the Andamans and Nicobars which was impracticable, but some move towards this might be politic. A harbour of refuge would help them, and a position could be selected that was also "a convenient port of call for refreshment, and perhaps for coaling". In time of war it might be taken, but it could not be retained by an enemy unless Britain lost command of the sea "in which case India itself would be untenable". Such a colony would also be a convenient convict station receiving the criminals in particular of Burma and the Straits.

"And at none of our existing convict settlements is there jail accommodation for any large increase in the number of convicts; yet that there will be a very large increase in that number by reason of our late immense accessions of territory, seems certain. It may be presumed that Jails, convict lines, or other places of confinement for convicts can be nowhere less costly than at a place where the convicts know that if they run away they will be eaten up.

"It appears to me also that on diplomatic considerations some visible sign of actual dominion in that quarter would have its uses. I take it for granted that no foreign power could be allowed to establish herself in the Andamans or Nicobars. Whatever was the case before, the conquest of Pegu has made the Bay of Bengal a British Sea",

and the difficulty that Britain would face if any such attempt were made could be avoided by anticipating it.⁶⁶

The Court of Directors thought there was something in Grant's arguments, especially, it would seem, the latter one. It might sometime be necessary to reassert British rights to the Andamans: "it would have been highly inconvenient and objectionable, at any time, that a group of islands, so situated, should be occupied by strangers, but the importance of the consideration has

65. Minute by Canning, 15 Mar. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 21.

66. Minute by Grant, 19 Mar. 1856, Board's Collections 171873, p. 31.

been much increased since we have become masters of Pegu". A harbour of refuge would certainly add to the security of traffic, and there was also the question of a penal settlement. In any case more data were required before any resolution was made, and since, as Grant said, the object "would be very imperfectly attained without the occupation of the Nicobar Islands", which had been abandoned by the Danes, information about their reported insalubrity would likewise be welcome, so that the Court might "form an opinion respecting the expediency or in expediency of taking formal possession of the islands".⁶⁷

The Indian Council as a whole was still not enthusiastic, and acquainted the Court that "the proper time at which to begin exploration" of the Andamans was "at the cessation of the south-west monsoon, when the dangerous part of the coast is accessible, and when there is least risk to health". In any case it had no steamers available, so the expedition would be deferred till "autumn".⁶⁸ In November, indeed, it appointed a committee to examine the islands, composed of Dr. F. J. Mouat, the Inspector of Jails in the Lower Provinces, Assistant Surgeon G. R. Playfair, M.D., and Lieutenant J. A. Heathcote of the Indian Navy. The aim of this committee was, however, not simply to acquire information, but to select

"a site for the establishment of a Penal settlement for the reception in the first instance of Mutineers, Deserters and Rebels, sentenced to imprisonment or banishment, and eventually for the reception of all convicts under sentence of transportation whom for any reason it may not be thought expedient to send to the Straits Settlements or to the Tenasserim Provinces".⁶⁹

It was thus the outbreak of the Mutiny that had prompted the Indian Government to this decisive act. As Grant had remarked, existing convict settlements could not cope with a heavy increase in numbers, and there had been strong objections to sending des-

67. Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 1 Oct. 1856, No. 37, Draft 1011, Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. 100, pp. 345-60; *Selections*, pp. 49-51.

68. Governor-General in Council to Court, Foreign, 8 Apl. 1857, No. 24, Board's Collections 192739, p. 1; *Selections*, p. 51.

69. Governor-General in Council to Court, Home Judicial, 19 Jan. 1858, No. 3, Board's Collections 192739, p. 13; *Selections*, p. 1.

perate characters, for instance, to the Straits. Mouat had therefore suggested removing "turbulent, refractory individuals" to the Andamans.⁷⁰

The committee reached Moulmein on H.C. steam frigate "Seamaster" on 1 December, and the expedition, now aboard H.C. steamer "Pluto", reached Port Cornwallis on 11 December. The causes of its unhealthiness became clear: it was largely fringed with mangrove and "the prevailing winds during the greater part of the year, at its most unhealthy season", blew "over the swamp surrounding the island". Sound Island and the North Andaman formed a bay, but this also appeared unhealthy, as well as deficient in water, and the lack of a passage between the North and Great Andaman apparently ruled out Interview Island. The bay between Great Andaman and Long Island was unsuitable for a settlement because of mangrove and lack of water. On the west coast, Port Campbell, and a harbour south-west of "Old Harbour", later called Port Mouat, were examined and rejected, and Landfall Island and the Cocos to the north were, it was decided, "too directly in the track of commerce" and were deficient in harbours. The recommended spot was "Old Harbour", the site of Blair's first and healthier settlement. The committee mentioned in its report that it had attempted to open an amicable intercourse with the natives, but "from first to last they rejected every attempt at conciliation, and either avoided or forcibly opposed all attempts to hold communion with them". At one point there was an outright clash, three natives were shot, and one was captured and taken to Calcutta. It was hoped that he could subsequently be used to communicate with his fellows on the islands; some means of so doing was essential if they were not to be gradually destroyed and if shipwrecked persons were not still to suffer.⁷¹

The committee's recommendation of "Port Blair", as it was now to be called, was accepted, and Captain Man, the Executive Engineer and Superintendent of Convicts at Moulmein, was instructed to prepare the site for the convicts, the first group of

70. Blundell to Beadon, 11 Sept. 1857; Mouat to Buckland, 24 Oct. 1857, Board's Collections 192739, pp. 69-75.

71. Andaman Committee to Beadon, 1 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 99, *Selections*, p. 4.

whom would be 218 mutineers from the Punjab.⁷² Man was also instructed to take formal possession of the island-group in order to avoid any doubt arising from the long neglect of the earlier claim.⁷³ The Superintendent subsequently appointed, Walker, reported in June that he had received 773 convicts: 65 had died in hospital, 140 had escaped without being recaptured, one had committed suicide, and 87 had been executed. There had been trouble with the natives as the Court had feared,⁷⁴ and Walker apparently tried to bully them into submission. After some clashes had occurred, the Secretary of State for India visited the public functionaries with his "serious displeasure".⁷⁵ The Mouat committee's captured islander sickened and could not be used as a means of communication, and Walker's successor, Haughton, anxious to conciliate the natives, searched in vain for a native who might act as an interpreter.⁷⁶ It was in this unfortunate way that the process of bringing civilisation to the Andamans began.

The Nicobars were not involved in the scheme for a convict settlement which had finally induced the Calcutta Government to act, although they had been involved in Hopkinson's plans and in the suggestions of the Court of Directors. The latter had been concerned lest other powers should interfere in islands adjacent to British Burma. It became apparent, however, that the Danes, despite their withdrawal in 1848, maintained their claims over the Nicobars. In the 1860s there were complaints of piracy, and the Danes, busy in Schleswig-Holstein, failed to act. Ultimately they agreed to the British assumption of control in 1869, and in 1871 the transfer of some 200 convicted prisoners from Port Blair began the civilisation of the Nicobars.⁷⁷

72. Beadon to Man, 15 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 117b; *Selections*, p. 72.

73. Beadon to Man, 15 Jan. 1858, Board's Collections 192739, p. 123.

74. Walker to Beadon, 16 June 1858, *Selections*, p. 85; Court to Governor-General in Council, India Political, 18 May 1858, No. 19, Draft 563, *Despatches to India and Bengal*, Vol. 112, pp. 1221-52. The copy of the latter in *Selections* does not include this reference.

75. Stanley to Governor-General in Council, 30 Nov. 1858, No. 13, *Political Despatches to India*, Vol. 1, Commonwealth Relations Office.

76. Haughton to Grey, 6 Oct. 1859, *Collections to Political Despatches to India*, Vol. 13 (No. 21 of 1860), Commonwealth Relations Office.

77. Christian, p. 230.

Mahatma Gandhi's Conception of Politics

BY

DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.,

Professor & Head of the Department of History,

Lucknow University

"Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics," Gandhiji had once protested to a friend. "But", he had at the same time assured him, "I am a politician trying to become a saint". In this characteristic admission lies the clue to an understanding of Gandhiji's conception of politics. That he was a strange compound of saint and statesman is well known. But, his wondering admirers seldom tried to find out whether, in fact, he was a fallen saint, or an ennobled politician. There is no doubt that he took to politics in the same spirit in which an ascetic would take to spiritual realization. Political life was to him a way of renunciation and service. Such a lofty conception of politics was doubtless an ideal which the world had never seen in actual operation before.

The more one analyses the political career of Gandhiji, the more is one convinced of the fact that he never regarded political endeavour as a matter of mere policy or expediency. Politics was with him a sort of self-dedication to the cause of Truth. Even his fight for *Swaraj* was in reality a search for Truth, for according to him, God is Truth. His historic technique of non-violent *Satyagraha* was the light which revealed that Truth to him. Thus, he looked upon *Satyagraha* as a *Kalpadruma*—Jami-Jam—The Universal Provider! This idealisation of political campaigning was an attribute of the spirit within. It was something which an average man cannot easily understand even though this spirit might be latent in every one of us. Gandhiji claimed that like *Swaraj*, *Satyagraha* is our birth-right. And he knew it more than anybody else, for it was his firm conviction that his way of politics had given to the dumb millions of India a consciousness of their inner strength and had created an awakening among them which perhaps no other way could have done.

The most unusual feature of his political agitation was the avoidance of all traces of bitterness and vindictiveness. Even for his worst opponents he had no hatred or malice. Who but Gandhiji could have truthfully asserted "I will not hurt England to serve India". This attitude of moral detachment was something which made him truly great. He eschewed violence not merely in its physical form, but, what is more important, in its moral sense as well. "I cannot, and will not hate Englishmen" he was not ashamed of saying. "Nor", as he was equally emphatic, "will I bear their yoke. I must fight unto death the unholy attempt to impose British institutions on India". That one could dream of a struggle for freedom from foreign yoke without racial bitterness would have been dismissed as a phantasy, if Gandhiji had not actually demonstrated it by his own example. He showed to the world, as it had never been shown before, that wrong could be distinguished from the wrong-doer, and that the *sannyasi's* detachment adds to, instead of weakening, the real effectiveness of the politician.

In politics, one normally looks to the end, rather than the means. And, it is this popular attitude which is responsible for much of the Machiavellism and chicanery which we usually associate with day-to-day political life. In Gandhiji's philosophy of politics, means and end were convertible terms. He would never compromise his honour and principles by taking recourse to any ignoble or questionable expedient or tactics, even though it might be held conducive to ultimate success. Fraud, falsehood, or double dealing, according to him, defeated the very object of freedom or political power. Politics based on Truth might be slower, but surer, and a few years' delay is nothing in the history of a nation. Gandhiji could conceive of no dishonest short cut to *Swaraj* except through a patient struggle of self-purification and self-sacrifice. The morality and spirituality of India's urge for freedom had no less an appeal for Gandhiji than the end of *Swaraj* itself. We have to resist, he always emphasized, all forms of duplicity or opportunism which can be no real foundation for a lasting *Swaraj*. Everything that he did, or advocated in politics, was judged by him from this lofty standpoint of morality. The end must be attained not by corrupt, secret or fraudulent methods, but truthfully, openly and reverently in the name of Truth and God. To those who think that this is an impracticable way in politics, Gandhiji meant to show, not by precept alone, but by his

own experiments with Truth, that politics can be grounded on a spiritual force, transcending time and space, and that a national movement can be directed along lines of selfless and fearless striving for Truth.

Gandhiji ever broke or defied a law in the course of his *satyagraha* movement, in so doing he always emphasized that he had obeyed his inner voice, which is the law of God. He refused to be a party to evil, to accept or have any share in injustice, to acquiesce in wrong that could be righted, or to tolerate a state of affairs which he could not justify on grounds of righteousness. As a consequence, he never saw eye to eye with those who would insist on perpetrating or aggravating wrong on grounds of interest or policy. From the ethical point of view, Gandhiji's political methods were aimed at the expression and fulfilment of that spiritual *sadhana* which leads to the true development of the national mind, and, therefore, to the good of humanity. *Swaraj* was not to be a mere form of government, but a process of self-uplift, which is necessary as much for a nation, as for the whole mankind.

As a seeker after Truth, Gandhiji never hesitated to acknowledge his mistakes, howsoever "Himalayan" they might be, whenever he was convinced that he had committed any. Such candour on his part was as embarrassing to his followers as it was surprising to his critics. An average politician never likes to admit publicly his own errors. But Gandhiji was fearless of consequences. Once he realized that a blunder had been committed, he would unequivocally own it. Not only did he own it, but he went a step further and tried to atone for it by self-purification in a mood of penitence and sorrow. Such nobility might be looked upon as quixotic by politicians, but, as an apostle of Truth, he believed that a politician, being human, may make a mistake, yet when he realizes it, he should not wilfully suppress it. A mistake, he thought, is always a result of the forces of evil such as passion, anger, malice or greed. Thus to realize and rectify an error, it is necessary to resist and overcome these evil tendencies which are inborn in man. Gandhiji was so sure of the uplifting character of penitence and atonement that he frequently fasted when either he or others had committed a grievous wrong.

Politics was not a means of self-glorification to Gandhiji. It was a path of selfless service. He led the national struggle solely to serve the masses, and, in doing so, he fully identified himself with

the poorest and the lowliest. If he treated hand-spun cloth and the spinning wheel as the symbol of his non-violent movement it was because *Khadi*, according to him, symbolized the misery no less than the final salvation of the poverty-stricken peasants of India. If he lived the life of an ascetic, he did so, because he believed that a selfless leader had no right to live in comfort when the masses were ground down by abject poverty. In his coarse loin-cloth, he represented and led India more truthfully than he would have done if he had lived a life of normal ease. His emphasis on economic regeneration of India through hand-spinning was calculated not only to bring about a political revolution, but was intended to make the poorest men and women of India conscious of their strength and enable them to play the role of equal partners in the struggle for the country's independence. The *Khadi* programme was thus to him a means of political education for the people. It was also intended to bring the educated people into a close touch with the villagers.

The modern politics-ridden world is unwilling to believe in the efficacy of the political methods which Gandhiji propounded to his fellow-countrymen. But, to him, as to all great leaders of humanity, life was an intergal or synthesised whole, and there was no contradiction between the political and the moral, or between the mundane and the spiritual. It may be urged that he was not worldly in his methods; but this does not imply that he was a misfit in politics. What he sought to enforce in politics was self-discipline through non-violence in deed, word and thought. In other words, he believed that moral preparation or purification is as necessary in politics as it is in spiritual life. Such moral self-discipline was to be the foundation of all political activity. Christ-like in his personal life, he sought to be Christ-like even in politics. His great programme of constructive work stood more for moral purification than for political uplift.

The mere politician might object that there is no place for religion or morality in politics. But, Gandhiji would have retorted that there could be no politics devoid of religion or morality. In his last years, he grew impatient with the growing corruption in Indian party politics, and he protested against it in no uncertain terms. His heart bled when he found that Indian politics was fast becoming an arena for unscrupulous careerists. He raised his voice against the abuses that had crept in among Congressmen,

for he always maintained that without moral greatness Congress could not be politically great. Such high idealism as Gandhiji inculcated among his followers may not be practicable always, but there is no gainsaying the fact that politics shorn of its ethical values is bound to degenerate into an unseemly squabble for power. *Swaraj* had no meaning for Gandhiji if it brought in its train spiritual degradation and moral bankruptcy. *Swaraj* was to him creation of a new life and a nobler life at that.

A new force was thus introduced into wordly politics by Gandhiji, a force with the greatest potentialities for the future of mankind. This is the force of the moral law which underlies truth, fearlessness and non-violence. His conception of politics marks, therefore, the dividing line between two ideals—the ancient Indian ideal of moral detachment and the modern ideal of non-moral power-politics. He did not create this conception but re-asserted it in a sphere where it was never thought of before. Politics has tended to become a disease of society, as it is never usually visualized as service of God and of mankind. Gandhiji's greatness lay in the fact that he sought to provide a moral basis for all human activities including politics.

Gandhiji was, however, never a Gandhi-ite or a party boss. He never even made a fetish of his own personal philosophy or his own personal leadership. He was ill at ease when people expected him to form a group, caucus or even a party, in the accepted sense of the term. When the triumph of his political mission was at hand, he ceased to be even a four-anna member of the Congress. When political freedom came within India's reach, he was dreaming of a "United Faiths of India" based on communal amity and human brotherhood. He eventually risked and sacrificed his life for this higher political cause. If he lived and fought for the Freedom of Man, he suffered and died for the Kingdom of God.

Gandhiji was, in fact, the true type of spiritualised statesman—a type which is almost unparalleled in history. If the world has failed to accept his conception of politics, it is not because it is an impracticable dream, but because the moral revolution which is the condition precedent to its universal acceptance is yet to come. But, it was not for nothing that Mahatma Gandhi trod the path of politics. Let those who look forward to that moral revolution in politics continue to strive for it so as to lead the world towards the fulfilment of its highest destiny.

The Ancient City of Sakala

BY

DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., LL.B., PH.D., D.LITT., HON. F.R.A.S.

Name and importance

Śākala (Pali Sāgala) was a city of the Madras¹ (*Madradeśa*)² mentioned in *Bṛihadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (III. 3.1; 7.1.), probably as early as 600 B.C., who, according to the Epics, appear to have occupied the modern district of Sialkot between the rivers Chenab and Ravi³ or according to Cunningham between the rivers Jhelum and Ravi.⁴ Śākala is mentioned by Patañjali as *Bāhikagrāma* (IV. 2.104; II.294). It was known to the Chinese as *She-kie-lo*. It was the birth place of Sāvitrī, the wife of Satyavāna.⁵ Sāvitrī was the daughter of king Aśvapati of Madra.

Śākala or Śākalanagara⁶ was not only the city but also the capital of the Madras first and then of the Yonas or Yavanas.⁷ The district of Śākala in the Rechna doab between the Chenab (Candrabhāgā) and the Ravi (Irāvati) is often called Śākala-dvīpa.⁸

Śākala, the capital of the Greek kings

Śākala was also the capital of the Greek kings of the House of Euthydemus and the residence of Menander. It became the capital of the Greek king Demetrius after his expulsion from Bac-

1. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XXXI, 1197.

2. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166 ff.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 549-50.

4. *Ancient Geography*, p. 185 and pp. 1-6. Madras was the country of the Sivis having Śākla or Sāgala as its capital (*Mbh.*, ii, 31, 119). The river Irāvati flowed through it (*Matsya P.*, 114.7, 15-18).

5. *Mahābh.*, Vanaparva, Chs. 291-8; pp. 509-23 (Burdwan Ed); *Matsya P.*, Ch. 206; 208.5.

6. *Mahābh.*, II, 32. 14— *Tataḥ Śākalamabhetya Madrāṇām puṣṭabheda-*
nam.

7. *Mahābh.*, Sabhāparva, XXXI, 1197; *Ibid.*, II, 1196; *Ibid.*, viii. 2033.

8. *CHI.*, I, pp. 550-51; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 364 f.n.

tria and of his successors down to Dionysius who ascended the throne after Menander. The family of Euthydemus had Sialkot as one of their capitals and possibly another in the Muttra district of the Northern India as Rapson surmises.⁹ Evidently Rapson is wrong in surmising it. In the 6th century A.D. this city became the capital of the Hūna Toramāna and his son Mihirakula or Mihiragula.¹⁰

Sākala & Euthymedia (Euthydemia)

Ptolemy mentions the city of Euthymedia (Euthydemia) which was identical with Sākala.¹¹ It was situated between the rivers Chenab and Degh in the upper Punjab. The territory was then known as Yona or Yavana which might refer either to the Greek conquerors or to their Indo-Scythian successors. Sākala or Sāgala was destroyed by the Macedonians and rebuilt by the Graeco-Bactrian king Demetrios, who, in honour of his father Euthydemus, called it Euthydemia.¹²

Sarkara and Sākala

The Śarkaras mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Canto LVIII, 35; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, T., p. 373 f.n.) seem to be the Śākalas, the people of Sākala, the capital city of the Madras.

Location

Arrian (*Anabasis*, xxi-xxii) and Curtius wrongly place the city of Sākala to the east of the Ravi but, really speaking, it was to the west of the Ravi according to the *Mahābhārata* (Karna-parva, vii). Sākala was situated on the Apagā rivulet to the west of the Irāvati or the Rāvi.¹³ It was approached from the east by pleasant paths through the Pilu forest which was the commonest wood in this part of the Punjab. In these pleasant paths of the forest there was the danger for the traveller for attack by robbers. The Apagā rivulent had its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east of Sialkot.¹⁴ The water of the Ayak (Apagā) must have

flowed for a long distance below Saṅgala (Sāṅgala) and most probably fell into the Rāvi.¹⁵

The commentator of the *Therīgāthā* (p. 127) wrongly places Sāgalanagara in the kingdom of Magadha. The *Apadāna*, a Theravāda Buddhist Canonical work (p. 131) refers to it as the capital of the Madras who were also known as the Jārtikas and Bāhikas.

Sialkot originally Sākala

According to Cunningham Sialkot was originally Sākala, the capital of the Bāhika country.¹⁶ The name Sialkot¹⁷ originated from the fact that it was the foot of Rājā Sālā (Śālya, the brother of Queen Mādri of the Madra country, identified with Bāhika), who was the maternal uncle of the Pāṇḍavas. The word Bāhika is derived by Kātyāyana in his *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini from *bahis* (outside) with the suffix *īkak* (IV. I, 85.5). The Bāhikas were really held in disrepute.¹⁸

Location of the ancient city of Sialkot

The ancient city of Sialkot was situated 25 miles to the east of Wazirabad. It was more than a mile in length from east to west and half a mile in breadth from north to south. On the north side there was the citadel on a mound 700 ft. square, rising to a height of 49 ft. above the streets of the city. It is not entirely ruined excepting one tower, which is 10 ft. higher than the level of the fort. The city itself was on high ground. The Ayak river was 150 ft. broad with steep banks. This place was originally called Sākala.¹⁹

Some have identified Sākala with Chuniot or Shakkot in the Jhang district. Fleet, V. A. Smith, and Rapson have identified it

15. Cunningham, *Report of a tourist in the Punjab, 1878-79, A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 46.

16. *CAGI.*, pp. 218-19.

17. Sālyakot was gradually changed to Syālkot or, Sialkot (*A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 45) or the fort of the Madra king Salva.

18. *Mahābh.*, Karna-parva, VII; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, pp. 686-87.

19. Cunningham, *Report of a tour in the Punjab in 1878-79; A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 44 ff.

9. *Ancient India*, p. 130.

10. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. Tr., pp. 315-16; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 173.

11. *I.A.*, 1884, pp. 349-50.

12. *Ibid.*, Nov., 1884, p. 350.

13. *Mahābh.*, Karna-parva, VII.

14. Cunningham, *Ancient Geo. of India*, p. 213.

roads, cross roads, and squares were well laid out. Its shops were full of various kinds of costly goods. It had many alms-halls and excellent mansions. Horses, elephants, carriages, and foot-passengers were seen in the streets. It had beautiful men and women and was crowded with men, brahmins, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, and sūdras. There were monks and learned men. There were shops to sell cloths of many kinds. There were big shops to sell flowers and perfumes. Jewels were plenty in the city and there were groups of traders. The city was full of *kahāpaṇa*,³⁵ gold, silver, copper and stone. It was a lustrous abode of wealth. Its store houses were full of wealth and corn. It had many kinds of food and drink.³⁶

Hiuen Tsang's visit to Śākala

The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited Śākala in the 7th century A.D. According to him this city was about 300 li (about 60 miles), south-east from Rājapura.³⁷ There was a Buddhist monastery at Śākala having more than 100 monks, all adherents of Hīnayanism. In this monastery Vasubandhu composed *Abhidharmakośavyākḥā* (Shen-yi-t'i-lun).³⁸ By the side of the monastery there was a stūpa 200 ft. in height. To the north-west there was another stūpa about 200 ft. high, built by Aśoka

35. It was worth 20 *māsakas*. A *pāda* was a quarter of a *kahāpaṇa*. A square copper coin weighing about 146 grains and guaranteed as to weight and fineness by punch-marks made by private individuals. It is interesting to note that Alexander, when in India, struck a half *kahāpaṇa* copper piece, square, in imitation of the Indian money and not round like the Greek coins of the time. There were half and quarter *kahāpaṇas* and probably no other sort. *Buddhist India*, p. 100; Rapson, *Ancient India*, pp. 13-14, 151-52, 173; C.H.I., I, pp. 61, 217).

36. *Milinda-Pañho*, 1-2—*Vividha-vicitra-dalhamattāla koṭṭhakam vana-pavara gopuratoranam gambhīraparikhā-pandarapākra suvibhattavithi-caccaracatukka - singhātakam suppasāritānekavidhavarabhandaparipūritan-tarāpānam vividha-dānagga sata samupasobhitam Varabhavanasatashassā paṭimanditam gajahaya rathapatti samākulam abhirūpanaranāriganānucari-tam nānāvidhavatthāpanasampannam bahuvīdhapupphagandhāpana gandhanandhitam kahāpaṇa-rajata-suvanna-kamsa-pattharaparipuram pajjotamānanidhiniketam pahūta dhanadhañña-vittūpakaranam paripunṇa kosakoṭṭhāgāram bahuannapānam bahuvidha khajja-bhojja-leyya-peyya-sāyaniam.....*

37. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 290.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 291.

on the spot where the four former Buddhas explained the norm (*dharma*).³⁹

Śākala in early Indian history

According to Hiuen Tsang the old town of Śākala (*She-kie-lo*) had the walls thrown down. Its foundations were still firm and strong. It was about 20 li in circuit. In the midst of it a little town was built of about 6 or 7 li in circuit. The inhabitants were rich and prosperous. This was the old capital of the country.⁴⁰

Śākala was soon wrested from the Śūṅgas by the Yavanas to become the capital of Menander.⁴¹ Puṣyamitra Śūṅga was determined to put an end to the religion of the Buddha. He destroyed the Buddhist stūpas (shrines or dagobas) and monasteries and killed Buddhist monks. Śākala was visited by him. There he offered a reward of 100 *dīnāras*⁴² to a person who would bring the head of a Buddhist monk.⁴³

The kings of the Madras claimed to be the Pūrus and their dominions together with their capital, Śākala, twice passed under the sway of the Yavanas under Alexander (326 B.C.) and under his successor Menander. In the early part of the 6th century A.D. Śākala became the capital of the Hūṇa conqueror Mihirakula (*Mo-hi-lo-kiu-lo*) after the death of his father Toramāṇa about 502 A.D.⁴⁴ Mihirakula or Mihiragula subdued all the neighbouring provinces. The king was cruel. Being enraged by the conduct of some Buddhist priests, he ordered his men to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the religion of the Buddha, and to leave nothing remaining. A Magadhan king named Bālāditya, hearing Mihirakula's cruel persecution, guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute to him. Bālāditya fled hearing Mihirakula's march against him. Mihira-

39. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166-67.

40. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 166-67.

41. C.H.I., I, p. 519.

42. A gold coin weighing 124 grains, (*svarnarūpaka*), adapted from the Roman *Denarius* during the Kuṣāṇa rule in the 1st century A.D. (Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 67 & 181).

43. *Divyāvadāna*, (Cowel & Neil), p. 434,—*yāvat Puṣyamitro yāvat saṃghāramam bhikṣumś ca praghātayan prasthitāḥ sa yāvaccakālāṃ anuprāp-taḥ tenābhīhitam yo me śramanaśirodāsyati tasyāham dīnārasataṃ dāsyāmi*.

44. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 335.

with Sialkot, in the north-east Punjab, in the Lahore sub-division of the Punjab.²⁰ This identification has been confirmed by the local tradition that the town was founded by Rājā Sāl. Bevan doubts about the exact site of Śākala.²¹

Rhys Davids says that Sāgala lay about 32 degrees north by 74 degrees east. Cunningham thought that he had found its ruins but no excavations have been carried out. He is not certain about the exact site of this city.

Three cities by the name of Sāgala

Rhys Davids further points out that there were three cities by the name of Sāgala. But two in the far east were no doubt named after the famous Sāgala in the extreme north-west, which offered so great a resistance to Alexander, and where the Graeco Bactrian king Menander reigned.²²

Saṅgala and Śākala

Cunningham identifies Saṅgala²³ with Śākala and locates both Saṅgala and Śākala at Saṅgalawatibā²⁴ (Jhang district). The Saṅgalawatibā was a small rock. The whole area was covered with brick ruins. On the east and south the approach to the hill was covered by a large swamp, half a mile in length and about quarter of a mile in breadth. In Alexander's time it must have been a fine sheet of water. On the north-eastern side of the hill there were remains of two large buildings. Close to them there was an old well.²⁵

Saṅgala, situated in the Gurdaspur district, was to the east of the Hydraotes or the Rāvi.²⁶ It was a fortified town located near Fathgarh.²⁷ It was the main centre of the Kathaians (Cathæans) who were the leading people among the free confederate

tribes. They fought hard with the army of Alexander and entrenched themselves in their fortified town of Saṅgala.²⁸

Identification of Saṅgala with Śākala false

C. J. Rodgers has proved the identification of Saṅgala with Śākala to be false. He infers that the absence of all walls and foundations from Saṅgla or Saṅgala, the absence of all traces of stūpas, inside or outside the place and its neighbourhood, the absence of ruins of a neighbouring New Śākala, the absence of coins and the non-mention of chief physical features of the place, seem to point out plainly that Saṅgala was not Śākala of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang.²⁹ We also agree with Rodgers that Saṅgala was quite distinct from Sāgala. Cunningham has made a great blunder in identifying Saṅgala with Śākala.

Description

According to the *Milindapañha*, an important non-canonical Pali work, Sāgala was devoid of learned men, monks, brahmins, and householders for 12 years.³⁰ Sāgala which was the city of the Yonas or Yavanas, was a great centre of trade situated in a delightful country, having rivers, mountains, parks, gardens, groves, tanks, and forests.³¹ Northward lay the great trade-route connecting India with central and western Asia by way of Taxila (Takkaśilā) in Gandhāra near Rawalpindi and presumably also of Sāgala in the Punjab.³²

The city of Śākala or Sāgala was a beautiful spot built by expert architects.³³ The people of this city knew no oppression.³⁴ All their enemies were killed. The city was strongly protected by big ramparts, towers, walls and moats with superb gates and entrance archways and with the royal citadel in its midst. Its

28. Law, *Indological Studies*, I, p. 22.

29. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, June, 1896, p. 87.

30. *Milindapañho*, p. 5—*Sāgalanagaram dvādasavassāni suññam ahoṣi samanābrāhmaṇagahapatipañḍithi*.

31. *Atthi Yonakānaṃ nānāpuṭabhedanaṃ Sāgalaṃ nāma nagaram nadī-pabbatasobhitaṃ ramaṇīyam bhumipadesabhāgam ārāma-uyyānopavanatālā-kapokkharāṇisampannaṃ nadipabbatavanarāmaṇeyyakam—Milindapañha*, p. 1.

32. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 214.

33. *Sūtavantanimmitam—Milinda-pañho*, p. 1.

34. *anupapilitam—Ibid.*, p. 1.

20. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 78 f.n.; Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 130.

21. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 371.

22. *Buddhist India*, pp. 38-39.

23. *Sāṅkala of Paṇini*, IV, 2. 27.

24. *Archaeological Survey Report*, II, pp. 192-200.

25. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 206-11.

26. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII, p. 393.

27. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 687.

kula left his army in charge of his younger brother and himself put out to sea to attack Bālāditya, but was captured by Bālāditya's soldiers. Bālāditya took pity on the captured sovereign and released him. After his kingdom had been usurped by his brother, Mihirakula went to Kashmir. Its king gave him some territory to rule. After some years he betrayed his trust, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He then plotted against Gandhāra, killed all the members of the royal family, destroyed all topes and temples, and appropriated the wealth of the country. Retribution soon followed, for he was dead before the year was out.

The country of the Yonas or Yavanas watered by the Oxus or the Amudaria and the famous satrapy of the Achaemenian kings later came to be conquered by Alexander and in 321 B.C. fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator. Hundred years later the Bactrian Greeks threw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, asserted independence, and gradually moved towards India to establish there an independent principality.

Menander, the Graeco-Bactrian king

Milinda or Menander was one of the kings of this line of the Bactrian Greeks who came to establish their power in India. Menander was the only Yona or Yavana who has become celebrated in ancient literature of India. As a philosopher he won for himself an abiding fame like the sage Janaka of Videha and Janamejaya of the Kurus.⁴⁵ As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome. He was the acknowledged superior of all founders of various schools of thought. As in wisdom, so in bodily strength, swiftness and valour (*thāmena javena sūriyena paññāya*), there was none equal to him in all India. He was rich, mighty in wealth and prosperity and had an enormous number of armed hosts (*anantabalavāhana*).⁴⁶ He was learned, experienced, intelligent, and competent. He acted carefully in the performance of all works of devotion and ceremony concerning past, present, and future. He mastered many arts and sciences, e.g., tradition, authorisation, *sāṃkhya*, *yoga* and *vaiśeṣika* systems

45. Cambridge History of India, I. p. 549.

46. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of Milinda*, S.B.E. XXXV, pp. 6-7.

of thought,⁴⁷ practice, arithmetic, music, medicine, the four *vedas*, *purāṇas*, astrology, illusion, causation, consultation, warfare, poetry and conveyancing. In short he mastered nineteen sciences and arts. He was an unrivalled disputant.⁴⁸

Menander's visit to Sāgala to inspect his fourfold army. He met six heretical teachers for discussion.

Milinda⁴⁹ or Menandros, the seventh and the last but one of the kings who succeeded Demetrios the Graeco-Bactrian ruler of Kashmir, went out of the city of Sāgala to inspect his fourfold countless army. When the counting of the force was over, the king desirous of meeting the casuists, sophists, and other people, enquired from his ministers whether there was any learned man, brahmin or monk or holder of *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* or the teacher of the group of pupils who would be able to talk with him and remove his doubts. Then the five hundred Bactrian Greeks informed Milinda of the six heretical teachers e.g., Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Nigaṇṭho Nāhaputta, Saṅjaya Belaṭṭhaputta, Ajita Kesakambali, and Pakudha Kaccāyana,⁵⁰ who were the famous teachers of groups of disciples. Milinda first of all approached Pūraṇa Kassapa with 500 Bactrian Greeks and asked him "who rules the world?" The answer was, "the earth rules the world". The king said, "if the earth rules the world, how is it that some men go to the *Avīci* hell,⁵¹ going beyond the sphere of the earth?" Kassapa was unable to remove the doubts of the king. He then met Makkhali Gosāla and enquired thus—"are there good and bad acts? Do the ultimate results of the good and bad acts exist in this world?" The answer given was "there are no such acts and no such results." The king pointed out to Gosāla

47. The *Sāṃkhya* and the *Vaiśeṣika* doctrines may be cited as examples of dualism and pluralism respectively.

48. *Milinda-Pañha*, pp. 3-4.

49. He was born at Kalasigāma, a village situated on the island of Alexandria (Alasandadīpa) on the Indus, founded by Alexander. He is ascribed to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Alasanda or Allasanda was a centre of trade and commerce (*Mahānidessa*, pp. 155, 415). It is described as a dīpa in the *Milindapaṇho*, pp. 82, 327, 331 & 359. It was about 1400 miles or 200 yojanas distant from Sāgala. CAGI, p. 214.

50. *Digha*, I, pp. 47 ff.; Keru, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 32 ff.; Lav, *law India as described in early texts of Buddhism & Jainism*, pp. 224 ff.,

51. Law, *Heaven & Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, pp. 98-99.

that those who were in this world had a hand cut off, would they become persons in the next world with a hand cut off? Makkhali was unable to answer and was defeated.⁵²

Menander (Milinda) and Nāgasena.

King Milinda of the excellent city of Sāgala (Śākala) went to Nāgasena, an inhabitant of Graeco-India, who was eloquent, the dispeller of darkness and the holder of the torch of truth.⁵³ The king put to him subtle questions (*nipunēpañhe*), profound in meaning (*gambhiratthupamocitā*), wonderful and astounding. Nāgasena was well-posted in *Abhidhamma* (transcendental doctrine, metaphysics) and *Vinaya* rules of discipline, unfolding the net of *sutta* or discourse. He said, "Let Milinda and all kings of India come and ask me questions which I shall answer". The Elders went to the city of Sāgala, making it lustrous with their yellow robes and bringing down upon it the breeze from the heights where the sages lived.⁵⁴ Milinda had discussions with Nāgasena about morality, faith, exertion, mindfulness, concentration, contact, feeling, perception, consciousness, attention, discrimination, thought, and *nirvāṇa*.⁵⁵ A good number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism were treated in course of his conversation with Nāgasena. Milinda raised the questions, put the dilemmas and thus played a subordinate part in comparison to that played by Nāgasena, who answered the questions and solved the puzzles in detail.⁵⁶

On the conclusion of the conversation between Milinda and Nāgasena the five hundred ministers of Milinda and the inhabitants of Sāgala, who were there, bowed down in salutation before Nāgasena the great teacher and thence departed.⁵⁷ Milinda did

52. *Milinda-Paṇho*, pp. 4-5.

53. *Citrakathim ukkādhāraṃ tamonudaṃ*.

54. *Milinda-Paṇho*, p. 19—*Therā bhikkū Sāgalanagaraṃ Kāśvapajjotaṃ isivātaparivātaṃ akamsu*.

55. The last four dilemmas of Milinda are concerned with the difficult problem of *nirvāṇa*.

Sīla - saddhā - viriya - sati - samādhi - phassa - vedanā cetana - vañṇāna - vitakka - vicāra - citta—Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Milinda Questions*, p. 63.

56. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 353.

57. *The Questions of Milinda*, S.B.E., XXXVI, Pt. II, p. 373—this portion is not in Trenckner's Edition of the *Milinda-Paṇho*. It is in Sinhalese translation of the *Milinda-Paṇho* by Hīnaṭi Kumbure under the title "*Milinda-prasnaya*", Colombo, 1900.

homage to Nāgasena and had a monastery built called the *Milinda-vihāra*, which he handed over to Nāgasena.⁵⁸ He was converted to Buddhism.

Madda king's daughter born at Sāgala united with the prince Kālīṅga.

In the kingdom of Madda (Sans. Madra) and in the city of Sāgala a daughter was born to the king of Madda. It was predicted that she would live in the forest and her son would be an universal monarch. This prediction was heard by the kings of India who surrounded the city of Sāgala. The king of Madda in order to save his daughter fled in disguise to a forest with his wife and daughter. He built a hut and lived there. The parents wishing to save their daughter left her behind in the hut and went out to gather wild fruits. When her parents were gone out, she gathered flowers of all kinds and made a flower-wreath. She climbed the mango tree on the bank of the Ganges and dropped the wreath of flowers into the water. A flower wreath fell on the head of the prince Kālīṅga, who saw the young girl and asked her to come down. Both the girl and the prince were Khattiyas and they repeated to each other the guild secrets. At last the girl came down and both of them had connection, one with the other. When the parents returned, she related the whole story to them and they consented to give her to him. The daughter later conceived. A son with good signs was born to her and he was named Kālīṅga who learnt all arts from his father and grandfather. He was asked not to spend his days in forest any longer but he must go to Dantapura and receive his hereditary kingdom, as his father's brother, Kālīṅga the greater (*Mahākālīṅga*) was no more in this world.⁵⁹

The two kingdoms of Madra and Kuśāvati united by matrimonial alliance.

The king of the Maddas (Madras) had seven beautiful daughters. The eldest of them was Pabhāvatī (*Prabhāvatī*). King Okkāka of the capital city of Kuśāvati sent his emissaries to the Madda king who was informed by them that their king

58. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 367.

59. Fausboll, *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 230-31.

had a son named Kuśa to whom he had intended to make over his kingdom. They further told the Madda king that they were sent to enquire whether his daughter Pabhāvati (Prabhāvati) would be given in marriage to Kuśa. The Madda king consented. King Okkāka started from Kuśāvati and reached the city of Sāgala. Pabhāvati was then given in marriage to Kuśa. The two kingdoms of Madda (Madra) and Kuśāvati were thus united by matrimonial alliance.⁶⁰

Different version of the story.

In the *Mahāvastu*⁶¹ we find the same story with some variations. Kuśa belonging to the Ikṣvāku family, was the ruler of Benares. He requested his mother to bring for him the most beautiful bride. Kuśa's appearance was repulsive. The Madra king Mahendra had a beautiful daughter whom he gave in marriage to king Kuśa. Seven Kṣatriya kings of the neighbouring countries came to win the married daughter of the Madra king but they were refused. Kuśa by his own power drove away all the seven kings. After saving his father-in-law's kingdom he returned to his own kingdom with his wife. Kuśa's father-in-law being advised by him, gave his seven daughters in marriage to the seven kings who came to attack him.

Sāgala under Buddhist influence.

Even before Menander's time Śākala (Sāgala) came under the Buddhist influence. At Sāgala a Buddhist monk shared a cell with the venerable Dalhika. He told Dalhika that he was not a true recluse and that he would leave the border. He was informed that he had committed no offence involving defeat. He was given a talk on *dhamma* (norm) which delighted him.⁶²

Bhaddākapilāni dwelt in a grove and practised meditation. She was reborn in the Brahma world and thence in the family of a brahmin belonging to Kosiya lineage in the city of Sāgala. Brought up with great care and attention she was given in marriage to Pippali in the village named Mahātitttha, when grown

60. *Ibid.*, V. pp. 278 ff.

61. Senart's Ed. Vol. II. pp. 440 ff.

62. *Vinayapitaka*, I, p. 66—*Pārājikā* II, 7.49; Miss Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. I, pp. 113-14.

up.⁶³ She was the daughter of the brahmin named Kapila and mother Sucimati in the excellent city of Sāgala.⁶⁴

Khemā in her last existence was the beautiful and beloved daughter of king Madda of the excellent city of Sāgala. 'Along with her birth, peace appeared there. She was named Khemā on account of her good qualities. When she was young and beautiful, she was given in marriage to the Magadhan king Bimbisāra. At first she was unwilling to go to the Buddha, as the Master was in the habit of speaking ill of beauty. She was later led to the Master who was staying at the Veluvana monastery. Afterwards she entered the border with the king's permission and became an arahat (saint).⁶⁵

Queen Talatā, to save her son, got the help of her cook, who promised to have the child. The Queen gave him a quantity of treasure. The cook took the boy with him to the city of Sāgala in the Madda kingdom.⁶⁶

63. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, PTS., p. 68.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 73; Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, pp. 375-376.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 131 ff.; Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, PTS., pp. 342 ff.

66. *Jāt.*, VI, pp. 471 ff.

Qualifications and Subjects of Study of Inscriptional Poets

BY

D. B. DISKELKAR, Poona

Most of the inscriptional poets seem to have made a deep study of Sanskrit and the culture behind Sanskrit. It had been realized that the study of Sanskrit was essential for the intellectual discipline, accuracy of thinking and enlightenment of mind. Consequently, the entire literature and culture of the Indian people were preserved in Sanskrit and the study of Sanskrit had been the main concern of the educational system in India. Since the inscriptional poets generally came from the same class of learned persons from which the classical poets had come and were brought up in the same traditions, they naturally thought it necessary to be well-up in Sanskrit and had studied the various subjects generally prescribed in their times for the higher course. Some of the poets came from hereditarily learned families. Some of them have named their teachers, e.g., Achitendravarā, was the pupil of Advayāmrīta and Amarakavi was the pupil of Vedāṅgamuni.

Grammar had been considered the key-subject to the knowledge of different sciences and was extensively studied by Sanskrit scholars. In fact, grammatical studies seem to have been zealously cultivated in ancient India from the very early days and phonetic outlook was considered a qualification of a scholar. The use of numerous rare words and forms and the general correctness of the language prove that the inscriptional writers had studied grammar fairly well and that the language of the Sanskrit inscriptions was dominated by the grammatical rules of Pāṇini, though at times the language of even a competent Sanskrit inscriptional poet contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. (See the Nandura plate of Velananti Rājendra—Choḍa dated Ś. 1091; E.I. 29.226. See also the Koni *praśasti*, by Kāśala, E.I. 277.1-67. The same can be said in regard to Prakrit language E.I. 1-4). Some of the inscriptional poets actually refer to the study of Pāṇini, e.g. Īśvarasūri, Inscriptions Telangaṇa, Nos. 51

and 52). Study of Pāṇini's grammar called Śālāturiya is particularly mentioned in a maitraka inscription of 766 A.D. (C.I.I. III, No 39). Renou's remarks that after Pāṇini Sanskrit is Pāṇinian and whatever is different is incorrect are quite true. (Historie de la language Sanskrit p. 71). Classical Sanskrit became almost a standardized language and was completely regulated by the rules of Pāṇini and subsequently of Patanjali. The Sanskrit language, therefore, used in inscriptions generally conforms to the standard Sanskrit norm. Contact with Hinduised foreigners even with literary qualifications like Rudradāman, Nahapāna etc. little affected it. Although Pāṇini's grammar threw into oblivion most of his predecessors, there were still some grammars which were studied by some epigraphical writers. The Buddhist and Jain scholars and poets preferred to study the grammars like the Chāndra and Jainendra Vyākaraṇas composed by scholars of their own religious faiths. But Pāṇini's grammar continued to be always studied and an expert grammarian was compared with Pāṇini, e.g., the Śaiva pontiff Vāmasakti was said to be a Pāṇini in grammar. E.I. 5.225.

Some of the inscriptional poets use with pride epithets with their names expressive of their proficiency in linguistic studies as Padavākyapramāṇajña, which is well-known to have been used by the great classical author Bhavabhūti. The inscriptional poet Virasena at the court of Chandragupta II calls himself Śabdārthanīyā-lokajña i.e. well-versed in grammar, logic and politics. The poet Akalanka calls himself a Śābdika. Umāpatidhara calls himself Pada-padārtha-vichāraṇasuddhabuddhih. The poet Dedda, father of the poet Mādhava is called Śabdārthaśāsanavid. (E.I. 1.29).

Just as some classical works like the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Śiśupālavadha of Māgha, Dyāśrayamahākāvya of Hemchandra, Subhadrāharāṇa of Nārāyaṇa have been composed by the poets with the object of illustrating the rules of Pāṇini's grammar, some inscriptions were also composed with the same object in view. The poet Rāma, son of Bhṛīṅga, who composed the Baijanātha-(kāgrā)-praśasti of 804 A.D. (E.I. 1.97, Bhandarkar list, Nos. 1084 and 1438) is one of the poets, who has shown his skill in grammar in this way. The fourteen verses 2-17 of the Gaurīśvara stotra which each are applicable both to Śiva and to Gaurī and the puzzling stanza (II. 3) which describes the eight forms of Śiva show the author's

deep study of grammar and wonderful mastery over the Sanskrit language (E.I. 1.103).

The Prākritis occupied a place in the curricula of studies for literary equipments of the ancient Indian scholars. Consequently the Sanskrit poets studied Prakrit and the Prakrit poets studied Sanskrit. In the two or three centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era Prakrita was mainly used in inscriptions. But the Prakrit poets were acquainted with Sanskrit as is seen from some Sanskritised expressions used in them. This Prakrit was however not standardised. Standardised Prākrit was used in some inscriptions in the mediaeval period.

A few grammatical irregularities, Prakritic expressions and irregular or double sandhis, unwarranted shortening or lengthening of the vowel quantities are no doubt sometimes found in the inscriptional compositions e.g. in the Semra plates of Paramardideva dated 1167 A.D. (E.I. 4.153). But they seem to be due to the poor education of the author, careless engraving of the scribe and the great influence of the local speech. As the inscriptions were generally intended for the use of the general public it was inevitable that there should be some influence of the popular speech on the composers of inscriptions. There was sufficient scope for linguistic developments and the local languages had been growing and changing throughout their career. The Deval praśasti composed by the poet Nehila in 992 A.D. is in high-flown Sanskrit but some ungrammatical forms and defective expressions are found in it. (E.I. 1.76). The Siyadoni stone inscription dated c. 1025 contains, as shown by Kielhorn, a considerable number of words which either do not occur in Sanskrit literature at all, or for which the dictionaries furnish no appropriate meaning. Some of them undoubtedly were taken from the vernaculars (E.I. 1.165. See also the Peheva inscription (E.I. 1.184) and Chintra praśasti, ibid., p. 27). But the poets, who had a very meagre knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar and who were influenced by words, phrases and constructions of their vernaculars, neglected rules of sandhi and omitted case terminations of nouns often. They are also sometimes guilty of unnecessarily using meaningless prefixes, expletives and tautology. The Sanskrit language used in South Indian inscriptions was bound to be influenced by the South Indian languages, e.g., Telugu possessive form appear-

ing in Sanskrit compounds. Case endings were retained in such compounds. (E.I. 10.243). The bearing of inscriptions upon the study of dialects in such cases is obvious.

The inscriptional poets, more than the classical poets, had very carefully studied the Kōśa literature in which the Sanskrit language is particularly rich. But none of the numerous kōśas is mentioned by name in any inscription. The use of synonymous words in the same literary periods show how the lexicons had enjoyed wide popularity. For writers of artificial poetry, as the inscriptional poets generally were, in which word puns, long compounds, etc., play an important part perfect knowledge of the rich vocabulary and idioms of the language and constant handling of the kōśas were quite necessary.

The proficiency of the inscriptional poets in language and lexicons coupled with their intelligence is also seen sometimes in expressing dates of records both in figures and in the chronogram e.g. in the following way:—Śara—5, Śikhi—3, Muni—7, i.e., Ś. 735 (E.I. 4.335). The rule *āṅkānām vāmato gatiḥ* is sometimes not observed in the Ajayagaddha inscription. Kṣaṇada—Moon—1, Īśekṣhaṇa—Śiva's eyes—3, Śruti—Vedas—4 and Bhūtas—elements—5—the whole meaning 1345 (E.I. 28.100). A rock inscription at at Kānāibarshi near Gauhati is dated Madhumāsa (Chaitra), 3 (Śaka 1127) which is given in figures as well as in the chronogram. Thus, the expression Turaga—Yugmeśa, Īśa—11, Yugma—2, Turaga—7 means 1127. This device of expressing years in numerical words was more frequently used in Sanskrit inscriptions by the inscriptional poets Champā in Kambodia, and Jāvā in South-East Asia from the 7th or 8th Century A.D. This conceit was sometimes used in expressing common and proper names, as the expression Rathacharaṇaṣaṁvha is used to mean the Chakravāka bird in Skandagupta's Girnar inscription.

The inscriptional poets do not mention the subjects studied by them. They have also not cited the literary works composed in their time nor mentioned the authors who were their contemporaries. They must have, however, studied the various subjects as the classical poets of their time did to qualify themselves for their work. Some of the Sanskrit Rhetoricians like Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa state that one who desires to be a poet must know the meaning of words, prosody, power and sense of

words, mythological stories the word, arguments and arts: he must wait upon poets and study the works of others. According to them a poet must be versed in all varieties of subjects. Bhavabhūti in his *Mālatimadhava* (1.7) casually mentions that the study of the four Vedas, the Upaniṣhadas, Sāṅkhya and Yoga is of little avail to the poet unless he possesses felicity and richness of expression and depth of meaning. The most exhaustive list of subjects to be studied by a poet is given by Rājaśekhara (880-920) in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (Chap. 8). He states that the following twelve subjects must be studied by a poet—Śruti, Smṛiti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Pramāṇavidyā, Samaya-vidyā, Rājasiddhānta-trayi, Loka, Virachana and Prakīrṇa i.e. the poet must study the four Vedas, the Smṛitis of Manu and Yājñyavalkya, the historical epics like the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas, the Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhika, which are the Pramāṇavidyās, the Samaya or sectarian literature of the Śaivas, Vaishṇavas, Jains, Buddhists, Lokāyatas, etc., the three Śāstras like the Arthaśāstra, Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra, etc. This shows how the classical poets attach great importance to the regular training of the poet. Śudraka, author of the *mrichchhakatika*, who was probably a Brahmin chieftain was versed in the R̥gveda, Sāmaveda, music, elephant lore, etc. The inscriptional poets must have been trained on these lines.

The inscriptional poets who composed the grants and the donees to whom they were donated give with reasonable pride information about the Vedic schools to which they belonged and which were flourishing in different places in different times. They used particularly to study all the Vedas, the oldest collection of India's literary production. Like some of the authors, commentators of classical Brahminical works, some of the Brahminical inscriptional poets were great Vedic scholars, and came from the priestly families which had regularly performed Vedic sacrifices: If the classical poet Bhavabhūti, who besides being a devout follower of the Yajurveda had carefully studied the Atharvaveda, states with pride his ancestry of Vedic priests there were several inscriptional poets who do the same in their inscriptions. Some personal or family titles indicate the proficiency of particular persons or families in one or more branches of learning. Guṇachandra at the court of the Viṣṇukūṇḍin king Mādhavarman of Orissa, c. 65, was a R̥itvija and Upādhyāya. Guravabhaṭṭa, author of the

Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyanapāla, c. 871 who came from a Brahmana family deeply versed in Vedic learning was well versed in the four Vedas, Vedāngas and a great priest of Vedic sacrifices (Kiel. No. 584 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 78. The poet Achitendrasūri, pupil of Advayāmṛita states that he had performed Vedic sacrifices. Inscriptions of Talangad Anantapāla speaks of his thoughts rendered pure by the knowledge of the Vedas (E.I. 26.267) Lolla Lakshmidhara Yajavan was acquainted with the doctrine of five fires and had performed the Dvadaśābda sacrifice. The use of the Vedic expression and rituals in sacrifices in the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 by way of comparison with battles waged by the Chanāṇḍellā king Yaśovarman (E.I. 1.129; I.H.Q. 25.213) as also the use of the word Dvāsuparṇa in a late inscription dated Ś. 1172 of the Yādava king Krishna at Tāsgaon (E.I. 27.206) would not be possible without the continuous Vedic studies of the Panditas from which class the Brahminical inscriptional poets had come. From the oldest times to now a majority of the Hindus and particularly the priestly class amongst them had continued to own allegiance to the Vedas.

The Smṛtis particularly those of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Pāraskara which are manuals of morality, law and philosophy have played a very important part in Hindu life. The *praśastis* which deal with Rājadharmā were based upon ideas of the Smṛitis. They always placed before the rulers and the ruled the Smṛiti rules of the king's government by praising the king for his valour, merits and charitable actions. They made him lovable to his subjects and by drawing parallels from the Smṛiti literature they made him conscious of his duties towards them. In a way the *praśastis* while adopting the forms of documents as laid down by the Smṛitis did in a pleasing manner what the Smṛitis wanted to teach to the people by means of rules. The imprecatory verses which are said to have been taken from Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vedas and the Mahābhārata and which began to be used in the donatory charters from the fifth century onwards had not been identified either in the Mahābhārata or anywhere else. Their original source seems to have been a recension of the Mahābhārata now lost to us. The Brīhaspati Smṛiti dated in the 11-12 cent. contains 80 such verses. It is not known from what source they have been taken (J.I.H. 1927, p. 427). How Vedic studies were zealously pursued by the Brāhmaṇas sometimes of more than one

Sākās in ancient days and how they strictly observed the Smṛiti rules of conduct is best seen from the epigraphical literature. It is no wonder that the Brahmins were well versed in the Vedic learning in those days but the non-Brahmin inscriptional poets and even the scribes of the numerous land grants seem to evince a great interest in the Vedic literature.

Through the centuries the classical Sanskrit literature and Vernacular literatures have always treated the Hindu epics, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata with particular reverence and familiarity and have drawn on many of their stories for their inspiration. These classics have been books of permanent interest to the Indians and the ideas set forth in them have animated the whole people high and low. They have gathered into its vast structure a greater part of the poetic activities of the Indian mind during all the centuries. They became and remained one of the chief instruments of popular education and the culture, moulded the thought, character, aesthetics and religious mind of the people and gave even to the illiterate some sufficient tincture of Philosophy, Ethics, social and philosophical ideas, aesthetic emotion of poetry, fiction and romance. (Arvind Ghose, Formation of Indian Culture, Page 323). It is no wonder that the inscriptional poets had turned to the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata for models of form and contents. The *praśastis* are, therefore, full of ideas and even words and phrases used in this literature.

Passages from Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa have been freely quoted by the inscriptional poets living in different times and in different places. It shows the great reverence they feel for the Ādikavi and the popularity of the epic with them when even the greatest of Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa was influenced by the thought and diction of Vālmiki, and tried to achieve the extraordinary excellence of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is no wonder that the inscriptional poets had done so. The following are the some of the inscriptions which contain quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa.

1. The Girnar inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.), (E.I. 8.47).
2. The Nasik cave inscription of Balasiri of the Sātavāhaṇa dynasty (E.I. 8.60).
3. The Maṭṭepāḍ c.p. inscription of Dāmodaravarman, (E.I. 17.329).

The numerous interesting legends related in the Vedic literature, the Smṛiti literature, the epic literature, the Purāṇas constitute what is known as Hindu Mythology, which is a vast and enlivening subject and was carefully studied by the inscriptional poets more than by the classical poets and other men of letters. The poets not only of the Brahmin caste but of other classes were acquainted with the whole range of this mythology. The medium of Vedic legends which have come down to us through the post-Vedic literature including the Smritis, epics and Purāṇas to communicate religious and philosophic ideas has always been found very fruitful. The inscriptional poets had not only borrowed numerous poetic ideas and expressions but had copied some passages from them. There is scarcely a *praśasti* which does not abound with mythological allusions and hyperbolic expressions. The Buddhist and Jain authors might have foregone their claim on the Vedic literature, but they could not do so about the mythological literature. The Epic mythology has supplied several themes as well to the Indian painters and sculptors as to the epigraphical poets. The wonderful deeds of gods and goddesses, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā and Devī which have been expanded in religious and epic poems and influenced a great epigraphical literature sometimes reach a great nobility of form. Similarly the life of Kṛiṣṇa has inspired great currents of mediaeval poets. The list of kings—half Pauranic and half historical—who figure in the genealogies of the royal families described in the *praśastis* could not be composed by pure imagination. The court poet must have studied not only the genealogies of his patron's family but the Pauranic genealogies of the ancient kings compiled by the *Pūrvavids* to whose families he wanted to connect the royal family of his patron. Some of these poets exercised their skill in elaborate parallels between their patrons and the heroes from the mythologies (See the Kurram inscp. of Pallava Purameśvaravarman, 670-695) (S.I.I. No. 1, page 118) and in the Anjanery grant of Prithvichandra dated 718 (E.I. 25.225). They traced their descent from the epic heroes and compared them with the mighty epic heroes like Nahusha, Māndhātā, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Ambarisha, Raghu, Rāma, Dharma, Bhīma, Arjuna etc. (See the Sātavāhana, inscp. of 1st cent. A.D. at Nasik), where Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi is described as emulating these heroes. Even such

a petty ruler as Bhogaśakti in the above-named Anjaneri inscription is said to possess the specific qualities for which the Pāṇḍava brothers and Baladeva and Pradyumna were famous. In bravery the hero was compared with Arjuna. Bhānugupta (510 A.D.) is described as equal to Pārtha in bravery. (E.I. 15.142). King Āryaśobhita II of the Śailodbhava family of Orissa (C. 645) is said to have performed amazing tricks of archery and to have equalled Pārtha (E.I. 29.35). A handsome king was compared with Nala (E.I. 24.50). The birth of Pallava Rājasimha to Ekamala Parmeśvara was compared with the birth of Guha Subrahmaṇya Parmeśvara Śiva. The inscriptions are replete with allusions to numerous mythological stories and episodes. At times some of them are regularly narrated. Narration and amplification of such stories have been going on from time to time from the earliest times. Sometimes they show great imagination and could infuse a spirit of romance and beauty even to the often repeated and age-old mythological stories which cannot be properly understood by the reader unless he has a good knowledge of the Hindu Mythology. The verses composed, for instance, by Rājaguru Madana, author of the Māndhātā inscription (E.I.9.113) are instances of the kind. There is probably no *praśasti* which does not allude to a mythological god or goddess or a hero or a mythological story either in the invocatory or benedictory stanzas or in the body of the inscription while describing the qualities of the hero of the *praśasti* or its object.

Similarly a large number of Paurāṇic legends recorded in the Sthala-Māhātmyas are found referred to in the *praśastis* e.g. the foundation legend of the place of Sogal deriving its name from the Rākshasa Sumālī narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (E.I.16.2.). Similarly, the origin of the god Jambukeśvara at Trichinapalli is found from mythology (E.I. 16.89). The South Indian inscriptions frequently record such legends.

The often fabulous but very interesting information which the inscriptional poets give from the family accounts of the royal families, from the māhātmyas of the sacred places or *tīrthas* and the mythological persons presiding over them e.g. of the Kadamba and Sisodia families, of the place Rāmateka, Sindurgiri (E.I. 2511), Ellore (E.I. 15.29) etc. shows that the inscriptional poets had to be familiar with this kind of literature also.

4. Girnar inscription of Skandagupta of 457 A.D. (C.I.I. III.60).
5. The Aihole inscription of Pulikeśin II (634), (E.I. 6.1).
6. The Mahākuṭa inscription of Mangaleśa (725) A.D. (I.A. 19.10).
7. The Satara c.p. inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana (I.A. 19.319). The parallel passages in Vālmikis Rāmāyaṇa and the several inscriptions are given by Sivarammurti.
8. The Pikira grant of Pallava Simhavarman, E.I. 8.161.
9. The Talguṇḍā grant of Kākusthavarman, E.I. 8.33.
10. The Mahābalipuram inscription of Narasiṃhavarman (17th century), (S.I.I. 1.4).

The Mahābhārata is not only an epic, not only a work of poetic art but also, as Winternitz, puts it, a manual of morality, law and philosophy, supported by the oldest traditions and hence, furnish with incontestible authority and for more than fifteen hundreds years it has served the Indian as much for entertainment as for instruction and education. (Bulletin: Deccan Coll. 21.8).

How the Mahābhārata began to inspire the poets from very early times can be seen from the fact that the Hinduised foreign ruler Heliodoros living in the 2nd cent. B.C. actually quoted certain verses of ethical importance in his inscription at Besnagar, recording the raising of the flag-staff in front of a Vāsudeva temple is well-known (A.S.I.A.R. 1908-9, page 126). The inscriptional poets looked to the Mahābhārata particularly for comparing the heroes of the *prāśastis* with the great heroes in epics.

Some of the inscriptions show how these epics have continued to enjoy wide popularity among all classes of Indians. Grants of land and money were given by kings and rich men from time to time for the recitation and exposition and at times for the copying of the texts. The Kuram grant dated in the 7th century and the Taṇḍantōṭṭam grant of Nandivarman dated in his 58th year refer to the reciting of the Mahābhārata in the temple maṇḍapas. (S.I.I. 1.147; 2.517—12.15). The Devapārā inscription of Vijayasena refers to the Mahābhārata as the honeystream of the beautiful stanzas which the sons of Parikṣita had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind. (Inscriptions of Bengal, III, page 42 & 48). The

Manahali plate (Gauḍalekhmalā, pp. 148 ff) records grant of king Madanapāla to a Brahmin as *dākṣhiṇā* for his recitation of the Mahābhārata before the Paṭṭamahādevi Chitramatikādevi. Maharaja Indrasimha of Mithilā gave *dakṣhiṇā* for reciting the Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa in V.S. 1647. One of the Śrirangam inscriptions of the 10th century made provision for the recitation of the Śripurāṇa at the temple. (A.R.I.Ep. 1951-52, No. 178). Even titles were sometimes given to renowned authorities in a particular epic. A Vaishṇava poet at the court of Krishnaraja Wodeyar was called Rāmāyaṇa-Tirumalārya (Mys. Gaz. I. 422).

Next to the great epics the Purāṇas have wielded great influence over the minds of the inscriptional poets from early times. These poets had as well studied the hymnal literature preserved by the Brāhmaṇas as the Purāṇic literature cultivated and transmitted by the Sūtas. The study of the Purāṇas had continued to be regarded as a Svādhyāya, as obligatory as that of the Vedas. The popular mind was sanctified with the sanctity of the epics and the Purāṇas as they were logically exhaustive commentaries of the Vedas and their tradition. (Bull. Decc. Coll. 11.85). The Purāṇic account of the solar and lunar dynasties to which the royal families in ancient India described in the *prāśastis* were said to belong is very elaborate and almost accurate. The poets looked to the Purāṇas particularly for inventing the genealogies for their patron kings. The Purāṇas give us a lively picture of the ancient Indian society and its authors. They give information on various subjects like the genealogies of kings, their rule over countries, the rivers, mountains, holy spots etc. The Purāṇas had developed a technique of their own which is copied by the inscriptional poets. The Tiruvalangaḍu-*prāśasti* of Rajendra Chol I dated in the 6th year of his reign and consisting of as many as 137 verses is mostly Purāṇic (S.I.I., Para III, 393-401).

Besides the eighteen principal Purāṇas there are several minor Purāṇas with which the epigraphical poets seem to have been acquainted. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa which deals with the life of Śri Kṛṣṇa in a devoted manner was devotedly studied by some inscriptional poets and the incidents in it were used in comparison with those in the lives of their patron kings. Some poets had used hereditary titles like the Purāṇika which indicated their proficiency in the Paurāṇik studies and abilities in expounding them.

The transformation of history into mythology was constantly going on in the long history of ancient India and although sometimes ludicrous inconsistencies and credulity can be detected in the stories there is some grain of historical truth in them which induce the poets to adopt them in the *praśastis*.

Some of the inscriptional poets seem to have also studied the peculiar legends on coins and seals of the royal families of institutions. The language of such inscriptions evidently shows a popular tinge.

Some of the inscriptional poets had also to know the legends treatises on religious practices like the Tantras as the classical poet Bhavabhūti seems to have done.

It will thus be seen that the inscriptional poets had to be acquainted with the historical as well as semi-historical and legendary material in the form of stories and ballads which existed in the society of their time and possess an inexhaustible stock of legends.

By constantly referring to the mythological persons and events and sometimes inventing genealogies to their patrons from the epic heroes the inscriptional poets had kept up direct connection with the people of India's hoary past and just pride in their ancient heritage. Like the countless generations of commentators of classical works and authors of critical treatises who have helped to maintain the continuity of literary studies, the inscriptional poets by frequently alluding to older stories and personalities in Indian Mythology have kept a remarkable continuity of Indian Mythology and the culture embodied in it. By composing inscriptions on popular subjects they had also kept the masses of the time in touch with the classics. Like the classical poets the inscriptional poets had thus preserved the entire culture of ancient India and kept up the torch of the Sanskrit learning continuously burning through all the ages. This was evidently one of the reasons for the continuous popularity of the Sanskrit language. The Buddhist and Jain poets possessed some knowledge of most of the subjects mentioned above and had besides full knowledge of their own sectarian literature, as their inscriptions are mainly sectarian e.g. Aśoka has shown his knowledge of the Buddhist literature in his Bhabru-Bairat edict.

In the use of the metres the inscriptional poets have even surpassed the classical poets, although metrical lapses are at times found. Some poets whose knowledge of the Sanskrit language and skill in handling the metres was poor are seen to be struggling with the metres and were ready to sacrifice grammar to it and wrongly spelt the words. (E.I. 1.52; 1.223, 9.11). Use of the *Ātmanepada* instead of the *Parasmanipada* as in the epic poetry, wrong use of gender, fault in the construction are seen in some places. How such a great inscriptional poet like Vatsabhaṭṭi committed offences against grammar for purposes of metre can be seen in his well-known *praśasti*. But in some inscriptions particularly in South Indian inscriptions like those at Chidambaram, Tiruvali, Atti, Vayley and Vriddhachalam the various metres are used with great skill. Their skill in generally handling the long metres like *Śārdūlavikṛita* is particularly praiseworthy. The large number of classical Sanskrit metres used by the inscriptional poets in a small literary piece is very much larger than that used by the classical poets. The frequent change of metres finds its explanation in nothing but the writer's desire to show his skill in the art as otherwise the *praśasti* itself never demands it. There are many *Mahākāvya*s which present only one metre. The metres employed are numerous as is natural in a poetry in which the verse serves essentially the purpose of displaying the skill of the writer. That so many metres of an elaborate form should be used in the inscription also proves the great development in the *Kāvya* literature. The inscriptional poets have sometimes used such rare metres like the *Mattebhavikṛita* for which the writers of Sanskrit poems have no poems. The metre though wellknown from Kannada inscriptions is not noticed in the works of Bharata, Pingala, Virahanka, Svayambhu, Hemachandra or Kedārbhaṭṭa but is described in the *Chhandomanjari Parishista* (Ganjam plates of Amoghavarsha of Ś. 793, E.I. 18.236). Some of the very early Prakrit inscriptions like the *Piprāvā*, *Sitabini* and *Jogimāra* inscriptions contain a very rare metre called *Gāthā* and *Gītikā* (JOR. 1935, p. 46). The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭhita* is found used in the *Morā* (mathurā) well inscription of the time of the son of Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula dated in the first cent B.C. The use of a most proves that the Sanskrit *Kāvya* poetry was fully developed in the artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭhita* for a Sanskrit stanza first cent B.C. (See E.I. 24.199). The *Tālgundā* inscription of the

poet Kubja (E.I. 8.24) contains verses composed in the Madhyākshara metre which is not found in any Sanskrit treatises on Prosody and which corresponds to the Kannada metre Doroakshara described by Nāgavarman in his Chrandāmbudhi V. 296 (E.I. 15.155). Similarly in the Tushāma and Ajanta inscriptions rare metres named as Lalita-ragale in Kannada and Dviradagati ragodu in Telugu have been used (see some rare metres in Sanskrit J.O.R. 1935, p. 46).

In some *prāśastis* two or more verses forming a yugalaka, a viśeshaka or a kulaka are used as in the Mandasore *prāśasti* of Vatsabhāṭṭi.

The inscriptional poets also possessed some deep knowledge of music and deep knowledge of Jyotisha—both Astronomy and Astrology. Unfortunately no specific mention of a particular work studied by them is made. The Brahmin poets particularly had to show special efficiency in the Dharmaśāstra and Jyotisha. They had often to give advice to king and the people on religious and legal matters and on the auspiciousness or otherwise of particular occasions. They had often to calculate the dates while dating the inscriptions and were fully acquainted with the different eras prevalent in the country. The S.I. poets have shown their special proficiency in the astronomical calculations. The Sciences of Astrology and Astronomy were remarkably developed in the ancient times. What a great interest the ancient Indians took in the study of Astronomy can be seen from the fact that from the time of Varāhamihira in the 6th cent. to very late times there are as many as 232 writers on the Science and at least 475 works written on the Science. (App. S.D. Dikshit's Bhāratīya Jyotishaśāstra).

From what period Astrology or Garga saṁhitā began to be popular cannot be said. In the Āśvalāyan Gṛihyasūtra where the qualification of a vadhu (bride) are referred to no mention is made of the patrikā which has played such an important part in settling the marriages of the boys and girls in modern days. Astrology had a great hold not only on the popular but royal mind in ancient days.

The inscriptional poets were also acquainted with such subjects as Iconography, Art and Architecture as numerous art

references in the *prāśastis* show. How certain beautiful epigraphical passages particularly in the invocatory stanzas were suggested from and correspond exactly to the Iconographical details is very nicely shown by C. Shivrammurti in his essays like the Inscriptional gleanings from Epigraphy. (Proc. Nagpur O. Conf. (1946), iii. 33). They are as pleasing to the mind as the sculptural pieces which they illustrate are to the eye. For the full understanding some sculptural representations, contemporary inscriptions coming from the same region are very useful and *vice versa*. How some of the popular concepts in the Hindu mythology are faithfully translated in the sculptures and in the inscriptions have been shown in the above-mentioned essay. e.g. Lakshmi bathed by elephants (S.I.I. ii. 346); multi-armed Trivikrama with one of his legs raised to touch the sky; Harihara with Pārvatī and Śrīdevi on either side.

Some poets were acquainted with such unusual subjects like Mantraśāstra, Yogaśāstra, etc. topics from which are dealt with in some of their inscriptions.

In short, the inscriptional poets like the classical poets although they believed like Bhamaha and Mammata that *pratibhā* is absolutely necessary for the composition of poetry believed that other essential requisites of a secondary nature like the vyatpatti (culture) and abhyāsa (constant practice) cannot be ignored by the poets. One who desires to be a poet must, therefore, aspire to have a good knowledge of the immense Indian literature including the different anthologies available at the time of the inscriptional poets. They studied the anthologies and contributed to the formation of anthologies. The language style and metres of the Subhāshites are those of the ornate poetry and appealed the poets most. It was the ambition of the learned men to possess all the learning of the time. The expression 'no subject is difficult to an intelligent person's rightly applicable to such scholars. It was not rare with ancient Indian scholars to be learned in different subjects and at the same time to be famous as poets. They believed with Rājaśekhara in the combination of *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti*. They had the wide learning of commentators and the original thinking of the poets. They must also be minute observers of nature, of the life of birds and beasts, of the beauties of flowers and trees and of the changes and amenities of seasons. In short, the poet must be familiar with all the love of the mind

and of the eyes as Śrī Arvind has beautifully stated. The Mithillā scholars were both poets and experts in Nyāya. The poet Murāri who composed the Gayā inscription of Yaśahpāla in the 12th cent. calls himself well-versed in Nyāya. The poet Jāgali calls himself a Mimāṃsaka and Vedāntin.

What a large number of subjects some of the inscriptional poets were proficient in can be seen from the fact that Kāsala who composed the beautiful Koni inscription of the Kalachuri king Prithvideva II dated 1148 A.D. himself states that he had been proficient in various arts and sciences including those of medicine and elephant lore and the Āgamas of the Buddha and others (C.I.I. IV. 470). The poet Īśvarasūri at the Kākatiya Court (C. 1270 A.D.) who belonged to the class of sacrificial poets was well-versed in Pāṇini's grammar, Rhetorics, Yajurveda with its *pada* order, Chitrakavitva, *Śabdavidyā* and Tantra literature (*Corpus Inscr. Telangana*, Nos. 51 and 52). The poet Lolla Lakshmidhara had written several works on Civil and religious law, Astronomy, Astrology, Mantraśāstra, and the six *darśhanas*. If Ayyanabhaṭṭa states that he was well-versed in all the Śāstras (E.I. 19.137) the poet Ādityadeva calls himself Tribhuvana-vidyā-Chakravarti. (*Karnatak inscr.* II.107).

The inscriptional poets have particularly shown their proficiency in the Science of Poetics which had been a very popular subject with the Sanskrit writers from the early times, as may be seen from the long list of more than 800 authors of original works and commentators on them given by M. M. Dr. P. V. Kane in his learned edition of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and *History of Alankāra Literature*. But none of these authors is mentioned by name even indirectly in the inscriptions. The creative vein in the Hindu intellect can be seen in the realm of poetics. Both the classical and inscriptional poets were thoroughly acquainted with the different methods and the most developed rules, conventions and commentaries of rhetorics and prosody and took great pains in the cultivation of good poetry. Some of the authors took pride in calling themselves experts in the science. The poet Pūshana, for instance, who composed the Mānasarovara inscription of 714 A.D. calls himself an expert in Alankāra-Śāstra. The display of various tricks with words was considered a great qualification of Sanskrit authors. Their poetry was accordingly composed in strict conformity with the conventional style. As stated above (I.20), the in-

scriptional poets attached great importance to the Alankāras—both *Śabdāṅkāras* and *Arthāṅkāras*. Most of the effective similes and metaphors which add to the charm of a poetic composition have been used by them. The style is regulated by elaborate laws about various forms of alliteration and forms of speech laid down in the treatises on poetics. The model of earlier classical poets was always before them. Owing to their deep study of the Sanskrit language, of the Koshas and of the ancient mythology, they have very ingeniously used the device of *slesha* and made some words and expressions to have a two-fold or even a threefold significance.

It is tempting to copy here one of the numerous beautiful conceits in Sanskrit of a thirteenth century court poet from South India reproduced at the opening of his book on the Hoysalas by Dr. J. D. M. Derrett.

"A forest dwelling maiden shy
Roams in the city of thy foe
Ballala, who art lord of all!
A noble city left to die
Her eye is caught by flashing fire
From gems dropped heedless on the ground —
She fancies charcoal embers spread,
And quickly lest they first expire
Blows on them tiny sandal chips
Her eyes half-closed against the ash
No incense rises, but a swarm
Of bees seeks fragrance from her lips
They hover close: she thinks them smoke
Strange errors thy just wars provoke.

A careful study of all the poetic inscriptions of different dates and different places reveals the fact that the classification of the styles (*rītis*), of literary compositions into two: as Vaidarbhi and Gauḍi, or into three: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi and Pāṇchāli, or into four: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi, Pāṇchāli and Lāṭi, or into six: as Vaidarbhi, Gauḍi, Pāṇchāli, Lāṭi, Āvanti and Māgadhi, made by Sanskrit Rhetoricians from the sixth cent. onwards seems to be

Evolution of 'Dwarf Dvārapāla' on the Stupa Slabs at Nagarjunakonda

BY

T. V. G. SASTRI

1. Introduction:

Dwarf is a very significant motif, found mostly among the sculptures of ancient India. It flourished well during Buddhist times and continued to occur on sculptural monuments of later times. Under Buddhist patronage, the dwarf, was very frequently used on either side of the entrances of the stūpa railings as a *Dvārapāla* (guardian).

The dwarfish guardians of the stūpas, are portrayed as carriers of light weights like a plate or a bowl. It is only one of the types of the dwarf motif.¹ The *atlantes* type is similar to it. In fact, they are almost one and the same. However, they can be differentiated as carriers of light and heavy weights. If the former is taken as a *vāhaka*, the other can be taken as *bhāravahaka*. This *vāhaka*, or *carrier-dwarf*, is shown as a *Dvārapāla* on the stupa slabs. The motif is denoted by arrows in plate I (fig. 1).² Plate I (fig. 2) is the dwarf alone taken from the extreme gateway in another stūpa slab.

Originally *Pūrnaghata*³ seems to have been the earliest symbol that was represented outside the entrances. Symbolically it is a *maṅgala kalaśa* that is often used to represent luck and prosperity. Substitution of the *Pūrnaghata* by dwarf, was conspicuously shown on the stūpa slabs⁴ at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Thus the

1. T. V. G. Sastri, "Dwarf in the Indian Sculpture—Arts Asiatiques" (in Press).

2. The photographs are by Sri G. Lakshminarayana.

3. The *pūrnaghata* is used as an auspicious symbol, even today in Hindu homes on festive occasions.

4. The Stūpa slabs are also called 'drum' or 'Chaitya' slabs. The Stūpas in Andhra are slightly different when compared with those in other places in India. As usual, some plan is followed, generally the wheel with spokes

arbitrary. It is not known when and how the names of the different styles originated though the earliest mention of certain characteristics or *guṇas* like *sphuṭa*, *madhura*, *kānta* and *udāra* which correspond to *prasāda*, *mādhurya*, *kānti* and *udāratā* of the *Kāvya-darśa* are found in the Girnar inscription of Rudra-dāman dated 150 A.D. It is said that the styles might have owed their origin one time to actual literary fashions of the provinces concerned but an examination of the early inscriptions found in the provinces represented by them does not help us. Early works of the poets who represented the provinces are not found except perhaps of Kālidāsa who may have belonged to Vidarbha and after whom the Vaidarbhi style might have been named.

Similarly it is not correct to say that a certain part of the country produced literature marked by a certain characteristic—that the Northerners write nothing but double entendre, the Westerners the bare idea, the Southerners roll in imaginative conceits while the Easterners or the Gauḍas make wordy tumult.

No such distinguishable styles of composition can be spoken of in the case of epigraphical literature. It cannot be said that the style of the *prasastis* of a certain part of the country is Vaidarbhi i.e. simple, clear and sweet and that of the *prasastis* of another part vigorous and grandiloquent not easily understandable. The *prasastis* and in fact the literary works also cannot be classified thus on the geographical basis, though at one time the poets of Vidarbha might have been famous for a simple style of their compositions and the poets of Bengal for a forced artificial style making use of long compounds, attempting to bring the sound of the words into harmony with the sense to suit the poetic sentiment. The styles of composition can best be classified if at all as simple and grandiloquent or as unadorned and figurative. We cannot really distinguish the two or more styles and need not attach much importance to the names.

The *prasastis* which are somewhat laborious compositions prepared to meet a particular occasion and which are not spontaneous literary pieces, are generally bound to be in an artificial and figurative style. The learned court poet asked to compose it, naturally tried to make it as attractive as possible to the king and his courtiers and as learned as possible to be admired by other court poets. Even if a poet who is otherwise capable of composing a piece in

simple literary style sits to compose a royal panegyric he will even inadvertently give it a highly artificial appearance. If the characteristics of the Vaidarbhi *rīti* are simplicity and avoidance of long compounds, the *prasastis* can hardly stand the test. They have to be in the Gaudi style. Charm of expression will enhance the beauty of a *kāvya*, if it is so, but it cannot make a *kāvya* of a verbose piece. Consequently, the style of almost all the *prasasti* inscriptions from all parts of India—not necessarily from Gauḍa or east India—is the so-called Gaudi style full of ojas, word-puns and frequency of long compounds. They may contain sweet and simple expressions here and there but that does not decide the style of the whole composition. The question, therefore, whether the style of a *prasasti* is Vaidarbhi or Gauḍi or otherwise does not arise at least with regard to the epigraphical literature.

dwarf motif originates from the *Pūrṇaḡhaṭa* and probably merges into the *Pūrṇaḡhaṭa*. During the course of evolution, it underwent remarkable development.

2. Artistic traditions and Dwarf-dvārapāla:

Symbolic representations like wheel, tree, etc., in the early Buddhist art, specifically show that they symbolise the Buddha, according to the inscriptions.⁵ Even while depicting the life of the Buddha, the scenes had symbols like the *dharmachakra* (wheel), *chatra* (umbrella), *pāḍuka* (foot-prints), for continuous narration. In later art, as a result of popular belief in human form of the God, there arose enthusiasm for the anthropomorphic presentation, among the artists of that day. Gradually first the Bodhisatva⁶ was shown in human form, while depicting Jātaka scenes. The life of the Buddha was later shown in continuous narration. Lastly came the Buddha image in the round.

In the beginning, on the stūpa slabs, it appears that the human forms are shown first in inconspicuous places and later in prominent places. Sometimes human forms have appeared along with the symbols. It is also peculiar to note that while showing gradual development, the artistes once again resorted to symbolism. Thus it seems to be a trial period, for the anthropomorphic presenta-

and hub. This wheel shaped foundation is raised up vertically either with brick or rubble. This procedure is common for all the stūpas. The Andhra stūpa in particular has four rectangular projections (*Āyaka platforms*) at the base, on the four cardinal points. Five monolithic columns called the *Āyaka pillars* are installed on these projections. Around the stūpa a railing or a compound wall, is erected with elaborate entrances, opposite the *Āyaka* platforms, leaving some space for *Pradakshinapatha* (circumambulatory path). Standing straight in front of the stūpa, one sees the *central gateway* with a projected entrance and an *Āyaka platform* with five monolithic columns in the back-ground. Side view of the gateways at the extreme ends below the huge semicircular *dome* of the stūpa is also seen. This view is shown on the stūpa slabs. Sometimes at the top on either side human or animal motifs are shown.

5. A. K. Coomaraswami, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 31.

6. Nivāsānusmruti gnānēna jātakān pūrvam Bōdhisatvāchārya paramadhūtāchāryam Sattvānam Buddhē. By his knowledge consisting of the remembrance of the former births he reveals to the creatures in order to make them well disposed to the Buddha. Hence he is known as Bōdhisattva. (Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Encyclopaedia*).



Fig. 2

PLATE I

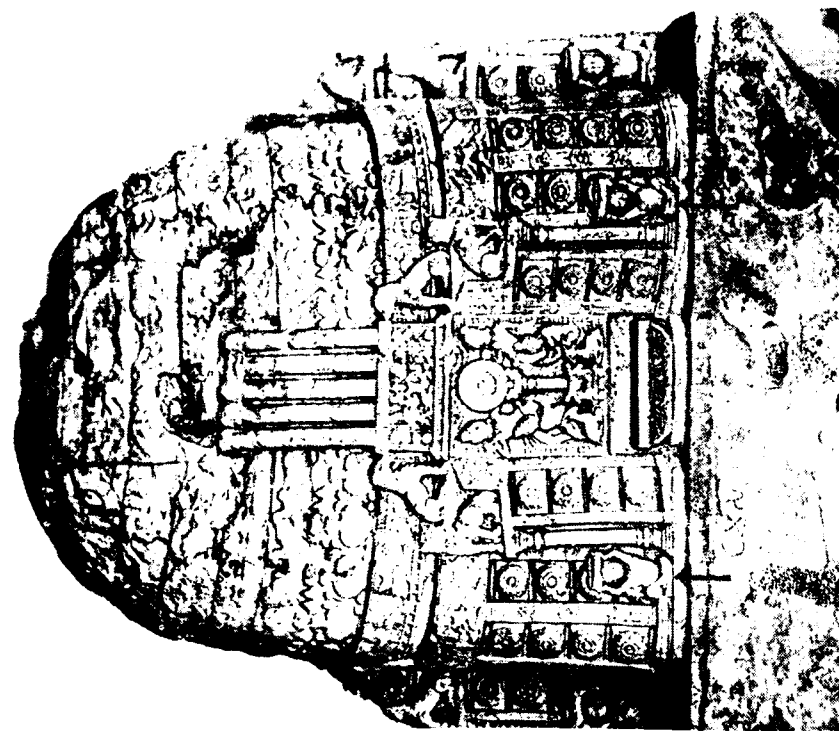


Fig. 1

PLATE II



pair at the extreme ends is shown with straight faces. No doubt, the artists have made slight change in the extreme pair. Relatively viewing them it can easily be imagined, that the back view of the extreme pair would be more realistic, but they would be more insignificant with such representation.

The dwarfs are practically nude. The hair on the head is shown in small circlets, — mahāpurusha lakshṇa — suggesting the divine nature in the dwarf Yaksha.

In stūpa slab 8 (Plate I Fig. I) the perspective is similar to slab 9. Inside the central gateway, the Dharmachakra is being worshipped by four devotees at Sarnath.¹² Just above the devotees, there is a rectangular projection — Āyaka platform, as though it is being guarded by two seated lions. They are actually seated on their backs, on the railing, where it takes a turn to form the gateway. Its projected frontage ends in ornate pillars over which, another pair of lions is shown. On the Āyakapata (Visual face of the Āyaka platform), the central figure is the Bodhi-satva, attended by Devas and rishis in Tushita heaven.¹³ The semi-circular dome has the symbols *Pūrṇaghaṭas* and animals.

Some improvement is shown in dwarf. Here the central pair has straight faces. *Ēkāvali* or just a *hāra* is introduced in his neck. This is seen on all the four dwarfs. The central pair is shorter and leaner than the pair on either side. The bowls shown over the heads are shallow, while those on either side are slightly deep. Different types of head bands are shown on all of them. They are almost nude as shown in the former. In all, the changes are made in postures, in turbans and ornaments on the necks.

12. Saranath—Saranga (deer) nath—Deer park—is symbolically represented by two deer.

13. Bodhisattva in Tushita heaven is a popular theme of the artists at Nāgārjunakonda. He discloses his descent to the earth as future Buddha with devas and rishis. Thus the scene shows devas and rishis on either side of Dharmasimhasana, where the Bodhisattva is seated. Lalitavistara a probable source of inspiration for the sculptors, gives a picturesque account of the scene.

Prāsādi dharmōnchayi śuddha sattavah,
Sudharma Simhāsanāsam nishannah
Sabhāgadevaih pariveṣṭito, rīṣih
Sambodhisattve hi mahāyāśobhah

Lalitavistara: 3, Pr. 1.

The artist has changed the form of the *stūpa* slab 225. The clear visual form of the side gateways has not been represented at all in relief.

In most of the standing dwarfs the deformity is more evidenced in legs. They are always made short. Since they are standing, a *kaupīna* is shown to hide the genital organ. One leg is shown stretched forward, as it supports ground, while the other from the raised hip hangs loose over the ground.

They have a crude turban, to cushion their bowls overhead. Some variation is shown in the two bowls; one is made bigger than the other. Actually towards the left side, the dwarfs appear to carry a plate and not a bowl. The artist's changing tastes in human representation, is felt even in the bowls. They have bracelets but they are not prominent. The slab is worn out, yet it can be inferred that they are nude. Inside the central gateway, *Pūrṇaghaṭa* in a very crude form is shown.

Stūpa slab 193 shows a marked improvement in the dwarf motif in decoration and posture. In general, it appears similar to slab 225, but the carving is deep and much more refined. At the central gateway towards the right side, a woman is seated in front of the dwarf, and is trying to take out something that lies in the bowl, which is carried by the dwarf. The dwarf watches on, with a raised eyebrow, as though he is relieved of some weight. One feels that he is helping the man and woman in carrying something to the *stūpa*. Towards the left, the dwarf is shown to a side, as though he is trying to show his bowl. The woman sits in front of him in a meditative posture. Some difference in the two faces of the dwarfs is also shown—one is oval and other round. The standing posture is similar to the above. Rope-like turbans are peculiar to the dwarfs.

Circular *kuṇḍalas*, prominent *hāras*, and wristlets are shown. The *antariya* below the waist, has a knot to a side and it affords a funny feature in portraying the dwarf.

Plate II is slab 55. Dwarf is shown as a common person along with a male and a female, as though he is helping them in carrying flowers. Hence it becomes a secular motif. Yet its original significance is retained by the introduction of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* denoted by arrows at the bottom. Plate I, fig. 1 and plate II, give a com-

parative view of the religious and secular way of dwarf representation in the *stūpa* slabs.

Slab 57 is also similar to the above, but worked out in bold relief. Some decoration is seen on the turban. The bowls are smaller. The faces are shown turned to a side as though they are moving away from the *stūpa*. A thin *hāra* is shown tight round the neck. *Kuṇḍalas* are shown as small discs. The right side dwarf is cut vertically, and the face and stomach are badly damaged. Inside the gate as in the previous one, *Pūrṇaghaṭas* are used.

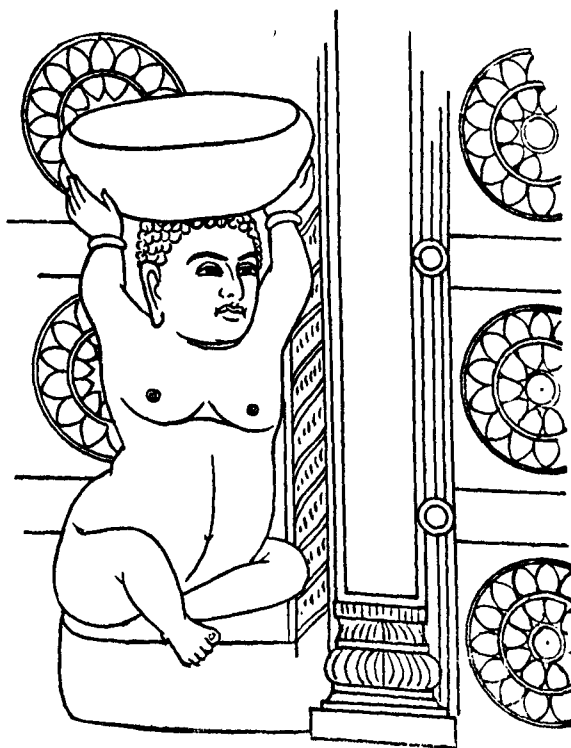
Stūpa slab 242 has the representation of a highly evolved dwarf type. Plate I fig. 2 is the photograph of the right side dwarf from the extreme pair. It is bigger in size, than all the above, mentioned previously. The dwarf pair at the extreme ends is bigger than the pair at the central gate. The faces of dwarfs at the central gate are shown straight while those at the extreme ends are turned to a side as though they are trying to move away. This is indicated by the hip and leg raised upwards and the other leg flat on the ground. As in slab 9, the hair-do of the dwarfs is shown in circlets. Circular ear rings—thicker at the centre, are shown. They are carrying a big bowl on the head. Two pairs of bracelets are shown on the hands. On the body, *Udarabandha*, and chest ornaments are conspicuous. The lines shown on the leg, suggest the frills of an *antariya*. Most conspicuous in this dwarf is the expression on the face. The wrinkles of the forehead and grim face suggest that the dwarf is feeling the weight on the head.

4. *Variation in Dwarf-dvārapāla*: Substitution of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* by Dwarf-dvārapāla alone does not seem to be the main theme of the craftsmen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. As seen from the descriptions of the slabs, the motif has undergone peculiar changes. It varies gradually from a nude form to highly ornamented figure, full of expression and inspiration. The text figures given below, give a graphic picture of the artists' fancy in making the Dwarf-dvārapāla more significant.

Text figure I¹⁴ is a Dwarf-dvārapāla represented outside the gateway entrance, on the *stūpa* slab 9 at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The

14. Shri K. Brahmalaḥ has been good enough to draw the text figures in this paper.

central gateway has a projected frontage, and the sketch represents the seated dwarf on the right side. The pillar has an *āmalaka* (ribbed) base and is connected to the railing by cross-slabs. They are decorated with three lotus medallions. Behind the dwarf are seen two similar medallions. They are decorations on the railing.



TEXT FIG. I

The dwarf is practically nude, except for a pair of bracelets. A deep bowl is shown prominently over the head that has circlets of hair. The right hip is shown resting on a peetha (platform), while the folded left leg is flat on the ground. This evidently shows that the dwarf is trying to move away.

Text figure II consists of three sketches. For comparative study, the three dwarfs are taken from slabs 8, 193 and 242. Sketches (a) and (b) are the left-side dwarfs on the slabs, while the last (c), is from the right. In the manner of sitting, (a) and (c)

are same, but slight variation is shown. Among the standing figures, (b) is a standard form—a speciality at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.



TEXT FIG. II (a)



TEXT FIG. II (b)

The three dwarfs carry three different objects on their heads. In sketch (a) it is a bowl, in (b) it is a plate and (c) it is a dish. In (a) the bowl is straight, but sometimes it is portrayed slightly slanting as though he is showing it. It is shown as a shallow bowl. Thus the craftsmen could create variation in portraying the objects they carry. Similar head-dresses have not been shown. They are different from one dwarf to the other. In short, in (a), the double lines suggest closely spaced striations of the turban. In (b) it appears like a rope with crisscross folds. But the plain head in (c) has small circlets of hair.

Most important in the dwarf carriers is the expression in the face. Different types of front and side views of the faces are shown. In (a) the face is straight with an expression of ease and grace. In (b) the face is shown in pensive mood. A typical divine expression is shown in (c). Two wrinkles on the forehead

suggest the feeling of the weight overhead. Thus, the maximum development in Dwarf-dvārapāla is shown in face (c). Ear ornaments have a wide range. Circular rings, discs big and small, and *Makara Kuṇḍalas*, are shown. Typical of them are seen in (b) and (c) while in (a) it is plain.



TEXT FIG. II (c)

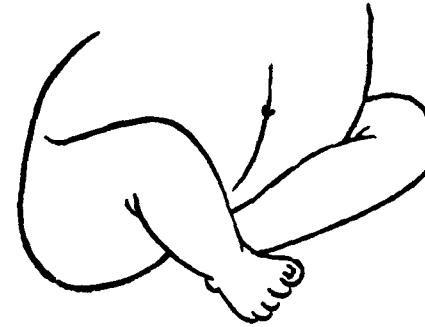
Hands and body for the dwarf Yakshas are extraordinary. In the *Aṁśumabhādāgama* it is said that the Yakshas must have wide shoulders and corpulent flowing body. In (a) and (c) the shoulders are made wider, while in (b) they are slightly narrower. In (a) as the dwarf sits, the stomach is shown to the front, in (b) its parabolic contour is shown to a side, as he makes a half-turn. In (c) the prominent stomach flows down as he sits on his loins.

Ornaments are shown different in most of the figures. In (a), a pair of bracelets, and a *hāra*, are shown. In (b), they are improved by introducing beaded bracelets and *hāras*. (c) has

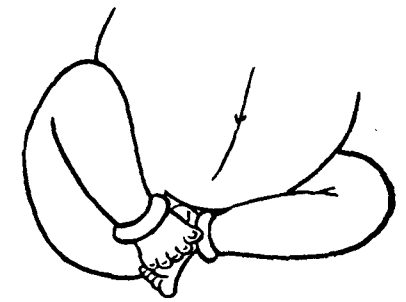
peculiar body ornaments. They consist of the *Udarabandha* and the *grīveyaka* (chest ornament). This type of *hāras* must be peculiar to the Yakshas of the times and were aptly used while showing the maximum development.

Only one type of wearing the cloth is shown, though generally, nude dwarfs are represented. It can be seen well from (b), and in (c) where similar lower garment is shown, though the postures are different.

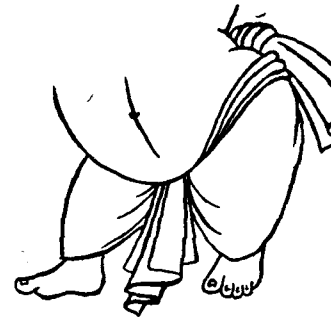
Text figure III has four sketches. They give a comparative study of the postures, shown on the slabs.



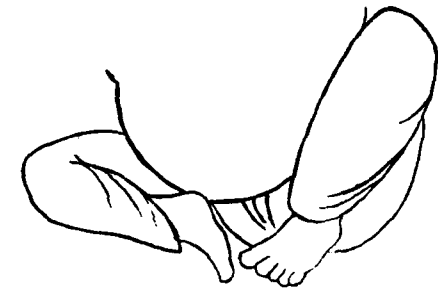
TEXT FIG. III (a)



TEXT FIG. III (b)



TEXT FIG. III (c)



TEXT FIG. III (d)

The manner of sitting in (a), (b) and (d) are no doubt, similar. But in (a) the left leg is shown inside, while in (b) the right foot is shown placed over the left. In (c), the legs do not touch each other. (a) and (b) are nude, but (c) is draped from waist downwards. In (c) and (d), the *antariya* is similarly shown.

But knots and frills are prominent in (c), as the figure is shown standing. Standing Dvārapālas have the same dress as in (c) in most slabs. But slight variation is no doubt, shown in some.

5. *Conclusion:* The auspicious symbol *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is an invention of the Amarāvati craftsmen, outside the entrance of the stūpa railings. As Vogel remarked the striking feature of the Nāgārjunakonda artists is the original way, in which the traditional subject has been treated.¹⁵ The creative genius of the craftsmen lies in transformation, of the symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, into a dwarf with a plate on the head. When the dwarf motif has stabilised, *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is also added. Thus, both the motifs have been used. Dwarf-dvārapāla is used in the place of original *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, and the later *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is shown inside the entrance. The occurrence of the same motif, in two different places is more evidenced, in the vertical slabs at the entrances of stūpas at Anurādhapura and Polunnarva in Ceylon, where the *dvārapāla* Nāgarājas, are shown in anthropomorphic forms, standing gracefully in *tribhanga*, holding *Pūrṇaghāṭas*.¹⁶ The representation of both the motifs was shown well in majority of the slabs. In one of the late phase slabs at Nāgārjunakonda, a decorative *Pūrṇaghāṭa* is shown with full foliage and ornate vessel.

The stūpa at Gummididurru in Krishna District,¹⁷ was richly decorated with stūpa slabs. Here, both the dwarf and the *Pūrṇaghāṭa*, were used on all the slabs. On some, the dwarf was made prominent, while in others, the *pūrṇaghāṭa*. Thus, as the two motifs became essential near the gateways of the stūpa railings, the *Pūrṇaghāṭa* was evolved into a more decorative design.

The dwarf representation is not stereotyped in the stūpa slabs unlike the symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa*. No doubt the latter by itself is an artistic emblem, but it cannot be rendered into various ways, except that the shape of the vessel and the foliage can be varied. But the dwarf can be made to sit, stand and move, and thus differ in posture. Changes are shown even in the objects they carry on the head. Sometimes it is seen as a bowl, at times it is seen

as a dish. Gradually the ornaments like the ear-rings, head-dress, *hāras* on the neck, body, girdles and cloth, have been shown from nudity to well ornamented dwarf figures.

Designs and decorative motifs can be worked out with a little skill. Originality can also be displayed as one becomes experienced. But to put in symbolism and religious fervour in the carvings, it is absolutely essential, that one should understand religion, symbolic significance, enough literature and iconography, before one starts the work on stone. Hence the Andhra craftsmen who made innumerable sculptural pieces must have had profound knowledge of the respective arts. It can thus be concluded that the well-versed craftsmen of Nāgārjunakonda, have displayed their inspiration, and utmost skill, in adapting themselves to the current artistic trends, as observed in the transformation of symbolic *Pūrṇaghāṭa* into Dwarf-dvārapāla on the stūpa slabs. It can also be said, that they had aptly used the dwarf Yaksha, as though he is represented giving forth eternal bliss from his bowl, *Akshyapātra*—a vessel that cannot be emptied, on those who visit the stupas.¹⁸

15. J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist art in India, Ceylon and Java*, page 47.

16. H. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Plate 264.

17. Archaeological Survey of India 27. Annual report 1826-27—Plate XXXIV,

18. I am thankful to Dr. R. Subramanyam, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Nagarjunakonda Excavation Project for initiating me to the study of sculptures.

Chart showing the relative changes from symbols to human forms with the Dwarf-dvārapāla constant on the stūpa slabs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

APPENDIX

No. Sl.	No. Slab.	Dwarf-dvārapāla Place of	Central gateway Hooded Nāga is shown (symbolic)	Ayakapata Bōdhisatva in Tushita heaven (human forms)	Drum Pūrnaghaṭa ratna and animals (symbolic)	At the top on either side Mythical animals like Sakya lion etc. (symbolic)
1.	9	One pair at the Central gate and the other at the other extreme ends	do.	do.	do.	do.
2.	8		Dharmachakra worshipped by devotees (human forms)	do.	do.	do.
3.	225	Only one pair at the central gateway	Hooded Nāga with an umbrella (symbolic)	Stūpa worship (human forms)	Scenes from Buddha's life (human forms)	do.
4.	193	do.	Buddha preaching at Sāranāth (human forms)	Human forms are seen (broken)	(Broken)	do.
5.	57	do.	Siddhārtha horse and servant (human forms)	Buddha in the centre (blurred) (human forms)	Scenes from Buddha's life (human forms)	—
6.	55	do.	Siddhārtha with dwarf fish ganas (human forms)	Stūpa worship (blurred) (human forms)	do.	Anjalikarikas shown in flying posture (human forms)
7.	242	One pair at the Central gateway and the other pair at the extreme ends	Buddha with devotees (human forms)	Elephant Nalagiri at the feet of the Master (human forms)	do.	Sakya lion etc. (symbolic)

History—Its Future Role in Fostering Human Unity

BY

DR. BHABES CHANDRA CHAUDHURI, F.R.A.S. (LONDON)

From West, where educators and writers of History have been meeting on frontiers, to the East — where new leaders of thought and ideal are planning for increasing cultural ties — the problem as to how “the facts of History” should be presented to the unsophisticated mind of the youth through the pages of texts as well as the spoken words is becoming almost a head-ache to many pioneers of the age, in either hemisphere of this planet! Many nations are, no doubt, also trying to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of the puzzling question as to how the history of one nation can be presented without prejudice towards other nations and in such a manner as to give an appreciation of the cultural advance of humanity as a whole.

The school class-room is one of the most important places, in which a nation can be taught the value of international understanding! It can usefully help the children's mind to get duly fore-armed with *truthful knowledge of other lands*, in the bargain, to be fairly forewarned against any likely infectious spell of malafide historical literatures, in their later grown-up state of manhood! In Western Europe, for instance, the Historical-Committees are functioning, to-day under the UNESCO and other International organizations with a view, “to correct errors which spring from *prejudice and ignorance*”! It seems quite surprising, to mention, incidentally that “the Emperor Asoka”—who reigned over India from 273 B.C. to 252 B.C. and played a major role in the spread of *Buddhism*, is little known in the Western World!

“He was”, so comments the “World Veteran”, Paris, “it appears, a great statesman who *loathed war*—all the more reason for our finding no mention of him in text-books which seem to have a highly developed taste for *bloody battles* with dates and places attached! Although, the *Fench*, *Germans* and *Belgians* are forever harping on the old — and futile — question of whether Char-

lemagne was French, German or Belgian, they are unfamiliar with even the name of the Emperor Asoka, know nothing about the rich history of China and are quite uninterested in the Caliphate of Cordova"! In Western school-books, the only things that matter are Greco-Roman Civilization and Christianity! Islam is referred to vaguely as being "warlike and fanatics" and Asia is of interest only because it was colonized by Europeans and "had certain odd customs which were fortunately abolished as a result of the civilizing influence exerted on the natives by the far more vital, capable, intelligent and advanced white race"! Is it then a fact, viz., the Western-man tends to judge other people by purely Western standards? The following extract of Sir Winston Churchill's remark about "Black-Hole" episode is cited, as such, as an instance in point. [From: "Century of Wars", Vol. III, Part II, by Sir Winston Churchill.

"The capture of India was one of England's most profitable achievements in the Seven Years' War.....The vicious ruler of Bengal Surajah Dowlah, at first swung the balance toward the French. In 1756, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, he captured the British garrison at Calcutta and cruelly penned 146 survivors in the 20-foot square: "Black-Hole". Only 23 lived through the night.....".

The "Black-Hole" is already an exploded myth and is too well-known a lie in Indian History to reiterate corroboration! But apprehending, viz., that unless the above incorrect remark of Sir Winston be forthwith deleted from his historic work, quite a wrong impression might be created among future pupils' mind—the present writer of this article immediately hastened to refer the matter in writing to the Editor of "The Life" (in which the original work of Sir Winston was serially published): and in reply the following text of his letter was received by him:

Time & Life Building,
9, Rockefeller Plaza, New York,
Feb. 11, 1958

Dear Mr. Chaudhuri,

Thank you for your frank criticism in your letter dtd. Nov. 28, 1958, of Sir Winston Churchill's discussion of the British in the 18th century. We consulted the Indian Information Service

here in New-York for an authoritative account of Black-Hole incident and were directed to *Advanced History of India* by Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, which sums up as follows:

"The truth of this story has been doubted on good grounds. That some prisoners were put into the "Black Hole" and that a number of them, including those wounded in course of the fight (i.e., the members of the garrison who vainly tried to keep Calcutta from falling into the hands of the Nawab of Bengal, Sirajud-Daulah) died may be accepted as true, but the tragic details designed to suit the magnified number of prisoners must almost certainly be ascribed to the fertile imagination of Holwell on whose authority the story primarily rests. In any case, it is agreed on all hands that Siraj-ud-Daulah was not in any way personally responsible for the incident".

"The editors prepared your letter for publication in *Life International's* Letter Column, but space limitations have unfortunately prevented us from including it. We'll be glad to hear from you again how you enjoy the fourth volume of Sir Winston's *History* which will appear later.

Sincerely yours,
(Sd.) BEVERLY BENNETT,
Editor.

So, from the above simple instance does it not appear viz, that "it is difficult for the Western-man to change a spot", alike of the proverbial leopard?

In many countries, there is, of course, now a tendency to cease considering "past wars" as the major element in the teaching of History; dwell less on battles won or lost; to drop references to "hereditary enemies", and to consider history—not as a weapon to serve for future wars but as a necessary instrument to enable the learners to know and study correctly the human situations in a given epoch.

But the question comes up, then, viz, can any history, chronicle or annals so-called, be ever as colourless as pure-water, or for that matter be completely objective—considering the inevitable fact of human nature that is perhaps, fonder of his own village than the

neighbouring one, more attached to his own *native-land* than to the one bordering upon it, more interested in his own civilization than that of others?

Does it follow, viz, since human nature cannot be changed—it is desirable to consider the teaching of history as a subject of *minor importance*?

Perhaps, this is too preposterous a suggestion to be relished by anybody inasmuch as, love for one's own land is as congenital and deep as one's own love for mother?

Still, for all that don't we find from our day-to-day *contact* with contemporary publications—replete with “political opinions”—that are set forth with conviction—too many prejudices and misunderstandings concocted therein to enliven taste and tickle the palate... are but the specious “perfection back” of ignorance of true historic realities?

A... fact being—always a fact, can it be denied at that, viz, it is not the parochial and ignorant mind that has... altogether ever helped forward the human progress against the narrow egotistical cells of prejudice, hate, apartheidness, fanaticism or national bigotry of one's own “mother-land”?

Should it behove our men of History, to-day and also, those in charge of Education, as well, to consider some such points as are given below in compiling text-books for the lovers of learning of all peoples of the globe: in the interest of universal understanding of *love, truth* and *unity*, which are basic to all people under the sun:

- (1) That information should be accurate and uptodate; there should be no factual distortion and interpretation of events and generalizations about them should be supported by facts presented.
- (2) That material selected should be balanced and sufficiently comprehensive.
- (3) That texts should contain an adequate treatment of the *life* and *culture* of other indigenous races—and inter-racial events and problems; the scope of the work should be not only a chronicle of kings or political history, but

a history of the . . . "peoples" including their cultural, political, economic and racial development; and comparison of the quality and standard of social, economic, and political life of one country concerned with other well-known countries should be made period by period.

- (4) That "foreign nationals" and the "indigenous races" and "minority groups", respectively in a country should be treated fairly and due recognition given to their contribution to the common weal of the same. Unpleasant facts should not be ignored, but that they should be placed in perspective; and controversial matters need be presented objectively. Where scholars disagree, fair points of view and factual interpretations must needs be presented.
- (5) That a country's international relations in the past should be dealt with adequately. Wars and conflicts both *international* and *inter-racial* within the country concerned should be reviewed in the racial perspective of international and inter-racial relations. Bellicose emphasis should be minimized, and annoying comparisons between the particular country's *national* characters or events and "foreign" or other indigenous historical characters or events—should, as far as practicable, be eschewed forthwith. Narration of victories over "foreign" nations or of victories of one indigenous race over another in a country should not contain, say, a deprecatory estimate of the defeated people, altogether.
- (6) That terms and phrases which develop prejudice, misunderstanding and conflict and tend to give offence to "other people" outside a country or to indigenous races or minority groups inside it need be avoided.
- (7) That a reference should also be made to the country concerned in all its international contexts of relationships, in general, and also with that of the UNO and its Specialized Agencies, if any, in particular. In this connection, the ideals of human freedom, dignity, equality and brotherhood should be emphasized.

The advances of civilizations, the realization of human progress, world ideals, world interdependence; and the need for inter-

national organizations and co-operation in **active**, realistic and sincere ways for universal *amity, unity and understanding* should be likewise implemented with an eye to everlasting world peace on this planet today !

Bacon, the forerunner of the "Advancement Era" in England, significantly, mentioned once, in his—"Studies", as such that—of all branches of learning, viz, "History Makes Men Wise"; and reiterated further, that: "Wisdom is Justified by Her Children"!

Do the children of *to-morrow*—yet in school-jacket expect such a fair-play, then, as to truly "justify" the *wisdom* of their—"History-Text" writers of *to-day*?

Some Terms in Ancient Land Grants

BY

DR. LALLANJI GOPAL,
University of Allahabad

The ancient land grants are often associated with certain privileges in the form of income from dues and exemptions. The terms referring to these have naturally an important bearing on the socio-economic conditions of those times. The present article aims at discussing some of the terms about which the brilliant work of Dr. Ghoshal does not reach any finality.

1. *Udraṅga and Uparikara*:

The plates generally mention the grant as accompanied with the income of Udraṅga and Uparikara (Sodraṅga and Soparikara). These terms have baffled the ingenuity of the scholars to explain them. The Smṛtis and lexicons do not throw any light on the nature of these dues and etymology offers no help in understanding them. So all attempts must remain tentative and provisional. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal¹ suggested for 'udraṅga' the meaning of revenue imposed upon the permanent tenants, and for 'uparikara' that of a similar impost levied on the temporary tenants. The meaning attached to Uparikara² has been rightly controverted by Dr. A. S. Altekar³ on the ground that there is neither any reason to suppose that the state imposed any extra or special taxation on temporary tenants nor any justification for a distinction in the state records between taxes paid by permanent tenants and temporary cultivators. Etymologically the term would better signify an extra cess or a tax on land which was paid over and above the normal tax. The contrast in the terms 'udraṅga' and 'uparikara' would support the interpretation of 'udraṅga' as the normal revenue of the king. Thus the earlier

1. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 210f.

2. Cf. Fleet—*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98n.

3. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 216.

suggestion of Bühler⁴ followed by Fleet⁵ would seem to be nearer to truth. To me, it appears that the terms *sodraṅga* and *soparikara* are identical with the expression *sakliptopakliptaḥ* dues on land. The suggestion receives support from the fact that nowhere do these expressions appear together. The expression *sakliptopakliptaḥ* occurs in the plates of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, whereas the records of other dynasties like the Uccakalpas, the Parivrājakas, the Kalacuris and the Maitrakas used the terms *sodraṅga* and *soparikara*. In this connection the evidence supplied by the Haidarabad Plates of Pulakeśin II⁶ is very illuminating. While enumerating the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee this record uses the expression *sakliptaḥ soparikaraḥ*. Evidently it would appear that according to the author of the record the term *sakliptaḥ* is the same as *sodraṅgaḥ*, while *sopakliptaḥ* is identical with *soparikaraḥ*. This *Klipta* occurs in the *Arthaśāstra*⁷ in the sense of a fixed tax; so naturally *upakliptaḥ* would mean the extra cess on cultivators over and above the fixed revenue of the State. A similar interpretation was advanced by Dr. A. S. Altekar⁸ when he equated the term *Sabhāgabhogakaraḥ* occurring in the Samanagad Plates of Dantidurga⁹ and the Kapadwanj Plates of Kṛṣṇa II¹⁰ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty with the expression *sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ*. These expressions thus suggest that a donee of a pious endowment was entitled to all those fixed and unfixed dues which the State drew from cultivators.

2. *Sabhūtavātapratyāya*:

Another source of income is expressed by the term *sabhūtavātapratyāya*, occurring in the records of the Traikūṭakas, Kaṭacuris and the Maitrakas. This term is an enigma to scholars and in spite of learned labours no satisfactory solution has been found out. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal¹¹ admits that the precise meaning of the term is uncertain; he only literally translates the expression as

4. I.A. XII, p. 189, n. 3.
5. *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 97, n. 6.
6. I.A. VI, p. 73.
7. II. 6.
8. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 214f.
9. I.A. XI, p. 111.
10. E.I. I, p. 52.
11. *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 215, 217.

indicating a revenue derived from the elements and the wind. Dr. Altekar¹² offers the suggestion that it means a tax on what has been imported or produced in the village and so equates it with *śulka* mentioned in some other inscriptions. A comparison of the Khoh Plates of Jayanātha¹³ and Śarvanātha¹⁴ would seem to support this theory. For the expression *samucita-śulka-bhāga-bhogakarahiraṇyādipratyāyopanayaṁ* of the record of Jayanātha the inscription of Śarvanātha has *samucitabhāgabhogakarahiraṇyā-āvātāyādipratyāyānupaneśyatha*. Thus it would seem that *śulka* and *āvātāya* of the two inscriptions are identical. Now, it is most likely that *āvātāya* is another form of the more common *bhūtāvātapratyāya*. But this theory of Dr. Altekar has to be accepted only as a working thesis. Whatever may have been the case with later periods, the inscriptions before roughly 700 A.D. do not contain the expressive phrases *sambhṛtopāttapratyāya* or *bhūtopāttapratyāya* and the only form which occurs in them is *bhūtāvātapratyāya* which has been regarded as more enigmatical even by Dr. Altekar on the interpretation of the term proposed by him.

3. *Sadaśāparādha*:

A copper plate grant of the Maitrakas of Valabhi¹⁵ is the earliest record to mention another source of income for a donee by the term *sadaśāparādhaḥ* (with the ten offences). Dr. Ghoshal¹⁶ is of the opinion that the term refers to the right of a donee to be exempted at least in part from the ordinary penalties for the commission of some traditional offences by the villagers. But a closer scrutiny vindicates the view of Fleet¹⁷ and Jolly¹⁸ that the expression gives the donee a right to the proceeds of fines for commission of ten offences by the villagers.¹⁹ The contention of Dr. Ghoshal that the grant of rights of jurisdiction was never contemplated in the case of holders of religious grants does not

12. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 228ff.
13. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 27.
14. *Ibid.*, 31.
15. E.I. IV.8. It also appears in the Deo Baranarak inscription of the Later Gupta King Jivitagupta II—*Gupta Inscriptions*, 46.
16. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 219f.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 219f.
18. *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 123.
19. Cf. B. Prasad—*State in Ancient India*, p. 306.

seem to be well founded, for income from taxes in the shape of receipts from fines does find mention in the records of the Candellas of Jejākabhukti,²⁰ the Kalacuris of Cedi²¹ and the Rāstrakūṭas.²² Moreover, there is nothing in the records to suggest that this expression refers to an immunity to be enjoyed by the donee. The context in which the expression occurs in the records²³ shows that it was one of the different sources of revenue which the king remitted in favour of a donee. The form of the word also supports such a view. If it had been an immunity, the expression to convey the sense would have been something like adaśāparādha-daṇḍaḥ. Moreover, the fact of this privilege being granted even to institutions like temples²⁴ and not merely to individuals suggests that the term refers perhaps to a source of revenue granted to the donee and not to an immunity from certain offences.

4. Cauravarjjaṃ:

Another interesting term is coravarjjaṃ used in the inscriptions of the Parivrājakas and the Uccakalpas.²⁵ Other equivalents of this expression are cauravarjjaṃ,²⁶ coradaṇḍavarjjaṃ,²⁷ and coradrohakavarjjaṃ.²⁸ Dr. Ghoshal^{28a} took these to mean the immunity of the donee from the tax imposed upon the villagers for village police. But the original explanation of the term offered by Fleet, "with the exception of the right to fines imposed on thieves"²⁹ seems to be more probable. The context in which the term occurs³⁰ shows that it was not an immunity granted to the

20. daṇḍādāya—*I.A.* XVI, p. 201.

21. daṇḍādāyakarotpatti—*E.I.* II. 23.

22. daṇḍāya—*I.A.* XIX, p. 165.

23. Cf. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 39—Mahilābalināmagrāmaḥ sodraṅgaḥ soparaḥ sotpadyamānaviṣṭikāḥ sabhūtavātapratyāyāḥ sadaśāparādhaḥ sabhoḥ sadhānyahiranyādeyaḥ sarvvarājakiyānām ahastaprakṣepaṇiyāḥ yūrvvapradaṭṭadevadāyabrahmadāyavarjjaṃ.

Gupta Inscriptions, 46.

Ibid., 21, 26.

26. *Ibid.*, 23; *E.I.* XXI. 20.

27. *Gupta Inscriptions*, 27.

28. *E.I.* VIII. 28; *Gupta Inscriptions*, 25.

28a. *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 211.

29. *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 98, f.n. 3.

30. Sodraṅgaḥ soparikaraḥ acātabhaṭapraṇēśyaḥ coravarjjaṃ—Khoh plates of Hastin (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 21) and Betul plates of Saṃkṣobha (*E.I.*, VIII. 28).

donee but was rather a limitation to the many privileges conferred upon him. The term immediately follows the expression acātabhaṭapraṇēśyaḥ and suggests that the donor while granting the donee an exemption from the entrance of the regular and irregular troops of the king wanted to make it clear that though he could not thus be harassed by the officials, he was not exempted from the fines imposed on thieves. It is significant that whereas adjectives have been used to indicate the privileges, in this case we have an indeclinable form. Further, in some inscriptions³¹ the privileges are stated in earlier lines and it is towards the closing part of the record proper (where it is stated that the village was granted as an agrahāra by an order on the copper plate) that we have the expression coravarjjaṃ which seems to point out the limitation to such a grant. Moreover, had this been an immunity from tax for police it would have been described, as is the case with terms signifying other immunities in the plates, by some such words as acoradaṇḍaḥ or acoradrohakaḥ. The peculiar use of the word varjja probably indicates exception to the exemptions enjoyed by brahmadeya lands. In the *Arthasāstra*³² we find villages liable to fine in the case of any merchandise being lost or stolen; most likely the expression in question means that in case of theft or robbery the donees were not granted an exemption from their responsibility and like other villagers were liable to fine.

5. Alonakhādaka:

The term appearing in the Mayidavolu Plate of Śivaskandavarman and the Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman describes an immunity. The Hirahadagalli Plates mention it as alonagulacchobhaṃ.

The Hirahadagalli Plates mention it as alonagulacchobhaṃ. The Vākāṭaka records render it more elaborately by using the expression alavanaklinvakrenikhānakaḥ. It thus seems to refer to the practice of boring certain trees for salt, liquor and sugar. Dr. Ghoshal³³ has explained it as the immunity from fines for the

31. Tāmraśāsanenāgrahārotisṣṭaḥ cauravarjjaṃ—Majhgawan plate of Hastin (*Gupta Inscriptions*, 23) and Navagrama grant of Hastin (*E.I.* XXI, 20).

32. III. 10.

33. *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 194-5.

purchase and digging of salt. But there is nothing in the expression to suggest an immunity from any fine. The term occurs in the midst of expressions signifying immunity from exactions and demands of the king on the land, e.g., acāṭabhaṭapṛaveśya, acārāsanacarmmāṅgāra, apārampara and sarvvaviṣṭiparihāra. It is likely that in ordinary course the king had certain demands over the preparation of salt, sugar, etc., which have been denied in the case of Brahmadeya lands.

Karnatak and Orissa (Political and Cultural Links)

BY

PROF. P. B. DESAI, M.A.,
Reader in Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Geography divides Karnāṭak and Orissa by a distance of several hundred miles and the vast territory of Andhra Pradesh intervenes between the two. In the political sphere the two peoples had fewer occasions to come into closer contacts with each other, either as friends or foes. These factors offer an explanation for the paucity and vagueness of almost all allusions to Orissa in the old Kannaḍa literature and epigraphs.

This vagueness is characterized by the use of the general term Kaliṅga which roughly comprised the Ganjam District and the Puri-Cuttak region of Orissa and also northern parts of Andhra Pradesh. While the references to Kaliṅga are larger, those to Uḍra or Ōḍra and Utkala, the two ancient names specifically denoting Orissa proper, are met with occasionally in the inscriptions of Karnāṭak. It would be of some interest to consider a few of them here.

The earliest mention of Kaliṅga may be traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaliśa,¹ wherein the Chalukya Kirtivarman I is credited with the subjugation of, among others, the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha and Kaliṅga. According to the Aihole inscription,² Pulakēśin II wrought terror among the Kaliṅgas in the course of his eastern expedition. The first of these allusions has to be treated as conventional, having little historical value; and the second is too vague and general to draw any historical inference from it. It seems, from this time onwards, it

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. verse 26.

Incidentally, a few more points of contact between the two regions bearing cultural significance may be mentioned here. In the *Sarasvatīvilāsachampū*, the unsullied face of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara is compared, strangely enough, to the spotless laughter of the amorous ladies of Karnāṭak. The title *Aṇiyanka* *bhīma* which means 'veteran warrior formidable on the battle-field', assumed by some of the Gaṅga kings has to be traced to the Kannaḍa origin, since the expressions *aṇi* and *anka* in particular bear special significance in that language as gathered from their usage in inscriptions and literature. It is interesting to observe that tales current in the Uriya tradition and folklore contain frequent allusions to the rulers and chiefs hailing from the Karnāṭak area.¹⁷

Orissa experienced the impact of Karnāṭak culture to a considerable extent in the domain of religion and philosophy. The Vaishṇavite movement sponsored by Anandatīrtha or Madhvāchārya, a native of South Kanara District, spread far and wide in many parts of India including Orissa. Naraharītīrtha, one of the foremost of his disciples, preached the Vaishṇava gospel during the reign of the Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhīma III. Many distinguished persons including members of the royal household, became converts to this new faith. Noteworthy is the change brought about in the religion of the ruling house of the Gangas themselves. The kings of this dynasty, who were originally Śaivite, became the followers of the Vaishṇava school from the time of the above-named ruler.¹⁸

Naraharītīrtha acted as regent of the infant Ganga king Narasimha II and governed the kingdom for more than thirty years. A large number of inscriptions belonging to this period wherein Naraharītīrtha figures as the donor, have been found in the temples of Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam.¹⁹

The services rendered by Naraharītīrtha, both as administrator and religious teacher in the kingdom of Orissa proved to be epoch-

making in the annals of the Mādhvas of Karnāṭak. The *Narahariyatistōtra* narrates that as a reward for his selfless services, Naraharītīrtha secured from the royal treasury the sanctified images of Śrī Rāma and Sītā and handed them over to his guru Anandatīrtha. These images, ever since, are under perpetual adoration in one of the Mādhva *maṭhas* of Karnāṭak and every follower of the faith is acquainted with the mysterious account of their historic origin and acquisition. This may be considered a unique living link between the two states, Orissa and Karnāṭak.

17. This information was given to me by Prof. K. B. Tripathi in the education service, Orissa State.

18. *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, pp. 43 ff.

19. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 262 and n.

became a convention and no less a fashion with the Kannāḍa writers to mention Kālīṅga along with *Andhra* and *Vaṅga* while enumerating the countries outside *Karnāṭak*.³

More useful is the description contained in the *Parabhaṇī* plates of *Arikēsarīn II*,⁴ the patron of the reputed Kannāḍa poet *Pampa*. The record states that *Yuddhamalla I* (circa 8th century), an early ancestor of the above chief, was ruling over the tract of one and a quarter lakh, comprising the three *Kālīṅgas*, along with *Vēṅgi*. The record, however, does not explain the nature of the three *Kālīṅgas*.

No doubt, sometimes we come across statements which make a distinction between *Āndhra* and *Kālīṅga*. For instance, in the *Wardhā* and *Navasārī* plates,⁵ *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Kṛṣṇa II* is said to have enforced allegiance from *Lāṭa*, *Gurjara*, *Āndhra*, *Kālīṅga* and *Magadha*. The *Kalachuri* usurper *Bijjala* is credited with victory over *Āndhra* and *Kālīṅga* in an inscription of his son, *Rāya-Murāri Sōvidēva*.⁶ But the historicity of such assertions is not beyond question.

Turning to *Udra* or *Ōdra*, an early mention to this region as *Ōdraka* is found in the *Sanjan* plates of *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Amōghavarsha*,⁷ which speak of the subjugation of this country by *Gōvinda III*. *Oddaha* occurring in a record of *Hoysala* *Vishnuvardhana*⁸ must be identical with *Ōdraka*.

With their boundaries extending over the *Āndhra* areas, the *Vijayanagara* rulers came into closer contacts with *Orissa* particularly during the time of the second and the third dynasties. *Narasimha I* of the *Sāluva* lineage carried his arms as far as *Ōrissa* beyond the *Āndhra* territory. The triumphant expeditions of *Kṛṣṇadēvarāya* against the *Gajapati* king *Pratāparudra* of *Orissa* constitute an important landmark in the history of the *Vijayanagara* empire. Hence this achievement was arrogated to themselves, even without proper justification, by the later rulers

3. See for instance *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 129 and 171.
4. *Q. J. Bh. It. Saṁ. Mandala*, Poona, Vol. XIII, No. 3.
5. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 239-69.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 319.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 245.
8. *Derret, The Hoysalas*, p. 69.

viruda *Oḍḍiyārāya* *ṣaṭṭa*,⁹ i.e. 'vanquisher of the king of the *Oḍḍiya* country'. *ṣaṭṭa* here evidently stands for *Orissa*.

Still less known is the name *Utkala*. Scholars like *Fleet*¹⁰ and *Kielhorn*¹¹ thought that *Taila II*, founder of the later line of the *Western Chālukyas* led an expedition against the *Utkala* country. But this view is erroneous, based as it is on the confusion between the expressions, *Utkala* and *Utpala*, the latter of which was another name of the *Paramāra* king *Munja*.¹² *Utkala*, however, occurs in the description of the exploits of *Mallugi*, an early member of the *Yādavas* of *Dēvagiri*, wherein he is credited with the capture of a troop of elephants belonging to the king of *Utkala*.¹³ In the charters of the rulers of the fourth dynasty of *Vijayanagara*,¹⁴ we come across the grandiloquent title, *Utkalēndra-jaya-panḍita*, i.e. 'adept in overpowering the king of *Utkala*'. But this seems to be only a later echo of *Kṛṣṇadēvarāya*'s victory over the *Gajapati* king of *Orissa*, alluded to above.

Apart from such notices of uncertain value, there is no denying the fact that in ancient and mediaeval Indian history, *Karnāṭak* played a more impressive role in the political and cultural spheres, and influenced many far and near regions including *Orissa*.

The *Eastern Gaṅgas* ruling over parts of *Orissa* from about the fifth century must have been connected with the *Western Gaṅgas* of the old *Mysore* territory. In like manner, the ancestry of the *Kadambas* who ruled in *Orissa* as feudatories of the later *Gaṅgas* during the tenth and the eleventh centuries, goes back to the *Kannāḍa* country.¹⁵ During the early decades of the twelfth century the area of *Sambalpur District* was ruled by the nobles of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* family hailing from *Karnāṭak* as disclosed by the *Bargarh* copper-plate record of *Parachakraśālya*, dated in *Samvat* 56, probably of the *Chālukya* *Vikrama* era.¹⁶

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 229, etc.
10. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 431.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 207. The original reading is *Utpala* only, but it was wrongly corrected to *Utkala* by *Kielhorn*.
12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, Part II, p. 168.
13. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 516.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 250.
15. *Studies in Education and Culture*, pp. 1 ff.
16. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 1ff.

Press—and India's Struggle for Freedom, 1858 to 1909

BY

M. M. AHLUWALIA, M.A., PH.D.

For decades, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the vernacular press preserved the mask of its inception, being given almost exclusively to theological controversies. The Christian missionaries were encountered by the Brahmo Samaj. From the fifties onwards, the political and national problems attracted its columns. The reasons were obvious and diverse.

The policies of Lord Dalhousie, the storm of 1857, the spread of Western education, the agrarian disputes, the recurring famines, the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892, the costly imperial wars and the controversies during the Viceroyalties of Lytton and Ripon—all spurred journalistic activity. The failure of British justice in India, the contemptuous attacks of Anglo-Indian papers, thousands of assault cases in which Indians frequently suffered at the hands of Europeans, the plague operations, the role of the Congress, and the persecution of Tilak in 1897, further stimulated the growth of the National Press in India. The unpopular measures of Lord Curzon, the proved ineffectiveness of Congress methods, the Swadeshi and Boycott movements, and the repressive methods of the Government—helped the emergence of the revolutionary papers. Among the external factors may be mentioned especially the rise of Japan and the Home Rule Movement in Ireland.

Therefore, during the period under review (1858 to 1909), some of the most powerful organs of public opinion came out. Ishwara Chandra Vidyasagar founded the 'Shome Prakash' in 1858, the 'Times of India' was founded in Bombay in 1861, the 'Pioneer' in Allahabad in 1865, the 'Madras Mail' and the Amrita Bazar Patrika in 1868 in Madras and Bengal respectively, the 'Statesman' in Calcutta in 1875, the 'Civil and Military Gazette' in Lahore in 1876, the 'Tribune' in Lahore in 1881, the 'Hindu' in Madras in 1878, and the 'Bengali' in Calcutta in 1879.

and cry would be raised in the native newspapers. But after all no harm is done in this case; it is the ultimate object of a Sadhu to seek Nirvan and three sons of Mars by shooting him dead simply helped him to reach his goal at once."

The national press was greatly conscious of the drain of India's wealth to England. A paper 'Samay' wrote on 3-1-1896: "Like locusts they came in swarms and drain the country of its riches, which they spend not in India but in their own country". Another paper compared them with Muslim rulers: "The Muslims did not suck the peoples' blood like India's present rulers. India's wealth never crossed its frontiers. During the Mohammadan's five hundred years, we had one Aurangzeb. But under the civilised and enlightened British rule, a new Aurangzeb is starting up into life every day to make the land so coveted by the gods, unfit even for men's habitation".

The Yugantar compared, in 1906:

"If the Mussalmans were oppressive, their oppressions were open, so that people could resent them on the spot. But the oppressions of the English are covert, and the fact that such oppressions are not felt immediately, destroys the power of the poor-oppressed to resent or retaliate."

The powerful voice of the Indian press was heard everywhere during the famous Ilbert Bill controversy (1883). One newspaper, "Prabhati", 18-5-1883, warned: "If Mr. Ilbert's Bill is not passed... we shall treat Europeans like enemies". "Bharat Mihir", 30-6-1883, reminded: "If the Government of India fails in this trial, it will drive a sharp knife into its own bosom". Another paper said: "Indians will have to strike terror into hearts of the English."

Before passing on to the more revolutionary type of journalism, a reference and appreciation is due to the foreign journalists and correspondents who toured the famine-stricken land in the nineteenth century and expressed themselves with great emotion and sympathy. Reuter's Special (famine) correspondent, Mr. Merewether, said about dying humanity at Bilaspur in 1898: "In the case of these poor wretches death had lost its sting". Special correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian", Mr. Vaughan Nash wrote:

"It is impossible to see the peasantry of a country reduced to such a pass, to see wives and mothers and children toiling for a morsel of bread under a flaming sun, without a sinking of the heart. The stupor and silence (on these faces) is horrible, and you wish that the unspoken horror of these sapping mouths could be given some sort of a voice".

Revolutionary Tone

When the twentieth century opened, the press had already begun to declare for complete freedom. It began to express and preach extremist views. In Bombay Presidency, papers like "Kesari", "Kal", Arunodaya", Kaiser-i-Hind" began to express themselves strongly. "Kal" wanted people to achieve India's object by deeds wrought by hands". It suggested a confederacy of Asiatic nations under the leadership of Japan. In Bengal, Yugantar (1906-8) called upon "fifty millions of men" to sacrifice themselves "in an attempt at deliverance". It wrote "the Bengalee will henceforward begin to take a life for a life given" and that "we will bathe in the enemy's blood, and with it dye Hindustan". It called upon the educated to organise the cultivators into "looting parties" to "loot rice in famines". It exclaimed: "Look there, the terrible sword glowing with blood is swirling. Look there, the guerilla bands are swarming the country; there... they are plundering the arsenals... there the vacant throne of the demon is being washed away by the waves of Bengal".

Akin to Yugantar, there was the Bande Mataram, edited by Aurobindo Ghosh. It declared: "the time is coming, the call will soon go forth" for the "hero, the martyr, the man of iron will... the great fighter, the born leader in action... the priest of Kali who can tear his heart out of his body and offer as a bleeding sacrifice on the Mother's altar". Third paper, "Sandhya", declared: "If you want life and independence, then the Feringhis' rights will have to be extinguished one by one and you will have to descend into the dark cave of barbarism". About the victory of Japan, it wrote: "The spell is broken; the magic web is torn, the opportunity has arrived to wash off the mire of English luxuriousness".

At the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai in 1907, the "Jan Ratan" of Ambala wrote: "The swan has been carried away from the garden of India". "Sandhya" of Bengal said "Lalaji... You are the first

During the last twenty years of the 19th century and the first decade of the next, powerful revolutionary papers like the 'Kesari', the 'Yugantar', and the 'Bande Matarani' were added to the list. In 1902, there were more than 700 newspapers, 575 periodicals and 2192 registered printing presses in the whole of India.

TONE OF THE PRESS

About the tone of the press, the Government translator admitted as early as 1867: "The Hindu papers fearlessly record their opinions based upon the broad principles of universal equality. And the authorities are often subjects of unceremonious comment, sometimes severe. The Mohammedan papers rarely venture any opinion".

The tone of the national press from 1858 to 1909 may be judged from the way it took notice of the economic, administrative, political and other policies of the alien Government.

The press was acutely conscious of the grave economic exploitation that attended British rule in India, and it was forthright in its criticism. Condemning the excise policy of the Government of India in 1863, a Bengali paper alleged: "in many places Abkaree Amlahas introduce prostitutes to promote the sale of liquor". Another paper said: "the Government of India is pursuing a most dangerous and damaging policy; for a few rupees gained now... it will have debauched, degraded and demoralised the mass of the people of India". When the Road-cess was imposed in Bengal, Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote: "It is a shameful imposition". When in 1888, the salt tax was increased by the Government of Lord Dufferin, a Bengal paper, Praja Bandhu, wrote: "cursed was the hour when His Excellency set foot on Indian soil. His crooked policy has impoverished India". Another paper, 'Bangavasi' advised the people in 1892 to forego the use of all foreign salts.

The Indian press was highly critical of the imperial wars on ethical and economic grounds. About the 2nd Afghan War, a Bengali paper wrote on 12-1-1880: "Heaven only knows where the consequences of the dishonest actions of the Hebrew Premier (Disraeli) will ultimately lead us. Has the English nation lost its vitality that it cannot bring about the overthrow of its bad

ministry"? The 3rd Burmese war had meant a military expenditure of more than 8 crores of rupees (1885-6 to 1895-6), about which a newspaper, Sanjivni wrote on 17-3-1888:—

"When we think, that our money assuming the form of bullets, is falling upon the breasts of heroic Burmese patriots, is serving to fill with lamentation thousands of Burmese homes, and is helping to deprive a people of their God-given independence, we cannot help loosing all patience."

About the Tibetan War of Lord Curzon, "Amrit Bazar Patrika" wrote on 12-5-1904: "Every Englishman should be ashamed of the Tibetan Mission".

The costliness and inefficiency of administration also came in for severe criticism. Bangabasi commented in July 1886:—"If in England the salaries... had been fixed at such high sums, the people would have rebelled". To the contention of Sir John Strachey that an English boy (for I.C.S.) inherited qualities from his forefathers which a Bengali aspirant for I.C.S. never inherited, a Bengali paper shot back the reply (Bangavasi, 28-12-1894):

"When your tattooed ancestors lived in mountain caves or underground holes, ate raw flesh and jumped about like monkeys from tree to tree in search of fruits, our forefathers ruled Kingdoms. This is no empty boast, but historic truth."

The national press severely criticised the police and public works departments of the Government of India. About police oppression, Koh-i-Nur of Lahore, 16-4-1892, enquired: "Why Government should appoint wolves to look after the welfare of sheep." About P.W.D. Som Prakash wrote in 1869: "This is a nursery of thieves".

Another thing which greatly exercised every one in the last decades of the 19th century was the problem of assault cases in which it pleased the Europeans to kill the Indians, and it pleased the European judges to let off the culprits on silly pretexts. Nearly 500 cases occurred every year in each of the provinces. At Wazirabad three English soldiers killed a Sadhu. "Amrita Bazar Patrika" wrote a bitter satire:

"The Sadhu looked so much like a pig that the tommies were tempted to shoot him. Oh! dear! dear! and now a hue

offering at the Mother's Yajna". Yugantar declared (12-5-1907): "Let those who want to die for the mother's sake make their preparations without talk".

Persecutions

Besides the stringent measures passed by the Government from time to time a large number of prosecutions were launched. In one single year, 1908, in the Bombay Presidency, three successive editors of "Vihari", two editors of "Hind Swarajya", the Editor, Joint Editor and Printer of "Vishvavritta", two editors of "Swarajya" and the editors of "Kal", "Urdu-i-Mualla" and "Arunodhya" were sentenced to rigorous imprisonments ranging from two to seven years. Lokamanya Tilak, in the same year, was deported for six years. In the Panjab and Bengal the story was not different. Zai-ul-Huq, the editor of "Peshwa" of Lahore, was sentenced to five years transportation for his article 'Akhri Awaz Suno (Hark—the last call). In Bengal "Yugantar" alone offered six of its editors for the prison-walls, during its brief career.

Conclusion

But the National Press of India was never disheartened. Thrown repeatedly into the consuming ovens of persecution and impediments, it developed a vitality and maturity which come only after being immersed in the flame of suffering. It succeeded in helping the educated people to assimilate progressive ideas, and pass these on to the common people. Through it, the doctrines of the great masters of political thought were made palatable even for the unlettered masses. It also helped provincial and intra-provincial contacts at cultural and political levels. It produced a world outlook by drawing upon international movements in its columns. For example, its references to the Russo-Japanese war proved extremely significant.

For achieving all this, and in giving the clarion call of struggle against tyranny, the press had to bear the heaviest of crosses. Even then, it bore the scars of the battle of India's freedom with the all defying faith and solace of a missionary to whom every pain and suffering is endearing to the utmost. The example it set on the sacrificial pyre of nationalism and patriotism was never lost on those who heard its call and watched its crusade against the evil of foreign rule.

The Imperial Pratihāras: Mahendrapāla I and Mahipālā*

(A Revised Study)

BY

DASHARATHA SHARMA, M.A., D.LITT.

The last known date of Bhoja I is 276. If we refer it to the Harṣa era, it would come to either 882 or 888 A.D., its initial year being 606 or 612 A.D.¹ Later than it, however, must be the Barton Museum inscription describing Bhoja's pursuit of the fleeing Rāṣtrakūṭa forces of the two Kṛṣṇas, Kṛṣṇa II of Mānya-kheṭa and Kṛṣṇa II of Lāṭa, up to Bhṛgukachcha.² The first inscription of his son and successor, Mahendrapāla I, known to us also as Mahīndrapāla, Mahiṣapāla, Mahendrāyudha, Nirbhaya-rāja and Nirbhaya-narendra is of the Valabhi year 574 which corresponds to 893 A.D.³ Considering this fact along with the events of the last few years of Bhoja's reign, already detailed elsewhere,⁴ we should not be unjustified in putting Mahendrapāla's succession in c. 892 A.D. We have a *yuvārāja* Nāgabhaṭa mentioned as a *dūtaka* in Bhoja's Daulatpurā grant of V. 900 (843 A.D.). But it is unnecessary to conclude from this fact that a ruler named Nāgabhaṭa (III), though otherwise unknown to us from history, intervened between Mahendrapāla and Bhoja.⁵

* This paper is a continuation of my earlier studies of the Pratihāras published in *JIH* (1943, 1944), *IHQ* (1934, 1937, 1944, 1958), *PIHC* (1958), *PO*, *If* and *ABORI*, XVIII, and follows the same policy of clearing up those points where I differ from eminent writers like Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. R. S. Tripathi.

1. Dr D. C. Sircar advocates the date 606. Dr R. C. Majumdar would on the other hand put the beginning of Harṣa's era, if he started any, not before 612 A.D.

2. See *IHO*, XXXIV, pp. 148 ff.

3. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 1379.

4. *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 148 ff.

5. The view has been advocated by Dr B. N. Puri in his *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 66.

Actually, Nāgabhaṭa might have been one of Bhoja's younger brothers,⁶ for the practice of having a younger brother as *yuvarāja* was not unknown to Rājput history. At Ābū, for instance, Dhārāvarṣa had his younger brother, Prahlādana, as *yuvarāja* in V. 1265.⁷ In V. 1287, the ruler of Ābū was Dhārāvarṣa's son, Somasiṃha who speaks in the highest terms of his uncle's valour and learning.

The inscriptions relating to Mahendrapāla I's reign give a good idea of the extent of his empire, political ambitions and achievements. Of these inscriptions, two come from Ūnā in Saurāṣṭra, one from Bengal, six from Bihar, one from Dighwā-Dubauli (Sāran district), recording the grant of a village in the Nepalese Tarāi, two from Siyadonī Long. 78°23 E., Lat. 24°50 N.) and Terahī (a village 27 miles NW. of Siyadonī) respectively, and one from Pehvā in S.E. Panjab. Obviously Bhoja's empire had passed into no weak hands.

The two records from Ūnā are important, because they show not only that Saurāṣṭra was within the Pratihāra empire during Mahendrapāla's reign but also indicate how it was subjugated and administered. His local feudatories, Balavarman Chaulukya, whose grandfather, Bāhukadhvala, also had put in good service for the empire^{8,9} and Balavarman's son, Avanivarman II, known also as Yoga, proved good henchmen. Balavarman is mentioned not only as having defeated powerful chieftains like Viśaḍha, about whose clan nothing is known, and Jajjapa, a Hūṇa,¹⁰ but also as having acquired by his own valour the Nakṣisapura 84,¹¹ i.e., the locality of this name with the 83 villages attached to it. Acting probably under imperial authority, Balavarman's son, Avanivarman II, carried the work of subjugating the province still further. He put to flight a chief named Yakṣadāsa and defeated Dharaṇivarāha who saved himself from further harm by seeking re-

fuge with Avanivarman.¹² This Dharaṇivarāha is generally regarded as identical with Dharaṇivarāha of the Chāpa family of Waḍhwān.¹³

That there should be so much fighting against chiefs of minor or second-rate importance may appear a bit strange. But the situation would be easily understandable, if we compare it to that in the reigns of powerful Chaulukya rulers like Jayasimha Siddharāja and Kumārapāla who had off and on to send armies to chastise their refractory feudatories in Kāthiāwār. The general direction of these operations in Mahendrapāla's reign might have been under his *tantrapāla Dhūka*, whose signatures appear on the grants of Balavarman and Avanivarman, though actual fighting was probably left to these feudatories whose services to the empire were rewarded with a share in the conquered lands and award of high-sounding titles like *mahāsāmanta* and the privilege of using the five musical instruments, *śṛṅga*, *śaṅkha*, *bherī*, *jayaghaṇṭā* and *tammaṭa*.¹⁴ We hear no more of Jajjapa, Yakṣadāsa and Viśaḍha, after 899 A.D., the date of Avanivarman's grant. Perhaps their territories were passed on to some loyal feudatory. But that Dharaṇivarāha, who was wise enough to submit to royal authority, remained in enjoyment of his ancestral lands can be seen from his Haḍḍala grant issued from Waḍhwān in the reign of Mahendrapāla's son, Mahāpāla.¹⁵

Eastwards, the Pratihāra empire continued its natural expansion, for no imperial power would be satisfied with supremacy over only a part of the Gangā valley. In the reign of Bhoja I, Bihār had been for a number of years the scene of a protracted struggle between the Pratihāras and the Pālas. For nearly fifteen years of Nārāyaṇapāla's reign there are neither Pāla nor Pratihāra inscriptions in this province. But in the reign of Mahendrapāla we find the Pratihāras not only fully entrenched there but proceeding even further. As pointed out above, six of his inscriptions (with

6. There is nothing to indicate that Bhoja I was old enough in 843 A.D. to have a son of 25 years or so.

7. Bhandarkar's List, No. 454.

8, 9. See the account of Bhoja I.

10. Avanivarman II's Ūnā inscription, lines 27-31, *EI*, IX, pp. 2 ff.

11. Balavarman's Ūnā inscription, line 10, *ibid*.

12. Avanivarman's Ūnā inscription, lines 39-43.

13. See below, the account of Mahāpāla's reign.

14. Balavarman's Ūnā inscription, lines 3-4; Avanivarman II's Ūnā inscription, line 45. The names of the musical instruments are, as given by Revakopyachara and quoted by Dr. A. S. Altekar in his "*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*", p. 263.

15. See below.

dates ranging from his second to the ninth year) come from this area; and the whole of it can be presumed to have been subjugated by or before the fifth year of his reign when we find an inscription referring to him even at Pahārpur in North Bengal. Partly the Pratihāra success might have been due to Nārāyaṇapāla's military incapacity, partly also on account of the fact that he found himself faced almost simultaneously by many enemies, the Pratihāras, the Utkalas, the Assamese and the Rāṣtrakūṭas.

It was probably from Bihar that the Pratihāra empire expanded northwards. The Dighwā-Dubauli grant issued by Mahendrapāla from Mahodaya (Kanauj) records the grant of Pīṇiyakagrāma in the Valayikā-viṣaya of the Śrāvastī-maṇḍala in the Nepalese Tarai.^{15a} His control over Mālwa is indicated by the Udaipur *Prasasti* which mentions the Paramāra chief, Vākpati I, not only as gladdening the eyes of the ladies of Avanti but also reaching with his armies the place where the Gangā meets the sea. This latter achievement could have been possible only by his being one of Mahendrapāla I's generals.^{15b} From Ahār (Bulandshahr) we have a number of records which can be assigned to Mahendrapāla's reign.

The Pehvā inscription¹⁶ is good evidence of his possession of S.E. Panjab. In Bhoja's reign, the Pratihāra dominions had probably reached as far as the confines of the kingdom of Kashmīr¹⁷ and encompassed within Bhoja's sphere of influence might have been the territories of some chiefs of the Panjāb like Alakhana. Mahendrapāla however, had to face the rivalry of Śaṅkaravarman (883-900 A.D.), the ambitious and energetic ruler of Kashmīr, who had subjugated Darvabhisāra, reduced the kingdom of Trigarta to the status of a dependency, and forced the Gurjara chief, Alakhana, to surrender Takka. By either force or diplomacy Śaṅkaravarman succeeded in having the government of

15a. *IA*, XV, pp. 105 ff.

15b. verse 10. His grandson, Siyaka, was ruling in Mālwa in 949 A.D. Vākpati I can therefore be easily assumed to have been Mahendrapāla I's contemporary. The fact was brought to my notice by Miss Pratipal Bhatia who is working on the history of the Paramāras, under the present writer's supervision.

16. *EI*, I, pp. 244 ff.

17. See *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 146-8.

some principality, which remains unspecified by Kalhaṇa probably on account of its insignificance, transferred to a member of the Thakkakiya family who had accepted the post of Śaṅkaravarman's chamberlain.¹⁸ In this direction, therefore, there was some contraction of the Pratihāra influence, though probably of only a temporary nature, because on the death of Śaṅkaravarman Kashmīr had enough of troubles to absorb her energies; and the Pratihāras, as we shall see, established once again their supremacy over the area that they had lost.¹⁹

On the southern side the retention of the territories in the Madhya Pradesh going up to 24°50' north is proved by the Siyaḍonī inscription. But on this frontier, as on the western, the Pratihāras created powerful feudatories. In 906 and 907 A.D. we find Siyaḍonī governed by Undabhāṭa who bore the titles of *mahāpratihāra* and *mahāsāmantādhipati* and enjoyed the privilege of having the five *mahaśabdās*.²⁰ *Mahārāja* Dhūrbhāṭa who governed the place in 912 A.D. was probably his son. Another great *jāgir*, as we might call these feudal charges, was that of Guṇarāja near Terahī. And how little these feudal lords could sometimes care for the bond of allegiance to a common over-lord, where

18. The only authority for presuming that Mahendrapāla had to give a part of his territory is the following verse of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*:

Hṛtaṁ Bhojādhirājena sa sāmṛājyamadāpayat

Pratihāratayā bhṛtyibhūte Thakkiyakānvaye V. 151.

Sāmṛājya of this verse cannot have its usual sense of an empire. It can mean only rule over some small piece of territory which had passed into the hands of the Pratihāras and was now restored to the Thakkiyaka chief, probably without any fighting, for the Sanskrit root used here is *adāpayat* which, unless joined with some word like "baḷat" or "prasahya", does not indicate compulsion.

19. A minor named Gopālavarman succeeded Śaṅkaravarman and ruled for a very short period. He was assassinated by his mother's paramour, the minister Prabhākara. The next king died within ten days of his accession. Gopālavarman's mother, Sugandhā, assumed royalty but was forced by a military faction to leave the capital in 906 A.D. Eight years later when she tried to recover her lost power, she was defeated and killed. These chaotic conditions, deprived Kasmir of that share of political influence which it could have exercised. That Mahendrapāla's son, Mahipāla actually conquered some territories in the Punjab during the period of the political weakness that followed Śaṅkaravarman's death will be seen below.

20. *EI*, I, pp. 169, 173.

their own interests were at variance, can be seen from the fight on the Madhuvēni (Mohwar) river, near Terahī, in which Guṇarāja's follower, the Koṭṭapāla Chaṇḍiyana lost his life.²¹

Another instance of the quarrels of feudatories came from Rajasthan-Delhi area where Chandanarāja of Śākambharī slew the Tomara chief, Rudra^{21a} who is regarded by some scholars as a petty ruler of the tract now known as *Tamvarvaṭi*. But in view of the fact that he is called "*inabhūpa*", i.e., a mighty monarch, in the Harṣa inscription of Vighraharāja II and also the tradition ascribing the migration of the Tomaras to a period not earlier than V. 1200, it is better, as suggested elsewhere by us,^{21b} to regard him as a ruler of the Delhi area, the well-known seat of Tomara power in North India. Almost at the same time we find a Tomara principality at Pehoa, S.E. Panjab;^{21c} and earlier still, somewhere in the fourth or fifth century they were somewhere near the Himalayas which again suggests that the course of their migration was from the north towards the south.

The southernmost extension of the Pratihāra dominions went up to Bhrgukachchha. It was in Nāgabhaṭa I's possession in 756 A.D.²² Bhoja I's victories once again put it under the Pratihāras towards the end of his reign. But by 910 A.D., it had, as already pointed out,²³ passed into the hands of a governor appointed by the Rāstrakūṭa ruler, Kṛṣṇa II whose greatest achievement, according to the Rāstrakūṭas themselves was the liberation of Khetakamandala from the Pratihāras.²⁴ There may have been some severe fighting before the Pratihāras surrendered this distant possession. But it was a vulnerable outpost which had to be given up at some time or other, even though its abandoning meant some loss of prestige.

21. IA, XVII, pp. 201-2.

21a. Harṣa inscription, verse 14. As Chandanarāja's father, Guvaka II, was a contemporary of Bhoja I, Chandanaraja is being regarded here as Mahendrapāla's contemporary.

21b. *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 26-7.

21c. See the Puranic Lists of Peoples, *IHQ*, 1945, p. 304 and also our paper, *New Light on the Tomaras of Delhi in PIHC*, 1956, p. 150ff.

22. *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, pp. 14-15.

23. *IHQ*, XXXIV, p. 150.

24. *Ibid.*

The cultural side of the reign is represented by Mahendrapāla's *guru*, Rājasekhara, whose Prakrit play *Karpūramāñjarī* and the *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts, rightly styled a *mahānāṭaka* by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, were first staged during Mahendrapāla's reign. Rājasekhara continued to reside at the Pratihāra court, after his pupil's death also and was patronised by his son and successor, Mahipāla. We shall have more to say about Rājasekhara later on.

In spite of a few losses here and there, the Pratihāra empire may be presumed to have reached its zenith during Mahendrapāla's reign. It extended from Ūnā in Saurāṣṭra to Pahārpur in North Bengal and from the Valayika-*viṣaya* in the Nepalese Tarāi to Siyaḍonī and Terahī in the Madhya Bhārat. But its expansion had brought with itself problems which were not being tackled with necessary firmness and foresight. A large number of feudal nobles now controlled the territories on the frontiers' with powers extensive enough to threaten some day the stability of the empire in spite of some supervision by the *tantrapālas*, and with the bond of common allegiance so loose that any small matter could make them fight among themselves and perhaps also feel angry if the central government did not back their claims. This did not obviously presage any good to the empire and betokened one of the ways in which it broke up ultimately.

Mahipāla

Mahendrapāla's two queens, Dehanāgādevī and Mahīdevī, were respectively the mothers of his sons, Vināyakapāla and Bhoja.²⁵ The name of Mahipāla's mother remains unknown. As Mahendrapāla's last inscription is of 908 A.D. and the first inscription of Mahipāla, so far known, is of the year 914 A.D., Mahipāla must have come to the throne somewhere between 908 and 914 A.D. Whether during this interval some other ruler occupied the throne of Kanauj remains a matter of speculation, and will be continued to be so, unless we have some new evidence.

According to Dr. R. S. Tripathi, Mahipāla was preceded on the throne by his step-brother Bhoja II, who succeeded in keeping Mahipāla away from the throne with the help of the Chedi ruler,

25. Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of Vināyakapāla, IA, XV, p. 140.

Kokkalla I. But Mahipāla's cause was taken up by the Chandella ruler, Harṣa. Bhoja II was defeated and Mahipāla became the ruler of Kanauj.²⁶ On the basis of the same evidence which enabled Dr. Tripathi to reach the foregoing conclusions, Dr. B. N. Puri carries the speculation further by writing, "We propose the following suggestions: Mahendrapāla died about 910 A.D., and Mahipāla ascended the throne as his heir apparent, but Kokkalladeva, joined by the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler, Kṛṣṇa II—represented by his grandson Indra III—marched against Kanauj, and after defeating Mahipāla placed Bhoja II on the throne. Mahipāla left Kanauj and probably sought shelter with the Chandellas. Bhoja II ruled for a short time and, with the withdrawal of his allies, Mahipāla made a bid for capturing once again, the throne of Kanauj. At this time Kokkalladeva was probably no more, and the Rāṣtrakūṭas could not help. Mahipāla *alias* Kṣitipāla was backed by the Chandella king Harṣadeva who was against the king of Kanauj, as mentioned in the Khajurāho inscription No. 1."²⁷ These assumptions make interesting reading. But is the evidence on which these conclusions are founded strong enough to stand their weight?

The chief facts on which these theories rest are as follows:—

- (1) The absence of Bhoja II's name in the Asnī Plate of Mahipāla. (This could, according to these writers, be explained only by assuming enmity between the two brothers and a war of succession.)
- (2) The statement of the Bilharī inscription that Kokalladeva Chedi set up two unprecedented columns, Kṛṣṇarāja in the south and Bhojadeva in the north. (The statement is believed to support the hypothesis given in 1.)
- (3) The statement in the Banāras grant of Karna to the effect that Kokkalladeva had his protecting hand on Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Śrī-Harṣa, the ruler of Chitrakūṭa and the rājā Śaṅkarakaṇa. (This is believed to corroborate the statement in No. 2 and strengthen the hypothesis reached in No. 1.)

26. *History of Kanauj*, pp. 256-7.

27. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 81.

- (4) A fragment of line 10 of the Khajurāho inscription, No. 1 which reads:—

— — — — —punar-²⁸
 yena Śrī-Kṣitipāla-deva-nrpatiḥ simhāsane sthāpitaḥ ||
 (According to Dr Tripathi the lines prove that Harṣa Chandella intervened in the war of succession on behalf of Mahipāla and put him on the throne of Kanauj. Dr Puri interprets it a bit differently but he also sees in it intervention by Harṣa in favour of Mahipāla as against Bhoja II.)

As regards the first of these facts, a better explanation can be provided by regarding Bhoja II as Mahipāla's successor, in which case there would be no question of the occurrence of his name in Mahipāla's inscriptions. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that Bhoja II was the earlier of the two rulers, unless we assume the identity of Mahipāla and Vināyakapāla. And for this we find no compelling reason. The names are different. The dates do not overlap; and the arguments advanced by Kielhorn, in the first instance in favour of the identification and thereafter by many others are far from convincing.^{28a}

Similarly the statement of the Bilharī inscription is irrelevant to the issue. It does not state that Kokalladeva I helped Bhoja against a rival claimant to the throne. Actually its significance has to be understood differently. Kokkalladeva had 18 sons. Probably he had some daughters also. If he gave them in marriage to Bhoja Pratihāra, Rāṣtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II, Harṣa Chandella and Śaṅkaragaṇa Guhila, he could easily claim having extended to them his *āśirvādātma* *hasta* or *abhayada pāṇi*, if he chose to call it so in a mood of self-glorification. Or it may be that the Chedi princesses married to these rulers were his grand-daughters, in which case also he could have the privilege of extending his blessings and *kṛpā* to them and their spouses. In no other manner can the statements of the Bilharī and Banāras inscriptions be interpreted satisfactorily, for Kokkalla I was at no time in his career

28. Dots represent short *mātrās* and dashes the long ones. The metre used is *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

28a. For refutation of Kielhorn's arguments see below the account of Vināyakapāla.

stronger than the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa and Pratihāra rulers. Later on his descendants exaggerated even more unabashedly. We are told, for instance, in the Āmoda plates of the Haihaya ruler, Prthvīdeva, dated Chedi Samvat 831 = A.D. 1080, that Kokkalla "erected a pillar of victory on this earth by seizing forcibly the treasure, horses, and elephants of the rulers of Kaṇṇāṭa, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, and Śākambharī and also of those born in the Turuṣka and Raghu families."²⁹ In other words the *praśastikāra* makes him almost a *digvijayi*. The Bilhari inscription put the names of two rulers only. The Banaras Plate increased the number to four. The Āmoda plates roped in also Vaṅga, Koṅkaṇa, Śākambharī and Gurjara, meaning in this case probably the Chaulukya kingdom of Gujarāt as it is differentiated from the Rāghūdbhava state of the Pratihāras, and the distant Turuṣkas who happened to be in occupation of a part of the Panjāb in 1080 A.D. when this inscription was incised. The historical value of these plates obviously is insignificant as far as Kokkalla's conquests are concerned.

Further, even if it be assumed somehow on the basis of the verse from the Bilhari inscription referred to above that Kokkalla I helped Bhoja against some rival claimant to the throne—though to be a little consistent we should look out also for a rival of Kṛṣṇa II and none seems to have done so—where is the proof that this Bhoja is identical with Mahipāla's brother, Bhoja II? In this connection the following facts should be borne in mind:—

(a) Rājaśekhara was a contemporary of Bhoja II's brother, Mahipāla, as well as Kokalladeva's grandson, Yuvarājadeva I of Tripuri.³⁰ Therefore, it is better to regard Bhoja II's grandfather, Bhoja I, as a contemporary of Kokkalla I.

(b) Indra III, a great-grandson of Kokkalla from his daughter's side was married to Kokkalla's great grand-daughter, Vijāmbā in c. 915. It is highly improbable that Kokkalla should not have been only living but also intervening in the affairs of northern as well as Southern India about that time.

29. EI, XIX, p. 78, verse 5.

30. See the writer's paper on the staging of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* in IA, LX., pp. 61 ff.

(c) Indra was a son of Lakṣmī who is mentioned as a daughter of Chediśvara Saṅkaragaṇa.³¹ If Saṅkaragaṇa had come to the throne, as indicated by the term *Chediśvara* at the time of giving his daughter in marriage to Indra's father, Jagattuṅga, Kokkalla must have died before even the birth of Indra and probably also before the birth of Mahipāla and Bhoja II.

(d) The eastern Chālukya ruler Gunaga Vijayāditya (844-888 A.D.) is stated to have defeated Saṅkila, the ruler of Dāhala. As Saṅkaragaṇa succeeded Kokkalla, the latter must be presumed to have died before 888 A.D.³²

(e) Kokkalla I was the father-in-law of Kṛṣṇa II who died an old man towards the end of 914-5 A.D., leaving as his successor a grandson who was old and capable enough to defeat rulers like Upendra and Meru before his accession to the throne.³³

In the face of this evidence, it is idle to maintain that it is Bhoja II who is referred to in Chedi records as Kokalladeva's contemporary. Nor is it possible to find a way out of self-created difficulties by supposing, as Dr Puri has done, that Kokkalla I, though a contemporary of Bhoja I, lived long enough not only to be on bad terms with Mahendrapāla but also to interfere in the affairs of Kanauj on Mahipāla's accession and to throw his weight on the side of Mahipāla's rival, Bhoja II.³⁴ The facts listed in the last paragraph leave no room for such a supposition. Nor can self-created difficulties be made to disappear by putting Indra's invasion in the reign of his grand-father, Kṛṣṇa II, for Indra's achievements as a *yuvārāja* have not been left to the imagination of a historian. They are duly listed in the Bagumrā Plates and do not include any invasion of North India. Indra invaded the Pratihāra dominions only after he had ascended the throne in 915 A.D.

31. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 104, footnote 50.

32. For this argument in particular and some others too with reference to the contemporaneity of Bhoja I and Kokkalla I, I am indebted to Dr D. C. Ganguly's paper on Mahipāla Pratihāra in the *Bhāratīyā Vidyā*, IX,

33. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 100. See also *Sarūp-Bhāratī*, pp. 296 ff. for Nilakanta Sastri's paper, "The achievements of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III as Yuvarāja".

34. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras*, pp. 80, 81.

As to the line from the Khajurāho inscription, it may refer not to a war of succession at all but to Mahīpāla's restoration to the throne, after Indra Rāṣṭrakūṭa's invasion, to which we shall refer presently. But in either case we have to be sure that the word Kṣitipāla stands for Mahīpāla. Of this equation even, however, one cannot be sure. The Siyaḍonī inscription reveals to us the existence of a Pratihāra Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Kṣitipāla who was the father of PMP Devapaladeva (948 A.D.).³⁵ We find this very ruler probably mentioned again as PMP Kṣitipāla, the father of PMP Vijayapāladeva, in the Rājor inscription (959 A.D.) of the latter's reign.³⁶ If the name Kṣitipāla had occurred in some versified portion of a record, the change from Mahīpāla to Kṣitipāla could be attributed to exigencies of metre. But as the name Mahīpāla occurs in the prose portions of two inscriptions, separated from each other by three years only,^{36a} though a good deal by distance, and the name Kṣitipāla also occurs in two important prose records,^{36b} later than Mahīpāla's inscriptions by more than thirty years and separated from each other by eleven years, one has to look askance at the generally accepted identity of these two rulers. If mere synonymy and proximity of time were proof enough to identity (and in the case of Mahīpāla and Kṣitipāla proximity even is not very great) one would be equating Skandagupta with Kumāragupta, Purandrapāla of the Durjayanagarī with his son Indrapāla and Vairisimha with Arisimha Guhila, though no doubt wrongly.

On leaving behind this welter of speculative theories we find that the first fact of which we are sure in Mahīpāla's history is the invasion of his dominions by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Indra III. Bhoja I had carried his arms as far as Broach,³⁷ and though Kṛṣṇa II had succeeded in recovering Khetaka-maṇḍala by 910 A.D., the insult to their arms must have rankled in the hearts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Therefore when Indra III decided to raid North India, he was probably not only repeating old history but

35. *EI*, I, p. 170 f.

36. *EI*, III, pp. 263-7.

36a. Haḍḍalā and Asnī inscriptions of 917 A.D., respectively.

36b. Siyaḍonī and Rājor inscriptions referred to in this paragraph.

37. "Rāmabhadra and Bhoja: the Imperial Pratihāras", *IHQ*, XXXIV, p. 149.

also avenging an injury to family prestige. According to Dr. A. S. Altekar, Indra III prepared the ground for the invasion by defeating the Paramāra chief, Upendra of Mālwa.³⁸ But as shown by Miss Pratipal Bhatia, Upendra lived nearly a hundred years before Indra's accession to the throne.³⁹ Nor need it be believed that Indra passed through Mālwa to reach Kanauj. It was neither the direct route from Mānyakheta to Kanauj nor one easier to follow than the other routes which an invader could follow.

The only indication that we have of the route followed by the invader through the Pratihāra dominions comes from the following verse of the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV:⁴⁰

*Yan-mādyad-dvipa-danta-ghāta-viṣamaṁ Kālapriya-prāṅganam
tīrṇā yat-turaagair=agādha-Yamunā sindu-pratisparadhini/
yenedam hi Mahoday=āri-nagaraṁ nirmulam=unmūlitaṁ
nāmnādyāpi janaiḥ Kuśasthalam=iti khyātim parām
niyate//*

"The court-yard (of the temple of the god) Kālapriya became uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. The unfathomable Yamunā which rivals the sea was crossed by his horses. He completely devastated this Mahodaya, the city of the enemy, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kuśasthala."

Dr. Altekar and Dr. Tripathi regarded Kālapriya probably as Mahākāla of Ujjain. But it is much better, as pointed out by Mm. V. V. Mirashi, to identify it with the Sun-god Kālapriya whose temple at Kālapriya or Kālpī on the Yamunā was one of the holiest sites of Sun-worship in India.⁴¹ From this place which is only 75 miles to the south of Kanauj, Indra III must have pushed forward with some speed. There was no difficult physical barrier on the way, and the resistance put up by Mahīpāla, who was perhaps caught unprepared, did not for some time prove very effective. Kanauj was captured and sacked; the raiders for a while had every thing their own way. Indra's commanders, Nara-

38. *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 101.

39. *IHQ*, XXXIV, pp. 172-4.

40. *EI*, VII, pp. 38, 43, verse 19.

41. *Bhārati*, March, 1951, pp. 34-6.

simha Chālukya "plucked from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory, whom though desirous of keeping he had held too loosely."⁴² "He captured the champion elephants which marched in front and putting to flight the army of the Ghurjararāja secured the victory....Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea."⁴³

We have no definite information about the way in which Mahīpāla freed himself from these raiders in South India. Did they retire on account of political trouble in the South, while Indra III was busy fighting with the Pratihāras in the North? His general, Śrī-Vijaya, defeated some of his enemies.⁴⁴ But many others, perhaps a little stronger, needed Indra's own attention. Mahīpāla's feudatories, too, might have rallied to their overlord's support, for the Rāṣtrakūṭa advance threatened not only the political existence of the Pratihāra empire but in some cases their own also, specially of the *mahāsāmāntādhipatis* like Dhruvhaṭa and Guṇarāja whose territories lay at the southern end of the empire. Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. Altekar have fairly plausible grounds to think that Harṣa Chandella" assisted Mahīpāla to re-establish his authority over his shattered kingdom". But we cannot, as already pointed out, be absolutely sure of this on account of the restoration referred to there being not of Mahīpāla himself but of a ruler named Kṣitipāla who may or may not be identical with Indra's Pratihāra adversary.⁴⁵

42. As quoted by Dr Tripathi from *Vikramārjunavijaya*, ed. Lewis Rice, pp. 3-4.

43. *Ibid.*, as quoted by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *IHQ*, X, p. 619. The junction referred to here is generally equated with the *saṅgama* at Allahabad.

44. Altekar—*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 103.

45. See above the discussion on line 10 of the Khajūrāho inscription. But in all fairness to the position taken by Dr R. C. Majumdar and Dr A. S. Altekar it should be noted that Kṣitipāla of the Khajūrāho inscription No. 1 has greater claim to be identified with Mahīpāla Pratihāra than the Kṣitipālas of the Siyaḍonī and Rājor inscriptions. Here exigencies of metre can change Mahīpāla into Kṣitipāla. From its line 9 also it appears that "afraid of being churned, i.e., afflicted, again" some ruler, probably Kṣitipāla of line 10 had left his own place and sought refuge with Harṣa (*tyaktvā sthānamivāyātāḥ punarmathanasaṅkitāḥ*). In Khajūrāho inscription No. 4 Harṣa is called *apakṣa-dhātṛi-dharaṇa-kṣamāh*, i.e., one capable of

Equally vague is the information that we have from the following *gāthā* of the *Chāṇḍakaśika* of Kṣemiśvara:

Yah *saṁsṛtya prakṛti-gahanām*=*ārya-Chāṇakya-nītiṁ*
jitvā Nandān Kusumanagaram Chandragupto jigāya/
Kārṇāṭatvam dhruvam=upagatān=adya tān=evahantum
dor-darpādhyah sa. punar = abhavach = chhri-Mahīpāla-
devah//

"He, who, by resorting to the naturally astute policy of the noble Chāṇakya, defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumanapura, has now once again become the mighty-armed illustrious Mahīpāla-deva, with a view to destroying them (the Nandas) who have surely now been born as Kārṇāṭas".

Most scholars see in this verse a reference to Mahīpāla Pratihāra of Kanauj who fought against the Kārṇāṭa (Rāṣtrakūṭa) invader, Indra III, and succeeded ultimately not only in recovering his capital but also his supremacy over Āryāvarta.⁴⁶ Like Chandragupta Maurya, Mahīpāla also had to remain in exile from his kingdom for some time and ultimately recovered it not only by the force of one's own arms but also foreign aid and diplomacy. If Chandragupta Maurya recovered Kusumanagara or Pāṭaliputra, Mahīpāla also recovered Kusumanagara, i.e., his own capital, Kānyakubja, which too was known by this name in ancient times.⁴⁷ But regarding the people who actually assisted him in freeing his kingdom, this verse is even less helpful than the line from a fragmentary verse of the Khajūrāho inscription discussed above.

But that Mahīpāla did succeed in expelling the Rāṣtrakūṭas from his dominions can be inferred from sources, epigraphic as

protecting the *mahidharas* without any *pakṣas*. We have a double *entendre* here, with probably a comparison between *samudra* which protected the *mahidharas* (mountains) whose *pakṣas* (wings) had been cut off by Indra and Harṣa who assisted Mahīdhara (Mahīpāla) whose *pakṣas* (allies) had been destroyed by the Rāṣtrakūṭa ruler, Indra III. A combination of all these references supports the view advanced some years ago by Dr Majumdar on the basis of the Khajūrāho inscription.

46. Among the most prominent supporters of this view are A. B. Keith, Pischel, Sten Konow, Hoernle, R. C. Majumdar and S. K. De.

47. See my paper, *Kusumanagara of the historical Gāthā of Chāṇḍakaśika*.

well as literary. An inscription from Asnī, a village about 10 miles north of Fatehpur-Haswā, the chief town of the Fatehpur-Haswā district, U.P., dated in V. 974 (917 A.D.),⁴⁸ speaks of the victorious, auspicious and increasing rule of PMP Mahīpāladeva on this earth. Of Mahīpāla's success elsewhere we have evidence in Rājasekhara's *Bālabhārata* which wishes success to the Raghu family, the abode of renown in which was born Mahīpāla who had made the Muralas bow down their heads (in salutation), who was like fever⁴⁹ to Mekalas, who had driven the Kalingas before him in battle, who had spoilt the pastime of Kerala ruler, who had conquered the Kulūtas, who was like a battle-axe to the Kuntalas, and who had taken away by force the fortunes of the Ramathas.⁵⁰ As in the same context, Rājasekhara speaks of Mahīpāla as a pearl-jewel of the Raghu family and the *Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta,⁵¹ he probably wrote his play when Mahīpāla was at the zenith of his political career, and his enemies had been repulsed, defeated and crushed.

According to Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, the Muralas are a people of South India.⁵² As they were obviously connected with the river Muralā which the *Raghuvamśa* puts near the Sahya range, to the north of Kerala but to the south of Trikūṭa, it would perhaps be best to identify them with the Śilāhāras who like the Muralas of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* were neighbours of the Vanavā-

48. IA, XVI, pp. 173-5.

49. *pākalah*. The word occurs also in the *Harṣacharita* in the description of Prabhākaravardhana's achievements.

50. *Namita-Murala-mauliḥ pākalao Mekalānām*
raṇa-kalita-Kalingaḥ keli-tat Keralendoh /
ajani jita-Kulūtaḥ Kuntalānām kuṭhārah
haṭha-hṛta-Ramatha-śrīḥ Śrī-Mahīpāla-devaḥ // I.7.

The verse is preceded by the words, "Yaśo-nidhir=*vijayatām soyaṁ* Raghoranvayaḥ. Tatra cha—".

51. *Raghuvamśa-muktā-maṇinā Āryāvarta-mahārājādhirājena Śrī-Nirbhaya-narendra-nanadanena.*

52. Muralas are put in between the Kāveras and Vanavāsakar (*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, G.O.S. third edition, p. 93). This goes against the identification, with the Keralas accepted by B. C. Law. The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* has Murala as a synonym of the Narmadā. But as Rājasekhara may be expected to have given it the location which he himself has assigned to it in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, we need not think of identifying it with the Narmadā.

sakas.^{53, 54} And of the Śilāhāras, Dr. A. S. Altekar mentions three houses, ruling respectively in South Konkan, Northern Konkan and Kolhapur. Avasara II and his son, Indrarāja, ruled in South Konkan, Jhanjha at Sāmūr or Chaul, and Jaṭiga in Kolhāpur as Mahīpāla's contemporaries. All the three, being the feudatories of the Rāṣtrakūṭas could have directly or indirectly come into conflict with the Pratihāras.

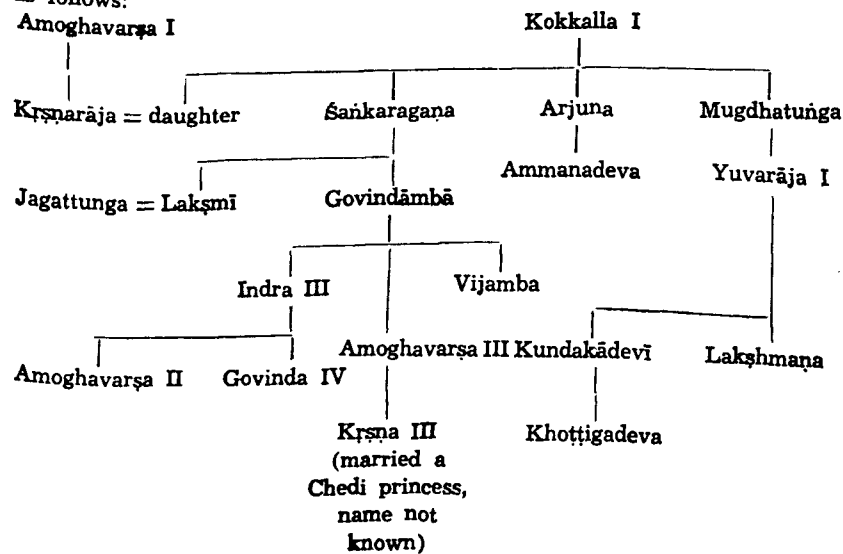
The Mekalas should be identified with the Chedis. In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of Rājasekhara, the Chedi ruler is called *Ḍāhaleśvara*, i.e., lord of the Ḍāhala territory, *Narmadālanḍa-maṇḍal* = *ādhipati*, overlord of the *maṇḍala* of which the Narmadā is the ornament, and *Mekalapati*, the lord of the Mekalas.⁵⁵ Similarly in the poet's *Bālabhārata*, Śiśupāla, who is known to us all as a Chedi, is termed as *Mekalānām kulodbhavaḥ*, i.e., as one born in the family of the Mekalas.⁵⁶ As people who had matrimonial relations for generations with the Rāṣtrakūṭas⁵⁷ and co-operated pro-

53, 54. See the last footnote.

55. *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Jivananda Vidyasagara's edition, pp. 138-9.

56. *Nirnayasāgar* edition, p. 16.

57. These relations have been put in tabular form by Dr. A. S. Altekar as follows:



(*Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 104)

bably with them in their ventures, they deserved being troubled by Mahīpāla. Their ruler at the time might have been Bāla-Harṣa.

Mahīpāla's expedition against the Kaliṅgas sounds like an exaggeration. But if Nāgabhaṭa II could, at the outset of his political career, come into conflict with the Andhras, the Saindhavas, Vaidarbhas and Kaliṅgas,⁵⁸ where the improbability in the claim for Mahīpāla put forward by Rājasekhara? He does not claim that Kaliṅga was conquered by the Pratihāras. He merely speaks of the Kaliṅga ruler being repulsed in battle. This could happen any day, with the boundaries of Kaliṅga not very far removed from those of the Pratihāra empire. The ruler defeated or repulsed by Mahīpāla might have belonged to the Kara dynasty.

The position of the Keralas in the South was in some ways similar to that of the Chedis. Many Kerala princesses were married to Chola and Pāṇḍya rulers.⁵⁹ But they were so far to the south that it is difficult to see how they could have come into conflict with Mahīpāla. Probably the expression that he "spoilt the pastime of the Kerala ruler" means nothing more than that Mahīpāla's victories made even the Kerala ruler entertain fears about his own safety.

Kulūta can be easily recognised as Kulū in the Kāngrā district in the upper valley of the Beās river, to the north-east of Kāngrā.⁶⁰ As pointed out already, conditions for advance northwards became comparatively easier for the Pratihāras, after the death of Śaṅkaravarman of Kāshmir; and the internecine warfare of the hill-states too made them vulnerable to an attack from the south. Sāhillavarman of Chambā, whose time is not far removed from that of Mahīpāla, fought against the chief of Kullu, the lord of Durgara (Jammu), the Saumantikas and the Trigartas.⁶¹ And if others there followed the same policy of

aggrandising themselves at the cost of their neighbours, the Pratihāras obviously had a good chance not only to recover but even to extend their influence in these northern areas.

In this connection Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi has rightly drawn the attention of historians to the following example of a *kathoththa muktaka* in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*:⁶²

*Dattava ruddha-gaṭiḥ Khas-ādhipataye devīm Dhruvasvāminīm
yasmāt=khaṇḍita-sāhaso nivavṛte Śrī-Śarma-gupto nṛpaḥ/
tasminn=eva Himālaye guru-guhā-koṇa-kvaṇat-kinnare
gīyante tava Kārttikeya nagara-strīnām gaṇaiḥ kīrtayaḥ//*

The verse, as he points out, is addressed to Mahīpāla, who was known also as Kārttikeya,^{62a} and speaks of his glory being sung by the women of Nagara, the capital of Kulūta, in that very Himalayan area where the king Śarma-gupta (Rāmagupta), with his movements blocked (by the enemy), had surrendered the queen Dhruvasvāminī to the Khasa ruler. Mahīpāla's achievement did not, no doubt, result in any permanent conquest, for Kulūta had not long after to recognise the sovereignty of Chambā, but it was impressive enough to be sung and eulogised.

The location of the Ramaṭhas is uncertain. The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* puts them in the Uttarāpatha. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* mentions them along with the Pāñchanadas and the Pāradas. The editor of *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* suggests their identification with the Rāmas, a tribe put by him near Aornos.⁶³ With their defeat probably ended the north-western conquests of Mahīpāla.

The Kārnātas of the verse have generally and rightly been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. Though Indra III

58. *JIH*, 1943, p. 102.

59. Ariṇjaya Chola was a son of Parāntaka I's queen, a Kerala princess. In subduing Madurā Parāntaka was assisted by the Kerala chief. Vānavan Mahādevī, the queen of the Pāṇḍya ruler, Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa (c. 880-900), came from Kerala and was the mother of his successor, the unfortunate Māravarman Rājasimha II (c. 900—c. 920 A.D.)

60. N. L. Dey—*Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*.

61. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1825; and *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Pt. I, pp. 184 f.

62. *IA*, 1933, pp. 201 ff.

62a. That he was known as Kārttikeya can be seen from the following verse of the *Chandakautika*—

*yenādiśya prayogaṁ ghanapulakabhṛtā nātakasyāsua harsāt
vasatralaṅkārahemnām pratidinamakṛśā rāsayaḥ sampradattāḥ/
tasya ksatraprasāter = bhramatu jagadidaṁ Kārttikeyasya kīrtiḥ
pāre kṣīrābhasindhorapi kaviyāsasā sārḍhamagresareṇa //*

63. p. 304, G.O.S., 3rd edition.

lived up to c. 929 A.D.,⁶⁴ he confined himself to southern India. In fact, he seems to have been so much pre-occupied with something or other, probably the defence of his empire against Pratihāra counter-attacks, that his political activity practically came to a dead-stop with his retirement to the Deccan after his northern raid. Of the Pratihāra anti-Rāṣṭrakūṭa activity on the other hand we have evidence not only from the *Bālabhārata* and the *Chanda-kauśika* but also the Chātsū inscription of Bālāditya which speaks of the southern sea presenting jewels to Bhaṭṭa who defeated the southern rulers in battle at the behest of his master.⁶⁵ As Bhaṭṭa's grandfather, Harṣa, was a feudatory of Bhoja I, one can easily assume that Bhaṭṭa's "master" was Mahīpāla. The drift of the verse, of which unfortunately four letters are gone, is clear enough. It shows that Bhaṭṭa won his victories somewhere in South India;⁶⁶ and if this be a fact, it explains also the references to the Muralas and the Keralas in the verse from the *Bālabharata* which we have been discussing. They may have been allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

64. In his recently published work, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* Dr. B. N. Puri gives 915-918 as the reign-period of Indra III (p. 81). Dr. Altekar had suggested these dates in his monograph on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas but later suggested 922 as the year of Indra's death. We have now a copper-plate grant issued by one of his viceroys, with the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family from Govinda I to Indra III. As this was issued on 17th April, 926 A.D. and his successor, Amoghavarṣa II, who ruled for one year only, did not come to the throne earlier than 929 A.D., Dr D. C. Sircar does not put Indra III's death much earlier than the end of 928 A.D. (*AIOC*, Part I, 1959, pp. 176-7).

65. *Akrāntā vīksya ś(s)ainyair = vvi*
bhīto bandhād = iv = ālam punaramrdu-marud-vepamān = orvi-bāhuḥ
yasy = ādad = dakṣiṇābdiḥ samiti jītavato dākṣiṇātyān kṣitīśān
īśadeśād = aśeśān lasad-asama-rucho velayā ratna-rājāh // 26 //
 (EI, X, pp. 10 ff).

66. Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that the verse points to "a time of great danger, when the kingdom was invaded by foreign soldiers" (*Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 36). Actually, however, the reference is to operations in the south. The ranges of hills all around got broken by the relentless march of Bhaṭṭa's army. Seeing this the sea was afraid that it would be bound again (as it was with blocks of hills in Rama's time) and tremblingly offered jewels to Bhaṭṭa who at the orders of his master had defeated the southern rulers. For the text of the verse see the last footnote.

In one direction, however, Mahīpāla does not seem to have regained lost ground. In the 54th year of his reign, Nārāyaṇapāla probably conquered a part of Bihār and this remained in the hands of his successors.⁶⁷ Mahīpāla's hands might have been too full in other directions to let him think of fighting against the Pālas also.^{67a}

Mahīpāla inherited his father's literary taste. The poet Rājaśekhara had his *Bālabharata* staged at his court. The *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, the maturest of his works, was also in all probability composed at his court.⁶⁸ He patronised Kṣemīvara, the author of the *Chanda-kauśika* and *Naiṣadhānanda*.⁶⁹ Another writer of his court was perhaps the poet whose highly eulogistic *kathottha muk-taka* has been illustrated in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* and has been quoted by us above as evidence of Mahīpāla's conquest of Kulūta.

On the whole Mahīpāla had a successful career. Not only did he repulse Indra's army with the help of his feudatories, but he also avenged his own defeat in a large measure by his counter-attacks, during the course of which his armies probably marched by a westerly route and penetrated deep into the territories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their feudatories and allies. Mahīpāla lost some territory in the eastern direction; but probably he more than made up for it by his northern and north-western conquests. Though internally the empire might have weakened during his reign on

67. The Uddandapur (Bihār) inscription (IA., XLVII, p. 110) is indicative of the recovery of power by Nārāyaṇapāla. That his successors, Rājyapāla and Gopala II, continued to hold it is proved by the Nālanda inscriptions of these rulers.

67a. In the Sādaḍi inscription of v. 1439 Khommāṇa Guhila of Mewār is described as having defeated the Aṅgas, Kalingas, Vaṅgas, Trilingas, Surāṣṭras, Choḍas, Draviḍas, and Gauḍas. Khommāṇa could be supposed to have, as suggested by Dr. G. C. Raychaudhari, fought against these powers in the company of Mahīpāla, if the description were not only conventional but also unsupported by any other evidence.

68. See the present writer's paper, *Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsāyā rachanāsthnām* (*Sarasvatī-saṁgraha*, VIII, 301 ff).

69. See A. B. Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 239-241. The reference to *Svapnadaśānana* of Kālīñjarapati Bhīmaṭa in one of Rājaśekhara's verses needs investigation. I feel like regarding him as a relative of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Undabhāṭa (907, 908) and Dhūrbhāṭa (913). He may have been the latter's successor even.

gestive of the importance that he attached to them. By way of elucidation, he adds that the spies "are the eyes . . . that enable the king to look at distant things . . . A ruler-having the spies for his eyes is awake even when he is asleep . . . ; he, who does not look through their medium, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level ground, like the blind".⁷ There is no exaggeration in this statement. The rulers have always depended on their confidential agents for a knowledge of the things that lay beyond their direct perception.

Persons possessed of requisite qualifications alone could be appointed to the Intelligence Service. They should be polite and soft-spoken, agile and swift in action, gifted with the presence of mind and a strong memory, and capable of enduring privations and all sorts of difficulties and discomforts. They should also be well-informed (*sarvavārtā-vid*) expert in different arts and sciences (*aneka-śilpa*), and good psychologists, able to gauge the thoughts and sentiments of others (*chittavedināḥ*). Above all, they should be thoroughly loyal and of unblemished character. Spies were trained in the technique of adopting disguises, in the science of nods and signs, cipher-writing, as well as in the art of detecting criminals, swaying public opinion, and sowing dissensions in the ranks of the enemy.⁸

Kāmandaka, like Kauṭilya, classifies the spies as Stationary (*Sansthānavatyāḥ*) and Wandering (*sañchārāḥ*). However, he differs from the latter in respect of their nomenclature. To the former category belong the Vaṇik, Kṛishibala, Liṅgī, Bhikshuka and Adhyāpaka varieties of spies, and to the latter the Tikshṇa, Pravrajitā, Sattri and Rasada. Of these, we have no difficulty in recognising the Vaṇiks as Vaidehakas (merchants), Kṛishibalas as Gṛihapatikas (agriculturist householders) and Lingins and Bhikshukas as Udāsthitas (recluses) and Tāpasas (ascetics

75-77; V. 33.32, 34; XII. 96.21; *Ram.*, III.33.10; *Manu*, IX.256; *Agni.*, CCXX. 22; *Matsya*, CCXV. 89; *N.V.*, XIV. 1; *Mṛichchakatika*, VII. 8. etc; also Hobbes, *Leviathan*, II. 23.

7. *N.S.*, XIII. 28-29, 31. Elsewhere (XVI. 52), it compares a monarch, deserted by his spies, to a man deprived of his eye-sight.

8. *Ibid.*, XIII. 26.

Also *Ib.*, XIII. 28, 37, 49, 50, etc.

Cf. *A.S.*, I. 128.

practising austerities) of the *Arthasāstra*. Śankarārya equates Adhyāpakas with Kāpaṭikachhātras. Likewise, in the case of Wandering Spies, Tikshṇas (desperadoes), Sattrins (class-mates or colleagues) and Rasadas (poisoners) are common to both the lists, while Pravrajitā evidently stands for Bhikshukī or Parivrājikā.⁹ Evidently, spies were recruited from all the walks of life—from students, teachers, farmers, merchants, artisans, sectaries, ascetics and even poisoners and desperadoes, without any distinction of age or sex.

The designations of various classes of spies are apparently based on their disguises to which there was no end (*bahulingirūpā*). The disguises very commonly adopted were those of ascetics or mendicants, merchants and artisans, but we also find them posing as wandering minstrels (*chārāṇas*), artists, cooks and confectioners, barbers and shampooers, bath and toilet attendants, attendants at the table, or as the bearers of parasol, yak-tail and vase, orderlies entrusted with the serving of water, betels, flowers, perfumes and ornaments, or as grooms, drivers and animal-trainers (*mahāmātra*). Occasionally, they simulated the hunch-backs, dwarfs and pigmies, feigned to be blind, deaf and dumb, or posed as idiots and eunuchs.¹⁰ In short, they put on any garb that would give them an access to the object of their attention.

There was a net work of spies, not only in the home state, but also in foreign states (*sva-pakshe para-pakshe cha*), friendly, inimical or neutral.¹¹ They were posted at all vulnerable positions and points of vantage, particularly in localities 'where there was a constant conflux and gathering of people', such as *tīrthas*,

9. *N.S.*, XIII. 36, 38; *A.S.*, I. 11-12.

Medhātithi, on *Manu*, VII. 154, also refers to the five classes of stationary spies.

10. *N.S.*, XIII. 27, 44-48.

Cf. *A.S.*, I. 12. 9-11; 15, 23; I. 13. 23; IV. 4. 3; *Manu*, IX. 261 etc.

11. *N.S.*, XIII. 30 (*Rājā charai-r-jagat-kṛitsnam vyāpnuyāt*); also *ib.*, XIII. 27, 37, 39.

Cf. *Vishnu*, III. 35; *M.Bh.*, III. 150.37-38, 42, 43.

Classical writers have noted the existence of spies in Mauryan age. Arrian calls them *Episkopoi*, and Strabo, *Ephori*. Their number must have been large enough to mislead Megasthenes to regard them as one of the seven classes of the Indian people.

account of the increased power of its feudatories, the exterior remained as imposing as before, and Kanauj continued to be the centre of Indian culture and set as it were a standard for the rest of India.⁷⁰

System of Espionage in the Nitisara of Kamandaka

BY

DR. R. K. DIKSHIT

Modern governments employ spies, informers and secret agents to keep themselves informed of the activities and affiliations of the disloyal and disgruntled elements within their states, as well as of the strength and attitude of contemporary powers. This practice, however, is not of recent origin: its history goes back to a remote antiquity. In ancient India, too, considerable importance was attached to the system of espionage, and it was regarded as a very important branch of administration. We have the earliest references to it in the hymns of the *Rigveda*, which often allude to the *spaśaḥ* of Varuṇa and other gods, noted for their untiring vigil and devotion to duty.¹ In subsequent ages, it attracted the notice of Kauṭilya, and other political philosophers, who have devoted considerable space, in their works, to a discussion and description of the work of *charas* and *gūḍha-puruṣas*.² There are also certain historical or semi-historical works, like *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and *Mudrārākṣhaśa*,³ and a few epigraphic records⁴ which show how the system worked in actual practice.

Kāmandaka, who has devoted an entire *prakaraṇa*⁵ to the topic, describes the spies as the 'eyes of the king'⁶—a phrase sug-

70. See Rājyaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in this connection and also his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, X, 98.

For the conditions in the earlier part of the reign, one may usefully refer to the account of Al Masūdī who was in Sindh in 915-6 A.D. He speaks of Bāhurā, the king of Kanauj, who was an enemy of the Balharā (the Rāṣtrakūṭa Vallabharājas of Mānyakheṭa) and maintained four large armies, each one of them numbering 700,000 or 90,000 men. The northern army was maintained to fight against the Arabs of Multān and with the Moslems, his subjects, on the frontier. Obviously at that time the Pratihāra empire went up to Sindh. As the account of Masūdī was written in 943-4 A.D. and till then he saw no reason to make any change in his observations, there might not have been any major changes in the political condition of North India up to 940 A.D. (For Masūdī's account, see Elliot's *History of India*, I, pp. 21-23).

1. Cf. *Rig.*, I. 24. 13: VI. 4.3; 67.5; VIII. 61.3; 87.3; IX. 73.4; 7; X. 10.8; *Atharva.*, VI. 16.4, etc. *Rig.*, I.33.8, refers to the spies of the enemies of the gods.

2. *A.S.*, I. 11-14; *N.V.*, XIV *Yuktikalpataru*, pp. 9-10; *Agni.*, CCXX. 20-22; CCXLI. 11-15, etc.

3. Cf. *R.T.*, IV. 323; VI. 171; VII. 627, 629, 1016, 1045; VIII. 1326, 2085, 2200, 3311, etc. Besides *Mudrārākṣhaśa*, spies figure in other Sanskrit dramas also, e.g., in, *Kirātārjuniya*, *Śiṣupālavadha*, *Uttararāmacharita*, *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, *Lalitavivrahanātaka*.

4. Cf. *I.A.*, XI. pp. 18; 162.

5. *N.S.*, *Prakarana* 19, in *Sarga XIII*.

6. *N.S.*, XIII. 29: *chārachakṣu-r-mahīpatiḥ*; also *Ib*; XIII. 28, 31.

We come across the same idea in other texts as well, viz, *M.Bh.*, I. 142,

āśramas and *āśrayasthānas*.¹² It appears from Kauṭilya that the posting of spies depended on the nature of their disguise. Merchant spies lived inside the forts and cities, saints and ascetics in the suburbs, cultivators in rural areas, herdsmen on the outskirts of the villages, and foresters, hunters and recluses in forests and wild tracts—all ostensibly engaged in their own business. Others, disguised as servants and professionals, took service in the houses of the suspects.¹³ Their abodes became the rendezvous for other spies, who visited them off and on, in different guises and on various pretexts.¹⁴

The functions assigned to the Intelligence Department were of a varied character—to keep the government informed of the trend of public opinion, to detect sedition and crime, and to assist in the administration of justice. The spies kept vigilant watch over the actions and movements of the people in general, and of the disgruntled and seditious in particular.¹⁵ They took special notice of government officials,¹⁶ of all grades and cadres. The members of the royal household, too, did not escape their attention.¹⁷ The 'fiery spies', noted for their reckless courage were selected to safeguard the person of the king,¹⁸ while others kept vigil on the forts and frontiers of the state.

The *charas* were required to acquaint themselves with the feelings and sentiments of the people,¹⁹ as also to find out if there was any discontent among them, and its causes. Kauṭilya makes it a part of their duty to create dissensions among the disloyal and disgruntled people, as well as to make them incur popular

12. N.S., XIII. 14.

13. A.S., I. 12, 23-25.

14. N.S., XIII. 35.

15. *Ibid.*, XIII. 40; Cf. A.S., I. 13. 1; II. 35.

16. N.S., XIII. 37, and Śankarārya's comments thereon.

17. N.S., XIII. 39, 44-45.

As a safeguard against the activities of foreign spies, the Royal Guard were expected to be 'capable of reading the hearts of spies' (*chara-chittajña*) *Ib.* XV. 38.

18. *Ibid.*, XIII. 47-48; A.S., I. 12.9.

19. N.S., XIII. 50: *Samāpibanto jagatām matāni jalāi bhūmeniva sūrya-pādāḥ...charā-ś-chareyu-r-bahulīṅgirūpā.*

Also, *Ibid.*, XIII. 27.

Cf. A.S. I. 13. 13-14.

disapprobation, by different devices.²⁰ Simultaneously, they strove to mould public opinion in favour of the king and his government. To achieve that end, they frequently engaged themselves in discussions and disputations at public places, upholding the royal cause.²¹ The spies were naturally employed to detect criminals—'the thorns of public peace'—viz., thieves, robbers, poisoners, murderers, fire-setters, adulterers, counter-feiters of coins, and those engaged in witch-craft and harmful magical rites. They also worked as departmental Intelligence Officers, checked official records and accounts,²² and exposed the officials guilty of corruption, extortion or oppression.²³ In extreme cases, their services were utilized for the adjudication of legal disputes,²⁴ and for the exposure of false witnesses.²⁵

Kāmandaka advocates the employment of spies along with the army—in the camp as well as on the front. They not only brought to light 'the latches of the foe',²⁶ and foiled his intrigues, but also served to keep up the morale of the troops by asserting the success of their own operations and the inevitable failure of the enemy.²⁷

He warns the king against the activities of foreign spies,²⁸ and undoubtedly, the most important function of the Intelligence Department was to trace them out. The maxim was to detect spies by others of a like character. Penal measures, often of an extreme nature, were taken against the enemy agents on detection.²⁹

Secret agents were deputed to foreign states also to ascertain the strength, attitude and resources of their rulers.³⁰ Kāmandaka

20. *Ibid.*, I. 13. 17-18.

21. *Ibid.*, I. 13. 2-13.

22. *Ibid.*, II. 35.

23. *Ibid.*, IV. 4.

24. *Ibid.*, III. 1. 59.

25. *Ibid.*, IV. 4. 15-16.

26. N.S., XVI. 52.

27. A.S., X. 3. 51.

28. N.S., XIII. 51. Cf. A.S., I. 12. 26; II. 35. 12.

29. Cf. R.T., VIII. 2200; *Ram*, VI. 20. 29-30, 34; 25. 15; 29. 16, ff; also, Aiyangar, S. K.: *Manimekhalai in its Historical Setting*, p. 187.

30. N.S., XIII. 37, 39. Cf. A.S., I. 12. 22.

recognises it as a cardinal principle of political diplomacy. 'A sovereign', he says, 'who does not know the designs of the rulers of his or his enemies' *maṇḍala* is . . . asleep, even though wide awake, and he never wakes up from such a sleep'.³¹ The spies worked there in collaboration with their ambassadors, to whom they passed on whatever information they could gather.³²

The duties of the *charas*, posted in foreign, particularly enemy states, were partly political and partly military. They formed an estimate of their military strength and economic resources, sounded public opinion, made a note of all the happenings therein,³³ specially of those that would affect the interests of their states, and established contacts with the discontented and alienable parties,³⁴ fomenting discord and encouraging dissensions and desertions. They also started a whispering campaign against the local kings by giving currency to their failings and frailties—real or fancied, while publicising the invincibility and virtuous conduct of their own sovereign. The idea was to keep the neighbouring states, particularly the enemy states, preoccupied with their domestic problems, so that they may not indulge in aggressive designs. It was also the duty of the spies to anticipate and prevent hostile combinations.

The role of the secret agents assumed greater importance on the outbreak of the war. They not only observed the plans and movements of the enemy, or his weak and vulnerable points, but also tried to foil his schemes.³⁵ They contrived to demoralise his subjects by spreading false rumours about the weakness and inevitable defeat of their army, or made them nervous by setting fire to their temples and altars, and by a show of unfavourable omens. They even induced and encouraged them to play the

part of fifth-columnists—to destroy the stores and supplies, and to obstruct reinforcements. Spies disguised as hunters and snake-charmers let loose ferocious beasts and poisonous snakes in the vicinity of the enemy camp, while others, operating within his capital, provoked quarrels amongst his officers and induced them to desert their sovereign: nor did they have any scruples in reasoning and killing them, while implicating others in the crime. *Tikshṇa* spies, who gained admission to the palace of the enemy king, in the guise of cooks and personal attendants, were made instrumental in administering poison to him.³⁶ Others, in the garb of astrologers, sooth-sayers, horologists and story-tellers, sought to create in conquered territories, an atmosphere favourable to their sovereign.³⁷

Unlike Kautilya, Kāmandaka, unfortunately, gives very little information about the practical working of the Intelligent Department. The spies organized into *saṁsthās* (Institutes of Espionage) were stationed in particular localities, and their headquarters became the rendezvous of the Wandering Spies, who visited them off and on, on various pretexts. The *charas* were in the service of the state, which made adequate provision for their safety and comfort.³⁸ Those who were posted inside the Royal Palace kept a vigilant watch there (*antahpuragatām vārtā*), while others concerned themselves with what happened beyond its precincts (*vahī-r-vārtā*).³⁹ All of them operated swiftly and imperceptibly,⁴⁰ even unknown to each other (*nānyonvavedinaḥ*).⁴¹ If they communicated amongst themselves, it was through the media of code words, cipher-writing, and tokens or gestures understood by themselves alone. Some of the spies secured employment in two states⁴² simultaneously. These *ubhayavetana*

36. N.S., XIII. 48.

R.T., shows that *Tikshṇa* spies were often employed for secret assassination of the enemy, Cf. IV. 323, etc.

37. N.S. IX. 73.

38. N.S., XIII. 35-36.

39. *Ibid.*, XIII. 44-48.

40. *Ibid.*, XIII. 30: *Vivasvān-iva-tejobhi-r-nabhasvān-iva cheshṭitaiḥ*.

Also, 47.

41. *Ibid.*, XIII. 38.

42. *Ibid.*, XIII. 49.

31. N.S., XIII. 39. Kautilya advises a weak king, menaced by a powerful adversary, to rely chiefly on his spies, and to wage the 'battle of intrigues' (*mantra-yuddha*).

32. N.S., XIII. 13-14, 34.

33. *Ibid.*, XIII. 32.

Also, *Ib.*, XIX. 70.

34. Cf. A.S., I. 14.

35. N.S., XIII. 29: *Sūkshma sūtra prachārena paśyed vairivicheshṭitām*.

Also, *Ibid.*, XVI. 52; XIX. 70.

charas were generally employed for the detection and winning over of alienable parties in foreign states.⁴³ Every care was taken to ensure the veracity of the reports of the *charas*. Meritorious service was rewarded and direliction of duty punished.⁴⁴

The government acted upon the information supplied by the spies. They had free access to the king, who reserved a particular period in his daily routine to receive their reports. Kāmandaka's aphorism is that 'guided by his spies, a king should proceed to any work, like *ritvijas* in a sacrifice being guided by the *sūtras*'.⁴⁵ The disaffected were ingratiated by the bestowal of gifts and honours, while the seditious and disloyal persons were punished. Their reports also revealed the short-comings of the government, and provided them with an opportunity of taking remedial measures (*chhidrañ=cha paripūrayet*)⁴⁷ before it was too late. Kāmandaka ends with the sane advice that a king should be cognisant of the fact that as he strives to play his enemies false through the instrumentality of his spies, the latter will also try to pay him back in the same coin.⁴⁸

43. *Ibid.*, XIII. 13; XVIII. 24.

44. Cf. A.S., I. 12.

45. N.S., XIII. 28.

46. N.S., XIII. 34.

47. *Ibid.*, XIII. 40-43.

48. *Ibid.*, XIII. 51.

Sculptural Representations of Lakulisa and other Pasupata Teachers

BY

DR. KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI

The Pāsupata sect of Śaivism was founded in about the first century A.D. by Lakulīśa born at Kāyārohaṇa, identified with modern Kārvān in the Dabhoi taluk of the Baroda *prānt* in the former Baroda State.¹ The history of its subsequent development is not very clear from the materials so far discovered, but from the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II² and the Cintra Prasasti of the Chālukya King Śāraṅgadeva³ it appears that during the life-time of Lakulīśa or soon after his death, two of his disciples, Upamita and Gārgya, founded each a line of Pāsupata teachers respectively at Mathurā and at Somanātha in Kathiawad. The archaeological evidences of its spread to other parts of India prior to the Gupta Period are still to be traced, but it is doubtless that by the fourth century A.D. the sect had become firmly established in India and its founder Lakulīśa recognized as an incarnation of Śiva. This is evident from the Vāyu Purāṇa, generally taken to have been completed in the early Gupta Period, which contains an account of the Pāsupata sect and recognizes Lakulīśa as the incarnation of Śiva. This orthodox work would not have incorporated an account of the sect and would not have particularly recognized Lakulī as an incarnation of Śiva, had not the sect assumed an all-India character.

Unfortunately, however, only a few archaeological evidences have so far been discovered, which can throw some light on the earlier activities of the sect. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar not only first discovered references to the Pāsupata sect in the Purāṇas, but also threw considerable light on the date of its origin and its

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 281.

spread and religious beliefs.⁴ He was also the first to identify and publish the images of Lakuliśa,⁵ which shows the Pāśupata teacher with two hands, a citron and with a *lakuṭa* or the club. The images of Lakuli published by him all belong to Rajputna, which can be assigned to the medieval or late medieval period. He has also referred to their occurrence in Malwa, Mysore and Orissa. The present writer for the first time identified the numerous images of Lakuliśa occurring on the Śaiva temples of Orissa, particularly of Bhubaneswar, and published their typical specimens.⁶ Subsequent investigations have unfolded their historical character and led to the discovery of welcome evidences about the origins of these Śaiva shrines.

The Śaiva temples are scattered all over Orissa, but a singular concentrated group with a magnificent wealth of sculpture exists at Bhubaneswar where on the earliest standing temples like the Paraśurāmeśvara and its cognates, assigned to the seventh century A.D. on epigraphical and other evidences,⁷ the images of Lakuliśa occupy a place of honour. On the Paraśurāmeśvara, the most well-preserved of all the earliest temples of the place, are to be noticed three images of Lakuliśa, of which one occurs on the northern outer face of the *Jagamohana* (the porch) and the other two on the main temple. The image that occurs on the front facade of the main temple, has been carved in a most prominent manner so as to attract the notice of a visitor on his first approach to the shrine. It holds, as its prototype on the *Jagamohana* does, a *lakuṭa* or the club and seated in *yogāsana*, shows *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā*. The second image to be found within a Chaitya arch on the eastern side, has four small male figures, two on each side, each with a *pustaka* held in the left hand, and the right showing *abhaya-mudrā*. They are all seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The central figure, Lakuliśa, holds as usual a *lakuṭa* and shows *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā*. Because of their *yogāsana*, half-closed eyes, *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* and the distinctive treatment of hair, the Lakuli images not only of this

temple, but also many other early temples of Bhubaneswar, are likely to be mistaken for those of the Buddha, but their distinctive attribute *lakuṭa* discloses their identity. The four male figures found in association with the central figure, are certainly the representations of the four disciples of Lakuli, who, as we know from the *Vāyu* and *Linga Purāṇas* and also from the *Cintra Prasasti* of the Chālukya ruler Śaraṅgadeva, were Kuśika, Gārga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The common origin of all these four disciples is indicated by the lotuses on which they sit and which rise from a common lotus forming the pedestal of their master, and that they were all preachers is indicated by the books held in their hands. The *Dharmma-pravarttana-mudrā* shown by Lakuli indicates that, like the Buddha who first turned the wheel of law, he was also the first to give a start to the Pāśupata sect of Saivism.

That these forms of Lakuli images also occurred in the still earlier temples of Bhubaneswar, no longer in existence, is evidenced by their existence as later fixations (Fig. 1) in the Bhārati Maṭha and the Pañcha Pāṇḍava caves both situated in Bhubaneswar. Prominence given to the images of Lakuliśa in the earliest temples, leads us to believe that these shrines were in some way connected with the Pāśupata sect which he founded in about the first century A.D.⁸ This belief gains ground from the fact that some of the earliest temples were named after the famous teachers of this sect. The name Paraśurāmeśvara was not certainly the original name of that temple as is evident from an inscription appearing on the southern door of its *Jagamohana*. This inscription which has been edited by Mr. A. Ghosh,⁹ records the donation of two *āḍhakas* of rice¹⁰ made by one Pramadāchārya to be first given as offering to Pārāśaśvara Bhaṭṭaka and then distributed among ascetics and others. The script used is Nāgarī and the epigraph on palaeographical grounds can be assigned to the eleventh century A.D. Pārāśaśvara is no doubt the deity inside the temple for whom the donation was made and this fact proves that up till the eleventh century, the temple was known as Pārāśaśvara but not Paraśurāmeśvara which is a later corruption or invention. As

4. *Ibid*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.; *J.Bo.Br.R.As.Soc.*, Vol. LXI pp. 151 ff.

5. *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1906-7, pp. 179 ff. Figs. 2-7.

6. *Orissa Review*, *Orissa Monuments Special*, 1949, Figs. 17, 27-30.

7. *J.R.A.S.B.*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 109-118.

8. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 7.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 126 ff.

10. *Āḍhaka* or *āḍhā* as a measurement is still in prevalence in some parts of Orissa and it is equivalent to 192 standard seers.

Mr. Ghosh has rightly pointed out, the name *Pārāśaśvara* was most likely a corruption of *Parāśaresvara*. We have thus reasons to believe that the temple was originally named after the *Pāsupata* teacher *Pārāsara*, mentioned in the *Mathurā* pillar inscription of Chandragupta II as a successor of *Kuśika*, one of the four disciples of *Lakulī*.¹¹ The naming of the shrines after the names of the dead teachers was an established custom of the *Pāsupata* sect.¹²

The second notable temple that was named after a *Pāsupata* teacher is that of *Kapileśvara*. The present temple of *Kapileśvara* represents an older one which might have been earlier to or at least a contemporary of the *Parāśurāmeśvara*. *Kapila* being one of the successors of *Kuśika*, a disciple of *Lakulī*, who established a line of *Pāsupata* teachers at *Mathurā*,¹³ we may reasonably trace the origin of the *Kapileśvara* shrine to the *Pāsupata* sect. The name of *Kapila* is connected not with only a temple but also with a work known as *Kapila-saṁhitā* which is one of the four Sanskrit texts that profess to deal with the history of *Bhubaneswar*. With a view to give it a more authoritative form, the authorship of this work has been attributed to *Kapila* who, judging from its contents, should be taken as the *Pāsupata* teacher mentioned in the *Mathurā* Pillar Inscription, and not as the author of the *Sāṁkhya*. The name of another temple, *Mitreśvara*, which stands in the close vicinity of the *Yameśvara* temple, has also been derived from *Mitra* who was one of the four disciples of *Lakulī*.

The names of the temples have changed from time to time and some names have disappeared with the disappearance of the temples, nevertheless, the lists of shrines given in the orthodox works, which were intended as pilgrims' guides, contain a few more names which were certainly derived from those of the famous *Pāsupata* teachers. The lists contained in the 28th chapter of the *Svarṇāḍri-mahodaya* and in the 64th chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* include *Nakulīśvara*, *Nakuleśvara* and *Īśāneśvara* as the names of the temples which were derived from *Lakulī*, the founder of the *Pāsupata* sect, and *Īśāna*, the sixth commentator of the

Pāsupata Sūtras.¹⁴ *Narasimha Bājapeyī*, the author of *Nityāchāra Pradīpa*, who was a man of *Orissa*, mentions a temple at *Ekāmra* (*Bhubaneswar*), known as *Gārgēśvara*, quoting the *Skanda Purāṇa* as his authority.¹⁵ The name of this temple was also derived from *Gārga*, the second disciple of *Lakulī*.

It will thus appear that the name of *Lakulī* and those of some famous teachers of his sect were connected with the earlier shrines and one orthodox work. Besides, the oldest *maṭha* of the place still follows a custom which was observed by the followers of the *Pāsupata* sect. As Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out, it was a practice with the sect to set up a *liṅgam* to represent a dead teacher, and to erect a temple for it. The same practice is still being followed in the *Bhāratī Maṭha* of *Bhubaneswar*, as a result of which a *gurvāyatana* has sprung up within its compound.¹⁶ There are now as many as fifteen miniature temples of sandstone and laterite, each of which contains a *liṅgam*. Besides, a number of *liṅgams* are to be found in the open space and the niches made in the temples and if credence is given to the statement of the present *Mahanta* of the *Maṭha*, many more still lie buried in the kitchen garden. It is difficult to ascertain their exact number, but it may be taken to be fairly large. Since each of the *liṅgams* represents a generation of teacher, we may reasonably conclude that the origin of the *Maṭha* may go back to the time of the earliest standing temples. This conclusion gains ground from a tradition mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* that *Yama*, the builder of the *Yameśvara* temple, gave a splendid *maṭha* to a *Pāsupathāchārya* who lived in the close vicinity of the temple. The present temple of *Yameśvara* is a monument of the *Gaṅga* period, situated opposite the *Bhāratī Maṭha*,

14. *Pāsupata Sūtras*, edited by Ananthakrishna Sastri, University of Tri-vandrum, 1940, Introduction, p. 1.

15. *Bibliotheca Indica* published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1908, No. 1194, p. 559.

16. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the *Mathurā* Pillar Inscription, *Uditāchārya* set up two *liṅgams* to represent his teachers *Upamita* and *Kapila* when they were dead (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.), but according to Dr. D. C. Sircar's interpretation of the same inscription, the *liṅgams* were set up when the teachers were living (*Ind. Hist. Q.* 1942, pp. 271-275). Dr. Bhandarkar's interpretation accords with the practice still followed in the *Bhāratī Maṭha* of *Bhubaneswar*.

11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 5-6.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.



FIG. 3. Scene depicting Siva's command to Lakuliśa to become his incarnation, Tiruparankunram near Madura



FIG. 4. Pāṣupata teachers, Tiruparankunram near Madura.

temples had a fair knowledge of the cult, which they have shown not only in the representations of Lakulī and his disciples, but also of the famous expounders of the cult. The famous commentators of the Pāṣupata Tantras were eighteen, viz., 1. Nakuliśa, 2. Kauśika, 3. Gārgya, 4. Maitreya, 5. Kaurusha, 6. Īśāna, 7. Parāgārgya, 8. Kapilāṇḍa, 9. Manushyaka, 10. Kuśika, 11. Atri, 12. Piṅgala, 13. Puṣpaka, 14. Brhadārya, 15. Agasti, 16. Sanātana, 17. Rāsikara (Kaundinya) and 18. Vidyāguru.¹⁸ These commentators appear in two panels of sculptures on the lintels of the Marichikunḍa in the Mukteśvara temple and of the *Jagamohana* of the Rājarānī. That Ekāmra continued to attract the followers of the Pāṣupata sect upto a late period, is evident from the inscription of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple referred to above, wherein the donor Pramada styles himself as an *āchārya*, a title which has been given in the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandragupta II to the living Pāṣupata teacher Udita, the tenth successor of Kuśika.¹⁹ It is most probable that Pramada was a Pāṣupata teacher.

Not only on the temples of Bhubaneswar where no less than one hundred specimens of Lakuliśa images are available for study, but also on other Śaiva shrines of Orissa the same images make their appearance. At Khiching in the district of Mayurbhanj out of the three existing Śaiva temples of the ninth-tenth century A.D., the two bear the images of the founder of the Pāṣupata sect. The images that occur on these temples are exactly similar to the one to be found on the great temple of Liṅgarāja at Bhubaneswar.²⁰ In these specimens Lakulī appears as seated cross-legged with the cross legs tied round with a *yogapaṭṭa*, the knees being necessarily held aloft. Four male figures, two on either side, appear in association with the central figure. A specimen of the type with a *yogapaṭṭa* as one of its attributes can also be seen in a collection of sculptures which originally belonged to the temples, now no longer in existence, at Benisāgar in the Singbhum district of Bihar, which is only five miles from Khiching. This image, mistakenly taken to be an image of the Buddha by

18. *Pāṣupata Sūtras*, edited by Ananthakrishna Sastri, University of Travandrum, 1940, Introduction, pp. 1-2.

19. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff.

20. *J. Bihar R.S.*, Vol. XLII, 1916, p. 8, Fig. V.

but it represents an earlier shrine and still contains the lower portion of an earlier temple which may be taken to be a contemporary of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar.

Although the influence of the Pāśupata sect can thus be traced on the earliest shrines of Bhubaneśwar, it is difficult to say whether it came from Kāyārohaṇa Somanātha or Mathurā which are yet known to have been the earliest centres of the sect. The names of the successors of Kuśika, the disciple of Lakulī, who established a branch at Mathurā, are found connected with the two early shrines of the place, viz., Pārāsareśvara and Kapileśvara, and with one orthodox text, viz., *Kapila-saṃhita*. Kāyārohaṇa identified with Kāravān in Baroda prānt of the now-defunct Baroda State, was included in the Chālukya dominions and a few points of correlation between the Chālukyan and Kalingan schools of art and architecture have been pointed out by the present writer elsewhere.¹⁷

At any rate, the cult was in its full vigour and Lakulī and his disciples were still in the memory of the people, when it came to Bhubaneswar. This is evident from the accurate number of the disciples represented in the images of Lakulī and the names of the famous Pāśupata teachers connected with the earliest shrines. As it was a practice with the Pāśupatas to set up *liṅgams* to represent their dead teachers, this practice seems to have led to the setting up of innumerable Śiva *liṅgams* at Ekāmra which the *Ekāmra Purāṇa* and the allied works represent as ten millions or ten millions less by one (*ekonakoṭi*). The numerous images of Lakulīśa still to be found at Bhubaneswar, enable us to trace the changed conceptions about him and his disciples in the later periods. The different types of his images show that in the earlier specimens, his disciples appear as youthful figures, but in the later representations, as old, bearded and emaciated ones. In the latest evolutionary form, Lakulī appears as a four-handed deity with some of the attributes of Śiva such as the snake and the third eye (Fig. 2), but that he and his disciples continued to be considered as teachers or preachers, is indicated by the books held by the disciples in all specimens and by Lakulī himself in his latest representation. The later builders of the Bhubaneswar

17. J.A.S., Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 112-114.



FIG. 2. Lakulīśa, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.



FIG. 1. Lakulīśa, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Mr. Beglar,²¹ was first identified by the present writer as an image of Lakuliśa²². Some specimens of Lakuli images with four disciples on the side panels have also been published by the late Mr. N. N. Basu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, 1916, but they have not been correctly identified.

The foregoing discussions will show the wide-spread influences of the Pāsupata sect on the Śaiva shrines of Orissa from the late Gupta period to the late Medieval period. Investigations will no doubt reveal similar influences on the Śaiva shrines of other parts of India. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam has exhaustively dealt with literary and epigraphical evidences which prove the influences of the Pāsupata sect in South India.²³ The sculptural representations of Lakuliśa and other Pāsupata teachers in South India are, however, yet to be traced and published. With the help of Shri K. R. Vijayaraghavan, now Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, the present writer had the good fortune to see and to obtain the photographs of the very early images on the inner walls of the cave shelters at Tiruparankuram, situated in the neighbourhood of Madura. Though the local people identify one group of these images, consisting of two figures, as those of Agastya, and the other group, consisting of three figures, as the three Śaiva saints, Appar, Sundarar and Manickavasagar, these images undoubtedly represent the Pāsupata teachers and one incident from the life of Lakuliśa. In the group which consists of three figures (Fig. 3), the middle image, because of the presence of the *membrum virile* in it, can easily be recognized as that of Śiva, who stands on one leg on a *śakti* with a lotus base and stretches his left hand in a manner signifying command, towards another male figure standing in the same row. This male figure can also be identified without doubt with Lakuliśa because of the presence of the *lakuṭa* or the club held between the arms, the elongated ear-lobes, the woolly hair on the head and the preaching pose shown with the hands. The female figure which stands to the right of Śiva in the same row, cannot be correctly identified, but in all likelihood she represents

Pārvatī or the mother of Lakuliśa. The *Kārtēan Māhātmya* which professes to deal with the life of Lakuliśa, and of which a summary has been published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,²⁴ is a very late work and it does not appear to contain the earlier traditions about the founder of the Pāsupata sect. These three figures in the Tiruparankunram cave shelter represent, in all likelihood, an earlier tradition about Lakuli. The scene appears to represent Śiva's command to Lakuliśa to take his place in the earth as his incarnation.

Since we find the images of Śiva and Lakuliśa in this cave shrine, it is reasonable to identify the two male figures of the other group of the same shrine (Fig. 4) as those of the Pāsupata teachers. They have become badly defaced, but their *vaddhāsana* and *jaṭābhāra* are characteristic of the similar attributes to be found in the images of the Pāsupata teachers at Bhubaneswar. Of the two, the bigger image holds in the right hand a *japā-māla* and in the left an indistinct object which looks like a *pustaka* generally to be found in the hands of Lakuliśa's disciples. These images therefore represent the Pāsupata teachers, though their correct identification is not possible. The cave shrine at Tiruparankuram was without doubt a shrine of the Pāsupata sect.

21. A.S.I.R., Vol. XIII, p. 70.

22. J. Bihar R. S., Vol. XIII, 1956, pp. 7-9, Fig. IV.

23. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVII, 1949, pp. 43 ff.

24. *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1906-7, pp. 180-83.

(Continued from p. 426 of Volume XXXVIII, August 1960)

Culture—Contacts in South India

BY

T. K. VENKATARAMAN, M.A., L.T.,
Retired Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

Serpent worship¹³⁸ is one of the oldest cults of the world. The elaborate festival of Nāga Pañcamī celebrated in Western India testify to the fact that the serpent cult had deeply entered into religion. Hemādri refers to the Nāga Pañcamī festival as an old festival. Śiva wears serpents as his ornament. He is Nāganātha, Lord of the Nāgas. Viṣṇu reclines on a serpent-bed. Serpent hoods cover even Buddhist images both in North and South India. It is significant that some of the figures found in the Indus Valley have the snake hood. The names Nāgarkōil in the West and Nāgapattinam in the East indicate the wide prevalence of serpent worshippers in the past in South India. Many writers believe that the Hindu Nāga is the prototype of the Chinese and Japanese dragons. Priests in these lands propitiated them by offerings and the chanting of incantations. The idea of the dragon travelled also to Polynesia. It is a common sight in South India to find serpent images in stone installed under sacred trees like pīpal or margōsa or near tanks. Childless women often vow to set up snake-stones if blessed with a child (Nāgapratiṣṭha). The incised snake may have a single or many hoods. Sometimes, the image is of a pair of snakes intertwined. At times, the upper part of the body is human and the lower snakelike. There is also the common belief in South India that it is a sin to kill a cobra, and often milk is poured in serpent holes.

The development of the cult of rivers and ponds is an interesting study. Sarasvatī of the *Ṛig Veda* was originally the spirit of a river. The goddess of the Gaṅgā is Gaṅgā (consort of Śiva). The *Mahābhārata* describes the tīrthas which Yudhiṣṭira visited and their location extended from the Himālayas to regions beyond the Vindhyas. The *Silappadhikāram* has a passage which shows that this practice was also established in South India. 'If you bathe in (the three ponds referred to)....' uttering with equal

138. See Crooke's article on serpent worship in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, pp. 716-19.

reverence the two great Vedic mantras of the Five Letters and the Eight Letters, you will achieve results which cannot be realised even by the hardest of penances'.¹³⁹ According to the *Maṇimekhalai*, a bath in the sea at Kanyākumārī freed a woman from the sin of incest.¹⁴⁰ All the important rivers of North and South India—the Gāṅgā, the Yamunā, the Godāvarī, the Sarasvatī, the Narmadā, the Sindhu and the Kāverī—are considered holy and invoked on sacred occasions.¹⁴¹ The cult of rivers along with the growth of sacred places led to the importance of pilgrimages. By Kālidāsa's time, pilgrimages became very common. The Hindus reckon seven sacred places which include Ayōdhya, Mathura, Hardwār, Vārāṇasi, Kāñcī, Ujjain, and Dvāraka.¹⁴² In later ages, there grew up *sthalapurāṇas* extolling the fame of particular local deities and the efficacy of the particular tīrthas in that locality. Some local festivals assumed such importance that vast concourses of devotees flocked to them, for instance the Mahā Makham festival at Kumbakōṇam and the Kumbha Mela at Prayāg.¹⁴³ These pilgrimages had a potent influence in bringing about movements of people from place to place. It must be remembered that Kāñcī was as sacred as Kāśī and the Kāverī as sacred as the Gāṅgā. So, it became common to find pilgrims going in all directions. South Indian pilgrims go as far north as Badarī, and north Indian pilgrims come down to Rāmeśvaram. Scholars like Śaṅkara preached in different parts of India. There is also the tradition that Caitanya came on a pilgrimage to South India and defeated a great Buddhist scholar in argument at Vriddhācalam. Such contacts brought the north and the south closer together.

139. Canto XI, 11.112-34. Strabo refers to the river-cult.

140. XIII, 11.5-7.

141. The invocatory verse, for example,

141. *Gaṅge ca ya munecaiva*
Gōdāvarīsarvasvatī
Narmadesindhukāverī
Jalesmin saṁnidhimkuru.

142. *Ayōdhyāmathurāmāyā*
Kāśīkāñcī avantikā
Purīdvārāvaticāiva
Saptaita mōkṣadāyikāh.

143. Death at the holy places was regarded as meritorious. Persons suffering from incurable diseases voluntarily drowned themselves in sacred rivers. An instance of this Jala-samādhi was that of the Cālukya, Sōmeśvara.

The sanctity of the cow was originally an Āryan conception. The *Rig Veda* declares that the cow is not to be killed.¹⁴⁴ The *Mahābhārata* established the sacredness of all the limbs of the cow. This idea spread all over the land. The secure acceptance of this idea in the south is seen even in the saṅgam period, in which the slaughter of a cow was regarded as a heinous offence.¹⁴⁵ In the formula of the Tamil grants of the later periods we find the same idea.—Those who violate the charter were to suffer the sin of having slain a black cow on the banks of the Gāṅgā.¹⁴⁶ This feeling of the sanctity of the cow also led to the Hindu feeling against eating beef. Marco Polo noted in South India that people did not touch beef at all.

As contrasted with this feeling with regard to the cow, we find that animal sacrifices were practised in the Hindu faith. Sacrifice of animals before deities¹⁴⁷ was already practised by the older people before the Āryans adopted it in their yāgas. Even by the saṅgam period, yāgas had spread to South India. The Rājasūya was performed by a few South Indian kings like the Cōlas and the Viṣṇukūṇḍins. As described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*¹⁴⁸ it was a complicated ritual lasting for five days and the performer of the sacrifice claimed imperial dignity.¹⁴⁹ The sacrifice is said to have involved a puruṣamedha, in this case the offering of a Kṣattriya prince, perhaps a prisoner of war. The subject of the ritual of human sacrifice is an attractive study. Whether the puruṣamedha sacrifice involved the actual sacrifice of a human being is open to dispute. Hillebrandt supposes that there is an allusion to human sacrifice in *Rig Veda* Book X. On the other hand, Keith denies it. The legend of Śunaśsepha mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is considered by some to pre-

144. Several *smṛitis* deal with the reverence to be shown to the cow, e.g. *Āpastamba Smṛiti*, ch. 10.

145. *Puram* 34.

146. கங்கைக்கரையில் காராம்பசுவைக் கொன்ற டாவத்தில்
போவாராகவும்.

147. Amongst other pre-Āryan gods adopted in the Hindu pantheon is Sāttan (Sāstā in Kerala) who was given a status as the son of Hara and Hari. Silappadhikāram mentions his shrine. Besides, there are many village deities like him. These are all propitiated by animal sacrifices.

148. VII, 3 & 4 which describe at length Hariścandra's Rājasūya.

149. The Rājasūya included offerings to the chief officials, a formal sprinkling of sacred water on the king by the priest, a cattle raid, a sham fight and a dice game in which the sacrificing ruler is made the victor.

serve a memory of human sacrifice.¹⁵⁰ But, there is no doubt that the Tantras recognise human sacrifice. Human sacrifice in the primitive form was, also, offered in later times. Nuniz says that when the gods demanded human sacrifice for the completion of big schemes like those of irrigation, prisoners who deserved death were offered as victims.¹⁵¹ Aboriginal tribes like the Khonds offered human sacrifices to propitiate the earth-deity. Sir James Frazer gives instances of highly civilised peoples practising human sacrifice.¹⁵² The Carthaginians and the Mexicans who were civilized peoples sacrificed human beings to the deities. In the first century B.C., a law had to be passed in Rome forbidding human sacrifice.¹⁵³

Another important sacrifice was the *Aśvamedha*. This was also old, and the performer had first to establish his power over surrounding princes in a *Dig-Vijaya*. The sacrificial horse roamed at will guarded by warriors through all kingdoms. Any prince who interfered with its progress had to fight with the warriors, and, if defeated, had to acknowledge the power of the royal owner of the steed. The actual ritual lasted three days during which bards sang about the glories of the previous kings and of the performer of the sacrifice.¹⁵⁴ The horse was then sacrificed. The *Sātavāhna*s performed *Aśvamedhas*.¹⁵⁵ The Kadamba kings celebrated eighteen *Aśvamedhas* in all. There are several instances in South India. There is an instance of the frustration of a contemplated *Aśvamedha* illustrated in the *Udayendiram* plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. These show that he defeated the warriors who accompanied the steed sent by the Eastern

150. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the rescue by the Pāṇḍavas of many kings who were held in captivity by Jarāsandha to be offered in sacrifice. But, the *Grihya Sūtras* prescribe the substitution of metal images for living creatures at the sacrifices.

151. Sewell *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 365.

152. *The Golden Bough*, (*The Dying God*, p. 160).

153. Pliny—*Natural History*, XXX 3, 4.

154. The *Vina-gātin* sang, to the accompaniment of his *vina*, extempore poems lauding the sacrificer.

155. The Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman claims to have performed the *Agnistōma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices (*Epigraphica Indica* II, 480-5). In the *Vājapeya*, the king does homage to the earth and is formally enthroned. There is also a chariot race in which he is made the victor. The third *Sātavāhana* king, Śātakarṇi I, is said to have performed two *Aśvamedha* and *Rājasūya* sacrifices.

Cālukya king, Viṣṇuvardhana III.¹⁵⁶ Horse sacrifice was found in several lands. White horses were sacrificed to the sun in ancient Greece. The Romans offered horse sacrifice to Mars. The Mongolian tribe called the Buriats living in Siberia are supposed to do it even now. Curtin¹⁵⁷ gives a description of their horse sacrifice. We found that the *yāga* involved animal sacrifice. In some *yāgas*, the victim is the goat. The primitive method of offering animal sacrifices in the old ritual which did not involve the use of fire continues in South India, to propitiate village deities or to avert their anger. It may be noted that such bloody sacrifices in Vijayanagar were noted by foreign travellers. Such sacrifices are found in many countries. Even in Christian Europe, these old superstitions still linger. Lawrence Gomme mentions that "within twenty miles of the metropolis of Scotland, a relative of Prof. Simpson offered up a live cow as a sacrifice to the spirit of the murrain".¹⁵⁸ In 1859, a farmer in the Isle of Man offered a heifer as a burnt offering to avert the anger of a ghost. In the worship of these village deities of South India, there is also found the peculiar custom of hook-swinging. Subjecting oneself to an austere vow for obtaining a desired end is the chief reason for this. Originally, human beings underwent this experience themselves.¹⁵⁹ There are numerous instances. An inscription of 1123 A.D. in the reign of the Western *Cālukya* king, Tribhuvanamalla, a cowherd vowed to undergo it if the king obtained a son.¹⁶⁰ Barbosa gives a detailed description of this custom in Vijayanagar, and says it was vowed by maids who wanted to marry the men they loved.¹⁶¹ Another traveller, Della Valle, noted that it was done by devotees.¹⁶² Buchanan heard that it was prevalent in Malabār even in the eighteenth century.¹⁶³ In modern times, usually, a

156. *Epigraphica Indica* III, p. 143 ff.

157. *A Journey to Southern Siberia*, pp. 44-48.

158. *Ethnology in Folklore*, p. 137.

159. One of the followers of Nītimārga, the Western Gaṅga king, showed his loyalty to his master by offering to be buried alive under his master *AEpigraphica Carnatica* III, Tri. 91). The object was the same as for hook-swinging.

160. *Epigraphica Carnatica* VII, Sk. 246, p. 141.

161. Barbosa I, pp. 220-22.

162. *Travels* II, p. 259.

163. *Journey to Malabar* III, p. 342. This custom is called *Sedil-kuttal* in Tamil. The tenacity of the survival of some of these customs is illustrated in the following news item published in the *Hindu* on March 20, 1946: 'An order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, has been promulgated

sheep is attached to the hook and I have personally seen this done in a Māriamman festival. Though hook-swinging of human beings has disappeared, in some outlying corners of the country, we still find devotees walking with needles stuck into their body in fulfilment of their vow. I have myself seen this in a village. Another peculiar custom in connection with the worship of these village deities is found in South India. It is the fire-walk. Thurston remarks that this ceremonial 'secures to the villagers their cattle and crops and protection from dangers of all kinds. An individual who suffers from any chronic complaint makes a vow in the name of the goddess that if he is cured he will walk over the fire.'¹⁶⁴ The goddess is, usually, Draupadi. Draupadi, it may be remembered, was the wife of the Pāṇḍavas and she became one of the village deities of South India. The devotee walks over glowing embers of charcoal with measured steps and quite calmly. This custom seems to have prevailed in Vijayanagar. It is found now all over South India from Ganjam on the north to Travancore in the south. It is followed by Muslims in some places during the Muharram, the object of propitiation being, of course, different. The custom was practised in Polynesia and was found in China.

Besides performing yāgas, the kings sought religious merit by offering gifts. We find in South Indian inscriptions grants of Hiranyagarbha. The Ānanda kings made such grants in the Āndhra Deśa. The Velvikuḍi grant refers to such grants by the Pāṇḍyan king, Māravarman Arikesari.¹⁶⁵ The Tiruvisalūr grant refers to grants by the Cōla king, Rājārāja I.¹⁶⁶ We have a number of such instances. The Hiranyagarbha is one of the sixteen mahādānas mentioned in the Śāstras. The performer of the dāna enters into a big golden womb and, after some rituals there, comes out, the idea being that he takes a superior birth after this. The womb is then gifted to the officiating priest. Another dāna—the Tulābhāra—is said to have been performed by the Cera king, Seṅguṭṭuvan, and the recipient is said to have been one

by the Sub-Magistrate of Tranquebar prohibiting hook-swinging and similar other forms of self-torture vow offerings by worshippers during the ensuing Olugamaṅgalaṁ Māriamman festival'.

164. *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 471 ff.

165. *Indian Antiquary* XXII, 57-75. *Ibid* (1922) page 211.

166. 42 of 1907.

Māḍalan.¹⁶⁷ Whether this story is true or not, numerous grants of later kings refer to Tulābhāras performed by them. The Tulābhāra is praised as one of the sixteen mahādānas. The granter would be weighed in gold and this gold is then gifted. The Velvikuḍi record speaks of such dānas by Māravarman Arikesari Pāṇḍya. The Cōlas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also made such grants. A late instance is that of Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya (thirteenth century) who performed several Tulābhāras at Chidambaram.¹⁶⁸ On a maṇḍapa on the bank of the Mahāmakham tank at Kumbakonam, there is sculptured a representation of the Tulābhāradāna.¹⁶⁹

Worship tended to follow a stereotyped form. Image worship is not found in the *Rig Veda*, but it seems to have prevailed in the Indus Valley and it must have been adopted later. Pāṇini refers to images. It is now admitted that the worship of images was not due to Greek influences.¹⁷⁰ Image worship seems to have first become prominent in Buddhism. Later on, it was adopted in Hindu temples as well as in the private worship of the Hindus at home.¹⁷¹ The worshipper has a ceremonial bath of purity. The use of the tilaka (mark on the centre of the forehead) has been noted in the Indus Valley culture and this forms an essential ritual

167. (*Silappadhikāram*) Canto XXVII., 11.175-6.

168. Inscriptions Nos. 179 and 183 of 1892.

169. It is said that Raghunātha Nāyak of Tanjore performed a Tulābhāra when he was crowned.

170. Cūrtius says that an idol of Hercules was carried in front of the army of Pōrus when it met that of Alexander in battle. Patañjali refers to images of Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha. Dr. J. N. Banerjea (*Development of Hindu iconography*, 1942) thinks that image-worship prevailed in the lower ranks of Vedic society, adopted from the pre-Āryan custom of the Indus Valley. Some think that sangam literature refers to it e.g. reference to kollippāvai (*Aham*, 209).

171. Image worship is an old institution which prevailed in the ancient world and was practised by the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Greeks. The Hebrews practised it at least during the latter part of the period of the old Israelite monarchy. Both the Roman Catholic Christianity and the highest Hindu thought justifies adoration of images on the principle that 'the homage passed through to the proto-type' and that the image by itself is not a deity. But, in actual practice, the masses tended to identify it with the deity. At Constantinople, in the 9th century, a letter of Emperor Michael says that prayers and incense were offered to images. Images were dressed in linen clothes and carried in processions. Miracles were supposed to be wrought by particular images or pictures. But, even today, an idol in India is a mere block of stone or metal till it had been sanctified for use by a special ceremony, and there is no compulsion that images should be worshipped.

for the worshipper, whether this mark happens to be made with vibhūti or śricūrṇa. The devotee, before performing the worship, ties his aṅgavastra (cloth worn on the upper part of the body) round his waist. It is curious that this custom should have been misinterpreted in the notes to Tawney's translation of the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (edited by Penzer). The note says "Seminudity has always been regarded as a mark of respect when in a holy place or before superiors".¹⁷² The Hindus never associate nudity with respect. The removal of the aṅgavastra is the same symbolic act of respect as that of an European who removes his hat when in a holy place or before superiors. The worshipper then follows the prescribed rituals of worship which treats the deity as an honoured guest who is given arghya and bath, and offered flowers, perfumes, food and fruit.¹⁷³

172. Vol. II, p. 119.

173. This ritual homage is more elaborate in the temples. But whether in a public shrine or at home, each part of the rite is accompanied by the uttering of the appropriate mantras, sounding of bells and waving of lights. Pūja with flowers, leaves and water is regarded by some as a Non-Āryan ritual as contrasted with the hōma of the Aryans. See *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vi. I. *Vedic India*. Pūja was well known in the saṅgam age. e.g.

சிறப்போடு பூசனை செல்லாது வானம்

வறக்குமேல் வாளுக்கும் ஈண்டு. (Kural II, 18).

Some scholars have traced temple-worship (which is not referred to in the *Vedas*) to Drāviḍian ideas. That temple-worship was known in the saṅgam period is clear in its literature e.g. reference of the poet, Kāri-Kiḷār to the king, Palyāgasālai mudukuḍumipperuvaludi circumambulating the shrine of the three-eyed god. 'Koīl', the word for temple is pure Tamil. The question of the origin of the South Indian temple has been much discussed. Longhurst traces the temple to the Buddhist stūpa and holds that the shrine which was the receptacle for relics became the resting place for the image. Sewell supports this view (*A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 169). It is supposed that the dome of the stūpa became the Vimāna. Dr. Venkataramanayya who opposes this theory suggests that the temple developed from the primitive funerary monument. He says that from early times there existed in South India two types of temples—one imitating the shape of a dolmen, the other based on the shape of an aboriginal hut like the Tōḍa 'boath'. He thinks that these two types coalesced under the influence of the Āryans. The latter type was adopted in North India. The latter type, with the former type super-imposed on it, became the South Indian temple. The erection of Śiva temples on tombs of important persons is testified to in inscriptions. (*Epigraphica Indica* VII. 193). Another theory is that the temple was an expanded palace of the king. It is not possible to give any conclusive opinion on this point. A symposium on the origin of temples was held by the Archaeological Society of South India in July, 1944. No agreed view was found possible.

Reviews

FORT WILLIAM—INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE (Public), Vol. I, 1748-56. Edited by K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Patna University, Patna. Indian Records Series, Published for the National Archives of India by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Civil Lines, Delhi, 1958, pages 22, xlix, and 1160. Fifteen illustrations including maps, plans and facsimiles.

The volume contains twenty-two letters from the Court of Directors to Fort William and sixty-eight letters from the Fort to the Court; there are brief notes (five pages), bibliography, and a serviceable index at the end. The editor contributes, besides the notes, an Introduction, about fifty pages, drawing attention to the salient features in the correspondence included in the volume. The General Editor, T. Raychaudhuri, writes a short preface, a little over two pages, in which he sets forth the plan of the series of 21 volumes of this correspondence between the Court and Fort William during the year 1748-1800, in accordance with a recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Of the value of these records for the historian he writes: 'This correspondence forms a very small part of the records of the Government of India, but its value and importance are without question. While it does not give the detailed story of every action or every policy, for which one has to go to the discussions, minutes, decisions, etc., available in the proceedings of the Board, it nevertheless gives a bird's-eye view of the Company's activity in all its aspects, which enables the reader to form a clear idea of the history of the time'.

This observation which is quite correct so far as it goes, and a comparison of the volumes publishing records in extenso in recent years including the present one and the others published earlier in the Indian Records Series containing compilations of selections from records connected by significant narratives by the editors like Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, raises an important question of policy in relation to the National Archives. Admittedly it is impossible, with our resources in men and material, to publish all

the Records in extenso, and it is quite possible to hold the view, which is accepted in many countries, that the proper work of the Archives is just to take charge of collections of records, preserve them against damage and decay, and make indexes, press lists, and calendars, in a systematic manner calculated to help research workers by enabling them to trace the records bearing on their topic of research without undue trouble or delay. The task of editing and publishing in extenso or in suitable selections covering chosen periods or topics should be left to universities and other academic associations. It would seem that the National Archives and the I.H.R.C. have been following a haphazard policy without a proper plan, and the Archives administration is being hampered and confused by this. The general editor writes disarmingly of this volume: 'The present volume, though fourth in order of publication, is the first of the series. It had been sent to the press as early as 1952, but in view of other urgent work its printing was given a relatively low priority. The unfortunate delay in publishing the volume and the comparatively low standard of production are regretted'. The seven closely printed pages of errata at the end, by no means exhaustive, is a measure of the standard of production maintained in this volume which goes out in the name of the Government of India.

The Bengal history of this period of eight or nine years is well known and has been treated in great detail by different authors, and it is not to be expected that the editor of these letters sets Thames on fire. The introduction opens naturally with a section on Aliverdi Khan whose firm attitude towards the Europeans and whose constant study of their movements in South India saved Bengal from being converted during his life time into one of the theatres of their mutual hostilities. He often said to the French and English: 'You are merchants, what need have you of a fortress?'. But such a view was not acceptable to them, and they were inclined more to provide for their own defence than depend on the protection of Indian princes who were often themselves the victims of internal dissensions and external aggression, even Aliverdi not excepted. The relations between the European powers, and the dispute over fortifications are succinctly traced. Holwell's integrity is doubted and his stories of Aliverdi's death bed instructions to Surajud-Daulah to annihilate the Europeans and of the Black Hole are discredited. The editor has diligently culled

the most notable facts that find a place in the correspondence and set them forth in convenient groups. The section headings, calculated to indicate their nature, are: Military establishments and appointments, The Squadron of Admiral Watson, Swiss companies and Captain Polier, The Company's Servants, Mayor's Court, The Company as Zamindar, Trade and Commerce, Industries, Prices, Currency and Banking.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE SOMA-HYMNS OF THE RIG VEDA. A fresh interpretation, Part II (RV. 9.16-50) by S. S. Bhawe, Reader in Sanskrit, M. S. University, Baroda, M. S. University of Baroda Research Series, No. 5, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960, pp. 152 plus 10; price Rs. 5.50.

The work begun in Part I is continued on the same lines as before except for the omission of the differentiation between the longer and shorter notes on each hymn into two classes A and B. The study of hymns deity wise is not new and has been found helpful in the elucidation of difficult points. Ludwig followed the method in his translation, Oldenburg translated the Agni hymns in Maṇḍalas 1-4, Velankar did all the Indra hymns and has begun further work on the Agni hymns. Renou's monograph on the Uṣas hymns in *Études Vediques et Paniniennes* III is an even closer parallel to Mr. Bhawe's work. The importance of Soma is clear from the fact that the deity commands the whole of the ninth-maṇḍala and six other hymns elsewhere. The Soma hymns have been studied specially by other writers like Hillebrandt (*Vedische Mythologie* I) and Lüders (*Varuna* I), but those studies are made from a more or less exclusively mythological standpoint; Mr. Bhawe gives more attention to the linguistic and philological. The work is admittedly difficult and Indian scholars with the requisite learning for such work are none too many. As an Indian and a Hindu steeped in the traditional lore of the country, the author possesses certain natural advantages which the most eminent and earnest foreign scholar may not be able to command. The method of applying Pāṇini's rules to Vedic interpretation is sought to be justified and illustrated in detail by a new commentary (in Sanskrit) on one hymn (9.16) by Pandit Manishankar V. Upadhyaya of Baroda which figures as an Appendix (pp. 113-

42). The further progress of Mr. Bhawe's work will be watched by scholars with great eagerness.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

SELECT ASOKAN EPIGRAPHS (with annotations). Sachidananda Bhattacharya, M.A., Reader in History, Jadavpur University, Calcutta. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960, pp. xvi, 114.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1942. The original scheme of the book was to give the texts (in translation) with annotations of 'only those edicts of Asoka which tell us of definite events in his career' arranged in the order in which these events took place. This edition contains in addition two Appendixes, giving all the inscriptions which had been excluded in the first edition; the translations in the body of the book are Hultzsch's, but these in the appendix are newly made by the author, who adds explanatory notes were necessary. Appendix B gives the English translation by Dr. Umberto Seerrato of the recently discovered bilingual (Greek and Aramaean) Asokan inscription of Kandahar in Afghanistan. Mr. Bhattacharya explains in his preface to the Second edition that Appendix A has come in as a result of a suggestion from the present reviewer; he is now glad he made it and Prof. Bhattacharya accepted it. The book is a handy and simple manual of the inscriptions of Asoka which incorporates the salient points of modern research on these precious documents which have been studied by scholars of many nations for well over a century. It has all the lucidity and compactness which may be expected of so experienced a teacher as Sachidananda Bhattacharya. The book has been well produced.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

UNION LIST OF COMMONWEALTH NEWSPAPERS IN LONDON, OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE, compiled by A. R. Hewitt. Sometime Secretary and Librarian, The Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1960.

Of the scope and usefulness of this handy bibliography the reader can form a very good idea from the short foreword con-

tributed by Kenneth Robinson, the Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. "This is the second of two bibliographical guides which Mr. Hewitt has compiled whilst holding the office of Librarian in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies. Like its predecessor, the "Guide to Resources for Commonwealth Studies in London, Oxford and Cambridge", this Union List of Commonwealth Newspapers held by Libraries in these three cities has been prepared not only in the hope that it may be of assistance to research workers in the United Kingdom, but also with the needs of students in the overseas countries of the Commonwealth and in the United States in mind. It seemed to those responsible for this enterprise that a catalogue of the holdings of Commonwealth newspapers of the major libraries in the United Kingdom which contain such material might be particularly useful to scholars, and especially younger research students not normally resident in the United Kingdom, in making plans for what is often a relatively short period of research in this country. Some at least of the earlier newspapers published in some overseas parts of the Commonwealth are available only in this country. In certain cases, newspaper material may have to be compared with that from other sources only to be found here and it may therefore be important to know which newspapers are (and which are not) available."

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

BAHMAN SHAH by Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1960. Pages xii and 192. Four plates of coins and inscriptions and one map. Price Rs. 12.00.

This book, which is substantially a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of Dacca, is the first detailed account of the career and reign of Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan. Dr. Husaini himself says in the preface: "This is the first elaborate attempt to record in one systematic thesis all the data available concerning an historical figure whose origin and early history have been topics of controversy among scholars for centuries." This claim is fully justified and the book is welcome addition to the rather meagre literature on Deccan history. Dr. Husaini has made full

use, generally on sound critical lines, of all available evidence from Persian chronicles, contemporary and later, and from archaeology, particularly inscriptions, coins and monuments.

Elphinstone, who almost implicitly followed Ferishta in his monumental *History of India*, made us believe that the Bahmani kingdom was founded by Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani, a Muslim servant of a Brahman Gangu, who honoured his early connection by adopting Gangu Bahmani as the end of his name. Ferishta has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of modern historians who have often impeached his veracity and impartiality. Dr. Husaini drives one more nail into the coffin of his reputation; he affirms roundly that Ferishta invented a story and had a motive for doing so. He says: 'Ferishta, who was a Shiah servant of Bijapur King (Ibrahim Adil Shah II, 1580-1627), might have considered it his duty, both religious and secular, to lessen the local regard for the Bahmani dynasty by connecting the epithet Bahmani with an Indian Brahman, and not with Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and by ascribing a low beginning to the career of Hasan. There is ground to suspect that Ferishta concocted a story which has absolutely no truth behind it and which is not borne out by any other testimony worth the name' (pp. 43-4). There were many Iranian emigrants in mediaeval Deccan, and a Persian origin for Hasan is quite a possibility and is now more or less generally accepted by historians. Whether his connection with Isfandiyar is fact or fiction is not so easy to settle. The other epithet was, according to Husaini, correctly Gangui and not Gangu; it shows that he spent his early life at Gangi which formed part of his first Jagir near Miraj. Not Hasan who was only Bahman, but only his descendants were Bahmanis.

Dr. Husaini tries to settle a vexed question of topography connected with Bahman Shah's wars by holding that Karraichur is just a copyist's error for Raichur (82) and this, if correct, would show that the long drawn tussle over the Raichur doab between the Bahmani and Vijayanagara kingdoms began almost with the foundation of the former. There must be some mistake in the statement, which Husaini repeats thrice, that Vira Ballala was encamped near Kayalpattinam in the Tinnevely Coast when his forces were besieging Koppam near Trichinopoly (pages 99, 101). If Dr. Husaini's plausible surmise that Vira Ballala IV

lived till 1349 is confirmed by further evidence that would form a new fact, though of minor importance, in South Indian history.

The conquests of Bahman Shah are clearly traced and the extent of the empire built up as the result of his wars fully described in a chapter (VII) devoted to the subject. There are differences among the authorities about the duration of Bahman's reign, and Dr. Husaini boldly combines data from two sources to sustain his conclusion that he died on the last day of January 1359 A.D., and puts in a spirited defence for the course he has adopted (pages 120-25). Dr. Husaini rates Bahman Shah high as ruler and statesman, but carries his war against Ferishta in discounting his statement that the king showed a certain preference for the Hindus, as due to the historian's desire to defame the sultan before Muslims, and not to add to his glory (p. 132). Dr. Husaini reaches the moderate conclusion that 'Hasan's character must be considered good in the background of the age in which he lived'. (p. 133). The chapter on Government (IX) is well written and quite on a par with his previous work on the subject of the theory and practice of Muslim governments.

There are seven appendixes explaining the coins illustrated and some technical terms in administration, and place-names, besides giving notes on the manuscripts and original sources used and a bibliography. There is a good Index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

HISTORIANS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA by P. Hardy, Luzac & Company Ltd., London, 1960. Pp. viii and 146. Price in cloth binding 30/-.

'This monograph', says the author in his preface, 'a revised version of a thesis successfully presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London, is a first attempt at a more detailed study of the "involuntary distortions" inherent in the manner in which five Indo-Muslim historians treated the past'. It is thus an exercise in what the Germans would call *quellenkritik*, criticism of the source material.

The opening chapter constitutes a brief and tentative study of previous trends and methods in the study of medieval Muslim

appeared to earlier writers to provide a solid basis for writing political history does not in fact do so, and in fact we know far less about the political history of medieval India than we have thought. Coins and inscriptions, doubtless, help us to a more detailed chronology than is possible for the Hindu period or for some periods of medieval European history, but chronology is not history, not even political history, and even here there are enough discrepancies to justify Blochmann's verdict that 'our knowledge of the Muhammadan period of the country is very limited and inaccurate in details'. It may be doubted if despite the best efforts of Wolseley Haig and Mahdi Husain the last word has yet been said on the chronology of Muhammad ibn Tughluq. More effort should be made than has been done to study the mentality of authors, Muslim and Hindu, whose mentality differs much from that of a modern historian, and who nevertheless reveal explicitly or through deduction, their religious, their ethical and their aesthetic ideas. 'The history of thought is not the whole of history, but there is no intelligible history without it' (131).

The Bibliography and Index are excellent. Dr. Hardy adds a P.S. to his Preface saying that as early as 1950 Hikmet Bayar wrote an article proving conclusively that 'Iletmis' is the correct form of the name of the Sultan whom we have been calling Iltutmish, which was itself offered as a correction of the older Altamsh, and that he examined this article too late for him to adopt the corrected form of the name in the body of the book.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

COLONIAL LABOUR POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION: A history of labour in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya, c. 1910-1941, by J. Norman Palmer, Associate Professor of History, Northern Illinois University. Monographs of the Association for Asian Studies—IX. J. J. Augustin, Incorporated Publisher, Locust Valley, New York, 1960, pp. xii and 294, price \$ 6.00.

Prof. Palmer has produced a balanced, authoritative well-documented monograph on the subject he has chosen for study. His concern has been primarily with Indian labour, mostly South Indian, on the rubber plantations, though the Chinese and Java-

nese recruits also come in for occasional mention as alternatives open to the planters. Chinese labour, however, was not so amenable as Indian, and the unstable conditions in China prevented a negotiated policy of labour recruitment like the one adopted in India; the Chinese immigrants were also more interested in tin mines and other forms of employment. Chinese labour was recruited with the aid of contractors who got them from China or from lodging houses in Malaya. The Chinese labourer worked harder and commanded higher wages; he was far more aware of rubber prices than the Indian, and was capable of driving better bargains without any official protection or aid. Thousands of them were entering Malaya voluntarily, and sections of them were capable of violent political demonstrations and developed an anti-British outlook fed by the spreading fires of Chinese nationalism; the Malayan governments were not over anxious to increase their number and the Aliens Ordinance of 1930 was meant partly to restrict Chinese immigration and control the resident Chinese.

Malayan employers showed interest in Javanese labour whenever, as often happened, assisted Indian immigration seemed threatened. But the Dutch authorities and planters were not enthusiastic about the emigration of Javanese labour to Malaya, and Javanese labour as recruited and shipped by private recruiting firms involved high cost. Still when assisted Indian emigration was prohibited in 1938 owing to the employers' adamant refusal to end the Kangany system as well as their wage actions, Malayan authorities turned to Javanese rather than Chinese labour in 1940-41. 'Had the Japanese invasion not thwarted plans for large-scale Javanese immigration, the effect of that immigration on Malaya's population structure and ultimately on political and social questions would probably have been very significant' (252).

Indians from South India constituted the major labour force in the plantations. For the most part, poor and ignorant, they were much in need of protection against exploitation. The planters, with rare exceptions, were hard men and depended on rapacious middle men called Kanganies, for a regular and liberal supply of the labour recruited in South India. Both the Government of India, who maintained an Agent in Malaya for the purpose, and the British Colonial Administration in Malaya felt the call to interfere and regulate conditions in the plantations. The

India by modern historians in the light of modern concepts of historiography, particularly that of R. G. Collingwood developed in *The Idea of History*. To the extent to which modern historians have culled their facts straight from the Persian authors without considering their main objectives in their narratives, they have failed to provide us with a proper history in the modern sense of the word, and it is the author's main purpose 'to show the weakness of the premise that the Indo-Muslim historian and the modern historian inhabit essentially the same world of ideas in historiography'. For a detailed demonstration of this thesis five historians are chosen, viz., Barani, Afif, Sirhindi, Amir Khusrau, and Isami, and one chapter is devoted to each of them. The two last authors were more poets who worked by aesthetic standards than historians even in the limited sense in which the three others were historians, viz., interpreters of the past from their individual points of view. The conclusions reached about each author are fairly well argued and generally convincing. 'Barani', the author finds, 'treats history as a branch of theology. He sees the past as a battle-ground between good and evil and men as combatants upon that field of battle' (39). Afif writes hagiology with the technique of a historian writing from 'authorities', trusting one reporter in preference to another where there is a conflict, his criteria for ascertaining the truthfulness of a narrative being religious. 'He wishes Firuz Shah Tughluq to be seen as a stereotype of the perfect man whose perfection consists in his distance from humanity. He is a tailor's dummy, rather than a figure of flesh and blood' (51). The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya ibn Ahmad Sirhindi was rated high by J. Sarkar and Wolseley Haig as a source for the period after Timur's invasion. But he 'wrote to win patronage from a reigning sultan' (57), and to him 'history is a body of transmitted fact, not to be questioned, but to be adorned at random by suitable saws and conventional morals in verse form' (66). He is quite fatalistic, and his only comment on Timur's murderous incursion was: 'we belong to God and we are content with His Decree.' (65). Amir Khusrau 'wrote about the past in order to please rather than to understand, to preach or to instruct' (88). He seems to hold that God wills everything, 'but his idea of Divine causation is quite arbitrary, events happen, so to speak, by spontaneous combustion. Nor do they appear to happen through some process of human decision intended, according to the pre-

vailing circumstances, to produce some humanly conceived situation' (90-91). 'Amir Khusrau did not write history — he wrote poetry' (93). Lastly, 'Isami aimed at establishing himself as a man of letters and not as a historian; Dr. Mahdi Husain was not wide of the mark when he said that the *Futuh al-Salatin* may legitimately be called the *Shah-Nama* of medieval India. 'Isami's work is not a critical history, not a theology, not an ethic, but an epic' (110).

Chapter VII discusses some general characteristics of the five historians considered individually before. Their main interest was to record the action and comment on the deeds of grandees and ministers, thrones and imperial powers. Again they concentrate only on the Muslims in Hindustan, the Hindus not being mentioned at all or only providing opportunities for the practice of Muslim virtue. 'Even Amir Khasrau, who in his *Nuh Sipihr* shows considerable interest in the languages, music and sciences of the Hindus, does so more to illustrate the interesting environment in which the Muslims in Hindustan live, than to understand Hindu civilization' (114). 'They do not care for facts in all their detail and in all their manifold variety, but organize the story of the past to point a moral or deliver a message and thus produce a sort of 'Whig' history to borrow Professor Butterfield's term. An ounce of religious truth weighs with them much more than a pound of fact' (115). 'Amir Khasrau and Isami offer a literary dramatization of history in accordance with the ethics of orthodox Islam; they see each situation as complete in itself and history as a succession of moments, each possessing symbolic significance' (117). This view of history as a succession of events, significant only in their relationship to God, ill accords with presuppositions of social organism, change and process (120).

The conclusions emerging from the whole of this discussion are set forth in the final chapter (VIII). First what the medieval writers say is not history, but the raw material of history, requiring manufacture into the finished product. The historian must use his own powers of deduction and test his own system of postulates before making up his narrative; he may still be wrong, but, at least his conclusion is founded upon critical thinking rather than blind belief in authorities which has too often marked the histories of Muslim India so far written. The material which has

Colonial Office generally left the High Commissioner in Malaya free to settle questions at his discretion. The actual administrative officer was the Controller of Labour who sometimes found himself overruled by the High Commissioner who was sometimes open to planter influence. The planters had an association of their own in Malaya and there was also a Rubber Growers' Association in London to aid them in bringing pressure on the Colonial Office if things did not go well in Malaya. Through the years there were numerous issues relating to wage and welfare conditions of labour in which different parties pulled in different directions. The Agent of the India government did not have an adequate staff and sometimes felt handicapped for lack of precise information. The Government of India set up a one man commission (The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri) to report on conditions in Malaya before they forbade assisted migration of labour altogether in 1938, after having abolished the indenture system in 1910. The role of Indian labour in the industry was thus described by the Controller of Labour in March 1936: 'The ease and readiness with which labour could be obtained from S. India was of enormous value to this country, and was an important factor in the development and consolidation of the rubber industry in Malaya. In consequence most rubber and oil palm estates today are equipped and organized for Tamil labour forces which have proved efficient, economical, and docile... The problem presented by the cessation of assisted Indian immigration consists therefore of conserving our South Indian estate population and inducing them to remain in Malaya instead of returning to India. In a nutshell, it is how to settle in and near estates, the maximum number of South Indian workers in shortest possible time'.

Mining and modes of employment other than estates were largely without regulation; the Labour Codes did little more than give legal sanction to prevailing Chinese employment customs and practices. This was an important and fundamental failure of British rule in Malaya. Official policy towards Chinese labour changed in 1938 and a measure of positive control was attempted by executive action. Had the policy been adopted earlier, the need of post-occupation Malayan governments to bring all Chinese workers under positive supervision might have been fulfilled.

The chief legacy of British labour policy and administration is the plural society. There were many Chinese already before the extension of British rule to the States, and many hundreds of thousands entered afterwards. The entry of additional thousands of Indians was the result of official design and encouragement to avoid too much dependence on Chinese labour. Yet no steps were taken to assimilate the immigrants. 'Against the creation of the plural society must be placed the fairly well-developed septem of public services and the comparatively high standard of living enjoyed by many Malaysians as a result of British economic policies' (269).

There are nine tables of significant statistics, an excellent classified bibliography of over ten pages, and a brief but serviceable index. This fine study does great credit to all concerned in its furtherance and production.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE, Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava, Director of Archives, Government of India, Indian Records Series. 1960. Pages xi, xii, and 363. Price Rs. 15.00 or 23s. 6d.

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE, Vol. X, 1792-93. National Archives of India. Pages xxx and 420 with Index xii. 1959. Price Rs. 20/- or 31sh. Both published for the National Archives of India by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi.

Major Browne was the personal agent of Warren Hastings in the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi, and though the story of his mission is generally well known, students would welcome the full text of Browne's letters now published for the first time. The volume has been made up from records in the National Archives, Delhi, and in the Commonwealth Relations office (whence the first forty letters missing in the N.A. volume were obtained); it also includes, for completeness, Browne's letters to Macpherson (who took over from Hastings in February 1785) which have been culled from the Secret Department Records of the National Archives. There are altogether 147 letters ranging between

August 20, 1782 and October 11, 1785. Of these 129 are letters addressed to Warren Hastings and sent in copy to the Directors by Browne himself at their request to defend himself against the suspicion that he had been influenced by Shah Alam or Scindia. Of Browne's personal integrity there can, however, be no doubt. There is an Appendix (264-77) containing Browne's memorandum on the State of Affairs in Hindustan at the commencement of the year 1785. The letters have been carefully edited by Mr. K. D. Bhargava himself; his brief introduction furnishes the historical background and the main drift of the letters, and the notes at the end are generally precise and to the point. There are three illustrations (Shah Alam, Mirza Jawan Bakht and Mahadji Sindia) and a map of Northern India—Delhi, Agra, Oudh and part of Bihar drawn in 1775.

The tenth volume in the Calendar of Persian correspondence covers the years 1792-3. The work on this volume commenced when Dr. S. N. Sen was Director and was completed 'only recently', says Mr. K. D. Bhargava in his preface dated 30th May, 1959. There is an introduction of less than twenty pages by Mr. A. J. Tirmizi, Assistant Director of Archives, which comments in an informative and scholarly way on the contents of the 2,000 letters calendared in the volume. Six letters are put in as an Appendix and there is no explanation vouchsafed for this feature; possibly the somnolent pace at which the work was being carried out explains not only this but the formidable 4 page list (xxvii-xxx) of Corrigenda and Addenda to the volume. The period covered by the volume was the last two eventful years of the administration of Lord Cornwallis; they witnessed the end of the Third Mysore War, the reduction of some of the Rajput chiefs by Mahadji Sindhia and the subordination of the Nawab of Arcot and the Rajas of Tanjore and Travancore. They also saw the cessation of hostilities in Nepal, the death of Timur Shah of Afghanistan and the outbreak of war with France. Speaking generally the period was one of political and economic decline within India, and the social life of the period had touched a markedly low level. Nobles and princes were competing for the Company's favour and sent petitions for titles and empty decorations. The letters summarized here throw much light even by the fragmentary glimpses they afford into the customs and practices of the period. Religion was flourishing strong and lack of

transport facilities were no hindrance to the numerous pilgrimages to holy places. Hindu Muslim relations furnished many instances of cordiality and co-operation. You see clearly the dissolution of the old order hastened by the impact of the new industrial age in the West and the outlines of a new order are by no means discernible yet.

We note with some satisfaction the quickening of the pace of publication in the last year or two and wish that this is kept up in the ensuing years.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

INDIAN ARMED FORCES YEAR BOOK, 1958. Editor—Jaswant Singh, Price Rs. 10/-.

This Year Book pertaining to the Indian Armed Forces is the only reference book available on the subject. It presents a comprehensive treatment, dealing as it does with the history, present position, administration, personnel and future problems connected with the land, navy and air forces. While providing all the necessary technical details, the narrative as a whole, is intelligible and useful to the average reader.

It opens with an editorial on 'Defence Potential' by Jaswant Singh. Tracing the history of the two World Wars, it draws attention to the havoc caused by them and shows how the Second World War was the first major international conflict of applied science. The League of Nations was organised with a view to averting future international conflict, but it did not have the wherewithal to enforce its decisions and hence it collapsed. After the Second World War the United Nations Organisation has been set up. In spite of its notable achievements in several directions and in spite of the numberless attempts at Disarmament the success accomplished by the U.N.O. is not very much. The tension between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has become increasingly acute and in actuality, in the midst of talks of peace, the mad race for armaments is advancing vigorously.

India has always stood for peace and our present ideal of Peaceful Co-existence is but a natural corollary of our agelong policy of pacifism. But this love of peace has been responsible for the comparative inadequacy of our defence equipment. "We

in India seem to be living in utter and absolute ignorance of the revolutionary developments in the field of military activity and the rapidly changing character of warfare." The need for building up our defence potential is of supreme importance and urgency.

Part I of the book deals with modern war, its meaning and purpose, the general principles of war and importance of the morale of people no less than their economic resources. It is followed by an exhaustive treatment of the nature of war on land in the past and present. The changes in mechanisation, size of arms, militarisation of population, nationalisation of war effort, extension and intensification of military operations, the employment of ever-increasing new weapons of warfare are all systematically treated. The new methods brought into operation by the Second World War are described at some length. 'It was' as Churchill said, 'a conflict of strategy, of organisation, of technical apparatus, of science, of mechanics and morale.' Then there appears a detailed consideration of the war on land, sea and air against appropriate historical backgrounds.

Part II is specifically devoted to the consideration of the history of the Indian armed forces, while Part III describes their present position and their organisation. Thereafter, an account of the Ministry of Defence, the Headquarters of the army, navy and air forces is followed by a diary of events from January to December 1958.

The rest of the book concerns itself with such questions as the Military awards, the peace time role of the fighting forces, the methods of recruitment and training of personnel, followed up by a Who's Who. A War map of Kashmir and Jammu as on 27th October, 1948, which appears on p. 570 of the book is useful. A few more maps, like a world map and a map of India could have been included with advantage in order to illustrate the elaborate narrative. On the other hand, the far too many advertisements of commercial products and services could have been cut out or reduced. There are a few misprints. Nevertheless, on the whole, the book is useful since it provides in a single compass all the details connected with the problems of Indian warfare.

K. K. PILLAY.

GAIKWADS OF BARODA, Sayaji Rao II. A.D. 1821 to A.D. 1830 (Selections from the Baroda Residency Records) by G. B. Pandya.

This is a posthumous publication of Sri G. B. Pandya, lately Professor and head of the Department of History, Baroda University. This volume contains a useful collection of the English records of the British Residency in Baroda, bearing on the period from 1821 to 1830. The Marathi records pertaining to this period are embodied in the Historical Selections from Baroda Records, Vol. VII and Historical Selections from Baroda Records (New Series) Vol. I. But a full picture of the times cannot be had without reference to the English records of the Residency and that need is attempted to be fulfilled by the publication of this volume. The collection of these records was a matter of urgent public importance for 'the old records have been getting older, the ink in some of them is illegible and paper is fast getting brittle. A few years more and many of these records will be unreadable.'

In rescuing them from destruction and making them available for research workers on the period the late Sri Pandya has rendered a piece of valuable service. He has made a selection of the useful documents from out of a large mass and arranged them under suitable categories like those pertaining to the Gaikwad's family, Gaikwad's administration, the progress of trade and commerce, social events and so on. This grouping of the records helps research workers in the matter of ready reference.

The period from 1821 to 1830 is of special significance in the history of the British in Western India. With the end of the last Maratha war and the final collapse of the Maratha confederacy a new policy, namely, that of 'subordinate isolation' towards the Indian States, was inaugurated by Lord Hastings. "This policy can be best examined by concentration on a particular area. The relations of the East India company with the Gaikwad, the clash of their interests in Kathiawad and Mahikantha and ultimately the emergence of the East India Company as the supreme power in day-to-day administration with its allies makes an interesting study".

To the researchers working on the history of the period of the Gaikwads or on the Social history of this period, these records are bound to be great value. It is interesting to note the incidents

of Sati and of female infanticide specified in some of these documents. The records also mention the several castes and tribes of the region, the nature and volume of the commerce and the prevalence of fragmentation of land, particularly in Kathiawad. This is the 1st volume of the series and it is presumed that others will undertake to provide data for the period down to 1920.

K. K. PILLAI.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF CASTE, by G. K. Pillai,
Director of the Centre of Indology, Allahabad.

The caste system, which is the most distinctive social institution of the Hindus, has of late received considerable attention at the hands of scholars. Sri G. K. Pillai attempts in this book an examination of the origin and development of caste in India. Rightly he discounts the traditional account embodied in the purushasukta hymn of the Rigveda. This hymn provides a mythical origin to the institution of caste; it states that the Brahman sprang from the mouth, the Rajanya (Kshatriya) from the arms, the Vaisya from the thighs and the Sudra from the feet of the Purusha. Manu, whose exposition of the caste system was based on this hymn, identified the Purusha with Brahma, while the Vishnu Purana identified him with Vishnu. However, on the basis of internal evidence, Max Muller pointed out long ago that the Purushasukta hymn is really a later interpolation into the Vedic text. This is rightly accepted by the author of this book. But it is not quite clear why he rejects the so-called Western theory that the Aryan invaders subdued the earlier inhabitants of the land and reduced them to the position of slaves, who are identified with the Dasas or Dasyus, mentioned in the Rig Veda. Mr. Pillai contends that the Dasyus are spoken of figuratively as dark clouds (Asvins), which according to him suggests that the Dasyus were not enemies in human form. But this is far from convincing; a figurative expression of the enemies as clouds in terms of natural phenomena is perfectly understandable. Further, the author's disbelief in the theory of Aryan invasion on the ground that there is no historical, traditional or archaeological evidence to establish the fact of an Aryan invasion, is based entirely on negative arguments.

The author of the book thinks on the other hand that caste emerged out of the herd instinct of the people as a result of which they grouped themselves into units for the purpose of mutual assistance and social service. He adds that caste divisions originated on the basis of calling or profession and not on the basis of political supremacy of one race or section over the other. Moreover, ancestor worship, arising out of a fear psychosis played its part in strengthening the bonds of caste. Religion, too, in due course became another factor of distinction. But this analysis betrays a tendency to read the present into the past. It is an open question whether the religious distinction itself was not based on the conquest and triumph of the victors. In fact, the fundamental question is what formed the original basis of caste distinction. Caste is a social organisation and as Maret says all social organisations should be investigated as set in motion by "many wheels in a social machine". The older view that the original basis of colour distinction arose out of the Aryan conquest seems still unimpeachable though other factors like those based on occupation, ancestor worship and religion contributed to the further development of the caste divisions.

Mr. Pillai goes on to trace the contribution of the Mundas and Dravidians to the growth of caste. He draws a parallel between the Munda social organisations and the Hindu organisations of 'gotras' and 'varnas'. From a review of conditions in Malabar and the growth of distinctions between the leisurely castes like Nambudris and Nairs, the occupational castes like the Panan and Kaniyan and the Unapproachables like the Vedan and Pulayan, he tries to show how the distinctions which had emerged on the basis of calling or profession became fused with other distinctions and contributed to the development of caste. There is considerable force in this analysis although in respect of a vast mass of people like the Hindus it is idle to contend that one or two factors alone could have brought about the same tendency all over India. It is tempting to oversimplify a complex phenomenon like the caste.

Writing on the history of the caste system, he says that sometime about 1000 B.C. the brahmins occupied merely the position of priests. There was considerable elasticity in the regulation of caste and intermarriages between the various castes were not

corporaciones o empresas de capital en las que desaparecen los grandes propietarios para dar lugar a la clase de los gerentes o managers: en tanto que las propiedades de las empresas se atomizan en manos de miles de accionistas, el control de las mismas lo asumen tales administradores, que siendo de acuerdo con la ley sólo, depositarios, en la práctica disponen, venden, truecan, y compran los bienes que no les pertenecen jurídicamente. El obrerismo, por su parte, ante esos monstruos sin cabeza visible, ha tenido que organizarse al parejo y el líder obrero ha dejado de ser un agitador oportunista e improvisado para convertirse en un técnico hábil, bien informado, con el fin de que, auxiliado por economistas y abogados, pueda defender los intereses de sus compañeros en el plano en que las empresas se han colocado."

The book does not claim to have treated completely and exhaustively all the contemporary ideas. However it certainly gives the key to understand all those ideas and their foundation, which is the contemporary life itself in the U.S.A. This book is, in its essence, a contemplation on the contemporary society in the U.S.A. that is undergoing a radical transformation under the domination of the presentday technological era in the U.S.A., and contains an analysis of the contemporary capitalism in the U.S.A.

Today the U.S.A., according to the analysis of the author, seems to be in the throes of a new Industrial Revolution under the stresses and the strains of the extraordinary technological advance, which has been leading to an era of Automatism in the U.S.A. Today one can say definitely that the U.S.A. has entered into an era of automatic controls. Ofcourse, "La fábrica totalmente automatizada aun no ha sido organizada"; however, "pero ya se hacen planes para aplicar el principio de retroacción en la fabricación de artefactos caseros.....en la medicina.....en espectáculos públicos. Actualmente utilizan calculadores y aparatos automáticos en actividades especiales como la publicidad, para proyectar la estrategia de las ventas en cada temporada; además, en las grandes oficinas se les utiliza para levantar inventarios y para la formación de ficheros para distribuir la correspondencia. O otro campo de aplicación está en el control del empleo de anestesia, rayos X y diatermia. Existen ya máquinas que leen, escriben, traducen; otras están a cargo, de sistemas electrónicos de navegación aérea, XXX, en prácticas de oceanografía y de cos-

mografía y efectúan operaciones aritméticas miles y millones de veces mas rápido que el ojo, la mente y las manos humanas."

The transformation, which the contemporary American society is undergoing, is characterised by the following dominant features: the private individual Ownership of Capital giving place to the public corporate Ownership of Capital, the separation between the Ownership and Control (i.e. the Management) of Industry, the growing ardour of difficulty of the Workers' fight with the principles of all their Movements initiated into the second half of the nineteenth century grows into a strong force inevitably born out of the social necessity but seriously handicapped in being transformed into Law because of the Constitution of the U.S.A. being essentially "individualistic" because of its coming into existence and being elaborated in the eighteenth century under the then dominating concept of the "individual" and not at all under the now dominating concept of the "class", the Workers' economic ideology not rebelling against the profit motive in the Industrial and Capitalistic organization and recognizing the value of the profit motive as a spur and yet having objectives revolutionary enough the revolution being the sense of aiming at a radical transformation of the American society but only with no other purpose than that of securing some advantages to the Workers, the Workers' old tactics of fighting consisting of Agitation, Strike, and Demonstration today being transformed into a new skilful technique of fighting, which is more well-informed and is aided by the economists and the advocates, wherein the Workers' Leader has ceased to be an opportunist agitator and has become a skilful negotiator, the Workers' Class-Consciousness not very acute today because of their aspiration to live in an Open Society wherein everyone can pass from the status of a "Worker" to that of a "Capitalist" the Open Society, however, being gradually "closed" today because of the anti-Workers offensive launched by the Big Corporations and the State during the post-war period with the result that the Worker today has ceased to claim to belong to the "Middle Class" but affirms to belong to the "Working Class".

As regards the religious ideas, the religious foundation of the American Society is essentially determined by the Puritan Protestantism, which explains the apparent severity of some inhabitants of the country and the obvious feeling of the Americans

being the carriers and preservers of the Christian values in the world. The U.S.A. has been extraordinarily receptive to every "ism" that appeared anywhere in the world in the field of religion in the recent times. A survey of those "isms" in relation to the Puritan Protestantist background would have added to the value of the book of such a nature. As regards the philosophical ideas, the American philosophical thinking, which can be characterised as Scientifism in a spirit, has, according to the author, led the majority of cases to an impossible metaphysics of the sciences. The author has given a clear picture of the various philosophical ideas in America both of the "transoceanic" origin as well as of the native origin. The American philosophy is characterised by a pragmatic temper, a scientific spirit, and an individualistic ideal.

This are, in brief, the contents of the book. Those, who are faced with a choice and hence are interested in the comparison between the two systems of life—one with "Free Enterprise and Freedom" and another with "Planning and Regimentation", may find much that is interesting from the side of the Capitalist system of life. The author's fear regarding the human labour being replaced by automatic machine and the result of the consequent unemployment is unnecessary in view of the experiences of the Industrial Revolution in England. The old Industrial Revolution in England somehow found later a solution of the problem, which it created earlier, and allayed the fears disproportionately raised in the beginning. It can therefore, be hoped now that the new Industrial Revolution following the introduction of the automatic machines in industry in the U.S.A. may also be able to do the same in due course. And besides, the human labour today shows a tendency to find fault not so much with the machine as with the owner of the machine. The quarrel today is more of the nature of the employee versus the employer than the human labour versus the machine. To examine the philosophical ideas, along with other ideas, in relation to the social life is an interesting feature of the volumes of this "History of the Ideas in America" series. It may help in toning down the usual criticism of philosophy as an intellectual pastime of soaring into a cloudland of speculation unrelated to life. Philosophy is rooted in life and has to bear fruit only in relation to life.

R. B. JOSHI

A REVIEW OF "TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE"—Publisher: J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, B.A., B.L., Annamalaiagar, Price Rs. 8.25.

Sri J. M. Somasundaram Pillai's collection of English renderings from Tamil, entitled "Two Thousand Years of Tamil Literature", is intended to awaken the interest of non-Tamil people in the glories of Tamil literature. It has to be confessed, however, that the title is a misnomer. It does not, by any means, represent Tamil literature throughout the ages. What two thousand years of Tamil literature have been there without the Kambaramayanam? And there has not been much sense of proportion in the space allotted to the selections. Far too much space has been allotted to Sangam poetry and ethical poetry, even to the Tirukkural. As the book stands, barring the translations from the Pura-nanooru, the impression conveyed through the translations is that the wealth of Tamil is only in its ethical sayings and its hymns. It appears that the editor has simply made a collection of competent translations from Tamil, that came in his way. But it would have been better if he had thought out another title.

As for the translation themselves, they are not, naturally, of the same value, being by different authors. The translations by the Rev. Pope are just as good as translations can be, representing devoted study, though he has occasionally misinterpreted the meaning. They do not indeed show a very sensitive style or absolute command of verse-form, but they are easily the best in the book. Mullai-p-pattu and Nedu-nal-vadai, the twin crown-jewels of Sangam poetry, have been rendered into English by Sri J. M. Somasundaram Pillai himself, and one is thankful that he has restricted himself to prose. They are faithful renderings and quite good as far as prose goes. Sri J. M. Nallaswami, in an otherwise good translation, has apparently been misguided by the commentator in rendering thus two lines from Kalittotai, which change the whole tone: "Lo! How fools call this evening beautiful! They know not it is the time for beautiful women to part from life". The poet really means: "Fools call this the evening! They do not know that this is the time that unfolds the lives of beautiful women". Sri J. M. Nallaswami's translations are on the whole competent. But he rather spoils his patient labour with irrelevant remarks, as for instance, on the chastity of Indian women. But more shocking and awfully misleading is the remark of

Sri Veerabhadra Mudaliar, that the ancient writers have 'imposed' upon husbands the 'duty' of 'patronising' harlots. His translations, by themselves, are more or less faithful. As for the hymns, those rendered by Sir P. Ramanathan, Sir P. Arunachalam and Sri S. S. Bharati are tolerably good. But the chief beauties of the Tamil hymns, their cadences and their sweet ardour, are not to be expected.

On the whole the book does not take us a very long way towards an understanding of Tamil literature, though attempts of this kind deserve to be encouraged, and as individual translations, many of the pieces are commendable.

JESUDASAN.

A HANDBOOK TO OLD RECORDS OF THE ASSAM SECRETARIAT. By Kesav Narayan Dutt, M.A., B.L., Deputy Director, Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam (1951-1954), Editor for the Revision of the District Gazetteers of Assam. Education Department, Government of Assam, Shillong, 1959. Pp. vii + 383 + XLVIII, price Rs. 5/.

The term "Old Records" used in the title of this book refers to the records in the Assam Secretariat at Shillong from 1823 to 1874. The province of Assam came into British hands in 1826 by the treaty of Yandabu signed on February 24 of that year which brought to a close the war between Burma and the East India Company, the First Burmese War.

The records of the first three years from 1823 contain correspondence which gives an insight into the Burmese reactions to the Company's policy of expansion on the Eastern Frontier which was the real cause of the First Burmese War. "David Scot who was then staying at Sylhet as Commissioner of Rangpur and Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East Frontier, later brought these papers to Assam and thus they constitute the starting pages of the Assam records under the British Administration." These are preserved in the first five volumes (numbered 1, 2, 2a, 2b and 3) of the Series "Letters Received". The sixth volume of this series bearing No. 4 is missing.

The Preface states how the scheme for this Handbook originated and how it was carried out. The Introduction discusses the layout of the Handbook and it also tells us something of the physical condition of the "Old Records". It also whets the appetite of the student of Assam history and affairs by giving just a glimpse of the contents of the main body of the "Old Records". The Compiler tells us that they deal with "the early story not only of the formation, growth and development of the modern state of Assam and its administration, but also focus a flood of light on many matters such as the composition of the population and its habitat (sic), the progress of the people in different fields of life and activity, etc.... But more than anything else the records throw interesting light on the evolution of British policy—both administrative and political—in Assam and the North-East Frontier of India".

The Handbook itself is divided into eight chapters of which Chapter IV gives a list of the volumes comprising these *Old Records* and extends to 100 pages. The volumes, 400 in number, are divided into 13 series. According to an old register which, we are told, cannot now be traced, the number of volumes was 418. It is not known when this old register was compiled, but during the time that elapsed between the making of this old register and the preparation of the present *Handbook* 18 volumes of records seem to have been lost. This statement is based on the strength of a comparative table given on pp. 3-4 of the preface. But the figures should be actually 395 and 420, the former for number of existing volumes and the latter for number of volumes in the old list. The number of volumes not now traceable seems to be 25 and not 18 as the comparative figures on p. iv indicate.

The volumes comprising the *Old Records* are grouped in thirteen series and here the reviewer notes a small discrepancy in the number of volumes in Series I as given in Chapter IV, pp. 52-61. The number of the last volume of this series as given on p. 61 is 66 whereas the "number of existing volumes" in this series as given on p. iii is 73. In the list at pp. 52-66 we find volumes numbered as Volume 2, Volume 2(a), Volume 2(b) etc. Volumes 4 and 5 are noted as "Missing". Taking these facts into consideration the total number of volumes in Series I works out at 83. Perhaps the compiler of the *Handbook* has a perfectly simple explanation for these, what the reviewer considers, minor discrepancies. But

p. 197, lines 3 and 4—*sri* for *śrī*; line 22—*nibandha* for *nibandha*; line 33—*Bhaṭṭakah* for *Bhaṭṭakkah*; etc. In some cases, there is a violation of the chronological order and inaccuracy in the references. Thus the Chumli copper-plate inscription 989 A.D. has been notice at p. 259 in the middle of references to 915 A.D., whereas its correct place is at p. 297 between the references to 972 and 999 A.D. Again, the work, wherein the Ghumli plates were published, is given as *CI*. which is a mistake for *EI*. (i.e. *Epigraphia Indica*). The quotations of the readings of certain small inscriptions (not yet published elsewhere) appear to be wrong. Thus the word *ghaṭaḥ* read in Plate XXVII A (A) is *ghaṇṭā* and what has been read elsewhere on the same Plate (C) as *ghaḥta* is *ghaṇṭ[ā]*. The reading of the Prabhās Pāṭan potsherd inscription is not *dasamapusiṭi* (pp. 94, 315; Plate XVII, A) but *Dasamasa siṭi* (Sanskrit *Daśamasya smṛitiḥ*, 'the memorial of Dāśama'). We find it difficult to read the Buddhist formula *ye dharmā*, etc. in the Mahudi Buddha image inscription (p. 318; Plate LXXIX, B). It is not correct to say that, in the Rajkot Museum inscription of a Śaka *Mahākshatrapa*, "Except the words *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya*, nothing can be made out" (p. 315). The inscription has been read and interpreted in an article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, Part IV.

D. C. SIRCAR

PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS. B. N. Pal.
Kitab Mahal. Price Rs. 18-0-0. Pages 751.

Seven hundred and fifty one pages of closely printed matter, this book looks more an encyclopaedia than a 'consolidated statement of the principles of agricultural economics' that it purports to be. The reader is treated to a rambling account of scope of agricultural economics, elementary economics, national agriculture, rural enterprises, agricultural operations and systems and a dozen and a half other topics. The book is evidently a compendium of class-notes pieced together without proper arrangement. It lacks perspective, proportion and poise.

The reader will readily appreciate the stand of the author in claiming no originality. For any one possessing some knowledge of agricultural economics the contents of this book are very familiar.

It is obviously intended for the student and the layman. But then both are likely to lose the wood for the tree. There is so much of repetition and overlapping in this book (Read Chapter III with Chapter IV for instance) that one feels half of it could be profitably deleted. A rigorous process of pruning and trimming would not only render this book more handy and digestible but also make it more useful for the general reader and the student.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

THEORY OF MARKETING IN UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES: J. N. Chaturvedi. Kitab Mahal. Allahabad. Price Rs. 7-50.

The study of under-developed has registered a high rate of development in the post-war period. Sri Chaturvedi has shown considerable ingenuity in choosing an aspect of under-development which has not received much attention. It is doubtful if the author has reached his goal. The quest, it is said, is more exciting than conquest.

The author argues elaborately, but not convincingly, the case for a different theory of marketing for under-developed countries. The distinction drawn between real and forced marketable surplus rests on flimsy premise. It is clearly invalid at any rate in respect of products other than food materials and even in respect of products a negligible proportion of which is consumed by the producer. An American farmer's need for clothing is by no means less intense than the need of the Indian farmer; both eventually get it by exchanging their products.

The author tries to establish (again with little success) that production and marketing are distinct functions, the similarity between them being 'indirect' and 'remote'. Production creates form utility while marketing creates time, place and possession utilities. This dichotomy too turns out to be a distinction without difference. The view that regards marketing as a part of production is not only more sound but also is more realistic. It does not necessarily represent a laissezfaire approach. Even in a centrally directed economy production and marketing form an integrated problem. Marketing is related to the general economic theory by its intimate relationship with production narrowly defined.

he thought it best to mention them as they may give a clue to the whereabouts of the missing volumes! It would be best if the number of volumes in each series listed at pp. 52-150 are checked and tallied with the "No. of existing volumes" on pp. 3-4 of the preface.

Besides the thirteen series there is also a group of papers entitled "Files and Bundles" consisting of 907 items which have been listed in Chapter VIII, pp. 329-383 in five sections. Contents of each file or bundle are indicated in brief.

Chapter V gives a general description of the contents of the volumes in each series and Chapter VII gives a survey of contents of each volume in a series. Chapter VI has explanatory notes on the "Files and Bundles".

Besides these chapters dealing with contents of the *Old Records* of Assam, the *Handbook* has two very useful chapters which help better in our understanding of the material contained in these records. Chapter I is entitled "Historical Sketch of the Period, 1823-1874" and Chapter II describes "British Relations with the Hill Tribes". Chapter III is a short one entitled "A note on the Personnel of the Administration" giving a brief indication of the officers that conducted the revenue and judicial administration of Assam between 1823 and 1874.

The arrangement of the *Handbook* is somewhat unorthodox and, by the very nature of the layout of Chapters IV to VIII, has entailed certain repetitions. But it gives an excellent idea of the contents and importance of *Old Records* of the Assam Record Office and it will prove an indispensable reference tool to all students of Assam affairs and to the administrators who may want to study the historical background of Assam tribes.

A very useful feature of the *Handbook* is an index extending to 48 pages.

Prof. Dutt deserves congratulations for having prepared and published such a fine reference volume.

P. M. JOSHI

CHRONOLOGY OF GUJARAT—HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL, by M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., published by Maharaja Sayajirao, University of Baroda, Baroda 1960; price Rs. 24.00; pages 342 qto. with 90 Plates and 8 maps.

The work under review has been compiled by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in collaboration with Dr. A. N. Jani, Prof. H. R. Kapadia, Shri Amrit Pandya and Dr. H. G. Shastri. The aim of the editor was to present the important facts of the early history of Gujarat, both political and cultural, arranged in a chronological order beginning from the prehistoric age down to c. 1000 A.D., in a manner intelligible to an ordinary educated Indian who is not a specialist in the subject. We are glad to note that this purpose has been realised to a considerable extent. The nature of the present work is somewhat like that of R. Sewell's valuable book entitled *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, though its scope is much wider since it discusses other antiquities besides inscriptions. While congratulating the editor, his collaborators and the publishers of the book, we eagerly wait for the next volume of the series.

The work is divided into eight chapters, the first of which deal with the prehistory and protohistory of Gujarat. The history of the land during the ages of the Mouryas, the Indo-Greeks, the Śaka Kshatrapas and the Guptas has been discussed in Chapters II-VI respectively. Chapter VII deals with the age of the Maitrakas and Gurjaras and Chapter VIII concludes the historical discussions with the delineation of the history of Gujarat in the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Pratihāras. There is an Appendix dealing with the Puranic data on the geography of the land, in which the place names discussed have been alphabetically arranged. There is also a note on the recent excavations at Devani Mori. A large number of antiquities (e.g. inscriptions, coins, sculptures, temples, etc.) relating to the various sections are described with illustrations. The material presented is fairly exhaustive and will no doubt be useful to one willing to have an idea of the political and cultural history of ancient Gujarat.

There are some minor flaws in the book to which we draw the attention of the learned editor and his erudite collaborators so that they may be eradicated in a future edition of the work. The transliteration of Sanskrit words is often inaccurate; cf.

Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Asiatic Society of Pakistan—Journal of the*, Vol. IV, 1959, Dacca.
 - 1. *Administrative System of the Sultans of the Khidr-Khani (The Sayyid, Dynasty*, by Dr. A. Halim.
- II. *Asiatic Society of Pakistan—Journal of the*, Vol. V, 1960.
 - 1. *Local Administration of the Sayyid*, by Dr. A. Halim.
- II. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the*, Vol. X, No. I, September, 1960, Baroda.
 - 1. *Capture of Chitor by the Imperial Pratiharas, probable Significance of the Citrangada-Sambhalisa Episode*, by Dasharatha Sharma.

While commenting on the prevalence of perfect competition in agriculture due weight is not attached to the inelasticity of agricultural production. In the same manner the limitations of mechanisations in the agriculture of an under-developed country are ignored. The author deals at length on the role of urban industrial sector but does not show how developments in it impinge on the structure and functions of marketing agencies.

The author vehemently opposes exclusive reliance on capital in under-developed countries to the neglect of "those factors whose continuance constitutes a serious obstacle to progress" (P. 111). Pray, what are these factors?

The exposition of the differences between the aims of producers in developed and under-developed countries and the arguments for eliminaiing middlemen are as unconvincing as they are fragmentary. In the new marketing system envisaged by the author the village grain-banks and retail societies have the pivotal significance. These exist in several under-developed countries and evidently they have not been a penacea for the manifold ills of agricultural marketing.

The reader is left puzzled by such patently self-contradictory statements as the following:

"The so-called similarity between marketing and production is therefore only indirect and remote one. They do not have much of a direct relationship" (P. 14).

"Efficiency of agricultural production and efficiency of agricultural marketing vary directly with each other. If one of them is inefficient the other must necessarily be so" (P. 36).

One will search in vain for a treatment of such significant developments as regulation of markets, co-operative marketing and the role of the State in agricultural marketing in Sri Chaturvedi's exposition. The writing is too diffused and the reasoning lacks analytical rigour. And above all the sum of Rs. 7.50 is too high a price for an amateurish publication of this type.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR

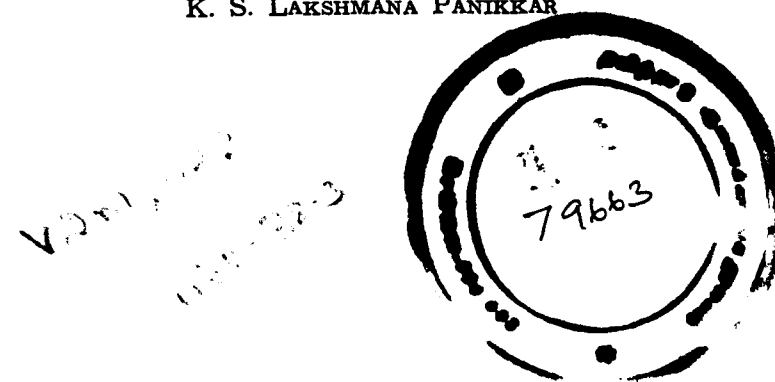
INDIAN ECONOMICS YEAR BOOK—1959-60 (Revised and Enlarged). Kitab Mahal. 56-A, Zaro Road, Allahabad. Price Rs. 3.00.

The Indian Economics Year Book—the publishers claim legitimately—is the first publication of its kind. It "has been written with a view to providing the Indian reader, interested in economic problems (which reader is not?) a bird's eye-view of the latest facts relating to economic life in this country in the context of the world picture." The publishers deserve to be congratulated on the successful pursuit of this aim.

This book gives in a readable form copious information regarding the land and the people, natural resources, five year plans, agriculture, land reforms, co-operation, irrigation and power, community projects, industry, labour, transport, communications, foreign trade, currency and banking, insurance, public finance, prices, national income and miscellaneous items. Such a publication can hardly be exhaustive. All the same the omission of highly important items like employment appears to be a serious deficiency. Under transport one should expect to find a treatment of aviation. A few facts regarding the rates and exemption in income-tax could have been usefully furnished. The world picture has been ignored in many cases as in the section dealing with prices and cost of living.

A good part of historical treatment could be deleted without harm in a book of this kind (e.g. Kaldor's report). It would have been perhaps useful to give a list of the important economic publications (books, reports and periodicals) as also of leading institutions carrying on research and investigations in the country.

K. S. LAKSHMANA PANIKKAR



Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Aryan Path*, Bombay.
3. *Asia Major*.
4. *Bharata Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona Quarterly.
5. *Brahma Vidya*, The Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras.
6. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
7. *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*.
8. *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras.
9. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
10. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
11. *The Ceylon Historical Journal*.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Delhi.
13. *Half-yearly Journal of the Mysore University*, Mysore.
14. *Hindustan Review*, Patna.
15. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
16. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
17. *Indian Review*, Madras.
18. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
19. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Waltair.
20. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
21. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
22. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
23. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay.
24. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
25. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
26. *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.
27. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
28. *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay.
29. *Political Science Quarterly*, New York.
30. *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society*, Bangalore.
31. *The Scottish Historical Review*.
32. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
33. *University of Ceylon Review*.
34. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*.

Printed by G. Srinivasachari, B.A., at G. S. Press, 21, Narasingapuram Street,
Mount Road, Madras, and Published by the University of Kerala,
Trivandrum.