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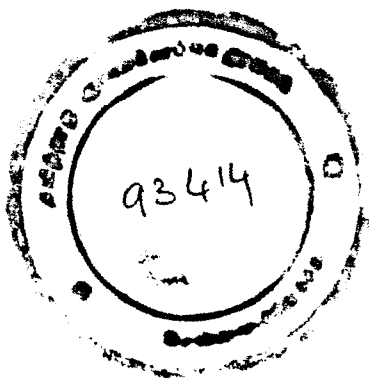
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Across The Oceanic Frontier of Karnataka

BY

DR. B. A. SALETORÉ,

Dharwar

The importance of the ocean as the western boundary of Karnāṭaka and of the natural features in furthering the material prosperity of the province is seen from the early centuries of the Christian era, when Western geographers and travellers became acquainted with the ports, inland cities, and peoples of Karnāṭaka, and when the foundations were laid of a brisk foreign trade and of internal prosperity. The history of Karnāṭaka from this point of view has not been studied at all, and the contribution of this province to the history of India in the spheres of inland and foreign trade and commerce has not been properly appreciated by scholars. In fact it would not be an exaggeration to state that the existence of Karnāṭaka as a decisive factor in the history of Western and Southern India, has been practically ignored, notwithstanding the fact that abundant materials are available in regard to the ancient and mediaeval history of the land. It cannot be understood how a most fertile province like Karnāṭaka, which is open to the west, and which has been inhabited by an industrious and intelligent people, could ever have remained inactive in the spheres of either foreign or internal trade. The recognized northern frontier of Karnāṭaka was the Godāvarī, although from the strategical point of view, the Kannadigas extended their frontier to the Narmadā, while in the south, it was bounded by the Kāverī. Now this vast area is watered by eight rivers—the Bhīmā, the Nīrā, the Kṛṣṇā, the Malaprabhā, the Ghaṭaprabhā, the Tungabhadra, the Varadā, and the Kāverī,¹ leaving out of account the smaller rivers like the Netrāvati and others which flowing from the Western Ghats enter the Indian Ocean. These rivers by themselves served as the natural highways

1. Cf. Panchamukhi, R. S., *Progress of Kannada Research for 1941-1946*, Parts I & II, p. 36.

for the transporation of the products of the interior to the coast, and from the coast to the inland cities. The distribution of the forests of the Western Ghats which latter are the backbone of Karnāṭaka, and of the low-lying agricultural areas on the banks of the rivers, together with the wide-spread distribution of the building materials like trap rock which is found in the northern belt, limestone and similar porous materials of the Dharwar type deposited in the western regions, and sandstone of the Kaḷāḍgi variety found in the central parts, and of minerals like iron, gold, and diamonds which were needed for constructive and ornamental purposes,² have not a little been responsible for the promotion of internal and foreign trade and of the many works of art and architecture which have added to the material and artistic wealth of the country.

That the Kannaḍigas were certainly aware of the importance of their oceanic boundary for commercial and political purposes is evident when we note not only the many centres of trade within Karnāṭaka but also one of the distinguishing *birudas* or titles of their rulers. This was especially true of the kings of the regions bordering on the western ocean, and of the great monarchs of the Vijayanagara Empire. The particular *biruda* which was significant from this point of view was expressed in the phrase—"Lords of the Western, Southern, Eastern, and Northern Oceans", as noticeable in the long list of titles of the Vijayanagara monarchs. Of these the *biruda* "Lord of the Western Ocean" is traceable to the times of the Alupa rulers of Alvaḥeḍa (modern South Kanara and North Kanara) in the thirteenth century. That particular title was borne by the Alupa Queen Balla Mahādevī, who ruled from A.D. 1276 till A.D. 1292. We have shown elsewhere that this Queen was an able administrator, who conducted the affairs of the Alupa kingdom according to the time-honoured custom of the Kannaḍigas.³

2. Panchamukhi, *op. cit.*, p. 37. On centres of gold like Honnina Māvanūr, Hukkeri taluka, read Panchamukhi, *Progress Report of Kannada Research for 1947-52*, pp. 12-13. On diamond centres like those at Vajra Karur, near Bellary, read Sampat Iyengar, *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, III, p. 119. Read also Sewell, R., *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagar*, pp. 399-401. On the diamond centre of Kollur, read Foster, William, *The English Factories in India*, 1618-29, p. 208.

3. Read Saletore, B.A., Queen Balla Mahādevī in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, XI, P. IV (1943, Jan.) p. 25-30. See also 336 of 1931-1932 (*Ep. Report of the Southern Circle for 1931-1932*).

Of all the monarchs of India till the end of the middle ages, the Vijayanagara rulers alone may be said to have understood the importance of the ocean in the domain of politics. This is evident when we note the title referring to the four oceans given above. While the reference to the western, southern, and eastern oceans in that title is obvious, that referring to the northern ocean is not clear excepting on the assumption that those rulers may have had in their minds that Godāvāri was their northern boundary, as in the days of old. But the inclusion of this reference to the "northern" ocean in the general phrase referring to the four oceans, seems to have taken some time. When we meet with the general title, relating to the oceans we find only three oceans mentioned. Thus, the Kalleśvara temple stone inscription dated A.D. 1368 which we shall cite later on, while describing the relations between Kashmir and Karnāṭaka, gives, among other titles, the following *biruda* to king Bukka Raya I—"Lord of the Eastern, Southern and Western Oceans" (*pūrvā-dakṣiṇa-pāścima-samudrādhipatiḥ*).⁴ The next ruler king Harihara Raya II (A.D. 1377-1404), also bore the same title, as is evident from one of the stone inscriptions found in the village of Belagutti, Honnālī taluka, Shimoga district, Mysore State, and dated A.D. 1379 of the reign of the same monarch.⁵ The existence of an Admiral of the Eastern Ocean is proved by three stone inscriptions dated Śaka 1273 (A.D. 1351), Śaka 1275 (A.D. 1353), and Śaka 1283 (A.D. 1367) which mention Viraśrī Sovanna Oḍeyar as the Lord of the Eastern Ocean ruling from the capital Udaya-giripaṭṭana.⁶ So late as A.D. 1544 Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya is called the Lord of the Four Oceans (*uttara-dakṣiṇa-pūrvā-pāścima-catus-samudrādhipatiḥ*).⁷ We are not concerned here with the practical measures which the rulers of Vijayanagara adopted to protect the vast oceanic border of their empire. Nor are we concerned with their cordial dealings with foreign powers. Some of their feudatories on the western oceanic frontier, particularly on the coast of the two Kanaras, were primarily responsible for warding off a great danger which, if left unchallenged, would have wiped off the last trace of Hindu culture and tradition in this part

4. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VII, Sk. 281, p. 146.

5. *Ibid.*, Hn. 84, p. 175; text, p. 409.

6. Nos. 503, 500 and 509 of 1906; Rangachari, V., *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 63.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, P. II, No. 609, p. 619; No. 398 of 1928.

of the country. The most creditable achievements of the small rulers of Karnāṭaka on the western border of the Empire of Vijayanagara, whose history will be narrated in another context, presuppose the planning and execution of certain measures both by the feudatories and their suzerains, the rulers of Vijayanagara, concerning which some details are available in records.

But the Kannaḍigas seem to have had an age-long policy of tackling this problem of the ocean if we are to believe the detailed notices of some of their most important coastal and inland cities in the accounts of foreign geographers and travellers from the second century A.D. onwards. These foreign witnesses were the geographers and travellers of Egypt, Greece, Rome and China, and later on of Arabia. Their accounts enable us to affirm that so far as the oceanic border of Karnāṭaka was concerned, the Kannaḍigas had transgressed far beyond it. Of the many foreign writers for our purpose the earliest is the anonymous author of the work called the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. He is supposed to have been a native of Alexandria, and the work is reckoned to be an account of the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India as it prevailed in A.D. 60.⁸ This work is of particular importance for the history of the coast of Kathiawar and Gujarat, the major port of which (Bhroach) figures prominently in it. From Barygaza (Bhroach), according to the author of the *Periplus*, the coast tends southwards, the country being called Dachinabades (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*). "Among the market towns of Dachinabades, there are two of special importance—Paethane, distance about twenty days' journey from Barygaza; beyond which, about ten days' journey east, there is another very great city, Tagara. There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethane carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea coast. And the whole coast to the end of Damirica is seven thousand *stadia*s but the distance is greater to the coast country".⁹

8. On the question of its date, read *History of Gujarat* (Bom. Gaz.) pp. 542-543. Read also Schoff, W. F., *The Periplus*, etc., p. 151, (London, 1912).

9. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 43.

Of the towns mentioned above, Paethane is easily identifiable with Paithan on the Godavari. Tagara was identified by Fleet with Ter (Thair), ninety-five miles south-east of Paithan.¹⁰

The anonymous author next proceeds to narrate thus:—"The market towns of this region are, in order, after Barygaza: Suppara, and the city of Calliena, which in the time of the elder Seraganus became a lawful market town; but since it came into the possession of Sandares, the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza under guard".¹¹

The towns mentioned here were obviously Sopara and Kalyāṇ both of which in those times belonged to Konkan which itself formed a part of Karnāṭaka. The reference to the Greek ships landing goods there by chance and then being taken to Bhroach under guard, may be borne in mind when we shall discuss about the Greeks and Karnāṭaka later on.

Beyond Calliena (Kalyan) the anonymous author of the *Periplus* continues, there are other market towns of this region; Semylla, Mandagara, Palaepatnae, Melizigara, Byzantion, Togarum, and Aurannoboas. Then there are the islands called Sescrienae and that of the Aegiddi, and that of the Caenitae, opposite the place called Chersonesus (and in these places there are pirates), and after this the White Island. Then come Naura and Tyndis, the first markets of Damirica, and then "Muziris and Nelcynda, which are now of leading importance".¹² The places mentioned in this passage begin with Semylla which was undoubtedly Chaul. Mandagara has been identified with Mandagad, a lofty and prominent hill close to Mahāpral, a village on the Bankot creek at the mouth of the Sāvitri river. It is said to have been a centre of trade in teak wood and black wood and ship-building in former times.¹³ Palaepatanae is the same as Valaipatṇa (near Goa) con-

10. Fleet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1901, pp. 537-552. James Campbell, *Bombay Gaz.*, XVI, p. 181; H. Cousens, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report for 1908-1903*, p. 195, *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 82; XXIII, p. 284; Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

11. Schoff, *ibid.*, pp. 43, 195, 197.

12. Schoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 200, 201.

13. Nairne, *History of Konkan* (Bom. Gaz.), p. 2 n. (51; Bandarkar, R. G., *Early History of the Deccan* (in the *Bom. Gaz.*), p. 174. Schoff's identification of Mandagara with Bankot itself (Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201) is not correct.

cerning which we shall mention a few words later on while discussing Ptolemy's narrative. The identification of this place with Dabhol, which was no doubt a port of some consequence from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, because of its extensive trade with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea ports, is untenable. The argument that Dabhol boasts of an underground temple of Candrikā which is alleged to belong to the sixth century A.D., and that, therefore, it could have been Palaepatne of the *Periplus* is likewise unsatisfactory, since the existence of an old temple by itself proves nothing relevant to our issue. Schoff, who adduced these arguments, further explained that the word Palaepatne is probably the Sanskrit Paripatna, *Pari* meaning a general term applying to the Vindhya mountains and the southern coast, and *patna* meaning of course a town.¹⁴ These arguments are altogether unsound. Concerning the next word Melizigara, Mueller and McCrindle identified it with Jaigarh; while Schoff would identify it with Rājāpur, the only port of Ratnāgiri. According to Schoff, Melizigara is the same as Sigerus of Pliny and Melizegyris of Ptolemy, the name suggesting the Sanskrit word Malayagiri, "a name which covered the southern part of the Western Ghats. The name appears in the *Male of Cosmos* and our Malabar."¹⁵ While discussing *Cosmos'* narrative later on, we shall see that *Male* cannot be identified with Malabar at all.

The next town Byzantion we shall meet with in Ptolemy's list later on. Here we may note that it has been identified with Vijayadrag and Chiplun.¹⁶ Togarum, according to Schoff, who follows Vincent, Mueller, and McCrindle, was Devagarh. The last name in the passage in the *Periplus* is Auranoboas which Schoff would identify with Malvan. Schoff's derivation of Malvan from Mahālavana, "salt marsh", and its equation with Aranyāvaha¹⁸ is as ingenious as it is unconvincing. The islands mentioned next by the anonymous author of the *Periplus* have been identified thus:—the islands of the Sesecriinae probably the Vengurla Rocks; the islands of the Aegidii perhaps the island of Goa; the island or

Caenitae perhaps the Oyster Rocks facing the roadstead of Karwar, and Chersonesus perhaps the projecting point of Karwar itself.¹⁹

Next to the White Island (unidentified) came two towns in order—Naura and Tyndis, the first marts of Damirica (which in some accounts is written Limyrike). While identifying Naura, Schoff rejects its identification with Honnāvūru, and maintains that by Naura is meant Cannanore. The arguments adduced by Schoff are characteristic of the confusion that has prevailed in the minds of scholars dealing with the history of this part of India. Schoff writes that "It seems clear that the identification of this place with the modern Honavar 14° 17' N, 74° 27' E, while a tempting one, owing to the similarity of names, is not in accordance with facts". Honāvar lies within the strip of coast which was a point of dispute between the Andhra and the Śaka dynastries, as well as the petty Maurya and Pallava princes: "while from similarity of name the modern Cannanore would answer equally well". In the previous paragraph, Schoff writes that this identification of Naura with Cananore rests on the fact that that place was "known to have been an active port in the days of the Roman trade and has yielded one of the most important finds in India of Roman coins, of the reigns of Tiberious, Claudius, and Nero"²⁰ While this argument relating to the find of Roman coins is certainly a weighty one, it cannot be understood how one could dismiss the claims of the entire coast of Kanara by adducing arguments relating to the Andhras, the Śakas, the Mauryas, and the Pallavas, which are more imaginary than real. Historical research in regard to the history of Kanara and Karnāṭaka has certainly advanced enough to discard the statements of Schoff concerning the Andhras and other rulers. The identification of Naura with Cananore does not rest, therefore, on any cogent ground except the one relating to the find of Roman coins.

The earlier identification of Naura with Honnāvūru appears to be more appropriate. Not only is the similarity between Naura

14. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201. On its identification with Dabhol, read *Imp. Gaz.* XI, p. 100.

15. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

16. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 201; *History of Guj. (Bombay Gaz.)*, p. 546.

17. Schoff, *ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

18. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 202.

19. Schoff, *ibid.*, p. 202. Campbell's identification are the following:—Sesecriinae (or Sesetreienai) the Burnt Island; Aegidii or Aigidii the Aryediva Islands; Caenitae or Kainetai the Island of St. George; Chersonesus or Khersonesos Goa; and Leuke the Laccadives. *Hist. of Gry.*, p. 546.

20. Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

and Honnāvūru more striking than the one relating to Naura and Cananore (the latter being perhaps the "town of Kannan"), but the historical facts concerning Honnāvūru enable us to assert that that town was one of greater antiquity and has played a greater part in the history of the Indo-European relations than the town of Cananore. The antiquity of Honnāvūru dates to the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is alleged that Honnāvūru was no other than Hanuvara-dvīpa, or Hanūra-dvīpa, its patron being Hanumanta or Hanuman himself.²¹ It is one of the islands near the mouth of the Śarāvati which is responsible for the famous falls of Gerosoppe. The principal island was later on fortified by the Keladi king Sivappa Nāyaka, its present name being Basava Rāja Durga.²² If this ancient tradition could be trusted, then, it is obvious that Honnāvūru cannot be derived from the name of Poona, the chief (*arasu*), who is mentioned in an inscription found at Kekkar in the Honnāvūru taluka, North Kanara district, and dated Śaka 900 (A.D. 978).²³ There is, no doubt, that Honnāvūru came into prominence in the eleventh century A.D. This is proved by a stone inscription dated Śaka 1002 (A.D. 1080), and found in the Caṇḍeśvara temple at Halḍipura in the Honnāvūru taluka. In this record we are informed that the Kadamba chieftain Kāvadeva, who bore the title of *Ponnāvūrapuravarādhiśvara* (Lord of Honnāvūru, the best of cities), fought for the capture of the Ponnāvūru fort (*kote*) in that year, and seized it from his opponent Nāgavarma Deva of Gokarna.²⁴ Honnāvūru continued to be a

21. Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Intr. p. xxx. Hanuvaradvīpa was one of the seventy-seven islands on the western coast of India, forming a part of the Ghorāṣṭra, according to tradition (Cf. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, I. *History of Tuluva*, p. 17. n (1). This Honnāvūru is not to be confounded with its namesake in the Nirggundanād, which is mentioned in A.D. 1149, and again in circa A.D. 1174 (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Hn. 65, p. 20; Hn. 67, 68, 69, p. 20); nor with another Honnāvūru in the Avinahalli hobli in Keladi, mentioned in A.D. 1210-1247 (*Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923, p. 70; nor with an unidentified Honnāvūru mentioned in A.D. 1278 (*Ep. Car.* IX, Ch. 65, p. 144); nor with still another Honnāvūru in the Dudda hobli of the Hassan Taluka. (*My. Arch. Rep.* for 1942, p. 171).

22. Rice, Lewis, *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, p. 279 (1st. ed.).

23. This derivation from Ponna is made by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in his *Report for 1941-1946*, p. 5.

24. Panchamukhi, *Report for 1941-1946*, p. 6. For a reference to the same Honnāvūru in the same year, read *My. Arch. Report for 1928*, pp. 71-72.

prominent fortress in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Gerasoppe rulers turned it into one of their strongholds.²⁵

Its importance as a trans-oceanic commercial mart is evident when we note reference to it in the writings of foreign travellers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: All of them confirm the fact that it was an important trade centre. Ibn Batuta of Tangiers (born A.D. 1304, died 1377-78), who was the ambassador of Sultan Muhammad Tughlak at the court of the Emperor of China, on embarking from Cambay (called by him Kinbaiyyat, Khambāyāt) relates that on his way to Calcut he was honourably received by the king of Hunawar (Honnāvūru).²⁶ That it was one of the major ports of Western India from where foreigners sailed for the Persian Gulf, is proved by the fact that Abdur Razzāk, the ambassador of the king Shah Rukh of Persia to the Vijayanagara court (A.D. 1419), on his return voyage left Mangalore and reached Onore (Honnāvūru) from where he took the passage to Ormuz. The voyage from Onore to Ormuz, we may note by the way, lasted for 65 days.²⁷ It took two days for another Western traveller Luduvico di Varthema, a Bolognese, who travelled in India and the Eastern seas from A.D. 1503 to 1508, to arrive at Onore from Centacola (Ankola).²⁸ In A.D. 1505 Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India, on the pretext of paying a friendly visit went to Onore, where on not being well received, he burnt that town and a number of ships stationed there. But in this unprovoked attack Dom Francisco de Almeida received a wound from an arrow shot by the defenders. The fortress, according to the Portuguese historians, was under Timoja,²⁹ whom they called a pirate, and who played a prominent part in the history of the Indo-Portuguese relations of the sixteenth century. Indeed, Honnāvūru figures rather conspicuously in the history of this

25. *My. Arch. Report* for 1928, p. 93. I have discussed the importance of Honnāvūru elsewhere. See my *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, I, pp. 70-71.

26. Ibn Baluta, *Travels*, p. 231 (Gibb's Trans. 1953); *Travels*, pp. 165-166 (Lec.).

27. Abdur Razzāk in Elliot-Dawson, *History of India as told by Her Own Historians*, IV, p. 124.

28. Varthema, pp. 121-122 (Jone's trans.).

29. Danvers, C. F. *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 120. See also *ibid.*, pp. 61, 81.

period. The English recognized the importance of Honnāvūru early in the seventeenth century. In the list of the chief places where "sondry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies", Richard Hakluyt, "Historiographer of the East India Company", mentions between the years 1601 and 1616, that the pepper of Malabar was embarked at "Onor, Barbelor, Mangalore, Cananor, Cranganor, Cochin, and Coulan".³⁰ The evidence of Richard Hakluyt that, so late as the first quarter of the seventeenth century pepper grown in Malabar was exported in addition to the ports in Malabar itself, also from Onor, Barzelor, (Basrur) and Mangalore, is highly important, particularly in relation to the identification of certain ports mentioned by Cosmos in A.D. 600, which we shall enumerate later on. In A.D. 1670 the English built a factory at Honnāvūru which came to be called the "Bulldog of Onore", because of the following incident. This factory was subordinate to Tellichery. In that year John Best, the chief of the English factory, got a fine English bulldog from the captain of a ship. On the ship sailing away, Best and seventeen persons who made up the factory staff, went out to hunt with the bulldog along with them. When they were passing through the town, the dog seized a cow belonging to the local temple and killed it. This infuriated the mob which murdered all the members of factory. Some persons who were friends of the English, made a grave and buried all the factors in it. The name of the factor and the number of the staff are revealed in the stone on the grave, which the neighbouring English factory chief of Karwar had sent to Honnāvūru.³¹ The English continued to have their factory at Honnāvūru in A.D. 1702-1709.³²

The evidence of the anonymous author of the *Periplus* enables us to affirm the following:—That in the first century A.D. there were at least two famous inland centres of trade in ancient Karnāṭaka, viz., Paithan and Tagara, while on the coast there were Byzantion and Honnāvūru. It seems as if we are to assume that in the first century A.D. there were few centres of oceanic trade in western Karnāṭaka, according to the anonymous author of the

30. Birdwood George, *A Report*, etc., pp. 5, 6, 202.

31. Hamilton, Alexander, Captn. *New Account of the East Indies*, I, p. 280 (London, MCCCXXVII).

32. Birdwood, *ibid.*, p. 233.

Periplus cited above. But it may as well be that that author, who never visited the western coast of Karnāṭaka, did not have access to contemporary or earlier works of travellers who were conversant with the ports of Karnāṭaka. Or it may as well be that in the first century A.D. the trans-oceanic trade of Karnāṭaka was not of such magnitude as to have many ports, and that it increased in volume only in the second century A.D. when we have, as we shall see later on, ample evidence of many towns both on the coast and in the interior of Karnāṭaka which came to the notice of foreign historians and geographers.

Of these foreign historians and geographers, the earliest is Pliny, while the most important is Ptolemy. Pliny lived from A.D. 23 till A.D. 79. He published his work styled *Natural History* in A.D. 77 in which he gives fairly full account of India chiefly drawn from the account of Megasthenes.³³ In this work (Book XXXVII) he writes thus:—"The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryls that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which they prefer to wear without gold; and hence, after piercing them, they string them upon elephant bristles. It is agreed that these beryls which are of perfect quality should not be perforated, but should merely be elased at their extremities with circlets of gold. They prefer therefore to cut them into the form of a cylinder rather than set them as precious stones, since those that are of greatest length are most in fashion. Some are of opinion that beryls are naturally angular and that piercing them adds to their splendour in consequence of the removal of the white substance within; while the reflection of the gold still further heightens their brilliance, and their thickness no longer mars their transparency The Indians by colouring crystals have found a way of imitating a variety of precious stones, especially beryls".³⁴ In a later context in the same work, Pliny writes about another precious stone, the opal, thus:—"Opals are at once very like and very unlike beryls, and are inferior in value to emeralds alone. India, too, is the sole mother of these precious stones, thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems".³⁵ While

33. *Hist. of Guj. (Bom. Gaz.)*, p. 538.

34. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 130.

35. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 130.

dealing with the opals, Pliny in a still later context writes thus:—"Paedoros of the finest quality is found in India, where it is called sangenen".³⁶

Historians have not commented upon the Paedoros, although they have certainly alluded to the beryls. In the above passages Pliny describes the use of beryls and opals, but he does not mention where the former was produced. About the latter namely, the opals, he does not explicitly state the name of the locality where the opals were found but merely calls them Paedoros. We shall presently see that Pliny's statement that beryls were produced in India is correct. It is only the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy whom we shall cite in a subsequent paper, who will mention the name of the Karnāṭaka kingdom where the beryl was produced. We are concerned here with the Paedoros of the finest quality mentioned by Pliny. This word Paedoros could have been no other than Padiyūr which was within the boundaries of ancient Karnāṭaka from the earliest times till almost our own days. Its other name is Pattiyāli. It is situated in the Dharāpuram tāluka of the Coimbatore district, Madras State. As Walhouse pointed out so early as A.D. 1876, here at Padiyūr was a mine of beryls. A.D. 1798 this mine was secretly worked out by the people of Padiyūr, and in A.D. 1819-20, a European planter rented the well, and obtained during one year 2196 beryls valued at £ 1201. The mine, however, exhausted and water broke in.³⁷ Since the kingdom of Punnāṭa which is not mentioned by Pliny but mentioned by Ptolemy, was conterminous with the northern boundary of Coimbatore district, we may not be wrong in assuming that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Padiyūr formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Punnāṭa. Pliny's explicit statement that Paedoros was of the finest quality found in India, therefore, refers to the opals looking very much like beryls and very much unlike beryls, found at Padiyūr.³⁸

36. McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 134.

37. *Ep. Car. IV. Intr.* p. 4.

38. Professor E. H. Warmington admits that Padiyūr in the Coimbatore district was one of the beryl centres of South India. (Warmington, E. H., *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 250, Cambridge, 1928). But he does not either identify Paedoros with Padiyūr or justify the identification as I have done.

Pliny could not have had any idea of the importance of beryls and the opals if they had not been famous articles of trade between the western part of Karnāṭaka, Egypt and the Roman Empire. In other words, we are led to conclude that there was a brisk export trade in these precious stones from western Karnāṭaka to Rome. This was during the age of the Roman Emperor Augustus, and later on of Emperor Tiberius. Proof of the close contact between western Karnāṭaka and the Roman Empire which is thus noticeable from the writings of Pliny is found in the discovery of Roman coins in Paidūr itself and of the silver *denarii* of Emperor Augustus at Chitaldroog, Mysore State.³⁹

The reference to beryls and other precious stones in the Bible, we may add, clearly proves that the former precious stones were already known in the regions around Egypt and Asia Minor in the early centuries of the Christian era. The following is related in the Bible:—"Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering; the sardins, the topaz, the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created".⁴⁰ Since on the strength of the evidence of Pliny confirmed by that of Ptolemy, the beryl was exclusively the product of two ancient regions of Karnāṭaka, viz., the kingdom of Punnāṭa and the locality called Padiyūr, we may conclude that it was only the beryls of Karnāṭaka that had found their way to the palace of the Prince of Tyrus mentioned in the Bible.

39. *Ep. Carn. IV. Intr.* p. 4; *My Arch. Report for 1909*, p. 30; *ibid.* for 1910, p. 44; 1922, p. 22; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 15, n (1).

40. First pointed out by Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, V, p. 237.

A Few Thoughts on Jainism

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Jainism has many distinct features of its own. Historically it occupies a place mid-way between Brahmanism on the one hand and Buddhism on the other. The Jaina motto of life is ascetic or stoic. The path to happiness and prosperity lies through self-denial, self-abnegation and self-mortification.

Principle of ahimsā or non-harming

Ahimsā or non-harming is the first principle of higher life, which Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, inculcated upon his disciples and followers. Pārśva laid stress on the doctrine of *ahimsā*. Its visible effect was sought to be shown how the brute creation happily responded to the non-harming and compassionate attitude of men. The attainment of *nirvāṇa* is the highest goal. The practice of *tapas* or austerities marks and characterises all the prescriptions, practices, and disciplines in Jainism. By purity of heart one reaches *nirvāṇa*, which consists in peace.¹

Nirvāṇa the highest goal

Nirvāṇa is freedom from pain and is difficult of approach.² It is the safe, happy, and quiet place which the sages reach. An ascetic will by means of his simplicity enter the path of *nirvāṇa*. He who possess virtuous life and conduct, who has practised the best self-control, who keeps himself aloof from sinful influences, and who has destroyed *karma* will surely obtain *mukti* or salyation or deliverance. In Buddhism *nirvāṇa* is declared by the Buddhas as the highest condition (*paramaṃ*). It is the greatest happiness (*paramaṃ sukhaṃ*). With the vision of *nirvāṇa*, the sinful nature vanishes for ever (*atthaṃ gacchanti āsavā*). With the Jainas *parinirvāṇa* is the last fruit or final consummation of

1. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 8.18.

2. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 612; *Vinaya*, I, 8; *ibid.*, II, 156; *Dhammapada*, V, 204.

the highest perfection attained by man or attainable in human life.³

Parinirvāṇa and mokṣa

But with them *parinirvāṇa* is the same term as *nirvāṇa*,⁴ or *mokṣa* meaning final liberation which is attained on the complete waning out or exhaustion of the accumulated strength or force of *karma*. The liberation is not anything unreal but the best thing. It can be realised by a man in the highest condition of aloofness and transcendentality of himself.⁵ *Mokṣa* is the essential point in the teachings of Mahāvīra which is generally understood as emancipation. It really means the attainment of the highest state of sanctification by the avoidance of pains and miseries of worldly life. Even at this stage the soul appears to be the same without the least change in its condition. It is the state of perfect beatitude. It may also mean final deliverance or liberation from the fetters of worldly life and total annihilation or extinction of human passion.⁶

In Jainism, however, *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* is not like the Buddhist *parinirvāṇa* which suggests an idea of the complete annihilation of the individuality of a saint after death by the simile of the total extinction of a burning lamp on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick.⁷ So the point is discussed in the Jaina *Mokṣasiddhi*. "Would you really think (with the Buddhist) that *nirvāṇa* is a process of extinction of human soul which is comparable to the process of extinction of a burning lamp (on the exhaustion of the oil and the wick)?"⁸ The hearer is advised not to think like that. For with the Jainas *nirvāṇa* is nothing but a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul in which it remains eternally and absolutely free from passion, hatred, birth, decay,

3. Kalpasūtra, Jacobi's Ed., 120—*Tassaṇaṃ...anuttarenam nāṇaṇaṃ...damsanenaṃ...caritenaṃ...ālaṇaṃ...vihārenaṃ...virieṇaṃ...ajjavenaṃ...maddavenaṃ...laghavenaṃ...khamti...mutti...gutti...tupphie...Buddhi...*sacca-saṃyama-tavasucariya-sovacariya-phala-parinirvāṇa...

4. Ibid., j. 187—*tammi samae Mahāvīro nirvuo.*

5. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 10, 12.

6. Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra, XXVIII, 30.

7. Cf. Āśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda Kāvya, 16. vv. 28-29.

"Dipoyathānirvritimabhyupetosāntim."

8. Mannasi kiṃ divassa ca nāso nirvāṇam assa jivassa?—Abhidhāna-Rajendra, sub roce Nibbāna.

disease and the like because of the complete waning out of all causes of *dukkha* or suffering.⁹

Soul in Jainism

Jainism cherishes a theory of soul as an active principle in contradistinction to the *Vedānta* or *Sāṃkhya* doctrine of soul as a passive principle. Buddhism repudiates it. The plurality of souls is a point in Jaina philosophy, which is the same as in the *Sāṃkhya* system. The Jainas developed a cosmographical gradation of beings, more or less in agreement with those adopted in other systems. Both the systems necessitate a careful consideration of the cosmical, biological, embryological, physical, mental and moral positions of the living individuals of the world as a whole. These constitute the scientific background of the two systems of thought. These also constitute the scientific background of *Vedānta* and Buddhism.

The unalterable nature of soul

The Jainas do not deny the existence of the soul as an external substance with consciousness as its fundamental attribute.

They admit the unalterable character of the soul.¹⁰ The soul is imperishable and eternal by its very nature. It is one of the six substances. It is susceptible to the influence of *karma*, which consists of acts that produce effects on the nature of soul. The wearing out of the accumulated effects of *karma* on the soul by the practice of austerities lies in *nirjarā* (*tapasā nirjarā ca—Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, xxviii, 11).

Jain belief in the transmigration of soul

The Jaina belief is a belief in the transmigration of soul, a point in which it differs from Buddhist conception of rebirth without any transmigration of soul from embodiment to embodiment. In Jainism everybody has an individual soul. These souls exist as long as the bodies exist but after death they are no more. There are no souls which are re-born. Souls and substances do not undergo any change. They are liable to change due to changes in circumstances.

9. *Sato vidyamānasya jīvasya viśiṣṭā kācid avasthā Kathaṃbhūḍ? Rāga-dveṣa-janmajarārogādīduhkhaksayarūpā.*

10. Cf. Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 12. 21; Majjhima, I, Sutta No XIV; Cf. Sutta No. LXXVI; Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I, 6. 27; I, 10. 17.

Soul in Hinduism and Buddhism

It is interesting to note what the Hindus, the Buddhists and the others think of soul. The Hindus believe in rebirth through the transmigration of soul from one body to another. The soul of a man apparently unconscious, is invited to come back to him from the trees, herbs, the sky, the sun, etc. It is described as being separable from his body and subject to suffering and enjoyment in another world according to his good or bad deeds. According to the *Cāndogya Upaniṣad* (VI. 11) the soul does not die. A soul in the pre-Buddhistic *Upaniṣads* is supposed to exist inside each human body. In the living body in its ordinary state the soul dwells in a cavity in the heart.¹¹ The soul is like a smoke coloured wool, a flash of lightning,¹² flame, white lotus, etc. When it returns to the body, life and motion reappear. It escapes from the body at death and then continues to carry on an everlasting life of its own.¹³ There are passages in the *Upaniṣads* which suppose the soul to have existed before birth in some other body.¹⁴ There is an almost entire unanimity of opinion in the *Upaniṣads* that the soul will not obtain release from rebirth either by the performance of sacrifice in this birth or by the practice of penance.

According to the *Śrīmadbhagavadgītā* the soul is indestructible (II. v. 19; Cf. II. vs. 17 and 30). It is immeasurable (II. v. 18). It is unborn, eternal, permanent and old; if the body is lost, the soul is not lost (II. v. 20). The soul enters into a new body after leaving the old body (II. v. 22). It is all-pervading, firm, immovable and perpetual (II. vs. 23-24). It is indescribable, unthinkable and unchangeable (II. v. 25).

Exact Nature of Soul

As regards the exact nature of soul there are different views. The *Nyāya* calls it absolutely qualityless and characterless, indeterminate unconscious entity. *Sāṃkhya* describes it as being of the nature of pure consciousness. According to the *Vedānta* it is that fundamental point of unity implied in pure consciousness, pure bliss and pure being. *Mīmāṃsā* has to accept the existence

11. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, IV, 3. 7; V. 6; *Cāndogya*, VIII. 3. 3; *Taittirīya*, I, 6. 1.
12. Cf. Avicenna's poem on soul.
13. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1899.
14. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka*, III, 2. 13; IV, 4. 6. Cf. *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, II, 3. 2.

of soul. All of them agree that the soul is pure and unsullied in its nature and that all impurities of action or passion do not form a real part of it. When all impurities are removed and the pure nature of the self is perfectly understood and other extraneous connections with it are absolutely dissociated, the highest good of life is attained.¹⁵

The *Upaniṣadic* idea of the transmigration of soul has been illustrated in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* by the simile of a grass-leech (*triṇajalauka*) which passes from the end of one blade of grass to that of another. But this analogy has been found to be untenable by the *Bhela Saṃhitā*.

In early Buddhism the soul is feeling happy, painful or neutral.¹⁶ The soul after death is not subject to decay and is conscious. It has form, is formless, finite, infinite, both or neither; it has one mode of consciousness, various modes of consciousness, infinite consciousness; it is altogether happy, altogether miserable, is both and is neither.¹⁷ The Buddha denies the doctrine that the soul is identical with the body or the reverse.¹⁸ The soul and body are not the same. The soul is neither reborn nor dissolved like *Nirvāṇa*. It is permanent, unchangeable and unaffected by sorrow. As pointed out in the *Milindapañha* (pp. 55-57) there is no such thing as soul. Transmigration is defined in the following manner.¹⁹ A being born here dies here. Having died there he is reborn elsewhere. Having been born there, he dies there. This is what is meant by transmigration. In early Buddhism there cannot be any such process as transmigration in the usual sense of the term. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism the existence of soul is denied. The non-*Sāutrāntika* and the non-*Vaibhāsika* schools of Buddhism of early times agreed with the *Theravāda* Buddhists in denying the existence of a permanent soul and a permanent external world. A soul is in reality a bundle of elements or forces (*saṃskārasamūha*) and a stream of thought (*santāna*). It contains nothing permanent or substantial, it is *anātma* or soulless.²⁰ Buddhism does not see the

15. Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 75.
16. *Digha*, II, 66 ff.
17. *Digha*, I, p. 31.
18. *Saṃyutta*, II, 75 ff; III, 135.
19. *Milindapañha*, p. 77.
20. Stcherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 8.

necessity of accepting a permanent soul, because it believes that the *Khandhas* or the constituent elements are always changing and that the mental state is also changing with them.^{20a} In fact the Buddha denies that there exists anything equivalent to that which in other systems is called the soul.

The Jains hold that the soul while on the first step (*mith-yātvagunasthānaka*) is completely under the influence of *karma* and knows nothing of the truth. The soul whirling round and round in the cycle of rebirth, loses some of its crudeness and attains to the state which enables it to distinguish between what is false and what is true. A soul remains in an uncertain condition, one moment knowing the truth and the next doubting it.

Iranian view of soul

According to the greatest Arabian Philosopher, Avicenna, soul is a unity. There cannot be any transmigration of souls. Every living being is conscious of his own soul. He cannot think that he possesses two souls (*Avicenna number of the Indo-Iranica*, January, 1953). The soul is in fact individual and therefore does not exist before the body to which it is joined (Wickens, *Avicenna: Scientist and Philosopher*, p. 118). The soul does not inhere in the body but it has an inherent inclination towards the body. In every act of every faculty the soul operates. The soul is created at the same time as the body is formed and is to a certain extent in harmony with the body. The condition of compatibility with the body makes metempsychosis impossible. (Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, p. 275).²¹

The Jains followed a tradition of Indian thought which took a hylozoistic view of nature that there is nothing formed even in the world of matter, nothing which exists in space and time and which does not represent some kind or form or type of *Jīva*. It is assumed that all of them are in the process of development or evolution in the physical structures, modes of generation, foods and drinks, deportments behaviours, actions, thoughts, ideas, knowledge, intelligence and the like.

20a. Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 133.

21. For a detailed study vide my *Avicenna and his Theory of Soul* published in the *Avicenna Volume of the Iran Society*, Calcutta.

Earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives in Jainism

So we need not be astonished when Jainism speaks of earth-lives, water-lives, fire-lives and wind-lives, each with its numerous subdivisions. Rocks, salt, arid, various metals in the shape of iron, lead, gold, diamond, corals, gems etc. are included in earth-lives. Rain water, hot springs, dew, saline water of the sea, etc. are included in water-lives. Lightings, thunderbolts, luminaries, etc. are included in fire-lives. Storms, intermittent winds, high winds, etc. are included in air-lives. According to the Jains purely material bodies are also held as *Jīvas* (vide *Jīvājīvābhigama Upāṅga*,—Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Chap. XV).

Jīva and ajīva in Jainism

The *Nāyādharmakāhā* (Ed. Vaidya, pp. 73, 75) refers to the principles of *jīva* and *ajīva* (*ahigaya jīvā-jīve*). The characteristic feature of the physical body which forms an aspect of *ajīva*, is that it is full of impurities, perishable and subject to change and decay.

Puggala, *attā*, *satta* and *jīva* are the four terms which occur in Buddhism in connection with all discussions relating to individual, individuality, personality, self and soul.²² As a biological term *puggala* is nowhere used to deny the existence of an individual being or a living person. The particular individual or individuals are beings that exist in fact, grow in time and ultimately die. The individuals are signified by some names arbitrarily fixed. The personal name is only a conventional device to denote an individual and to distinguish him from other individuals. It has no connotation beyond this symbolism.

Buddhist Pudgala

In the *Abhidhamma* literature of the Buddhists *puggala* is equal to character or soul. According to the Buddhists an individual has no real existence. The term *puggala* does not mean anything real. It is only apparent truth (*sammutisacca*) as opposed to real truth (*paramattha sacca*). A *puggalavadin's* view is that the person is known in the sense of real and ultimate fact. But he is not known in the same way as other real and ultimate facts are known. He or she is known in the sense of a

22. *Kathāvatthu*, I, p. 28.

real or ultimate fact and his or her material quality is also known in the sense of a real or ultimate fact. But it cannot truly be said that the material quality is one thing and that the person another, nor can it be truly predicted that the person is related or absolute, conditioned or unconditioned, eternal or temporal, or whether the person has external features or whether he is without any. One who has material quality in the sphere of matter is a person, but it cannot be said that one who experiences desires of sense in the sphere of sense-desire, is a person. The genesis of the person is apparent and his passing away and duration are also distinctively apparent. But it cannot be said that the person is conditioned.²³

Pudgala in Jainism

According to the *Tattvārthadhigama Sūtra* *puggala* is one of the non-soul extensive substances. The other non-soul extensive substances are *dharma*, *adharma*, *ākāśa* and *kāya*.

Organic world characterised by gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death. Development of atomic theory:

According to the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (XV. 1), the organic world is characterised by six constant and opposed phenomena, viz., gain and loss, pleasure and pain, life and death. It clearly presupposes the development of atomic theory (*paramāṇuvāda*) in Indian philosophy. Each atom is the smallest unitary whole or matter (*pudgala*). Each of them is characterised by its internal cohesion (*siṃha*). We cannot speak of a half atom since an atom is an invisible unit of matter. With the division it ceases to be an atom (*paramāṇōḥ ardhikarāṇe paramānutvābhāvaprasaṅgāt*). A molecule (*aṇu*) is a combination of atoms more than one. An aggregate of matter results from an organic combination of five molecules.

Eight kinds of karma

The eight kinds of *karma* according to the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*²⁴ are the following:

23. Cf. Kathāvatthu on Puggala; Law, *Designation of Human Types*, Introduction, PTS publication; Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chap. VII.

24. *Attha Kammāṃ vocchāmi evameyāi kammāṃ attheva u samāsao* (xxxiii, pp. 1-3).

(1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya Karma* which acts as an obstruction to right knowledge;

(2) *Darśanāvaraṇīya karma* which acts as an obstruction to right faith;

(3) *Vedanīya Karma* which leads to experiencing pleasure or pain;

(4) *Mohanīyakarma* which leads to delusion;

(5) *Āyukarma* which determines the length of life;

(6) The sixth *karma* known as *nāmakarma* which determines the name or individuality of the embodied soul. *Nāma-karma* has many divisions. The seventh kind is *gotra-karma*. It is the *gotra* or the caste which determines a man's life, his occupation, the locality in which he may live, his marriage, his religious observances and even his food. There are two chief divisions of this *karma*. It decides whether a living being shall be born in a high or in a low caste family. The *antarāya-karma* is the last and the eighth kind.²⁵ Here *karma* always stands as an obstacle, e.g., *lābhāntarāya*, *bhogāntarāya*, *upabhogāntarāya* and *vīryāntarāya*. There are four kinds of *ghātiyakarma* (destructive *karma*) which retain the soul in mundane existence. The Jains believe that, as soon as the man reaches the state of an *ayogīkevalīguṇa-sthānaka*, all his *karma* is purged away and he proceeds at once to *moksa* (salvation) as a *siddha* or a perfected one

Various types of Kriyāvāda

The Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.6.27; 1.10.17) speaks of various types of *kriyāvāda* then current in India. Buddhism was promulgated as a form of *kriyāvāda* or *karmavāda*. According to Mahāvīra, *kriyāvāda* of Jainism is sharply distinguished from *akriyāvāda* (doctrine of non-action), *ajñānavāda* (scepticism) and *vinayavāda* (formalism) precisely as in the words of the Buddha. The *kriyāvāda* of Buddhism is distinguished from *Sathāpadāṣṭi* involving various types of *akriyā*, *vicikitsā* (scepticism) and *śīlavarataparāmarśa* (Pāli *Sīlabbataparāmāsa*, (formalism)).²⁶ To

25. *Antarāya* is fivefold as preventing gifts, profits, momentary enjoyment, continuous enjoyment and power, S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 183.

26. *Suttanipāṭa*, V. 231 (*Sīlabbataṃ vā pi yad atthi kiñci*); *Juḍḍakapāṭha*, p. 5.

arrive at a correct understanding of the doctrinal significances of *kriyāvāda* of Jainism, it is necessary not only to know how it has been distinguished from *akriyāvāda*, *ajñānavāda* and *vinayavāda* but also from other types of *kriyāvāda*. The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* mentions some types of *akriyāvāda* :

Some types of akriyāvāda

(1) On the dissolution of the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind and air), living beings cease to exist. On the dissolution of the body the individual ceases to be. Everybody has an individual soul. The soul exists as long as the body exists.

(2) When a man acts or causes another to act, it is not his soul which acts or causes to act.²⁷

(3) The five elements and the soul which is a sixth substance are imperishable.

(4) Pleasure, pain, and final beatitude are not caused by the souls themselves but individual souls experience them.

(5) The world has been created or is governed by gods. It is produced from chaos.²⁸

(6) The world is boundless and eternal. It may be noted here that all these views which are reduced to four main types correspond to those associated in the Buddhist *Nikāyas* with four leading thinkers of the time,^{28a} e.g., atheism like that of Ajita, eternalism like that of Kātyāyana, absolutism like that of Kāśyapa and fatalism like that of Gośāla.

Six heretical teachers and their views.

Makkhali Gośāla was the propounder of the theory of evolution of individual things by natural transformation. Ajita was to point out that the particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole.²⁹ The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I.1.3) states that his was really a theory of the passivity of soul. The logical postulate of Kavandin Kātyāyana's philosophy was no other than the Perme-

27. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. 1. 3. 5-8.

28. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I. 1. 1. 13. IA. Law, *Historical gleanings*, Chap. III.

28a. A. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Chap. III.

29. *Ibid.*, II. 1. 15-17.

median doctrine of being. Nothing comes out of nothing.³⁰ From nothing comes nothing, what is does not perish.³¹

Atman a living individual, a biological entity.

Atman is a living individual, a biological entity. The whole self does not outlast the destruction of the body. With the body ends life. No soul exists apart from the body. The five substances with the soul as the sixth are not directly or indirectly created. They are eternal. All things have the *ātman*, self or ego for their cause and object; they are produced by the self; they are manifested by the self; they are infinitely connected with the self, and they are bound up in the self. One man admits action and another does not admit. Both men are alike. Their case is the same because they are actuated by the same force, i.e., by fate. It is their destiny that all beings come to have a body to undergo the vicissitudes of life and to experience pleasure and pain. Each of these types stands as an example of *akriyāvāda* in as much as it fails to inspire moral and pious action or to make an individual responsible for an action and its consequences.³²

Ajñānavāda and Vinayavāda

According to the *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, *ajñānavāda* is nothing but the inefficiency of knowledge. Some think that the upholders of *ajñānavāda* pretend to reason incoherently and they do not get beyond the confusion of their ideas.³³ The *vinayavāda* may be taken to have been the same doctrine as the *śīlabbataparāmāsa* in Buddhism. The *śīlabbataparāmāsa* is a view of those who hold that the purity of oneself may be reached through the observance of some moral precepts or by means of keeping some prescribed vows. According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I.12.4) the upholders of *vinayavāda* assert that the goal of religious life is realised by conformation to the rules of discipline.

It is interesting to know the types of *kriyāvāda* that do not come up to the standard of Jainism. The soul of a man who is pure, will become free from bad *karma* on reaching beatitude but

30. *Noya uppajjae asaṃ.*

31. *asato nacci sambhavo, sato nacci vindaṇo.*

32. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II, 1. 5. 34.

33. *Ibid.*, I. 12. 2.

in that state it will again become defiled through pleasant excitement or hatred.

If a man with the intention of killing a baby hurts a gourd mistaking it for a baby, he will be guilty of murder. If a man with the intention of roasting a gourd roasts a baby, mistaking him for a gourd, he will not be guilty of murder. Mahāvira holds that the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action and not by any other cause. Pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action. Individually a man is born, individually he dies, individually he falls and individually he rises. His passions, consciousness, intellect, perceptions and impressions belong to the individual exclusively. All living beings owe their present form of existence to their own *karma*. According to the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.12.15) the sinners cannot annihilate their work by new work, the pious annihilate their work by abstention from work.

Doctrine of Karma

All the Indian systems believe that whatever action is done by an individual, it leaves behind it some sort of potency, which has the power to ordain for him joy or sorrow in the future, according as it is good or bad. According to the *Samhitās* he who commits wicked deeds suffers in another world, whereas he who performs good deeds, enjoys the highest material pleasures.³⁴ According to the popular Hindu belief *karma* is a sum-total of man's action in a previous birth, determining his future destiny which is unalterable. Its effect remains until it is exhausted through suffering or enjoyment. The doctrine of *karma* is accepted in all the main systems of Indian philosophy and religion as an article of faith. The Buddha is generally credited with the propounding of the doctrine, but there is a clear statement in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, (Vol. I, p. 483) to show that the doctrine had not originated with the Buddha. It was propounded before his advent by an Indian teacher who was a householder. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* and in the teachings of Yājñavalkya, we meet with a clear formulation of the doctrine of *karma*. The Buddhist doctrine of *karma* is nothing but a further elucidation of it in the *Upaniṣad*. According to the *Majjhima Nikāya* (III,

34. Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 71-72

p. 203), the doctrine is emphatically formulated thus: '*Karma* is one's own, a man is an inheritor of his *karma*, one finds one's birth according to his or her *karma*, *karma* is one's own kith, and *karma* is one's own refuge, *karma* divides beings into higher or lower'. The Buddhists approached the problem from a purely mental point of view. The *Mahāniddeśa* (I, pp. 117-18) points out that a man need not be afraid of the vast accumulation of *karma* through a long cycle of births and deaths. For consideration from the point of view of mind, the whole of such accumulation may be completely undone by a momentary action of mind. Mind is in its own place and as such can make and unmake all such accumulations of *karma*. In Buddhism much importance is given to action and mental state. Accordingly *karma* came to be defined as *cetanā* or volition. A person cannot be held morally or legally responsible for his own action, if it is not intentional. Thus the Buddhist teachers tried to define *karma* on a rational and practical basis. This viewpoint has been criticised in the Jaina *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. It is quite clear that in Buddhism the world exists through *karma* and people live through *karma* (*kammaṇa vattati loko, kammanā vattati pajā*).

Painful condition of the self

In the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (1.12.11) we find that the painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action; it is not brought about by any other cause, such as, fate, creator, chance or the like (*Sayaṃkādāṇca dukkhaṃ nāṇṇakādaṃ*). According to Śīlāṅka the *kriyāvādins* contend that works alone, by themselves, without knowledge lead to *mokṣhā*.³⁵ The same idea is found in the Buddhist *Nikāyas*—*sukhadukkhaṃ sayaṃkataṃ* in contradistinction to *sukhadukkhaṃ paraṃkataṃ*. In Buddhism pleasure and pain are brought about by one's own action.³⁶ *Sukha* and *dukkha* (pleasure and pain) are conceived as two distinct principles, one of attraction, integration and concord and the other of repulsion, disintegration and discord. In Buddhism *dukkha* is taken in a most comprehensive sense so as to include in it danger, disease, waste, and all that constitutes the basis or the cause of suffering.

35. Jaina Sūtras, II, S.B.E., p. 317 n.

36. *Anguttara Nikāya*, III, 440 (*Sayaṃkādāṇca paraṃkādāṇca sukha-dukkhaṃ*); *Samyutta Nikāya*, II, p. 22.

Sukha-dukkha, roga-aroga

Roga (disease) which is an instance of dukkha is defined as that condition of the self, physical self, when the different organs do not function together in harmony and which are attended with a sense of uneasiness. Ārogya or health, the opposite of disease, is defined as that condition of self when all the organs function together in harmony and are attended with a sense of ease. Thus we see that the problem of suffering is essentially rooted in the feeling of discord or disparity. Birth, decay or death is not in itself dukkha or suffering.

Merit and Demerit

The categories of merit and demerit comprehend all acts, pious and painful. The actions leading to the good karma which brings peace of mind are called punya. Punya is of various kinds: annapunya (merit acquired by giving food to the deserving people), pānapunya (merit acquired by giving water to the thirsty) vastrapunya (merit acquired by giving clothes to the poor, especially to the monks), layanapunya (merit acquired by building or lending a house to a monk), sayanapunya (merit acquired by providing seats and beds), manapunya (merit acquired by thinking good of every one), kūyapunya (merit acquired by saving a life or rendering service), vacanapunya (merit acquired by speaking without hurting anybody's feelings) and namaskārapunya (merit acquired by reverent salutation. There are various kinds of pāpa or sin. Jivahiṃsā (life-slaughter) is the most heinous of all crimes according to the Jains. Sins are also acquired by speaking falsehood, dishonesty, unchastity, covetousness, anger, conceit, attachment and avarice.³⁷

Doctrine of nine terms

The doctrine of nine terms (navatattva) represents the main system of Jainism. It developed from the necessity for systematic exposition of kriyāvāda. Knowledge, faith and virtue are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra.

Right belief, right knowledge and right conduct

Right belief (samyak jñāna), right knowledge samyak darśana), and right conduct (samyak cāritra) constitute the path

37. Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra, XXVIII, 14.

to liberation and they are called three gems in Jainism, as the Buddha (the Enlightened), Dharma (the Doctrine), and Saṅgha (the order) are recognised in Buddhism as three gems (ratana-traya). Each of them can be considered in its threefold aspect, e.g., the subject, the object and the means. The knowledge which embraces concisely or in details the predicaments, as they are in themselves, is called the right knowledge and without which right conduct is impossible. (Nahar and Ghosh, *An Epitome on Jainism*, p. 35). In right knowledge there is the knower, the known, and the means of knowing. In right belief there is the believer, that which is believed and the means of believing. In right conduct there is the pursuer of conduct, conduct itself, and the means of conducting. The right belief is the basis upon which the other two rest. It is the cause and right knowledge is the effect. Right conduct is caused by right knowledge and implies both right knowledge and right belief. Right knowledge proceeds from right vision by a coherent train of thought and reasoning and which can lead to right conduct without which the attainment of the goal in vision will be impossible. The five kinds of knowledge are the following: (1) knowledge through the instrumentality of sense, (2) knowledge derived from the study of scriptures, (3) direct knowledge of matter within the limits of time and space, (4) direct knowledge of other's thoughts and (5) perfect knowledge. The five kinds of conduct according to the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (1, 1, 4, 10-13) are the following: Equanimity, recovery of equanimity after a downfall, pure and absolute non-injury, all but entire freedom from passion, and ideal and passionless state. Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, and right austerities are called the ārādhanās. Right belief depends on the acquaintance with truth, on the devotion to those who know the truth, and on the avoidance of schismatical and heretical tenets. There is no right conduct without right belief, and it must be cultivated for obtaining right faith; righteousness and conduct originate together or righteousness precedes conduct.³⁸

38. Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra, XXVIII, 28-29;

Paramatthasamīhavo vā suditṭhaparamatthasevanam vā vi /
Vāvaṇṇakūḍamsanavajjāṇā ya sammattasaddhaṇā //
Natthi carittam sammattavihūṇam dāmsane u bhāyavvam /
Sammattacarittam jugavam puṇnam vā sammattam //

Samyakdarśana is of two kinds: (1) belief with attachment, having the following signs; calmness (*praśama*), fear of mundane existence in five cycles of wanderings (*saṃvega*), substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*), thought-activity (*bhāva*) and compassion towards all living beings (*anukampā*); and the second kind of *samyakdarśana* is belief without attachment (the purity of the soul itself).

The right belief is attained by intuition and acquisition of knowledge from external sources, it is the result of subsidence (*upaśama*), destruction-subsidence (*kṣayaopaśama*) and destruction of right belief deluding *karma* (*darśanamohaniya karma*). Right belief is not identical with faith. It is reasoned knowledge. *Adhigama* is knowledge which is derived from intuition, external sources, e.g., precepts and scriptures. It is attained by means *pramāṇa* and *naya*. *Pramāṇa* is nothing but direct or indirect evidence for testing the knowledge of the self and the non-self. *Naya* is nothing but a standpoint which gives partial knowledge of a thing in some of its aspects.

Five kinds of right knowledge

Right knowledge is of five kinds: (1) knowledge through senses—knowledge of the self and the non-self through the agency of the senses of mind; (2) knowledge derived from the study of the scriptures; (3) direct knowledge of matter in various degrees with reference to subject-matter, space, time, and quality of the object known; (4) direct knowledge of thoughts of others, simple or complex; and (5) perfect knowledge. Knowledge (*antarāya*),³⁹ beliefs, charity, gain enjoyment re-enjoyment, power, faith and conduct are the nine kinds of energies (*vīryas*).

The road to final deliverance

The road to final deliverance depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith. The road as taught by the Jinās consists of (1) right knowledge, (2) faith, (3) conduct and (4) austerities. Human beings will obtain beatitude by following this road. According to the *Sūtrakritāṅga* knowledge is also derived from perception (*ābhiniḃodhika*). It is derived from one's own experience, thought or understanding. It is also

derived from supernatural knowledge (*avadhi-Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, 15-*Ohīṇā ābhoemāne*).

Avadhijñāna and Kevala or the highest knowledge and intuition

Manahparyāya or the knowledge of the thoughts of others and *kevala* or the highest and unlimited knowledge, are included in the category of fivefold knowledge. Knowledge of the distant non-sensible in time or space possessed by divine and internal souls is one of the five kinds of knowledge. The Buddhist *anta-nantajñāna* is evidently the same term as Jaina *avadhijñāna*. The Buddhist *aparisesa* occurring as a predicate of unlimited knowledge and vision is just the synonym of the Jain term *kevala* which is nothing but the highest knowledge and intuition.

Right faith, a stepping stone to knowledge

Samyadarśana or right faith consists in an insight into the meaning of truths as proclaimed and taught, a mental perception of the excellence of the system as propounded, a personal conviction as to the greatness and goodness of the teacher, and a ready acceptance of certain articles of faith for one's own guidance. It is intended to remove all doubts and scepticism from one's mind and to establish or re-establish faith. It is such a form of faith as is likely to inspire action by opening a new vista of life and its perfection. Right faith on the one hand and inaction and vacillation, on the other, are mutually incompatible. The Buddhist idea of right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) conveys the sense of faith or belief rather than that of any metaphysical view or theory. It is in some such sense that the Jains use the term *sammadaṃsana*. The Buddhist *sammādiṭṭhi* suggests an article of faith which consists in the acceptance of the belief that there is such a thing as gift, that there is such a thing as sacrifice, etc.⁴⁰ There cannot be right faith unless there is a clear pre-perception of the moral, intellectual or spiritual situation which is to arise. Right faith is that form of faith which is only a stepping stone to knowledge (*paññā* or *prajñā*).

Knowledge, faith and virtue

Jñāna, *darśana* and *cāritra* (knowledge, faith and virtue) are the three terms that signify the comprehensiveness of Jainism as taught by Mahāvīra. One should learn the real path leading

39. *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, Jacobi's Ed., p. 536.

40. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 285 ff.

to final deliverance which the Jinas have taught. It depends on four causes and is characterised by right knowledge and faith. Beings who follow this road will obtain beatitude.⁴¹ The *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* (XXVIII, 2-3)⁴² adds austerities as the fourth to the usual earlier list of three terms, namely, right knowledge, faith and conduct. The first kind of knowledge in Jainism corresponds to what the Buddhists call *sutamayāpaññā*; the second kind, to what they call *cintāmayāpaññā*; the third kind, to what they call *vilokana*; the fourth kind, to what they call *cetopariyāyāñāna*; and the fifth kind, to what they call *sabbaññutā* or omniscience consisting in three faculties; of reviewing and recalling to mind all past existences with details, of perceiving the destiny of other beings according to their deeds, and of being conscious of the final destruction of sins. (cf. *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 1.9.).

Avadhijñāna is rather knowledge which is co-extensive with the object other than knowledge which is supernatural. *Avadhi* here means that which is just sufficient to survey the field of observation.⁴³ The *maṇaḥpariyāyājñāna* is defined in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (II. 15.23) as a knowledge of the thoughts of all sentient beings. *Kevalajñāna* is defined as omniscience enabling a person to comprehend all objects and to know all conditions of the world of gods men and demons.⁴⁴ Knowledge as represented in the *Jaina Aṅgas* is rather religious vision, intention, or wisdom than knowledge in a metaphysical sense.

Cardinal principles of conduct

A man of knowledge is a man of faith and a man of faith is a man of action. Virtue consists in right conduct. There is no right conduct without right belief and no right belief without the right perception of truth.⁴⁵ The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. 1.2.27) points

41. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, XVIII, 1-3:

*Mokhamaggagaim taccam suneha Jinabhāsiyam /
Caukḍraṇasamjuttam nānadamsanakkhaṇam //
Nānam ca dāmsanam ceva carittam ca tavotahā /
Esa maggu tti pannatto Jinehim Varadamsihim //
Nānam ca dāmsanam ceva carittam ca tavo tahā /
Eyamaggamanuppattā Jivāgacchanti soggaṇim //*

42. *Jainasūtras*, SBE., II, 152.

43. Cf. *Kalpasūtra*, 15.

44. *Ācārāṅga*, II, 15. 25.

45. *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra*, XXVIII, 28. 29.

out that the threefold restraint namely, the restraint as regards body, speech, and mind, can enable a person to achieve the purity of morals, which is the quite the essence of right conduct. The first step to virtue lies in the avoidance of sins. There are three ways of committing sins: (1) by one's own activity; (2) by commission; and (3) by approval of the deed.⁴⁶ The cardinal principles of *cāritra* taught by Mahāvīra may be thus summed up: not to kill anything, to live according to the rules of conduct and without greed, to take care of the highest good, to control oneself always in walking, sitting and lying down, and in the matter of food and drink, to get rid of pride, wrath, deceit and greed, to possess the *saṃitis*, to be protected by the five *saṃvaras* (restraints) and to reach perfection by remaining unfettered among the fettered.⁴⁷

Right knowledge, faith and conduct, which are the three essential points in the teachings of Mahāvīra, constitute the path of Jainism, leading to the destruction of *Karma* and to perfection (*siddhi*).⁴⁸ Here destruction means the exhaustion of accumulated effects of action in the past and the stoppage of the future rise of such effects.

By the teaching of right knowledge, by the avoidance of ignorance and delusion and by the destruction of love and hatred, one arrives at deliverance which is nothing but bliss. Obstruction to knowledge is fivefold: (a) obstruction to knowledge derived from sacred books (*sūtra*); (b) obstruction to perception (*ābhiniḥbodhika*); (c) obstruction to supernatural knowledge (*avadhijñāna*); (d) obstruction to knowledge of the thoughts of others (*maṇaḥpariyāya*) and (e) obstruction to the highest, unlimited knowledge (*kevala*). The following are the different kinds of obstruction to right faith: sleep, very deep sleep a high degree of sleep in activity, and a state of deep-rooted greed. *Mohanīya* is twofold as referring to faith and conduct. The three kinds of *mohanīya* referring to faith are right faith, wrong faith, and faith partly right and partly wrong. The two kinds of *mohanīya* referring to conduct are: (1) what is experienced in

46. *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 1. 28.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 1. 4. 10-13.

48. *Ibid.*, I, 2. 1. 21. 22.

the form of the four cardinal passions and (2) what is experienced in the form of feelings different from them.⁴⁹

Darts in Jainism

Right knowledge is, in fact, knowledge of the Jain creed. When right knowledge is possessed, one can know what virtue is and what vows he ought to keep. To hold the truth as truth and the untruth as untruth, this is true faith. To a monk, right conduct means the absolute keeping of the five great vows.⁵⁰ His conduct should be perfect for he must follow the conduct laid down for him in every particular. A layman is only expected to possess partial conduct, for, so long as he is not a professed monk, he cannot be absolutely perfect in conduct. Right conduct can be ruined by three evil darts (*śalya*), the first of these is intrigue or fraud for no one can gain a good character whose life is governed by deceit. The next poisonous dart is false belief (*mithyātvaśalya*) which consists in holding a false god to be a true one, a false *guru* to be a true *guru*, and a false religion to be a true religion; by so doing one absolutely injures right knowledge and right faith which lead to right conduct. Covetousness (*nidānaśalya*) is the third poisonous dart which destroys right conduct. When a man is performing austerities, if he admits some such worldly thought into his mind as 'after this austerity I may have gained sufficient merit to become a king or a rich merchant', that very reflection being stained with covetousness, has destroyed, like a poisonous dart, all the merit that he might have gained through the act; in the same way if a man indulges vindictive thoughts when he is performing austerities, the fruit of his action is lost, no merit is acquired and no karma destroyed.⁵¹ The Jains believe in right knowledge, right faith and right conduct referring to an impersonal system. Each of the Christian jewels, Faith, Hope and Love, refers to a personal Redeemer. It is interesting to note that the Jain religion enshrines no faith in a supreme deity; but for the Christian the dark problems of sin and suffering are lit up by his faith in the character and power of God which ensure the ultimate triumph of righteousness.

49. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXXIII, 5-10.

50. Cf. Law, *Indological Studies*, Pt. III, 248 ff.

51. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp. 246-247.

Faith and Hope in Jainism and Christianity

In Jainism, Hope is almost a meaningless word, but in Christianity the present circumstances of a human being and his future are alike bathed in the golden sunshine of Hope, so that hopefulness may be said to be the very centre of the Christian creed and the foundation of its joy. In Jainism love to a personal god would be an attachment that could only bind him to the cycle of re-birth, but in Christianity Love is the fulfilling of the law and it is in its light that the Christians tread the upward path.⁵²

In Jainism faith is produced by nature, instruction, command, study of the *sūtras*, suggestion, comprehension of the meaning of the sacred lore, complete course of study, religious exercise, brief exposition and reality.⁵³

According to the Buddhists faith is the basic principle of all virtuous deeds. It is the germinating principle of human culture.⁵⁴ It is characterised by two marks: (1) tranquillising in the sense of making all obstacles to disappear and rendering consciousness clear and (2) leaping high to achieve that what has not been achieved, to master that what has not been mastered, and to realise that what has not been realised. Faith is nothing but trust in the *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha* (Buddha, Doctrine and Order). According to the celebrated Pāli Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghosa, it is an act of believing in the sense of plunging, breaking, entering into qualities of Buddha and the rest and rejoicing over them.⁵⁵ It is the guiding factor of charity, morality and religion in the sense that it precedes all charitable, moral and spiritual instinct and dispositions.⁵⁶ It is transforming itself into *bhakti* or devotion. It is associated with love or *prema*. The noble eightfold path is the development of the five controlling faculties and powers, one of which is *śraddhā* or faith. The other element that accompanies faith is *prasāda*, a sense of assurance, attended by a serene delight out of satisfaction of a man's spiritual need.⁵⁷

52. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 247-248.

53. *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*, XXVIII, 16.

54. *Suttanipāta*, V. 77.

55. *Atthasālinī*, p. 145.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

57. *Puggalapaññatti Comy.*, 248.

Doubt and Faith

The Buddha, in agreement with Mahāvira, holds that doubt and faith are two opposite states of mind so that the affirmation of one implies the negation of the other.⁵⁸ According to the Buddhists there are three species of doubt and three species of faith. The Buddha himself said that he had not found out any other element than earnestness which was conducive to the greatest good and to the stability of the faith. He further pointed out that earnestness was the only thing which preserved faith from getting perverted and from disappearing.⁵⁹ The representation of *śraddhā* or faith as the seed of higher life is thoroughly Buddhistic.⁶⁰

Austerities

Austerities are two-fold; external and internal. By knowledge one knows things, by faith one believes in them, by conduct one gets freedom from *karma* and by austerities one reaches purity. (*Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, XXVIII, 34).

Samitis and Guptis

There are five *samitis* and three *guptis* which constitute eight means of self-control. The five *samitis* are the following:— (1) going by paths trodden by men and beasts and looking carefully to avoid the death of living beings; (2) using gentle, sweet and righteous speech; (3) receiving alms in a manner to avoid 42 faults; (4) receiving and keeping things necessary for religious exercises and (5) performing the operation of nature in a solitary place. The three *guptis* are the following: (1) diverting mind from sensual pleasures by contemplation, study etc.; (2) observing silence to avoid telling bad things and (3) putting the body in an immovable posture (Cf. the Buddhist ideas in *Dīgha*, I, 172; *Dīgha*, II, 292; *Dīgha*, III, 148; *Aṅguttara*, IV, 106 ff.).

Passions (Kāṣāyas)

Passions (*kāṣāyas*) are the things which tie one down to this world. They are four in number: anger, pride, deceit and greed. Sense-faculties are of two kinds: *labdhi* and *upayoga*. The former

58. *Majjhima*, I, p. 101; Cf. *Sthānāṅga*, p. 289.

59. *Aṅg.*, I, pp. 16-17; Vide also *Buddhist Studies*, Ed. B. C. Law, Ch. XII.

60. *Saundarananda-Kārya*, XII, 39.

is the attainment of the manifestation of the sense faculty by the partial destruction, and the latter is the conscious attention of the soul directed to that sense. The causes of bondage are the following: (1) wrong belief; (2) perverse belief; (3) doubt; (4) veneration; (5) wrong belief caused by ignorance and (6) inborn error. Twelve meditations are the meditations on transitoriness, helplessness, mundaneness, loneliness, separateness, impurity, inflow, stoppage, relinquishment, universe, rarity of right path and nature of right path. The ten virtues are the following: forgiveness, humility, honesty, purity, truthfulness, restraint, austerities, renunciation, selflessness and chaste life.

Vows of the Jains

The first vow of the Jains is abstinence from life-slaughter. The second vow is avoidance of falsehood. The next vow is the avoidance of sensual pleasures. A Jain should not always discuss topics relating to women. He should not drink liquor or eat highly seasoned food. He should not occupy a bed or a couch belonging to women. The last great vow is freedom from possessions. In Buddhism we have all such prohibitions.

The five sinful deeds that one commits due to innate proneness to sin, stand as opposed to five great vows (*mahāvratas*) that follow from the principles of *saṃvara* or self-restraint (Vide *Pañhāvāgaranāim*; Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Chap. XI).

Correct behaviour of the Jain monks—Their duties

The correct behaviour of Jain monks consists of ten parts (*vide Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, XXVI). A Jain monk should not keep company with the wicked. He should guard his soul, bring his senses under control. He should be free from sins. He is to expound pure and complete law. He should avoid vanity. He should combat pride of genius, pride of sanctity, pride of birth and pride of good living. He should be good and honest. He should expound *syādvāda* which consists of seven viewpoints from which assertions are made as to truth. The pious are not given blamable and sinful practices.

The doctrine of Syādvāda

According to the doctrine of *syādvāda* there are seven forms of metaphysical propositions and all contain the word '*syāt*' (*Syādaasti sarvam syāda nasti sarvam*) meaning 'may be'. A monk should

speak with precision. He should not entertain the wish that after his departure from the world he will become a god or a perfected saint (cf. *Samyutta Nikaya*, IV, p. 180; *Anguttara Nikaya* IV, p. 461)*devo vā bhavissāmi devanātaro vā ti*).

From the above it is quite clear that Jainism is one of the best Indian religions that existed and flourished under the guidance of Mahāvira, who was a great teacher, a great guide, a great pilot, a great preacher, and a great recluse. His remarkable career as a teacher lasted for 30 years. Those who came under the influence of his personality and teaching gave up the eating of meat and fish for good and strictly adhered to vegetarian diet. In Jainism much importance is given to soul, individuality and personality. The Jain ethics has for its end the liberation or *mokṣa*. Fasting is the most conspicuous form of austerity. The three excellences are right faith, right knowledge and right conduct. Mahāvira laid great stress on *karma*, which, according to him, is everything. Jainism, which is to be reckoned as the one of the most ancient Indian monastic organisations, is definitely atheistic, but it must be admitted that it is a practical religion like Buddhism. Both have many points in common as pointed out above.

History of Nāgdā

BY

DR. KAILASH CHAND JAIN, M.A. Ph.D.

Nāgdā, situated at the foot of the hill of Ekalingaji in Rajasthan, a place of great antiquity. Its old names found in the Sanskrit inscriptions are Nāgahrida and Nāgadraha. There are local legendary traditions about the association and foundation of this place by the Nāgas.¹ Actually, this town seems to have been founded by Śilāditya,² the father of Śīlāditya, who was ruling in 646 A.D.³ Śīlāditya is the fifth in the line of succession of Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family. Roughly, if we allot an average of 20 years to each reign, Guhadatta seems to have flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D. The Atpur inscription⁴ of Lakṭikumāra dated V.S. 1034 speaks of Guhadatta as a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family which migrated from Anandapura. He and his early successors seem to have ruled in the Western part of Udaipur State. In the Sāmoli inscription⁵ dated V.S. 703, Śīlāditya is described as the conqueror of his foes. During his reign, a *Mahājana* community headed by Jentāka who had migrated from Vasantagadh near Sirohi, started an *āgara* (a mine) in Āranyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. It is said that the Mahātara Jentāka, at the command of his community, founded here a temple of Āranyavāsina (Durgā) which was noted for its eighteen Vaitālikas (bards) hailing from the different parts of the country and was crowded with rich and wealthy people.

1. The king Janmejaya is said to have performed the snake sacrifice at this place to avenge the death of his father Parikshita.

2. URI, p. 98.

3. EI, XX, p. 97.

4. IA, 39, p. 186.

5. EI, XX, p. 97.

After Śilāditya, his son Aparājita became the ruler of Nāgdā. His commander-in-chief Varahasimha, son of Śiva, was very powerful and is said to have crushed the power of his adversaries. His wife Yaśomati in order to cross the troubled sea of the worldly existence built the temple of Viṣṇu at Nāgdā⁶ in 661 A.D. The next famous name among the Guhilota rulers is that of Bappā Rāvala. He is said to have come from Ānandapura, worshipped at the feet of a sage named Hāritarāsi and through his grace obtained royal fortune and became the king of Chitrakūṭa.⁷ Actually, this was not the case. Guhadatta, the founder of the family, had emigrated from Ānandapura.⁸ The earliest mention of Bappā is found in the Ekalingajī inscription dated 971 A.D. of the reign of Naravarmana. There, he is clearly mentioned that Śrī Bappā, the moon among the princes of the Guhila family, is said to have flourished at Nāgahrida.⁹ Bappā Rāvala is a designation and not a proper name of the ruler. He has been identified with the eighth king Kālabhoja¹⁰ by Paṇḍita Ojhā and the ninth king Khomāna by Dr. Bhandarkar. He ruled in the eighth century and is said to have conquered Chitor. It is likely that the Mauris or Moris were ruling at Chitor when the Arabs overran this part of the country between 725 A.D. and 738 A.D. The Mauryas probably succumbed to these raids and Bappā, a neighbouring chief, who was more successful in his resistance to the Arab raiders, seized the fortress of Chitor.

The next great ruler of Nāgdā was Bhartṛipatṭa II. He assumed the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* which signifies that he enjoyed independent position. As he granted a field in the village Palāsakūpika to the temple of the Sun God Indrādityādeva founded by Chauhāna Indrarāja in Ghonṭavarshikā, modern Ghotārsī, (seven miles east of Partabgarh), his kingdom seems to have extended on the south east up to the border of Partabgarh.¹¹ His son and successor was Allaṭa, who probably transferred his capital from Nāgdā to Āhar. His son was Naravarmana during whose reign, the

famous temple of Ekalingajī was constructed by the saints of Lakuliśa sect of Śaivism in 971 A.D.¹²

Vijayasimha, who ruled in 1116 A.D., seems to have transferred his capital back from Āhar to the former town of Nāgdā. From the Pāladi inscription,¹³ it is known that *Mahārājādhirāja* Vijayasimha donated the fifth part of the produce of the village of Pālī, embracing all its receipts to Unlāchārya, son of the most respectable *Āhārya* Sāhiya, who was a resident of Nāgahrida on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the advancement of spiritual welfare of himself and his parents in 1116 A.D. The gift was made at and the grant issued from Nāgdā, the capital city. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the God Ekalinga as the donor is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the *Bhojatatāga*, situated near the temple.

Nāgdā continued to remain the capital even of *Mahārājādhirāja* Mathanasimha. A mutilated inscription¹⁴ dated 1182 A.D. records that when *Mahārājādhirāja* Mathanasimha was ruling at Nagadraha, 190 *drammas* were granted to Śiva temple by one Deddaka in the village Ata, near Kerābar in Udaipur district. Udharana in the family of Tāmtarāḍa was made *talāraksha* (kotwal) of Nāgdā by the king Mathanasimha. He was able to protect the good and punish the wicked. Mathanasimha was succeeded by Padmasimha who made Yogarāja, the eldest son of Uddharana, his *Talāra* in the same city. A village Chitrakūpa (Chirvā situated near Nāgdā) was given as a gift by the king Padmasimha to Yogarāja serving in his army. *Yogarāja* built the temples of Yogeśvara and Yogeśvarī at Chirvā which were restored later on by his successor Madana who granted some land for the maintenance of these temples.¹⁵

The Guhilas of Mewar gained a high political status during the reign of Jaitrasimha whose reign ranges between 1213 A.D. and

6. EI, IX, p. 30.

7. *The Classical Age*, p. 158.

8. IA, 39, p. 186, Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra, Verse 5.

9. URI, p. 102.

10. IA, 39, p. 190.

11. ARRMA, 1916, p. 2.

12. JBBRAS, XXII, p. 151 (At that time, the north eastern boundary of the city of Nāgdā extended up to the present town of Ekalingajī and the temple formed its integral part.

13. EI, XXXI, Pt. IV.

14. ARRMA, 1928, No. 4.

15. EI, XXII, p. 285.

1252 A.D. In the early part of his reign, the Muslims under Sultan Iltutmish, overran Mewar and destroyed the Guhila capital Nāgahṛida. Jayatala, who was obviously Jaitrasimha of Mewar, suffered a heavy loss of men and money on that occasion. Men, women and children were ruthlessly butchered. People threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invaders hands.¹⁶ Even from the Chirvā inscription dated V.S. 1330, it is known that Yogarāja's son Padmarāja was killed fighting with the army of Sultan near Bhūtala while Nāgdrapura was destroyed.¹⁷ But soon on the receipt of the news that Vāghela Viradhavala was advancing with the forces to render assistance to Jaitrasimha, the Muslim army withdrew. After the destruction of Nāgdā, Jaitrasimha seems to have made Chitor his capital for the first time.

Besides the capital of the Guhilas, Nāgdā was well known as a holy place of the Jains in early times. Madanakirti, the distiple of Viśālakirti, who lived in the 13th century A.D., prays to Pārśvanātha Nāgadraha along with other Tirthaṅkaras associated with their holy places in the *Śāsanachatuśṭimśatikā*.¹⁸ Jinaprabhā Sūri also refers to it in his *Vividhatīrthakalpa* written in 1332 A.D.¹⁹ This *tīrtha* has also been described by later authors of the *Tīrthamālās*.²⁰ Muni Sundara Sūri has composed an independent *Stotra* in devotion to Nāgahṛida Pārśvanātha.²¹ Being the holy place, Nāgdā was visited by Jaina saints from time to time. From the *Vijñaptimahālekha* written in 1380 A.D., it is known that Jinodaya Sūri of the Kharataragachchha paid a visit to Nāgdā and other holy places.²²

The temple now known as the temple of Padmāvatī was originally the famous temple of Pārśvanātha. This temple seems to have been destroyed by the invasion of Iltutmish. New images were, therefore, installed and the necessity of repairing it arose. Pāsadata and Saṅgharāma placed an image of Pārśvanātha in

16. HMM, III, pp. 25-33.

17. EI, XXII, p. 85.

18. JSAI, p. 248.

19. VTK, pp. 86 and 106.

20. *Tīrthamālā* written in V.S. 1529. Manuscript No. 72 Khandelavāla Digambara Jaina temple, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 1 for the text.

21. JSP, IV, p. 25.

22. It is in the possession of Shri Agarchand Nāhaṭā.

1299 A.D.²³ In 1334 A.D., Kelhā repaired the shrine of Pārśvanātha.²⁴ A Poravāla trader built a *devakulikā* in the temple of Pārśvanātha in 1429 A.D.²⁵ This temple originally belonged to Digambara Jains but was appropriated by the devotees of the Kharatara Gachcha during the reign of Kumbhakarna. There is one sculpture in the sanctum which is somewhat interesting. In the centre of the slab is the figure of a Jina in an attitude of meditation having a halo behind and two conical capped Chauri bearers, one on each side, with gandharvas and devas represented as flying in the air.²⁶ There are also remains of other Jaina temples. One temple is in a dilapidated condition. It consists of a shrine, an enclosed hill and an open porch with two domes. The *śikhara* and the domes are modern work but the sculptured walls of the shrine and the hall, would seem to date as early as the time of the Solankī prince Kumārāpāla. The Jaina temple known as Adbhujajī is so called because it contains a wonderful image of Śantinātha. It was constructed by a merchant named Sāraṅga of the Poravāla caste during Kumbhakarna's reign.²⁷

Along with Jainism, Vaishnavism and Śaivism received special royal patronage under Guhila rulers who were themselves followers of Brāhmanical religion. There was the temple of Vishṇu built in 661 A.D. by Yaśomati, wife of Śiva Commander-in-chief of Aparājita.²⁸ That temple was destroyed; but still there are the remains of the most beautiful and interesting two temples dedicated to Vishṇu, standing side by side called the *Sāsabahu* temples. That on the north side is the smaller and of the two, comparatively plain, and is known as the daughter-in-law's (*bahu*) temple, while the other, the larger, is elaborately carved, especially inside and is called the mother-in-law's temple. The *Sāsabahu* group of shrines in Nāgdā is carved out of granite. Some of the carvings are remarkable. There is a war scene with the dynamic grouping of elephants and horses proceeding to the assault. One panel shows the gradations of the worlds below the heaven. Two panels from the ceiling show respectively warriors before chieftain

23. PRAS, wc., 1906, No. 2243.

24. *Ibid.*, 2243.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 2242.

26. *Ibid.*,

27. *Ibid.*,

28. EI, IV, p. 30.

and men bearing gifts for the household. The panel from the ceiling also shows worshippers listening to a holyman.

During the reign of Naravarmana, the Śaiva ascetics as Supujitarasi, Vinischitarasi and so forth erected the temple of Ekalingajī in 971 A.D. and dedicated it to Lakulīśa.²⁹ At this time, the celebrated dilectician, called Śrī Vedāṅga Muni seems to have resided at this place and defeated the disputants of the *Syādavāda*, *Saugata* and other sects. After the construction of the Ekalingajī, it became the great centre of Śaivism and was the place of residence of the Śaiva saints. The most respectable Āchārya Sāhiyā was residing at this place in 1116 A.D.³⁰ The Chirvā inscription³¹ dated V.S. 1330 says that the head of the *Paśupata* sect, there was Swarasi who possessed many qualities and worshipped the God Ekalingajī.

Nāgdā is a very important town from the social point of view. The *gotrās* of this name found among the Kshatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and Jainas originated from this place. This definitely proves that once, it was highly populated by the people of these castes. People of Nāgdā caste among the Jainas were religious minded during the medieval times because several copies of the manuscripts are caused to be written by them and presented to the Jaina saints. Bhaṭṭāraka Jñānabhūṣaṇa, who lived in the 15th century, wrote the *Nāgadārāsā*³² describing the history of the Nāgadā caste among the Jainas.

29. JBBRAS, XXII, p. 152.

30. EI, XXXI, Pt. VI.

31. EI, XXII, p. 285.

32. Manuscript in Śāstrabhaṇḍāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira, Sambhavanātha, Baḍabagāra, Udaipur. See Appendix No. 2 for the text.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. URI = Udaipur Rājya kā Itihāsa.
2. E.I. = Epigraphia Indica.
3. I.A. = Indian Antiquary.
4. ARRMA = Annual Report of Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
5. JBBRAS = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
6. HMM = Hammīra Mada Mardana.
7. JSAI = Jaina Sāhityā Aura Itihāsa.
8. VTK = Vividhatir, thakalpa.
9. JSP = Jaina Satya Prakāśa.
10. PRASWC = Progress Report Archaeological Survey western circle.

APPENDIX NO. 1

Portion of *Tirthamālā* written in V.S. 1529.
Delavāḍau Nāgadrahā Chitrauḍa
Ahaḍakara Hedauṁ Vaddhaṇautra ||76||

APPENDIX NO. 2

Praśasti of Manuscript in Śāstrabhaṇḍāra Śrī Digambara Jaina Mandira Sambhavanātha Udaipur.

Śrī Jñānabhūṣaṇa munivira prabhūṇiyā kī dhurāsamai Sāral,

Havutha jīṇavari kahiya vasugitragreya māhirāsa rachumati—
savad hathimāṇe jo naranāre,

Bhāṇesī bhaṇaveje sāmhaḷete lahisai kalavichāra iti Nāga-
drārāsa sāmṇṇa.

Two Saiva Shrines in Tirupati

BY

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Tirupati is well known for its Vaishnava shrines, viz., that of Sri Venkatesvara on the hills and Govindaraja, established by Ramanuja, in the town below and that of Padmavathi, the consort of Sri Venkatesvara, in Tiruchanur, very near Tirupati. Besides these, there are several minor shrines, viz., of Ādivarāha, Kōḍaṇḍarāma, Lakshminārāyaṇa, Krishna, Sundararāja, Narasimha, etc and also the shrines of a few Ālvārs. But there are two Saiva temples also here, not usually noticed by visitors. It is intended here to give a brief idea of the architecture, iconography and history of these two shrines, viz, those of Kapilēśvara, at the foot of the Tirumala hills, and of Parāsarēśvara at Jōgimallavaram, a hamlet adjoining Tiruchānūr. Architecturally both are to be classified as Chola temples and inscriptions clearly indicate that after the Cholas both of them lost royal patronage.

1. The Kapileśvara Shrine

(a) *Architecture*: The Kapilēśvara shrine is built in a natural cavern a little above the foot of the Tirumala hills, a mile and a half to the north of the Tirupati town. In the rainy season there occur several water falls from the hills (cf. *veengu veeraruvi Vēngadam* in the *Silāppadikāram*) and the most picturesque and best known is the one near this shrine. The water collects into a tank below and the excess is drained out. This tank is variously known as Kapilateertham, Sudarśanateertham, Chakrateertham and Ālvārteertham. The shrine is a *samachaturasra* (8' square) *prāsāda* without a fully developed *vimana* above, of which there is only the base, as the overhanging rock does not provide room for any further structure. This simple stone shrine has an *adhishṭāna*, 3' in height, having as its members from below an *upana*, a *paṭṭa* (projecting piece), a *tripaṭṭa*, a *gaḷa* or *griva* (recess), another *paṭṭa* and *gaḷa* and finally an *ālingapaṭṭika*. The *Kuḍya* or wall above this *adhishṭāna* encloses the *garbagrihas*

and *antarālas* of the Siva and Kāmākshi shrines. It contains *Kuḍyasthambas* or *pilasters*, 5' in height with the typical Chola capital with *Kalaśa*, *taḍi*, *idal*, *palakka* and the corbel bevelled at an angle of 45° leaving a central segment of the vertical section. The *Kapōta* or cornice below the roof contains a series of gables adorned with scroll work.

There is only one enclosure for this shrine. The *mukha-mantapa* contains two rows of three pillars each. Each of the pillars is 8' in height and is made of three rectangular blocks with octagonal shafts in between. The four sides of each rectangular block contain carvings of deity figures. The corbel is in early Vijayanagara style, i.e., shaped like a curved lotus stalk with a hanging bud or *potika*. The two pillars in the extremes, however, have Chola corbels. A *nandi* faces the linga. To the proper left of the Siva shrine lies the shrine of the goddess, Kāmākshi. A small crouching figure of a lion faces the goddess.

(b) *Iconography and sculpture*: Two stone slabs, each about 4' high, containing *dvārapālaka* reliefs are built into the wall on either side of the entrance. Each stands in the *dvibhanga* pose and has four hands. The lower right holds a *gada* poised in a vertical position, the tip touching the ground, while the lower left is in the *Kaṭihasta* pose. The upper right holds a *ḍamaru* while the upper left holds a *trisula*. They are decorated with *patrakunḍalas*, a high *jaṭāmakuṭa*, a garland of beads, *channavira*, etc. Three icons, viz, Subhramanya, seated on his vehicle, the peacock, and his consorts, Valli and Dēvasēna, are placed in a niche to the proper left of the *dvārapālaka* images. A slab near this niche contains the figure of a *sāsta* in *Kukkuṭāsana*, with hair flowing on two sides, the two hands holding *paśās*. This is said to represent Virabhāgu. To its proper left is an image of Ganesa seated.

The *antarāla* of the Kapilēsvara shrine contains an icon of Ganesa on a pial on the one side and on the other an icon of Subhramanya leaning on the peacock and holding a *trisula*. Similarly the *antarāla* of the Kāmākshi shrine contains on its two sides an image of Ganesa and one of Bhairava with his favourite vehicle, a dog. The latter is a four-handed deity, the two lower hands being in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses and the two upper ones holding

the *ḍamaru* and the *trisula*. The goddess is a four-handed deity, the upper two holding *ankusa* and *pāśa* while the lower two are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses.

A big mantapa adjoining the Siva and Kāmākshi shrines contains a few interesting images. One is that of Siva in the form of Dakshinamūrthy. The image faces south and is represented in the attitude of teaching. The left leg is crossed over the right, which rests on a prostrate dwarfish figure (*apasmāra puruṣa*, personifying ignorance), on either side of which kneels a *rishi* with the hands in *anjali*. The palm of the lower right hand is held up with the thumb and forefinger joined together (*upadē-samudra*). The upper right hand holds a snake. The upper left holds a *trisula* while the lower left, rests on the thigh and holds a *pustaka*. The posture is straight (*samabhanga*). The look is serene with eyes half closed. The hair is plaited and arranged to resemble a high crown (*jaṭāmakuṭa*), with Ganga, the sun and the crescent moon, some plaits also flowing down on either side of the head. The ornaments worn are *makarakunḍala* in the right ear and *chakrakundala* in the left, *grāivēyakas* or garlands, *channavira*, *udarabhanda*, *yagnōpavita*, *kēyūra*, anklets etc.

Another image is that of Sūrya. This is a standing two-handed figure facing west with a plain disc around and behind the head worn as a *siraschakra*. The two hands are half raised, each holding a lotus bud. Rolled *tālapatra* and strings of beads are worn as ear ornaments. Besides, he wears necklaces, *yagnōpavita*, anklets etc.

Two figures of Siva and Parvati, together with the pedestal on which they are seated, and the enclosing *prabha* surmounted by a *simhalalata* form one fine piece. Siva's left leg is folded and rests on the seat and on his lap sits Parvati while the right leg hangs down and rests on a bull. His lower right hand is in the *abhaya* pose while the upper right holds an axe. The upper left hand holds a Mriga or antelope while the lower passes round the waist of the goddess. His *jaṭāmakuṭa* is adorned with the crescent moon. Siva in this pose is known as *Ālinganachandrasēkhara mūrti*.

Besides the stone images referred to above, there are fourteen bronzes kept in the same mandapa,—of Naṭarāja, Sivakāmi, Ganesa, Saiva saints etc.

(C) *History*: According to tradition Brahma, Vishnu and Siva appeared at this site before the sage Kapila in response to his penance in the form of a cow, a hunter and a linga and the last became enshrined in this temple. The style of the pilasters on the walls of the sanctum and the pillars in the *mukhamantapa* shows that the temple belongs to the Chola period. This is confirmed by an inscription in this temple which says that the *mukhamantapa* and the sanctum (*Tirumāligai*) were constructed by one Brahmarāyan Munaiyādarāyan, alias Rāyan Rājendra Cholan, the head of Koṭṭūr (Koṭṭūruḍaiyān). The title indicates that he was an officer of Rajendra Chola I.¹ The tank, fed by water falls in the rainy season, attracted in course of time, new temples and it assumed a new character. The *utsava beram* of Govindarāja (installed by Rāmānuja in Tirupati), accompanied by Sudarśana or Tiruvāli - Ālvār (Chakrattālvār) was taken to it for *tīrthavāri* (bath) during brahmōtsavam and the tank itself came to be called Ālvārtirtham. Govindaraja was taken there on the day of the *makara sankramaṇam* also. A shrine for Nammālvār was built near the tank in the last quarter of the 13th century and the *adhyayanōtsavam* and the car festival of the Ālvār were also celebrated in due course.² It is quite possible that the authorities of the Siva temple and those of the Vaishnava temples quarrelled over the rights over the tank. Inscriptions in three languages, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, dated Saka 1453 (1531 A.D.) declare that stone steps of the tank and the sandhyavandana maṇṭapas on three sides were constructed and stone slabs showing the sudarśana chakra were planted at the four corners of the tank by Achuta Raya.³ The planting of the Sudarśana slabs was probably meant to indicate that the tank was dedicated to Vishnu. Inscriptions of this period referring to festivals invariably refer to this tank as Chakratirtham or Ālvārtirtham.

An image of Lakshminārāyaṇaperumal was installed on the bank of the tank to its south west, and a small shrine for the god built in Saka 1468 (1546 A.D.) in the reign of Sadasiva Raya by Tāllapākkam Periya Tirumalayyāngar, son of Annamayyāngar.⁴

1. T. T. Devasthanams Inscriptions, Vol. I, No. 20. Contra T. K. T. Viraraghavacharya, *History of Tirupati*, Vol. I, pp. 406-15.

2. T. T. D. Inscr. Vol. I No. 57, also pp. 67-68; Vol. 5 No. 34.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4 No. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5. No. 68.

An image of Lakshminarasimha, now found in a narrow cave opposite the Kapilesvara shrine, was also probably installed at about this time. In another cave, referred to as the fourth cave in the inscriptions, an image of Venkatesa was installed by one Potlapadi Timmarāja sometime during the reign of Sadasivaraya.⁵

An inscription dated Saka 1484 (1562 A.D.), belonging to the time of Sadasiva Raya for the first time mentions the temple of Kapilesvara. It also says that the prakara walls and the kitchen of this temple, which were damaged by thunder and rain were reconstructed by a chieftain, Rāchavittu Nayakar, at his own cost. After this renovation the authorities arranged to carry out the daily worship of Vignesvara, set up by Sevvu sāni, a dancing girl (*emberumanadiyal*), for which she had made an endowment of 200 paṇam earlier.⁶ This renovation probably explains the absence of inscriptions in this temple before this date. In contrast with the Parāsarēsvara shrine at Jogimallavaram the Kapilesvara shrine today has every evidence of having been renovated several times over. An inscription dated Saka 1787 (1865 A.D.) says that the pavement of the tank and the sandhyavandana maṇṭapas surrounding it were renovated by the Mahant, Dharmadaśji. Now the temple is part of the Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams.

2. The Parāsarēsvara shrine

(a) *Architecture*: — The Parāsarēsvara shrine is almost in a ruined condition. It is however a living temple. It lies in a village called Yōgimallavaram or Jogi or Jogula-mallavaram, very near Tiruchanur, on the Tirupati-Tiruchanur Road, at a distance of about three and a half miles south east of the Tirupati town. This shrine is *samachaturasra* (12' square) with a vimana of the *ekataḷa* variety with a *sikhara* of the *vesara* order (circular type) with a single *kalasa* adorning its top. The walls are of stone while the *sikhara* is of brick and plaster. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, 4' in height, has the following members from below: an *upana* an inward sloping *gaḷa* or recess, a *tripaṭṭa*, three patta or bands (two receding and one projecting in the middle) and an *ālingapaṭṭika*. The walls of the *garbagriha* and *antarāḷa* contain on their outer side Chola type pilasters and between the pilasters on the three sides of the *garbagriha* are Chola type *koṣṭhas* or niches with deity figures and

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 92. This is not traceable now.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 172.

surmounted by the simple semi-circular *torana*, i.e., without any scroll work.

The shrine is surrounded on three sides by a verandah, 5' broad, which is the only enclosure, and the same broadens into a *mukhamantapa* in the front. The enclosure contains nine pillars, three in a row on each side, while the *mukhamantapa* contains sixteen pillars, four rows of four each. Each pillar in the verandah is 8' 6" in height, the capital alone measuring 1' 6". Surmounted by the bevelled Chola capital and standing upon a simple *adhish-tāṇa* of two horizontal *paṭṭas* with a recess in the middle, the pillar consists of three plain rectangular blocks with octagonal shafts in between. The pillars in the *mukhamantapa* are round and contain the same type of capital as above.

On one side of the *mukhamantapa* i.e., to the proper left of the sanctum containing the *linga*, is the entrance to the shrine of the goddess, *Kāmākshi*. The temple as a whole is unique on account of the fact that it is entirely Chola in style and does not contain any later accretions, like *mantapas* and pillars in the Vijayanagar style as found in the temples in the neighbourhood. But a few yards outside the temple lies a *mantapa*, closed on three sides, which from its style may be assigned to the early Vijayanagar period. It has an *adhish-tāṇa*, 4' high and its *Kumuda* is surmounted by *simhalalāṭas*. This *mantapa* contains four rows of four pillars each, those on the sides being covered up by the stone wall which encloses the *mantapa* on all sides but for a central opening in the front. The four central pillars form a square and the roof covering this portion is built by arranging stone slabs one above the other to form a *shatkōṇa* with a hanging lotus in the middle. This structure was perhaps used as a *Kolumantapa* on festival occasions.

(b) *Iconography and sculpture*: — The three niches on the three sides of the *garbagriha* of the *Parāsarēsvara* shrine contain the images of *Dakshināmūrthy*, *Vishnu* and *Brahma*. The *Dakshināmūrthy* image is similar to the one in the *Kapilēsvara* shrine but for two differences. Here the *jaṭamakūṭa* is circular forming a sort of *prabha* or halo round the head (*siraschakra*) and does not taper upward. Secondly, the right hand holds an *akshamālā* and not a snake. The image of *Vishnu* is in *samabhanga*. It has four hands, the upper two holding *sankha* and *chakra* while the lower ones are kept in the *abhaya* and *kaṭihasta* poses. The

image of *Brahma* is also in *samabhanga*. Three heads are visible and over the central one there is a *kirīṭamakūṭa*. The two upper hands hold an *akshamālā* and a bud while the lower hands are in the *abhaya* and *Kaṭihasta* poses.

The verandah surrounding the shrine contains a few images. An image of *Ganesa* kept to the proper right of the entrance of the *antarāḷa* is about 3' in height including the pedestal. The deity has four hands. The two upper hands hold *pāsa* and *ankusa*; the lower right hand holds the broken piece of a *danta* or tusk while the lower left holds a *mōdaka*. He wears a *karaṇḍamakūṭa*, *yajñōpavīta* and *channavīra*. The belly as usual is bound by an *udarabandha*. On the opposite side, i.e., to the left of the entrance of the *antarāḷa* is a slab with the sculptured figure of a bearded *yogi*. This may be the *yogi* of *Yogi-mallavaram*. The grandfather would then be represented by the *linga* and the grandson by this figure. (*Suka*, according to the *Puranas*, was a grandson of *Parāsara*). A slab kept in the south western corner of the verandah contains the figures of the *Saptamātrikas*, viz., *Brāhmaṇi*, *Māhesvari*, *Kaumāri*, *Vaishnavi*, *Vārāhi*, *Indrāni* and *Chāmuṇḍi*. Each figure is about a foot high and has the appropriate vehicle and weapons but the carvings are somewhat crude.

In the north western corner of the verandah are kept three finely executed images, viz., *Subhramanya* flanked on either side by *Vallī* and *Dēvasēna*. The god is standing in *samabhanga* with his peacock vehicle behind and his two hands in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. *Vallī* in her right hand and *Dēvasēna* in her left hold lotus buds, while the other hands are kept hanging. The goddesses are in the *dvibhanga* pose.

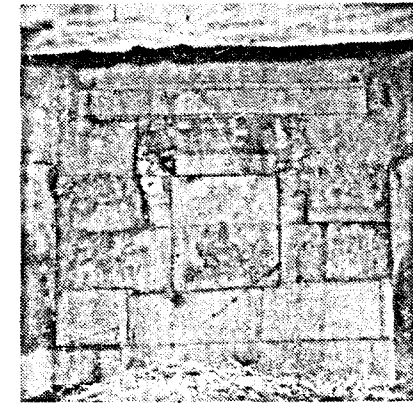
Near the entrance of the shrine of *Kāmākshi* is another finely executed image viz. that of *Shanmukha*, seated on his peacock vehicle. Three heads with tall tapering crowns are seen in the front. *Chakrakūṇḍalas* adorn his ears. He wears, besides, necklaces and garlands. Two of his hands are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Ten others, five on each side, are outstretched and hold different kinds of weapons like *vajra pāsa*, *khadga*, *dhanus*, *bāṇa*, etc. The peacock carries a snake in its beak. The whole is encircled by a *prabha* surmounted by a *simhalalāṭa*.

The backwall of the *mantapa* outside the temple contains three panels of sculptures separated by two pillars. In the middle of

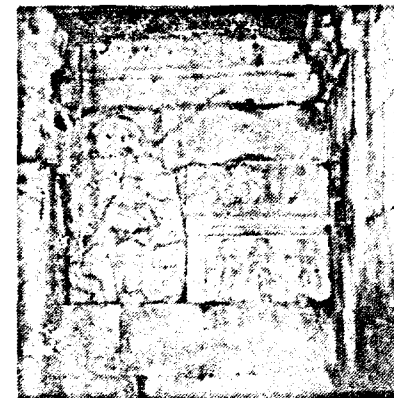
the central panel is a sculptured group familiarly known as Soma-skanda. This is made up of Siva and Parvati in the *sukhāsana* pose with a small figure of Ganapati to their right and a small figure of Skanda in the middle. Siva is seated in an erect posture, his left leg folded and resting horizontally on the seat while the right hangs down. The two upper hands hold *parasu* and *mriga* while the lower ones are in the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. Uma is seated with her right leg slightly raised and folded upward while the left hangs down. She sits in an easy posture, slightly bent at the hip (*dvibhanga* pose), with a lotus in her right hand. The left hand is pressed against the seat and bears the weight of her body. Both the figures are adorned with *kiriṭamakuta*s. The entire group is in a niche, which is flanked by two pilasters with a number of small slabs above extending progressively on the outer side and surmounted by a horizontal slab forming the ceiling of the niche. At either end of the ceiling slab is a human figure bent in the posture of bearing on his back the weight of the ceiling. On either side of the niche are figures, carved in two rows, of happy devotees, men and women, some dancing and some in attitudes of worship.

The panel to the left of the above illustrates *Pārvatī -parinaya*. In the centre Parvati stands with her left hand in the *kaṭakahāṣṭa* pose holding a *nīlōtpala* while her right hand catches the outstretched right hand of Siva, standing to her left. Siva holds *ankusa* and deer in his upper hands and places his lower left hand on the head of Brahma seated below in *padmāsana*. Next to him stands Vishnu with his lower hands outstretched in the attitude of welcoming the bridal couple. His two upper hands carry *sanka* and *chakra*. To the right of Parvati stands a female attendant and still further a couple of devotees in *anjali*.

The panel to the right contains the figure of Siva as Kankālamūrti, i.e., as a mendicant wandering about after he had cut off the head of Brahma. With his two lower hands he beats a kettle-drum with a stick. His upper left hand holds one end of the *Kankāladaṇḍa*, which rests on his shoulder, and with his right he touches an agile antelope. Serpents adorn his body and raise their hoods from his right loin and his left shoulder. A short woman holding a basket on her head stands at the bottom to his left. The head is adorned with a *kiriṭamakuta*, from which *jaṭas* flow on either side.



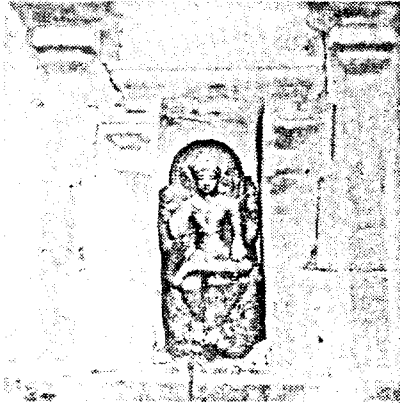
Somaskanda in the back wall of the mantapa outside the shrine.



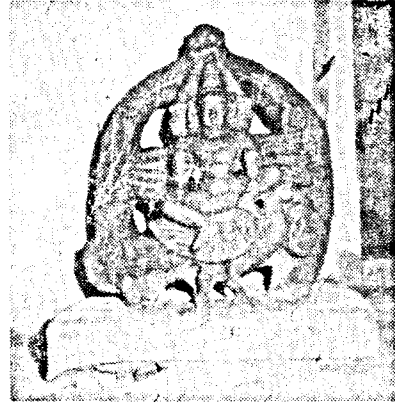
Kankālamūrti in the same wall.



Pārvatī-parinaya.



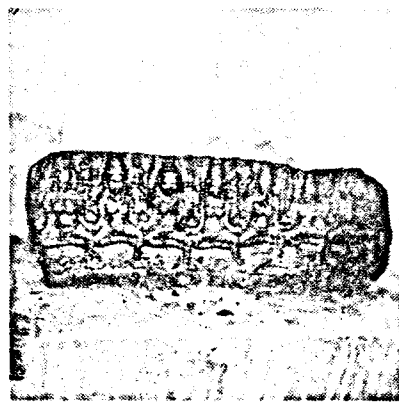
Dakshinamurthy in a niche in the wall of the garbagriha, Parāsarēsvara shrine.



Shanmukha, Jogimallapuram.



Nritta Ganapati, Jogimallapuram.



Saptamātrika slab in the Parāsarēsvara shrine, Jogimallapuram.

The left part of the front wall of the outer mantapa contains a niche surmounted by *chitratōraṇa* with the *simhalalāṭa* at the top. This is divided into three parts. The central part contains a four handed-figure of *Nritta-Gaṇapati*. The recesses on either side contain a male and a female figure apparently engaged in circumambulation.

(c) *History*: — Most of the inscriptions in this temple belong to the Chola period. They refer to the God enshrined in it as Tippalādīsvaramuḍaiya Mahādēvar (skt. Parāsarēsvara) and to the village as Tiruchchōgunūr and Tiruchchukānūr. The former is probably derived from *yogi* or *jogi* as can be inferred from the modern name Jogimallavaram, which has survived to this day. 'Yogi' seems to refer to Suka as indicated by the other name, Tiruchchukānūr, obviously a Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit '*Sri Suka Grama*', mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription in the temple of Govindaraja, which refers to the penance of Suka and others in that village.⁷ After the Cholas the Saiva temple lost royal patronage while the Vaishnava temples gained in importance. This resulted in the bifurcation of the village. The western part containing the Siva temple came to be called Yōgimallavaram, while the eastern part containing the Vaishnava shrines continued to be known as Tiruchchukānūr or Tiruchchānūr (popularly corrupted into Chirtānūr).

A number of inscriptions in this temple of the reigns of Rajaraja I, Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola and Rajaraja III give details of grants made to it for various purposes. The earliest inscription of the 23rd year of Rajaraja I (1008 A.D.) says that one Kōdinambiyangādi alias Jayankōṇḍasōla Brahmārāyan of Aruvekkōvai (in Sōlamanḍalam) deposited with the Sabhaiyār of Tiruchchukānūr 26 *kaḷanju* of gold, accurately weighed with the Dharma-kattalai stone, for the conduct of the *ubhaiyam* on the Uttarayaṇa Sankaranthi day.⁸ Four inscriptions of Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) give the following details.⁹ One Tiruccirrambala Nambi made a gift of 120 cows to four temple servants for burning four lamps. The king was pleased to remit certain taxes on a

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 144.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 18.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 Nos. 23, 24, 25, 38.

dēvadāna village. The Mēhēswaras of the temple at Kālahasti built a tank for Tippalādisvara. One Nāraṇadēva waived his tax from the village Munnaippūṇḍi *alias* Sivapādasēkhara Nallūr for lighting two lamps in the temple. This was approved by the *gana* or village assembly. A record of the reign of Vikrama Chola, dated in his 16th year (1134 A.D.), refers to a gift of land for oil for the lamps during the procession in the Vaikasi festival.¹⁰ Two inscriptions of the reign of Rajaraja III dated in his 5th and 7th years (1223 and 1227 A.D.) are interesting. From these we know that Vira Narasimha Yāḍavarāya was his feudatory, who not only administered a portion of the Chola kingdom, but upheld his authority against the Kāḍavarāya Aḷagiyasiyan, father of Kōperunjinga. This Yāḍavarāya was the son-in-law of Pāṇḍiadaraiyan, who was the *pokkan* or *pokkāran* or treasurer of the Parāsārēsvara temple. He was a staunch Saivite (*parasamayakkōlāri*). His son Nārayaṇa Piḷḷai lost his life in the battle of Uraṭṭi waged between the Yāḍavarāya and the Kāḍavarāya, who rebelled against the Chola. In memory of the deceased and also for his spiritual benefit the Yāḍavarāya made a grant of six *puṭṭi* of land and a few taxes for instituting two offerings to Tippaladisvaramuḍaiya Mahādevar, viz., *Tiruardhayāmappaḍi* and *Tiruveḷucchippaḍi*.¹¹ Another inscription of the same king, dated in his ninth year (1229 A.D.) says that he settled a dispute regarding the gift of 26 *kaḷanju* of gold made by Kōdinambiyangaḍi earlier.¹² The last Chola inscription in this temple is dated in the 14th year of the same king. It refers to a grant of 6 *puṭṭi* of land in Munnaippūṇḍi for the conduct of the Masi festival.¹³

Inscriptions practically cease after the Chola period. The Rayas of Vijayanagar concentrated their attention on the Vaishnava temples of the Tirupati-Tirumala region. A solitary record dated 1547 A.D. belonging to the period of Sadāsivarāya, refers to a grant of three *paṇas* made by the trustees of the Tirumala temple in favour of one Paramasivan Aṇḍān for the supply of flowers for daily worship in the Siva temple of Parāsārēsvara.¹⁴

The temple is now managed locally.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 33.

11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 Nos. 34 and 35.

12. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 Nos. 36 and 37.

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 38.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5 No. 106.

Dutch Pioneers in Malabar

(A NARRATIVE BASED ON DUTCH SOURCES)

BY

T. I. POONEN, M.A., Ph.D.

The small maritime state of Kerala which came into being a few years ago is practically the same region which Dutch writers understood by the term "Malabar". Besides its linguistic and cultural homogeneity this part of India has a unique importance in history as being the cradle of that Indo-European maritime trade which has contributed so mightily to the prosperity of our country. That trade was initiated by the Portuguese at the close of the fifteenth century. But the mastery of eastern seas was wrested from them by the Dutch after a bitter conflict which lasted for a century and a half. Whatever be the economic and political consequences of Dutch contact with India, the fact cannot be gainsaid that the story of early Dutch visits to Malabar has a quaint attractiveness to the lay reader because of the picturesque setting of the incidents and the light these visits throw on contemporary social conditions.

Jacob Willemsz

It is presumed that an inhabitant of Zeeland was the first Dutchman who undertook a journey to the Malabar Coast. The destination of this Zeelander, Jacob Willemsz, the Customs Collector of Iersekerood, is mentioned in Dutch chronicles as "Cal-coeten". Obviously the place indicated is Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin, where Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator, landed in 1498. From this journey undertaken in 1525, the toll-gatherer does not seem to have returned. We do not know whether he reached his destination or what the motives were which prompted him to undertake such a distant journey, however natural it was to be in close contact with foreign ships which sailed to distant places from Antwerp.

Linschoten and Houtman

Among Dutchmen whose visits to Malabar are absolutely certain, the earliest are Linschoten and Houtman. The former was in a sense the originator of Dutch Commerce with India. He stayed in Goa for five years as the Archbishop's Secretary and sailed home from Cochin on the 25th January 1589. He was the author of the *Itinerario*, a travel diary which revealed the rottenness of the Portuguese colonial empire and the possibility of its being overthrown by an energetic rival. Houtman, a very intelligent Dutchman engaged for some years in the Portuguese service, revealed to some merchants in Amsterdam the nature of Portuguese commerce and the incalculable advantage which that trade offered.

Hans de Wolff and Lafer

Hans de Wolff and Lafer were two merchants who belonged to the Middleburg Company, one of the many companies which came into being in the wake of Houtman's visit. On hearing at Surat from certain Malabar merchants that there were places in Malabar where there were no Portuguese and where pepper was available at a cheap price (25 rupees per parah) and where even a fort would be available to the Dutch in Malabar if they dared to trade, these men proceeded to Malabar which they reached about April 1603. At Calicut, however, the Dutch merchants were seized by the Portuguese, taken to Goa and there hanged. Utterly unable to crush their rivals by force, the Spanish Portuguese power used underhand methods. Thus the first attempt made by the Dutch to settle on the Malabar Coast ended in tragedy.

Steven van der Haghen

The first fleet owned by the United East India Company of the Dutch consisted of thirteen ships. It sailed to the east in 1603 under the command of Admiral Steven van der Haghen. Cannanore was the first Malabar port where this fleet anchored. The inhabitants showed themselves very much inclined to trade with the Dutch. A large number of small boats came around with all available foodstuffs. Meanwhile the Admiral received a visit from three messengers of the Zamorin who proceeded to the Dutch fleet in small boats and intimated the desire of their master for an interview.

The Mohammedan merchants of Cannanore also showed the utmost goodwill to the Dutch. They took the Dutch to their houses and gardens, and let them have a look at their mosques; in short they did all they could to accord to the future buyers of their commodities as favourable terms as possible. The Portuguese in their fort close to the town observed these relations between their enemies who now came into these regions to harass them and the local people; when the fleet appeared in front of the Portuguese citadel, they proceeded to defend themselves. A skirmish took place to the north of the fortress. The King of the place who was unwilling to see his land a battlefield between the two European rivals sent a deputation to the Dutch with a request to suspend fire. He also forwarded the same request to the Portuguese. As the latter had already been established in his land for more than one hundred years, he could not drive them out unless he could be sure of the friendship and help of the Dutch. To prevent further complications, the Dutch therefore set sail in the evening in perfect friendliness. The King, however, showed his good disposition to the Dutch by causing to be brought to them two of their sailors who had wanted to desert to the Portuguese.

The arrival of the embassy of the Zamorin on board the ships aroused the expectation that they could perhaps rely on a better reception in Calicut. They anchored here on the 29th October, 1604. As the Portuguese wished to prevent an agreement between their worst enemies, the Zamorin and the Dutch, they attempted an attack on the Dutch ships with a number of frigates which had just come from Goa with soldiers and ammunition to strengthen some forts. The Dutch received the enemy so hotly that they had to withdraw although the Dutch succeeded in taking as prize only one of the Portuguese ships. The other ships escaped by rowing close to the shore. The entire Portuguese squadron consisted of 20 ships under the command of a Dom Pedro. At night some sloops went towards the land with the Vice-Admiral Cornelis Bastiaenz and two merchants visited the Zamorin who caused them to be met by some nobles. The Council of the prince received the Dutch and offered apologies that the Zamorin himself was not present as he was fighting against the King of Cochin, the protegee of the Portuguese.

After the Vice-Admiral had gone to the ship, a message was received from the Zamorin wherein the Dutch were invited to his

camp as he himself could not leave the camp. He was at a place about 2 Dutch miles (8 English miles) to the south of Calicut and sent some people to show the way to the Admiral. The ambassador of the Zamorin did not fail to inform the Dutch of the bad things which the Portuguese had narrated about them. Nevertheless, the Malabarees desired very much that they should see the Dutch and converse with them. The Zamorin who had already heard so much about the Dutch through the merchants from Achin and Bantam, domiciled in his land, attached little value to the Portuguese insinuation.

The arrival of the Dutch was a great curiosity for the inhabitants of the land and they streamed from great distances to see the strangers. Even the little children manifested great friendship and reverence to the new-comers. On the way to the Zamorin, the Dutch met the Portuguese squadron for the second time. It now came to a serious fight with the Portuguese, and on this occasion the Portuguese particularly aimed at a frigate captured by the Dutch which the latter had with them. The Portuguese Commander-in-Chief managed to make himself master of one of the Dutch ships. But the vehement resistance of the Dutch compelled the Portuguese to stop the combat. With many wounded, they had to retreat after three or four of their ships were made prizes in war. The Portuguese had a taste of a fight with the Dutch and did not wish to have more of it.

The Dutch fleet came to anchor in front of the island of Chetwaye in which were situated the harbour and the fort of Cranganore. A prow rowed from the island to the Dutch with an envoy from the Zamorin accompanied by still many others with the Nair retinue. The Zamorin cautioned the Admiral to keep the sloops and boats with the ships as the Portuguese wished to hazard an attack on the Dutch with many frigates and galleys. Twelve Portuguese frigates approached Van der Haghen's fleet but the Dutch did not walk into the trap. They kept their boats on board and the Portuguese sailed away without accomplishing their object.

In the fleet a decision was taken that the Admiral should go on land accompanied by some customs officers. The visit took place on the 11th November. Accompanied by two or three of his Council and all Junior Merchants including therefore also Hendrick

Jansz Crean, the chronicler of the first meeting between the Dutch Admiral and a Malabar prince, Van der Haghen set foot on the Zamorin's soil. This band of Dutch men consisted of 25 persons, everyone of whom was armed with his side gun and poniard. On the ships six Malabarees remained behind as hostages. Under the booming of the cannon of the Dutch ships, the Admiral was ceremoniously received on the shore by the Governor of the Zamorin surrounded by many Nairs. In the name of the Zamorin he greeted the Dutch with an address in Malayalam. The company then rowed inland in small prows to the abode of the Zamorin. During this journey, a portion of Van der Haghen's retinue got cut off from the rest because the vessels remained stuck up while sailing through the shallow muddy waters. It was not a pretty adventure that these Dutchmen including Craen faced. In the middle of the river, they were left behind alone in a prow while the Malabaree rowers took to their heels. With deep distrust, afraid every moment of falling into the hands of the Portuguese, they allowed themselves to be carried in the thick darkness of the night through woods and rice-fields by three Malabaree fishermen to an inhabited region where eventually they were received hospitably in the house of a Malabaree nobleman and entertained under the inquisitive glances of the nobleman's women who stood round some corners at all places to view the strangers. In this house Van der Haghen also arrived very soon after with the rest of his retinue who were delighted to see again their companions who, they had imagined, had come to grief. The next day, the nobleman, a member of the Council of the Zamorin, conducted the Dutch Admiral to that prince by whom they were received very deferentially and benevolently. After Van der Haghen had prostrated himself before the "emperor", the latter made him rise and regaled his guests with an abundance of fruit "so much no one desired more". He introduced himself with laughter to this eating party.

The Admiral then presented some goods to the prince on which occasion guns were fired. The Zamorin in his turn conferred on Van der Haghen an ornament of precious stone affixed to a golden chain. The costume of the Zamorin naturally evoked the attention of the Dutch. They were especially full of admiration for the three heavy belts round his body and the many golden rings with numerous precious stones on his ears. The reception at the arrival was only a fore-taste. The next day they

were officially invited by the Zamorin for dinner. For eating they sat with banana leaves taking the place of plates on which servants laid the dishes—many preserves and rice, but no animal food. From a room the Zamorin's womenfolk looked curiously at this spectacle. The Dutch on their part were astonished at the exuberant ear trimmings of these ladies. But besides sitting at a banquet the Dutch also transacted business. On the 11th November, 1604, Van der Haghen concluded with the Zamorin, in the name of the States-General and His princely Excellency Maurice of Nassau, a firm offensive and defensive covenant of "eternal and unbreakable alliance towards the oppression of the Portuguese and all their partners for driving them out of all the lands of His Majesty and out of the entire Indies". Each party bound itself not to conclude peace with the Portuguese without the approval and consent of the other. As regards the trade, the Dutch were invited to send ships and people as speedily as possible to Calicut where they would be allowed to build a fort for the security of their men and goods. The supremacy over the seas which was claimed by the Zamorin was acknowledged by the Dutch as the agreement contained a stipulation that whoever wished to sail along the Malabar Coast from Goa to Cape Comorin and carry on trade in Malabar ports must be provided with passes issued by the Zamorin. But, if they did not possess such passes, then the ships and cargo could be declared prize.

On the desired contract being concluded, leave was taken from the Zamorin who caused the whole company to be led out to the shore. On the 14th November, the Admiral divided his fleet according to the written instructions which he had been previously given, he himself sailing with his ships southwards along the Coast of Cochin to the Archipelago, while the ships *Zeeland* and *Enkhuizen* were sent northwards to establish a factory of the Dutch East India Company at Surat.

Hendrik Jansz Craen

It was only in 1607 that Dutch ships again appeared on the coast of Malabar. Paulus Van Caerden, Admiral of a fleet, left Holland for Malabar in the spring of 1606. But before his arrival in Malabar after a rough voyage on the 13th November, another ship, the *Gelderland*, which had been sent with secret instructions to Caerden almost a year after his leaving Holland had already

arrived at Calicut. The Senior Merchant Hendrik Jansz Craen who travelled in this ship has left behind a diary of this voyage as of the previous voyage under Steven van der Haghen. On reaching the Malabar Coast the *Gelderland* wished to capture a vessel which they at first considered as owned by the Portuguese. But when it appeared to belong to the Zamorin, it was set free. Past Mount Delli the Dutch seized an Indian vessel with eight Portuguese on board. They contented themselves with seizing the cargo of the Portuguese, while the Indian bargeman was allowed to proceed on his voyage with his goods. In front of Cannanore, the Dutch received a request from the Mohammedan King of that place ("Adriaen" = Ali Raja) for help and succour against the Portuguese "who were false and did not deserve to be believed while it was known in all lands that Prince Maurice always kept his word". If the Dutch promised to lend him their support, he would drive out the Portuguese and be obedient to the Prince. He also handed over to the Dutch a letter for the Prince. It may be noted that it was not the Hindu Kolathiri of Cannanore, but the Mohammedan Head of the Moplahs that thus entered into relations with the Dutch.

When Craen anchored at Calicut on the 1st November, he learned that the Zamorin was away in the neighbourhood of Cranganore; Craen proceeded thither and, prostrating himself before the Zamorin, handed over to that prince a letter of Prince Maurice with some presents, (among other things two firelocks and a morion). Craen was very obligingly received by the Zamorin. "He regarded me" writes Craen "as his own son because I was the first to gladden him with news of the first treaty" (that of 1604). In return for the Dutch presents, the Zamorin gave him a jewel of gold and precious stones as big as a rixdollar and a golden chain which he himself hung on Craen's neck. He showed himself exceedingly delighted that a Dutch ship had again arrived in his harbour. The treaty concluded by Van der Haghen was renewed and on the following day he proceeded on his voyage to Cochin and the regions further southward.

Paulus Van Caerden

At the time of Van Caerden's arrival on the Malabar Coast, the Zamorin was camping at his frontier fortress of Ponnani. The latter immediately sent messengers to the Admiral with the

request that he should forthwith proceed inland for an interview. But Paulus Van Caerden who frequently displayed great courage and had often been blamed for courting disaster by failure to take proper precautions did not on this occasion dare to alight ashore for fear that there might be some secret understanding between the Zamorin and the omnipresent Portuguese. The ambassador of the Malabar Prince was received on board and the treaty concluded by Steven van der Haghen was further confirmed. This was in the middle of November 1607.

Admiral Verhoef

The next incident in the story of Dutch contact with Malabar is the arrival of Admiral Verhoef at Calicut. To give previous intimation to the Zamorin of his impending arrival and to prepare the ground for the conclusion of a treaty, Verhoef had, prior to his landing at Calicut, sent Adam Classen Van Driel to Malabar in advance. Two other ships were sent to Coromandel under the command of the Senior Merchant Jacob de Bitter. While passing along the sea adjoining Cannanore, De Bitter alighted at that port in response to the invitation of the Governor of that place. The Governor was willing to trade with the Dutch but his request that some Dutchmen might be left there was not heeded to by De Bitter. He merely promised that the Dutch would be returning next year. With the remaining ships Verhoef landed at Calicut on the 9th October 1608 after collecting victuals at Mont Delli. On his arrival at Calicut Verhoef learned that Adam Van Drill had been very favourably received by the Zamorin. Negotiations followed and a draft treaty was drawn up. An envoy of the Zamorin appeared on board. The Admiral who was invited to the shore with such retinue as he chose to have had received precise directions from the interpreter as to how he should conduct himself in the presence of the Zamorin and with what presents that prince should be honoured. The following presents were sent inland in two boxes covered with yellow lac: scarlet cloth, some bunches of fine coral, six large crystal mirrors, two small metal guns, six beautiful fire-locks, two beautiful muskets with tessellated stocks, a battle sword with a silver hilt and 200 Spanish mats.

The ambassador of the Zamorin had urged that a salute should be fired by all the guns of the ships in honour of the Zamorin as

soon as the Admiral alighted from the ship. This request was complied with and the cannon roared as soon as the Admiral set out with a retinue consisting of 150 musketeers and 50 lancers, all most elegantly dressed. Nearly one thousand soldiers stood lined up on shore to receive the Admiral. Some ambassadors of the Zamorin came forward to meet the Admiral and escort him under their umbrellas to the palace. The trumpeters who were standing in the corners of streets blew their trumpets aloud while the musketeers did not spare themselves in firing. In the palace the Dutch were brought to the presence of the Zamorin who, dressed in most costly garments from which hung a chain adorned with gold and precious stones, received the foreigners present courteously and with a very cheerful countenance. He extended his right hand to be kissed by the Admiral who did not prostrate himself as orientals do but greeted him in the usual Dutch manner. Close to him stood the heir apparent and some nobles. After the Dutchmen had shown the signs of their respect to these, the Zamorin, as a token of their alliance, grasped the Admiral's hand and thrust his fingers through those of Verhoef. After this the Dutchmen inspected the palace. On this occasion they were also shown the residence of his wives. The Zamorin gave them sweets with his own hand. Meanwhile the guards brought the Dutchmen's presents to the palace. An elephant bore two metal cannon. The Zamorin thankfully received these gifts. Their conversation was carried on with the utmost good will. When the Zamorin saw on Verhoef's neck a golden chain from which hung a penny on which was engraved a likeness of Prince Maurice, he took it with the utmost familiarity and gazed at it. Evincing ordinary courtesy Verhoef presented it to the Zamorin. In return, the Admiral was given a golden ring. His companions were also presented with gold chains and rings. The guests spent the night on board ship. After sending further gifts to the Zamorin, the Admiral appeared before the Zamorin's Council. He took with him only his most trusted servants. The others were made to stand outside. A good guard was posted round the Council Chamber.

On getting inside the Council Chamber, the Admiral saw six men sitting on the ground in a circle with legs crossed. The Dutchmen also sat likewise on the ground in a circle. The Zamorin made them understand that he was very much surprised at the delay in extending the help and support promised in the treaty of 1604. The Zamorin complained that neither ship nor men had

been sent to molest the Portuguese, their common enemy, and to expel them from the West Coast of India. The Zamorin hoped that from this fleet he would receive the much deserved help which had not been offered to him in time. The Zamorin entreated that he should be helped with six ships. It was the Zamorin's desire that two ships should be moving about in front of Goa bar, two in front of Calicut and two in front of Cochin. The Zamorin declared that he on his part would reinforce these ships with sufficient ships and men necessary for preventing the Portuguese from coming out and imperilling them.

As soon as the Dutch could blockade Cochin from the sea, the Zamorin promised not only to furnish ships but also to besiege the place from the land side so that this fulcrum of the Portuguese power could be captured in a short time. The same could be done with regard to Goa, and for this latter enterprise, help could be obtained from the Sultan of Bijapur also. The Zamorin undertook not only to grant the Dutch freedom of trade in his land, but also to offer them a good house built of stone to serve as residence of their servants and warehouse for their goods. The Dutch considered that the Zamorin's military proposals went too far. In a diplomatic and complimentary manner these proposals were for the time being turned down. First the Company had to re-establish their position in the Moluccas. As the Company had not secured complete victory there, it was not possible to promise further help in future. But in order to make the king satisfy to some small extent at least the commercial aims of the Company, it was promised to send two ships from Bantam to Calicut with some merchants and a consignment of goods. The Zamorin was to afford protection to these merchants and to provide them with a proper dwelling place and a warehouse for stocking the goods they collected. The ships from Bantam were to be loaded with pepper and indigo purchased at Calicut. Meanwhile the Zamorin was free to use these ships against his enemies. As the Dutch did not comply with the Zamorin's most important demand that they should resort to armed fight against the Portuguese, they did not press their claim for exemption from customs duties and taxes. The Zamorin's Council pointed out the great importance of a fight against the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast, not the least also for the Company's trade in those region. So long as the Portuguese were in power, they would compel merchants from the Red Sea, Persia and Cambay to proceed to the Portuguese ports

of Cochin and Goa and in consequence the Dutch would be able to realise little profit at Calicut.

In the name of the Zamorin, the Council asked for the confirmation of the treaty of 1604. The Dutch agreed. The Portuguese and their ally, the ruler of Cochin, were specifically declared enemies and every help was promised to the Zamorin. The Zamorin on his part promised to take the Dutch under his protection and to prepare a good dwelling place and goods for the servants. The Zamorin also gave the Dutch an assurance that in the matter of customs duties and taxes they would not be subjected to a heavier burden than his subjects. In a written instruction which Verhoef left behind for Commanders and Merchants who would succeed him, it was enjoined that in return for the protection which the Dutch ships give to the Zamorin, they should ask for exemption from tolls. Further the Captain of the Dutch factory should also have the privilege of signing passports along with the Zamorin. For obvious reasons Verhoef himself did not raise these two points.

In accordance with the custom of the land, the treaty was ratified by laying on of hands. After the Council had acquainted the King with the talks, the Dutch took leave on the 15th October. Although the limited promises given to him did not satisfy the Zamorin as the Dutch could, for various reasons, hardly oblige him in the matter of sending ships, he did not manifest his disappointment and kept up his friendly attitude. He declared that he was contented with the two ships promised from Bantam and wished the Dutch all happiness and prosperity in their future undertakings. He even drew the Admiral to his side to warn him against the intrigues of the Portuguese. In order to secure the release of a Dutchman, Marten Van Domburch taken prisoner by the Portuguese in Cochin and found there in miserable captivity by the French traveller Francois Pyrard, the Zamorin promised in exchange for this Dutchman to set free some Portuguese in a captured galleon who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch and handed over to the Zamorin.

After the treaty was signed by the Admiral on the 13th October 1608 and handed over to the Zamorin with some further presents, the Zamorin sent them a present of 23 wild pigs. The fleet sailed on the 16th October and came in front of Cochin on the following day with the ships of the Vice-admiral. They decided to send a sloop immediately to Bantam to inform the merchants

there of the treaty with the Zamorin and to further the despatch of the promised two ships. Speedily the fleet set on its course to Malacca.

Jacques l' Hermite, the Chief of the factory at Bantam, expressed his inability to despatch two ships to Calicut. No ships could be spared from the Archipelago owing to the perilous condition of the Moluccas where Ternate and Tidore had been taken by the Spaniards. The West Coast of India lay outside the Company's direct sphere of activity. The trade there did not call for any establishment as only pepper was to be obtained there and for their present requirements enough could be secured in the Archipelago. It was not possible for some years for the Dutch to interfere there as the Zamorin proposed in 1608.

Cornelis Jacobsz Van Breckvelt and Hans Bullert

Owing to the circumstances mentioned above, the Zamorin was disappointed in his hopes of receiving Dutch ships in 1608. In the succeeding years also no Dutch ships turned up in his harbour. But relations with the Zamorin were not wholly given up. When in April 1610 three Dutch ships under the command of Arend Martensz reached Coromandel, they sent out from Tirupapaliyur, some miles south of Tegenapatnam, two servants of the Company, Cornelis Jacobsz Van Breckvelt and Hans Bullert overland to the Zamorin for negotiating with him and to conclude a treaty. This happened under orders from the Directors in the Netherlands for carrying out the instructions of their Prince as Martensz wrote to the Zamorin from the *Cleene Sonne* on the 28th April 1610. In the letter he excused himself for not sailing to Calicut because wind and storm prevented him from doing so and informed the Zamorin that he was therefore compelled to send his two emissaries to the king overland. Besides this letter the Dutch envoys took with them the patent of Prince Maurice and a letter from Peter Williams Verhoef to the king. Accompanied by two Brahmins and also an interpreter who knew Malayalam, Malay, Portuguese and "Moorish" (Arabic) and who had himself already performed this journey several times, and with two coolies who carried the bundles and luggage on their back, the Dutch proceeded on horse back through the interior of the Carnatic from the southward point of India proper. The first part of the journey was through the territory of the great "Ayya", the Governor of the

"Naik of Gingi." The financial side of the journey was accurately arranged. Both the emissaries received 114 pagodas as journey money, the interpreter was to obtain besides board three reals of eight to be paid after the completion of the journey; the two Brahmins together received 30 pardaos.¹ For the whole journey, the coolies received a pagoda each per month and board. A wax garment was taken with them for protection of luggage and letters.

No particulars are known about their journey. About September they must have been back at Tirupapaliyur with a treaty signed by the Zamorin. By this treaty the Dutch were permitted to build a stone house for keeping their wares, ammunitions and rigging. On all goods loaded and unloaded in the Zamorin's ports duty had to be paid at 2 per cent. Only once had those duties to be paid. Rice, money and household necessities were exempted from toll. The Zamorin promised to deny access to his land to the Portuguese. If a Dutchman deserted to the Zamorin, he was to be handed over to the Chief of the Dutch settlement. All merchants in the dominions of the Zamorin were granted freedom of trade with the Dutch. To no other European nation were these privileges permitted. Further the Company promised that, in case the Zamorin desired goods, artillery and ammunition from the Netherlands, the same should be supplied at the first opportunity. Lastly, the Dutch were permitted to cut wood and fetch water freely in the dominion of this prince. This treaty was pretty well of the same content as those concluded by Aren Maertsz with the Governor of the Naik of Gingi on the 29th March, 1610, and with the prince of the Carnatic on 24th April 1610. But this treaty of 1610 also produced no effect.

Pieter Van Den Broecke

After the lapse of some years, Pieter Van den Broecke, the founder of the Company's relations with Surat and Arabia, sailed along the Coast of Malabar in 1616 and halted in front of Calicut in the month of October. As the Zamorin was fighting against Cochin with an army and besieging the Portuguese fort of Cranganore Van den Broecke was received by the heir to the throne.

1. A pardao was a coin circulating in Goa worth at the end of the 16th century, about 4 shillings 6d. but afterwards diminishing in value to about 10½ d.

He evinced the utmost surprise at the fact that the Dutch had not given effect to the treaty concluded with Verhoef and that no more Dutch ships had appeared in the ports of the Zamorin. The prince requested Van den Broecke to sail to the camp of the Zamorin and verbally communicate to him the commission entrusted by the Governor-General. Owing to unfavourable wind Van den Broecke could not comply with this request but promised to appear next year in front of Calicut with ships and merchandise. The prince was contented with this. Van den Broecke was invited by the "empress" to a pompous and splendid meal and presented with a golden ring adorned with two beautiful rubies. Eventually he was conducted to the beach by the heir to the throne with a large retinue of soldiers. On his return he reported to the High Government about this reception.

Herman Van Speult

In 1625 Herman Van Speult, former Governor of Amboyna and then Councillor of India, hated by the English for his responsibility for the Massacre of Amboyna, touched the Malabar Coast on his way to Surat in compliance with the instructions of his superiors that he should greet the Zamorin and enter into commercial relations there. As soon as Van Speult reached Calicut, the Zamorin sent envoys requesting him to go over to Chetwai where he was encamped fighting against the King of Cochin. After the fleet sailed up to that place, the Zamorin appeared on the shore surrounded by more than 10,000 armed Nairs. He showed all possible courtesy to Van Speult, let the Dutch stay four or five days in his palace and sought to persuade him to establish a settlement in his land.

On the 3rd January 1626, an agreement was made, whereby the Zamorin promised to sell to the Company all the pepper and all the ginger produced in his land, the pepper for 28 Reals of Eight per Candy,² and ginger for 12 Reals per Candy. These wares were to be free of toll as were the goods which the Company wished to import into his land. Necessaries for the Dutch settlement were also to be free from duty. In return Van Speult, in the name of the Dutch United East India Company, promised to deli-

2. A Real of Eight was about two rupees in value. One candy was reckoned as equivalent to 520 pounds.

ver annually one cannon, the first to be given after the treaty was confirmed by the Directors or Governor-General and Council. The Zamorin was to prevent the sale of pepper or ginger to other nations than the Dutch and even to his own subjects. Therefore not a single countryman of his was to keep the ripe pepper with him. Strict supervision was to be exercised to ensure that no pepper was conveyed in an underhand manner out of the land. At Ponnani the Zamorin offered to the Company for an annual rent a good large fireproof stone dwelling situated close to the river for storing pepper. In this settlement the Zamorin's subjects should deliver the pepper, ginger and other wares and weigh them at their own cost. The Company's servants in the lodge stood under the protection of the Zamorin. Finally the treaty ended with the express stipulation that deserters and malefactors should be handed over by the Zamorin to the Dutch Chief. The Zamorin estimated the yield in his territories to amount to about 3000 Candies (1 Candy, in this case, meant 510 Holland pounds). After presenting the Zamorin with some gifts which were really meagre and quite out of proportion to the benefits promised in the treaty, the men went on board having been escorted ashore by the prince.

On his arrival at Surat Van Speult learned that, as the price of pepper was very low in Malabar, trade in pepper would yield considerable profit. As this pepper was coarser than the Javanese pepper and thus more in demand, Van Speult pressed his superiors to establish a factory at Calicut. Besides, they had not to pay cash for pepper, but could procure pepper by bartering Surat clothes, cloves, nutmegs, mace etc. Feeling sure that his superiors would give heed to his proposals, Van Speult suggested that a competent and experienced person should take up the position of the head of the contemplated factory at Calicut. Unfortunately Van Speult died at Mocha on the 23rd November on his return journey from Surat to the Netherlands. Even when he was alive the Governor-General and Councillors did not take kindly to his suggestions and showed him but scant sympathy. The High Council merely decided to send Van Speult's letters to the Netherlands without any comment. The treaty remained unratified.

Jacob Jansz Corencray

Jacob Jansz Corencray, Commander of the fleet sent by the Dutch factors at Surat in 1633 to sail along the coast from Daman

to Cape Comorin for seizing and destroying Portuguese ships; was instructed to enter into negotiations with the Zamorin on the pretext that he had strayed from his fleet and had come merely to procure some provisions. After offering to the Zamorin his excuse that the Dutch had continually to fight evilly disposed enemies and were being hindered by hypocritical friends, Corencray was to make it appear to the Zamorin that the treaty of Van Spault which the High Government had not yet ratified was entirely unknown to him. Corencray had been instructed to acquaint himself very exactly as to what merchandises were in demand and at what price and in what quantities they could be negotiated. It had also been suggested to him that he should gather information about the fighting strength of the Malabarees as well on water as on land, the number of their vessels of war, their armaments, etc. But any request made by the Zamorin for armed help against the Portuguese enemy was for the time being to be refused. At Calicut where Corencray tried his utmost to carry out the instructions he had received, he could achieve but little as the Zamorin was as usual fighting against Cochin. However, he succeeded in three days' time in exchanging 95000 pounds of lead for a supply of pepper of 680 quintals. (1 quintal = 500 pounds), which was brought on board in small prows by the inhabitants of Cannanore, Mangalore and Barcelor. The information which Corencray had, in accordance with his instructions, collected about the negotiable goods and their prices was satisfactory. It appeared that cloves, nutmegs, saltpetre, lead, agil, sandalwood, vermillion, quicksilver, tin, benzoin, radix china, Japanese and Borneo camphor, Chinese porcelain, sugar-candy and a small quantity of Reals in specie were negotiable. The high Government felt that instead of strictly conforming to his instructions Corencray should have stayed longer on the Coast and gathered a more considerable supply of pepper. Therefore the Governor-General and Council decided to send out four ships which should, on their way to Surat and Persia, visit the Malabar Coast also. Four ships and one small Yacht actually sailed on the 12th July from Batavia under the Command of Corencray who had acquired necessary knowledge and experience on his first voyage. This second fleet sent westwards from Batavia under Corencray proceeded first to Persia, whence, among other things, they were to take a shipment of tin which was to augment the goods destined for Malabar. Then they could steer their course

to Calicut. The goods destined for Malabar were worth 81,166 and odd guilders. They were to be exchanged for pepper. If the purchase of pepper surpassed expectations, Corencray was permitted to barter for Malabar pepper the spices intended for Surat, but not for prices lower than they would fetch in Surat. Corencray was to put into the market the commodities like lead and spices only in small lots lest the price be unduly depressed. For buying pepper, the price was at the outset allowed to be very high by the Governor-General and Council i.e. 8 Reals per Quintal. Only if unavoidably necessary were they to speak of the stock of ready money taken with them.

As the High Government were acquainted with the importance and potentialities of the Malabar trade, it was decided to secure a consignment of this pepper as cargo for the next return ship to the Netherlands. They accordingly commanded Corencray to call at all prominent pepper places on the Malabar Coast so that he might all the sooner get his ships fully loaded. Besides pepper Corencray could buy cardamom also in Malabar.

The Governor-General and Council had great expectations of the Malabar pepper trade and hoped to secure advantageous returns ere long, the more so as perhaps it was not necessary to establish there an expensive factory. The Malabarees themselves brought pepper aboard. Corencray's second expedition, however, was less successful than the first. Coming from Persia, his ships were prematurely discovered by the Portuguese who took their measure and sent out a war fleet of 10 to 20 frigates to pursue the Dutch fleet. Though they did not attack the Dutch ships, the Malabar merchants were prevented from bringing their pepper on board. Continually the Portuguese, with their small rowing vessels, made unsafe the channel through which Dutch ships had to reach the Coast. Only 150,000 pounds of pepper could be obtained in exchange for lead. An offer of 1200 Candies of pepper from his land was made by the King of Cannanore. But here also the trade was hindered by the Portuguese. The same was the case also at Baliapatnam, Mount Delli and Ponnani where the inhabitants had likewise pepper in stock. Only at Calicut, though not without the threatening of the Portuguese, could the pepper already contracted be taken. Corencray believed that if he had possessed good row boats he could have been placed in possession of the pepper stock, but now they had to sail away with the task unperformed. The Dutch believed that the Malabarees wished

ardently to trade with the Dutch and that they were disinclined to deal with the Portuguese who were also being pestered by the Malabar pirates.

Dr. Pieter Vlack

The leading figures of the United East India Company began to see of what great importance the Malabar pepper trade could be for the entire commerce of the Company in India and what damage they could inflict on the Portuguese if they could push the latter out of the same. Consequently Dr. Pieter Vlack, former President of the Council of Justice at Batavia, who went in 1634 as Commander with the return fleet via Surat and Persia to the Netherlands was commanded by the High Government to attend to the Malabar trade. Therefore it was thought advisable that he should immediately sail straight to Cannanore so that he could with all speed gather the pepper before the Portuguese were aware of the arrival of the Dutch lest the former make the trade with the pepper ports impossible by using a large number of small vessels of war as in previous years. In view of diminished production in Djambi and the west coast of Sumatra, the High Government hoped that Vlack would secure a good consignment of pepper for the return cargo for the fatherland. For this at least 400 to 500 lasts¹ pepper had to be purchased on the Malabar Coast. A large quantity of pepper could be obtained very quickly at Cannanore, Tramapatnam and Baliapatnam as they were situated very closely to each other. As further instruction, Vlack was given a price list. As much of goods and as little of cash as possible were to be exchanged for pepper, at most $\frac{1}{3}$ cash and $\frac{2}{3}$ goods. Vlack must immediately pay these prices and must not try to bargain. The Indian merchants who first brought the pepper on board had the benefit of the first and best chance out of the barter goods. The fleet was divided in order that business might be transacted at those three places at the same time, but in such wise that the ships always remained in sight of each other. Three merchants were stationed in the Malabar ports for this trade. One ship and one yacht were sent to each of the pepper centres. The other three ships ought to keep up the connection. The six ships and three yachts together covered a coastal strip of about ten miles. The friendship of the Company was offered to the King of Cannanore and other magnates of the land.

1. 1 last = 3000 Dutch pounds.

Not only pepper but also ginger, cardamom and cinnamon were the goods which Vlack was asked to secure for the Company. Nor was he to neglect the connections with the pirates of Badagara who frequently had in stock goods for sale and further more were sworn enemies of the Portuguese. This time the results did not come up to expectations. Owing to unfavourable winds Vlack was late in arriving on the Malabar Coast. In addition to the ports of Tramapatnam, Cannanore and Baliapatnam named in his instructions he visited Ponnani and Badagara also. But in all these places the old pepper had already been purchased by the Portuguese and other foreign merchants while the new pepper was 'scarcely plucked by the middle of December. Moreover Vlack found little interest on the part of the local people in the goods he had brought with him for being exchanged for pepper. Also, they asked exorbitant prices for the new pepper and as if they had prior mutual consultations they demanded in all places 10 Reals for one Quintal of pepper. At the same time, the price of the goods brought down to be exchanged for pepper had come down. Vlack did not accept these terms as these prices differed considerably from those of the previous year, and yet it was not convenient for the Company to appear again on the Coast within three months. Above all he dared not leave relying on the "windy" promises and treacherous contracts of the Moham-medan merchants who at the same time concluded agreements with the Portuguese who had left merchants and agents in their villages.

On the 27th October Vlack's fleet departed without pepper for Goa pursued by a Portuguese armada of 13 small war frigates. This fleet blockaded Cannanore for two months out of revenge against the ruler of Cannanore for having negotiated with the Dutch in 1634 and sold them a consignment of pepper. Vlack exhorted the king to maintain the struggle against the Portuguese and presented him for the continuance of the war with three small barrels of gun-powder and further promised all possible support. But while Vlack lay in front of Mount Delli for taking provisions he heard that the Portuguese Viceroy, warned of the coming of the Dutch, immediately concluded peace with the King of Cannanore and confirmed the same by a considerable present. The Portuguese were now free to use their fleet against the Dutch. But it did not come to a fight and, unmolested, Vlack reached Surat after a stay of three days in front of the bay of Goa.

Maurits van Ommeran

Maurits van Ommeran, Commander of one of the fleets sent by the Governor-General, Hendrik Brouwer, to Surat and Persia had been instructed not to neglect the pepper trade. Van Ommeran had been enjoined to take, before the Portuguese became aware of the project and tried to hinder the same, a great stock of pepper so secretly and so quickly as if it were for a flight. For this pepper trade they had to send very brisk and rapidly sailing yachts from the fleet stationed in the bay of Goa at the time pepper was sold on the Coast, that is February and March. Van Ommeran was commanded not to visit the Zamorin as the attitude of that ruler had aroused the deep distrust of the Batavia Government. It was felt that, as he wished to bind himself more with the Portuguese, all his proposals to the Dutch were made merely for form's sake so as to misguide the Dutch and mark time.

Jacob Jansz Patacka

Van Ommeran who passed away in the Maldives on the 18th October was succeeded by Jacob Jansz Patacka who had belonged to the fleet of Van Caerden in 1608. Over his appointment the Governor-General and Council showed great discontent. He neither blockaded Goa nor accomplished anything in the trade on the Malabar Coast. He died at Ambon in the Maldives in 1637.

Such were the early contacts made by the Dutchmen who visited Malabar before the policy of pursuing trade in Malabar pepper under the protection of the fleets blockading Goa was resorted to.

Fall of Sirajuddaula, the Nawab of Bengal

BY

DR. V. P. S. RAGHUVANSHI

Genesis of the plot for his deposition

It is usually held that Nawab Sirajuddaula of Bengal had made himself odious to his aristocracy which welcomed the British aid against him. Most of the contemporary accounts, European and Muslim, foster such a notion. Mons. Lass, the French Chief of Cossimbazar, to whom the Nawab offered protection after the capitulation of Chandranagore writes very definitely that the house of Jagat-Seth was the brain of the conspiracy to depose him. "They are", he says, "I can affirm, the originators of the revolution; without them the English would never have carried out what they...."¹ The Seths of this family were the leaders of the mercantile community of the province and their active support contributed to a great extent to British success. The English kept themselves in constant touch with them through Amir Chand, the crafty Punjabi merchant and it was the candidate of the Seths who first figures on the stage of sedition. It was also commonly believed that the coins of the Hindu banker along with the sword of Col. Clive worked out the ruin of Sirajuddaula.² A careful study of the correspondence of the East India Company's servants in Bengal at this time would however warrant a different view. The English were the main inspiration of the conspiracy for the Nawab's deposition. The British Resident at Murshidabad, William Watts, was the principal author of the revolution and Amir Chand and Khosa Petruse, the Armenian merchant, were the two per-

1. Memoir of Lass. See Hill, S.C.: Bengal in 1756-57. London 1905, Vol. III. p. 185.

On the basis of contemporary Bengali literature, D. C. Sen concludes that it was Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai of Nadia who first suggested to Mir Jafar the idea of overthrowing Sirajuddaula with the help of the English. History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 616-617.

2. Hunter, Sir W.: Statistical Account of Bengal. Vol. IX. p. 258.

sons engaged by him in his confidential errands. They solemnly assured him of their full co-operation.³ There is no reason why we should not accept the confession of Mr. Watts to his father, "I alone did it".⁴

The plot for Sirajuddaula's deposition had its origin about the time the English attacked the French settlement of Chandranagore. Their inability to secure his benevolent neutrality in their conflict with their rivals made them very bitter towards him and they felt that their future security lay in his dethronement. Watts began seriously thinking about it at this time. Scrafton attached to the English factory at Dacca was mostly with Mr. Watts at this time, and in a letter to Walsh, a near relation of Clive, he referred to the need of a strong combination against the Nawab as follows:

"I think on the whole his (Sirajuddaula's) court may be compared to that of Ptolemy's that reigned Egypt when Pompey fled there after the battle of Pharsalia, that is that the head and members are all as corrupt and treacherous as possible, and the Colonel should be the Caesar to act as Caesar then did, take the kingdom under his protection, depose the old and give them a new king to make his subjects happy . . .

For God's sake let us proceed on some fixed plan . . . Give Mr. Watts a hint of this, the least encouragement, and he will set about forming a party in case the worst. How glorious it would be for the Company to have a Nabob devoted to them."⁵

Mon. Lass refers to English intrigues with the Seths at this time. He visited them before the siege of Chandranagore and frankly spoke to them of their intention of setting up another Nawab. Amir Chand, who closely watched his movements, interrupted him, "Away with them" but the Seths calmly advised him not to talk about all that.⁶ He also spoke to the Nawab about these intrigues, "but the poor youngman began to laugh, being unable to imagine that I could be so silly as to indulge in such ideas."⁷

3. See Sir Richard Carnac Temple's article in *Indian Antiquary*, Nov., 1918. p. 267; *Bengal Past and Present*, July-December 1928. Vol. XXXVI. pp. 113-115.

4. Letter of 13th August 1757, Hill: *Bengal*. Vol. II. p. 468.

5. Letter of 9th April, *Ibid.* pp. 342-43.

6. See Hill, Vol. III. pp. 193-194.

7. *Ibid.* p. 194.

Candidature of Mir Khuda Yāf Khan Lutif

The choice of a suitable person to replace Sirajuddaula baffled both the English and the Seths for a considerable time. The names of the Fauzdar of Cuttack, of the sons of the late Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, and Shaukat Jang, the cousin of Siraj, were considered and rejected. It was difficult to secure adequate support in their favour.⁸ The Seths then proposed Mir Khuda Yār Khan Lutif, a military adventurer whom they had imported for their own security and who was now an officer of distinction in Bengal army. Clive spoke of him as "a man of great family, power and riches, supported tooth and nail by Jagat Seth."⁹ On behalf of Mr. Watts, on 23rd April, Amir Chand also concluded a definite agreement with him that whenever Sirajuddaula broke away with the English he was to join them on the condition of being made the Nawab, that he would grant the English Company a large tract of the country near Calcutta and sufficient money to satisfy the English naval and military personnel and the inhabitants of Calcutta, and that Mir Sahib and the English would bind themselves in a defensive and offensive league. The plan of operations against the Nawab was also tentatively drawn up.¹⁰ This engagement shows the readiness of the English to throw in their lot with any adventurer and Clive merely advised Watts not to commit himself to secret executions for the honour of the British nation.¹¹ This pretender of obscure parentage is mentioned to have had the support of Mir Jafar Ali Khan also.¹² But it was soon realised that the English could not pull through the ordeal in his name. Watts decided to abandon him in favour of Mir Jafar, a relation of Alivardi Khan, and an Omrah of imperial distinction. He explained to his father that on perceiving the futility of his first project he applied to Jafar Ali.¹³

Agreement with Mir Jafar

With Mir Jafar's willingness to act as their candidate the English were relieved of their anxiety and suspense. If he was ambi-

8. *Ibid.* p. 210.

9. Clive to Watts. Letter of 26th April. *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 362.

10. Watts to Clive. Letter of 23rd April. *Ibid.* p. 353; also Scrafton's Letter to Clive. p. 357.

11. Letter of 28th April, Hill. Vol. II, p. 366.

12. *Ibid.* p. 342-343, 349, 362.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 468.

tious and unscrupulous, he was also polite and persuasive and had strong influence in the government. The Seths persuaded Lutf to accept Mir Jafar's cause as his own.¹⁴ Ghaista Begum, the old enemy of the Nawab, now "leagued herself secretly" with him and gave him every assistance. Mirza Amir Beg, the confidential assistant of Mir Jafar, canvassed support with the principal men of the court and showed the English authorities at Calcutta a paper signed by them in favour of his master.¹⁵ Karam Ali writes that much of the Nawab's army had already been won over by English money and the rest of it was demoralised by the hostility of the Seths, Mir Jafar and Raja Durlabh Ram, the Diwan.¹⁶ It was not difficult for Clive to persuade the Admiral, Watson and Roger Drake, the President of the Calcutta Council, that the projected understanding with Mir Jafar was highly beneficial to the Company. On 1st May 1757 the Select Committee at Calcutta supported the idea of a revolution in the government of Bengal as highly beneficial to the Company and framed proposals of agreement with Mir Jafar. Clive communicated these to Watts and pressed him "to enter upon business with Mir Jafar as soon as possible."¹⁷ But the conclusion of an agreement was delayed for reasons which we shall shortly discuss and Mir Jafar was naturally very uneasy. He even sent Mr. Watts "a blank paper with his seal upon it" to be forwarded to the Calcutta Council.¹⁸ But it was not before 5th June that Watts could get two drafts of the treaty signed by Mir Jafar. We are informed that on that night he stole into Mir Jafar's residence in a closely guarded 'doli' used by Muslim ladies. Placing his "one hand on the holy Korān" and the other on the head of his son, Mir Jafar swore solemnly to abide by the agreement.¹⁹ Thus was the alliance, the deed of treason consecrated.

The treaty with Mir Jafar confirmed the Company's privileges and was a defensive and offensive alliance based on an identity of interests. It clearly laid down that the enemies of the

14. *Ibid.* p. 400.

15. Ghulam Hussain: *Seir-Mutāqherin*, Cambray Edition, Vol. II, pp. 227-229.

16. Muzaffar-nama, Allahabad University MSS. p. 248.

17. Letter of 2nd May, Hill. Vol. II. p. 373.

18. *Ibid.* pp. 382-383.

19. Letter of Watts of 6th June, *Ibid.* p. 399.

English were the enemies of the Nawab. Mir Jafar bound himself to deliver the French and their goods to the English authorities and desist from fortifications on the river below Hugli. He promised to grant the Company adequate lands for the maintenance of a proper military force. The treaty also mentioned the enormous exactions from the Nawab for the Company's servants and supporters, one lac of rupees for the Company, fifty lacs for Europeans at Calcutta, twenty lacs for the losses of the Hindoos, seven lacs for Armenians, etc.²⁰ On these Orme significantly remarks, "The Committee really believed the wealth of Sirajuddaula much greater than it possibly could be, even if the whole life of the late Nawab Alivardi had not been spent in defending his own dominions against the invasions of ruinous enemies and even if Sirajuddaula himself had reigned many instead of only one."²¹ This treaty rendered Mir Jafar's government a bankrupt concern from the very beginning.

Duplicity of Amir Chand

The political deal between Mir Jafar and the English did not run a smooth course. The change of candidature for the 'musnad' threw Amirchand in the background and we are informed that Mir Jafar did not trust him. Khoja Petrusse was the intermediary between Watts and Mir Jafar in the last phase of the negotiations.²² But Watts considered it risky to conceal the matter from him and he insisted on having 5% of the Nawab's treasures, besides a quarter of all his wealth. Amir Chand decided to strike a heavy bargain or spoil the game and Watts spoke of him as "a cunning serpent" keen to mar their affairs, if "he was not trusted with their management."²³ It was undoubtedly unwise to provoke him and Watts suggested to Clive the device of having two drafts of the treaty with Mir Jafar and in one of these Amir Chand's demand was to be incorporated. He cautioned the Colonel to keep the matter an "inviolable secret."²⁴ Accordingly two treaties were drawn upon, one on white and the other on red paper and in the latter the stipulation of twenty lacs for Amir Chand was laid down.

20. Hill. Vol. II. pp. 383-85.

21. Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, Vol. II. p. 153.

22. Watt's letter of 6th May, Hill. Vol. II. p. 377.

23. Watt's Letter to Clive of 6th June, *Ibid.* p. 400.

24. Letter of 14th May, *Ibid.* pp. 381-382.

All the members of Calcutta Select Committee put their signatures on both but Watson refused and Clive and Lushington forged his signature on the red treaty.²⁵ Scrafton then persuaded Amir Chand to accompany him to Calcutta as it was not safe to leave him at the capital. He missed his companion twice on the way but in spite of all his efforts Amir Chand did not succeed in probing the truth.²⁶ This transaction relating to the fictitious treaty has been condemned by all sensible historians as a nefarious one. There is also no evidence to suggest that Amir Chand actually divulged any fact to the Nawab.

The Authenticity of Maratha Letter

At this time when the servants of the Company were engaged in secret dealings with the Seths and Mir Jafar, they took extreme care to avoid all indications of hostility towards the Nawab. Watts strongly advised the excited Colonel "to lay aside all appearance of war" and they carried on their correspondence by "cyphers".²⁷ They did much to temporise with the Nawab by a display of their pacific intentions. Clive maintained a regular correspondence with the Nawab and his Chief Minister, Raja Mohan Lal, repeatedly declaring his resolution to live at peace with the government.²⁸ In the first week of May he also ordered a greater part of the army at Chandranagore to proceed to Calcutta. On 20th May he despatched Scrafton to Murshidabad with a conciliatory message to the Nawab along with a letter he was supposed to have received from a Maratha general in the Deccan.²⁹ The contents of this letter were as follows: Balaji Rao Sahu Baji Rao, vizier to Ram Raja, brother of Raja Sahu, expressed his desire for a personal meeting with the Governor Roger Drake but distance prevented it. He begged for English friendship and aid "to let his generals enter Bengal with 120,000 forces besides other forces to be ready at his (Governor's) disposal". He promised adequate compensation for the Company's past losses and exhort-

25. Hill, Vol. II. p. 383.

26. Hill, Vol. II. pp. 404-404; Orme: *Military Transactions*, Vol. II. pp. 158-159; *Indian Antiquary*, November 1918, Vol. XLVII, pp. 272-73; *Bengal Past and Present*, July-December 1928, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 119-120.

27. Hill, Vol. II, p. 354, p. 363-364, 366-368.

28. See his letters, *Ibid.* pp. 352-353, 356-357, 359-361, 372, 376-377.

29. Hill, Vol. II, p. 390.

ed the Governor not to make peace with the Nawab. It ended as such, "In a few days my forces shall enter Bengal, and the trade of the province shall be entirely yours.....The French shall not remain in Bengal. Your forces shall keep them out by sea, mine by land."³⁰ One Govind Rao reached Calcutta on 3rd May with this letter dated from Hyderabad. His servant, one "Meecrum", met Roger Drake who apprised Clive on 11th May of the overtures from the Marathas.³¹ Scrafton informs us that later on Govind Rao also met the Colonel and vouchsafed for the authenticity of the letter from the Maratha general commanding the forces in the Deccan.³² The contents of this letter *prima facie* appear ridiculous. Muslim historians do not refer to the arrival of any Maratha agent at Calcutta at this time. Dr. Ives, the English surgeon at Calcutta, who has minutely recorded the transactions of this period does not refer to these overtures from the Marathas. After their treaty with the Nawab Alivardi Khan ceding Orissa to them the Marathas showed no bad faith towards Bengal government. Scrafton's account of the whole transaction is not very convincing. Later British historians take care to avoid reference to it. The "Maratha Letter" appears to be a forgery of Roger Drake whose emissaries were at this time busy fomenting disaffection against the Nawab and inciting the powerful Zamindars.³³ It was directed to assure the Nawab of the peaceful intentions of the English and save Mir Jafar from his resentment. It produced a happy reaction on the Nawab when Scrafton along with Watts, Jagat Seth and other ministers met the Nawab and spoke of Clive's interest in his well-being. The Nawab "burst forth into loud exclamations of Colonel's praise" and promised to recall the army stationed at Plassey.³⁴

Calcutta Council's Charges against Sirajuddaula

We may now enquire into the charges framed by the Calcutta Council against Sirajuddaula in their resolution of 1st May approving of secret understanding with Mir Jafar. They charged the Nawab with insincerity in concluding the treaty of February, with

30. Scrafton: *Reflections*, p. 83.

31. See Orme: *Military Transactions*, Vol. II, p. 153; Hill, Vol. II, p. 379.

32. Scrafton: *Reflections*, p. 83.

33. Drake to Clive, Letter of 3rd May, Hill, Vol. II, p. 375.

34. Scrafton: *Reflections*, pp. 83-84; See also Nawab's letter to Clive of 27th May, Hill, Vol. II, p. 394.

delay in fulfilling its articles, with evasion in restoring the losses of the Company and with insolence in directing Admiral Watson to leave the river Hugli. They objected to his protection to Mons. Lass and his party, and invitation to Mons. Bussy. They were convinced that on the first favourable opportunity he will "throw off the mask" and break the treaty. They had no doubt that a revolution against him would be attempted by his own subjects as he was universally despised. They considered it "a great error in politics" to be merely idle spectators of it and not to assist in the establishment of a new government.³⁵ It is not difficult to refute this elaborate charge-sheet. It was the Calcutta Council that had accepted peace with the Nawab in a grudging spirit fearing a combination between him and the French. As for the Company's losses, it never formulated the demands in a specific manner. The Nawab had gracefully enough paid the Company ten lacs of rupees. His orders to the Admiral to retire from an advanced position on the river Hugli near Chandranagore were inspired by his consideration for the peace and tranquillity of the province. In respect of the violation of the treaty, the English took the first step in that direction by attacking the French in spite of their solemn pledges to the Nawab. His invitation to Bussy was prompted by their aggression and was not repeated after the cessation of hostilities. The Nawab then promised the English full military aid in case Bussy appeared in Bengal. The English tried to justify their aggression by gratuitously assuming to themselves the role of saviours on behalf of the distressed people of Bengal.

Dismissal and Confinement of Mir Jafar

To satisfy the Calcutta authorities the Nawab asked Mons. Lass and his party to leave the capital and shift to Bihar. The English then pressed for permission to strengthen their garrison at Cossimbazar and station two thousand of their forces at Patna. Sirajuddaula naturally grew apprehensive and in the early part of June the plot for his deposition was openly talked about at Calcutta.³⁶ His well-wishers advised him not to sleep over the matter, and Mir Jafar was consequently stripped of the office of

'Bakshi' and a strong guard placed at his residence.³⁷ Watts was quite nervous and more so to find that Mir Jafar did not have many supporters, excepting "a set of shuffling, lying, spiritless wretches."³⁸ It was unfortunate for the Nawab that he did not take a proper view of the treacherous conduct of Mir Jafar. Karam Ali says that he "turned a deaf ear to sane councils and thought English power a mere trifle."³⁹

Flight of Watts and Nawab's Reconciliation with Mir Jafar

The dramatic flight of William Watts and members of the Council of Cossimbazar on the night of 12th June left none in doubt as to the real intentions of the English. Next day the Nawab held an "extraordinary secret council" and issued orders to his generals to keep the army in readiness. At this critical juncture some of the cavalry forces that Mir Jafar had commanded refused to muster and this demoralised the Nawab.⁴⁰ The party favouring Mir Jafar prevailed upon him to come to terms with his enemy. The Nawab consequently restored Mir Jafar and his nephew, Khadim Hassan Khan, to their commands in the army. On the holy 'Koran' they swore fidelity to the Nawab.⁴¹ Sirajuddaula undoubtedly committed a grave error of judgment in trusting his sworn enemy with high military command and the reconciliation with him proved fatal for his cause. We are told that Mir Murdan, the loyal artillery officer, plainly remonstrated with the Nawab:

"My Lord, it is not wise to trust those enemies that spring in one's own family. They should first of all be brought under proper control and the English would dare not take up arms. Their presence in the army will ever be a source of anxiety to us all."⁴²

After his reconciliation with the Nawab Mir Jafar lost no time in informing Col. Clive that he was not to be discouraged by it.⁴³

37. Karam Ali: Muzaffarnama, pp. 249-250.

38. Letter to Clive, 3rd June, Hill, Vol. II, p. 397.

39. Muzaffarnama, p. 251.

40. Hill, Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 410-411.

41. Ghulam Hussain: Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, p. 89; Karam Ali: Muzaffarnama, pp. 251-252.

42. Muzaffarnama, p. 252; Also Ryaz-us-Salat, English translation published by Asiatic Society of Bengal, n. 374.

43. Letter of 16th June, Hill, Vol. II, p. 414.

35. Hill, Vol. II, pp. 370-371.

36. Hill, Vol. II, p. 398.

March of the English Army

Without the active co-operation of his allies Clive was not very confident of success. He even contemplated accommodation with the Nawab if he could satisfy the English on the issue of the French and prevent their resettlement in his dominion. He expressed his willingness to proceed to Cossimbazar to refer the disputes with the Nawab to the arbitration of Jagat Seth, Raja Mohan Lal, Mir Jafar, Mir Murdan, Raja Rai Durlabh and other great men.⁴⁴ The Nawab completely ignored this letter. There is little doubt that Clive was very uneasy and disturbed at his risky undertaking. Joined by detachments from Calcutta he marched from Chandranagore on 13th June with an army consisting of 900 infantry, 190 artillery and 2200 sepoys.⁴⁵ Nand Kumar, the fauzdar of Hugli, had been replaced by Aminullah but he could not oppose his march. On 18th Major Eyre Coote successfully stormed the mud-fort of Cutwah. The stay at this place formed the most uneasy period of Clive's career. Filled with misgivings about Mir Jafar he faltered and wavered at a forward step. To the Select Committee he expressed his fears in crossing the river.⁴⁶ On 21st he held a council of war in which he informed others that Mons. Lass and his party was within three days march of joining the Nawab. Of the twenty-one military officers that attended the council only seven voted for immediate action and the Colonel was with the majority. Major Eyre Coote vigorously codemned a retrograde step.⁴⁷ The letter that Clive received from Mir Jafar, wrapped in a pair of slippers, emboldened the Colonel to resume the march to Plassey.⁴⁸ On the mid-night of 22nd June the English army reached Plassey and encamped in the famous grove where on the next day the British empire in India was ushered into existence.

Battle of Plassey: 23rd June, 1757

From the military point of view the position of the English army at Plassey was very assuring. The high mud-banks of the grove adequately covered its right and front flanks and the

left was covered by a rest house of the Nawab and the Ganges. About three hundred yards from the grove in front was a tank with high embankments. On 23rd at day-break the Nawab's army also reached Plassey in two formations, the van commanded by Raja Mohan Lal and Mir Murdan proceeded from the river towards the grove. The other under Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh, and Yar Khan Lutif fixed its position on the right of the grove at a safe distance. A small French company under Mon. Sinfray joined the van. The Nawab's artillery was dispersed among the various divisions of the army. This was to foil English attempt at a concentrated attack on the artillery.⁴⁹

In the first phase of the contest lasting upto 12.00 Mir Murdan and Mohan Lal together with the small French party, with singular zeal and unity of purpose, compelled the British forces to retire behind the grove. After a brisk cannonnade Mir Murdan succeeded in taking possession of the tank and rendering the enemy inactive. At about 12 Nature intervened against the Nawab and the heavy shower of rains induced a lull in fighting and retarded the progress of his cavalry. The English wisely covered their guns and ammunition with tarpaulins while the Nawab's army took no such precaution and its powder was completely drenched. Col. Clive was however very much demoralised by the action of the morning and he placed all his hopes on a night attack.⁵⁰ At the beginning of the lull that commenced with the heavy down-pour, Mir Murdan, the gallant officer was mortally wounded by a cannon ball in his thigh. He was removed to the Nawab's tent where he soon breathed his last. The Nawab was completely stupefied by this loss and he sent for Mir Jafar whose friends and forces had been conspicuous for their inactivity. Muslim historians have given a vivid account of this meeting.⁵¹ Forgetting all about his dignity and authority, Sirajuddaula tore off his turban and placed it on Mir Jafar's feet and expostulated, "That turban you must defend." He reminded the old general of the ties subsisting between them, the gratitude he owed to his family and implored his forgiveness for his past faults.⁵² While the meeting was going on

44. Clive's letter to Nawab, 13th June, Hill, Vol. II, pp. 405-407.

45. Hill, Vol. II, p. 51, 65.

46. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 418-420.

47. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 53-54.

48. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 420.

49. Dr. Ives: *Voyage to India in the year 1754*, p. 151.

50. Col. Wilson: *History of the Madras Army*, Madras 1882, Vol. I, p. 84.

51. Mir Jafar came to the Nawab's tent accompanied by a large retinue. It has been reported that at this meeting he contemplated taking the life of the Nawab but was restrained by his men. Muzaffarnama, p. 254.

Raja Mohan Lal resumed fighting and was holding his advanced post in spite of the attacks of the British artillery. Mir Jafar prevailed upon the distracted Nawab to withdraw the army from the field promising to renew the contest with vigour on the other day. Mohan Lal could not defy the summons of his master and his retreat precipitated a general rout.⁵³ The English Colonel who was just then threatening Major Kilpatrick with a court-martial for his audacity in leaving the grove with his guns was amused with the spectacle of the enemy turning its back. This took place about two hours before sunset. In his letter to the Select Committee Clive described the action as follows: "Mir Murdan and five hundred horse are killed and three elephants. Our loss is trifling, not above twenty Europeans killed and wounded."

The battle of Plassey was merely a skirmish but Muslim rule in Bengal never recovered from its fateful consequences. "This is the battle", says Sayyed Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, "in which India was lost for Islam".⁵⁴ There is no doubt that never before on Indian soil was such a trivial action fought with such a decisive result as the subversion of a government. It inspired Professor Seeley to observe that Clive's triumphs have a magical character about them and read like fable.⁵⁵ Clive, however, did not conceal the truth that his astounding success against Nawab Sirajuddaula was not all fair-play. To Robert Orme, the historian and Councillor at Madras he wrote:

"I am possessed of Volumes of materials for the continuance of your History, in which will appear fighting, tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics and the Lord knows what".⁵⁶

52. See Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 231-234; Muzaffarnama, p. 254; *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1867, p. 91.

53. *Ibid.*, Muzaffarnama, p. 256; Also Sraffton, pp. 91-92; Dr. Ives, pp. 151-152. From the account in a contemporary Mss. entitled *Tarikh-i-Bangala Mahabat Jangi*, for which I am extremely grateful to Principal Hughes of Rajasthan College, Jaipur, it appears that Sirajuddaula took active part in fighting and that when he lost courage, he took the road to Murshidabad. Folio 100b and 101-a — Principal Hughes' English Translation. He discovered this Mss. in the India Office Library.

54. *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, p. 92.

55. See his *Expansion of England*.

56. Hill: Bengal, Vol. II, p. 464. On the battle of Plassey Lt. Col. Wilson truly comments that "it will be conceded that the victory of June 23rd, 1757 adds nothing to the splendid military reputation of Lord Clive." *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. I, p. 84.

End of Sirajuddaula

Accompanied by about 2000 horsemen and mounting a swift camel Sirajuddaula reached Murshidabad early in the morning of 24th. Here even the father of his wedded wife, Mirza Iraz Khan, refused to stand by him. The Nawab is mentioned to have flung his head on the feet of Jagat Seth to patch up his peace with the English. The banker sent a message to Mir Jafar not to delay his arrival in the capital.⁵⁷ It was not advisable for the Nawab to stay in the capital and share a captive's fate. He dressed himself in rags and at dead of night on 25th proceeded towards Bihar where he hoped to be joined by Raja Ram Narain and Mon Lass. His devoted spouse, Lutfunnisa accompanied him. They were seized at Rajmahal by Mir Daud and Mir Kasim, stripped of their jewellery and sent back to Murshidabad. Here in the custody of Sadiq Ali Khan, popularly known as Miran, the eldest son of the new Nawab, one Muhammad Beg, brought up in the family of Alivardi Khan, put an end to Sirajuddaula's life. On 3rd July his bleeding corpse was paraded on an elephant round the city,⁵⁸ and interred near the tomb of his grand-father in Khushbag. Europeans continued to visit this spot and see Lutfunnisa in mourning attire as long as she lived lighting a lamp in memory of her beloved husband".⁵⁹

British success in Bengal during the reign of Sirajuddaula reminds us of Burke's observation, "The most wonderful things are brought about in many instances by means the most absurd and ridiculous; in the most ridiculous modes; and apparently, by the most contemptible instruments". Sirajuddaula had not succeeded to an easy inheritance. He did not possess the strength and firmness of character, the great military skill and personal resourcefulness that had served his illustrious grand-father in

57. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, 234; *Tarikh-i-Mancuri*, p. 92.

58. Ghulam Hussain writes that people beheld the scene with awe and consternation. The mother of Sirajuddaula occupying a separate residence had known nothing about the revolution. When the corpse passed by the gate of her residence she enquired about the unusual noise and cries outside. As she knew the truth, the unfortunate princess forgot her sex, veil and slippers, ran out of the gate, and threw herself on the body. She covered it with her kisses and beat her face and breasts and the Nawab's servants violently forced her away from it. Seir-Mutaqherin, *Ibid.*, p. 243.

59. Forster, George: *Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. I, p. 10.

keeping the disintegrating forces in check. His faults were the faults of young age, a certain impetuosity of disposition, want of consideration for others, and poor understanding of human nature and its strange ways. But his short reign was free from the cruelties and excesses that are associated with his successors, Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim. Nor was he an immoderate libertine or moral wreck like Sarfaraz Khan. Indeed he was not served well by his own men. The Muslim court of his day was a vicious institution, and the army was honey-combed with treason. Even during the period of Alivardi Khan, Mir Habib and Mustafa Khan, prominent generals of the army plotted with the Marathas for the destruction of Muslim power. Mir Jafar Ali Khan and Ataullah Khan plotted against his life.⁶⁰ "Loyalty and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions", writes Scrafton about the degeneration of Indian ruling class, "are here unknown".⁶¹

It appears that during this period the Hindu aristocracy of Bengal and Bihar was acquiring a new consciousness of power. The support of the Hindu chiefs of Bihar to the Marathas had been a source of extreme embarrassment to Alivardi Khan.⁶² In 1754 Col. Scott, the commander of the East India Company's forces at Calcutta, reported that the Hindu chiefs "secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off the tyrannical yoke".⁶³ Mons. Lass, the French chief informs us that they contemplated a bid for power during the time of Sirajuddaula.⁶⁴ It was the loyalty of Raja Ram Narain of Bihar to him that discouraged them in an open resistance to his authority.⁶⁵ Still influential chiefs like Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai of Nadia offered full encouragement to the English. After the battle of Plassey Clive honoured him with the title of "Rajendra Bahadur" and presented him many guns used in that battle.⁶⁶ Raja Durlabh Ram was not

60. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 86-88, 99-100; Ryaz-us-Salatin, pp. 351-358.

61. Reflections, p. 30.

62. Ryaz-us-Salatin, pp. 296-297; Holwell: Interesting Historical Events, London 1766, pp. 68-70.

63. Hill, Vol. III, p. 328.

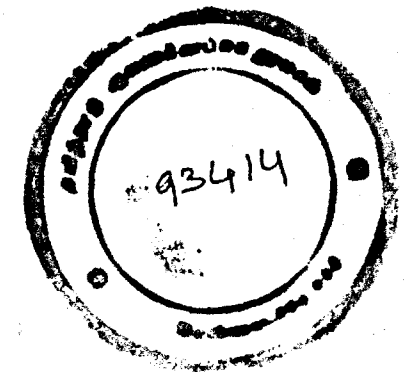
64. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. xxiii.

65. Hill; Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 120.

66. Hunter: Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 158. See also Drake's Letter to Clive of 3rd May, 1757, Hill, Vol. II, p. 375.

happy with the favour shown by the Nawab to Raja Mohan Lal. The Seths had a feeling that they had not been treated well.⁶⁷ The resentment of Hindu aristocracy, the degenerate character of Muslim ruling class, corruption in administration and disloyalty in the army contributed much to the success of British diplomacy against Sirajuddaula.

It may also be said that those who collaborated with the British did not realize the full implications of their conduct. It could hardly strike their poor political intelligence that they were subverting the existing system or that the British were fighting for power in a region noted for its wealth. People at other places like Delhi were also more amused than horrified at these developments in Bengal.⁶⁸



67. Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol. II, pp. 224-225.

68. See Hill: Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 118, for reactions of the chiefmen at Delhi as reported by Mons. Lass.

Land System in Mediaeval Orissa (circa 750-1200)

BY

RAM SHARAN SHARMA

During early mediaeval times Orissa witnessed the rise and fall of fifteen odd dynasties, many of them ruling contemporaneously. At a time when communications were primitive, the mountainous nature of the greater part of the region helped to sustain numerous kingdoms comfortably nested in reasonably defensible areas. Their existence was perpetuated by the predominance of aboriginal tribes, passionately fond of their independence. Several dynasties such as the Bhañja and the Tuṅga seem to have been founded by indigenous chiefs, improvised into respectable kṣatriyas by brāhmaṇical associations,—a practice which still lingers in the neighbouring tracts of Chotanagpur. In Orissa although the rulers of the hilly states owed allegiance to those of the seaboard, the tie was slender and tenuous, and in practice the whole territory was parcelled out amongst various ruling houses. The rulers granted land to vassals, officials, temples, and above all to brāhmaṇas, which led to the further subdivision of land in Orissa. The copper-plate land grants, which are more numerous in this State than in Bengal and Bihar during the same period, show that there existed a considerable class of religious grantees and secular assignees, imposed upon the common cultivators.

The secular assignees comprised vassals and officials. Records of direct land grants in favour of vassals are very few, but nearly a dozen terms mentioned in the grants seem to stand for landed vassals. Thus the bhūpālas, literally the protectors of earth, may have been important landed barons, who alone were notified of some land grants under the Bhañjas of Khijjiṅga towards the end of the tenth century. Perhaps the aboriginal kingdom consisted of congeries of territorial units, each under a tribal chief (adorned with the Sanskrit title *bhūpāla*), who bore the burden of administration in his district. At this stage under the Khijjiṅga branch there was no place for officials and other dignitaries, who are men-

tioned in many other Bhañja grants. For some time under the Bhañjas, the *bhogīs* and *sāmantas* figured as important elements in the body politic, for only these two dignitaries are addressed in a grant of Vidyādhara Bhañjadeva.¹ The term *bhogī* occurs frequently in the Bhauma-Kara and Bhañja charters. Sometimes it is taken in the sense of a village headman, but this office was held by the *mahattara* who worked under the supervision of the *mahā-mahattara*² the literal meaning of the term suggests that the *bhogī* did not have to pay any revenues for the land held by him. Perhaps he received assignments in return for some administrative work. In the Bhañja kingdom under Vidyādhara Bhañja such fiefs were so considerable that the rural people were classified into two units, the inhabitants of the regularly administered districts (*viṣaya*) and those of the assigned areas (*bhoga*).³ Under a Somavaṃśī ruler the *bhogīs* formed a distinct body known as the *bhogijana*.⁴ We also find fief holders, who were as good as *bhogīs* (*bhogirūpa*) but enjoyed limited rights.⁵ The *bhogīs* seem to have been connected with revenue administration, and a few of them held the post of the chief accountant (*mahākṣapatalika*) under the Bhauma-Karas and were employed in drafting land charters.⁶ A superior *bhogī* was known as the *mahābhogī*, mentioned in an inscription of an unspecified family,⁷ but in this sense the *bṛhadbhogī* appears frequently in the Bhauma-Kara grants.⁸ This officer is understood as a village headman,⁹ but in our view he was a higher assignee, enjoying more villages than a *bhogī*. As the *bhogīs* and *bṛhadbhogīs* recur in the Bhauma-Kara grants,¹⁰ we have here a hierarchy of landed magnates.

A graded relation, possibly regulated by the grant of land and the extent of the supply of military aid to the overlord, existed between the *sāmanta* and the *mahāsāmanta*, who were important

1. EI, ix, No. 37, 1.16.
2. EI, xv, No. 1, 11. 1-10; cf. D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, xxix, 85-6.
3. *bhogyādi viṣaya janapadam*, EI, ix, No. 37f 11. 16-7.
4. IHQ, xxxv, No. 2, Balijhari (Narsinghpur) Copper-Plates, 1. 36.
5. EI, xxviii, 323.
6. Binayak Misra, *Mediaeval Dynasties of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1934?), pp. 102-3, No. 12; EI, xv, No. 1, 11. 33-4; JBORS, ii, 426-7, 11. 40-2.
7. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5, Inscr. No. 1.
8. IHQ, xxi, 221, 11. 27-40.
9. *Ibid.*, 217.
10. EI, xxix, 85-6.

elements in the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas and their feudatories. A feudatory Tuṅga ruler addresses his land grant only to the *sāmantas*,¹¹ which shows that only they mattered in administration. The rank of the *mahāsāmantādhipati*, a title applied to the Nanda feudatory Devānanda III (end of the ninth century), was still higher, and he could make land grants in his own right.¹² Whether he assigned fiefs to the *mahāsāmantas* and *sāmantas* is not known. But we have definite evidence that the two successive Bhañja rulers of Khijjiṅga allotted villages to the *mahāsāmanta* Vaṭṭa,¹³ whose father Muṇḍi was a *sāmanta*.¹⁴ Apparently the son rose in rank and augmented the fief acquired by his father. Although we have no epigraphic records to show that the *sāmantas* were endowed with land, their later position as an important landowning element in Orissa seems to have developed out of their enjoyment of fiefs in the early mediaeval period.

The *rāṇakas* were another group of landholders, possibly serving as military vassals. They were identical with the *rājyanakas*, who were originally members of the royal family, and under the Bhañjas constituted a class (*varga*) by themselves.¹⁵ The epithet *upajīvijana* applied to them¹⁶ indicates that they lived on the bounties given to them by the king. Even persons, who did not belong to the ruling house, came to be known as *rāṇakas* and were granted land. The Somavaṃśī ruler Mahābhavagupta II (1000-15) granted a village to a brāhmaṇa *rāṇaka*, whose grandfather had emigrated from Śrāvastī.¹⁷ Some *rāṇakas* were assigned more than one village, as can be inferred from a charter by which a *rāṇaka* under the Gaṅga ruler Vajrahasta (1038-70) regranted a village.¹⁸ This class of vassals held important administrative posts, especially under the Somavaṃśīs. They acted as executors of land grants,¹⁹ chief accountants,²⁰ and ministers of

11. JASB, NS, xii (1916), 291ff.
12. EI, xxvi, 77.
13. JASB, xl, No. 3, 166-8.
14. *Ibid.*, 168.
15. *svavaṃśa-samudbhava-āṣeṣa-rājanya(va)rgga*, EI, xviii, 29, 11. 17-8.
16. *Ibid.*
17. EI, iii, No. 47, plate F, 11. 28-42.
18. *Ibid.*, No. 31, p. 222.
19. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, pp. 102-3, Inscription No. 12.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 17, Inscription No. 10.

peace and war.²¹ In the feudal hierarchy of the Somavaṃśis they occupied a high position, preceded by the *rājñī* (queen) and followed by the *rājaputra* (royal prince).²² The *rājñīs* probably had their personal estates, particularly under the Bhauma-Karas who could boast of six women rulers. This seems to be true of the *rājaputras*, one of whom was endowed with a tax-free village dowry by a high officer of Vajrahasta.²³ The *rājavallabhas* ranking next to the *rājaputras*²⁴ were royal favourites, who could not have been rewarded except in the usual way of being favoured with villages.²⁵

We can enumerate the different categories of vassal landholders in Orissa: *bhūpāla*, *bhogī*, *brogirūpa*, *mahābhogī*, *bṛhadbhogī sāmanta*, *mahāsāmanta*, *mahāsāmantādhipati*, *rājñī*, *rājyanaka* or *rāṇaka*, *rājaputra* and *rājavallabha*. Most of them seem to have military obligations, and they lived on the revenues assigned to them. We have no statistics to find out the relative status and rank of these landowning elements, but certainly their number and importance in Orissa were far greater than in the neighbouring regions.

Quite a few villages were held by the officials, who were allotted land revenues as remuneration. The Somavaṃśī ruler Mahābhavagupta I (935-70) granted four villages in Kosala by three land charters to his brāhmaṇa chief minister Sādhārana.²⁶ The Nanda king Devānanda III (A.D. 899) granted a village in the Cuttack District to Yaśodatta, his kāyastha minister of peace and war.²⁷ Two Bhañja rulers of Khinjali, both brothers, each granted a village to an astrologer (*jyotiṣi*), in the second half of the 12th century.²⁸ The astrologer, who occupies a high status in the Sena and Gāhaḍavāla list of dignitaries, may have earned assignments from the Bhañjas of Khijīṅga, for his services in making calenders. A more secular assignment was made by the

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.

22. *EI*, iii, No. 47, plate F, 11. 33-4.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 31, 11. 9-15.

24. *Ibid.*, No. 47, plate F, 11. 33-4.

25. R. S. Sharma, *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Delhi, 1959), p. 2.

26. *EI*, iii, No. 47, B. 11. 4-5, C. 11. 4-5, D. 1. 5; Fleet, *ibid.*, 345.

27. *Ibid.*, xxvi, No. 26, 11. 19-38.

28. *EI*, xviii, No. 29, 11. 19-29; xix, 43 & fn. 1.

Gaṅga ruler Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1076-1138), who endowed his trusty agent (*āpta-kriyāya*) Coḍagaṅga with a village along with a hamlet in Kaliṅga.²⁹

The typical service grants of the Gaṅga rulers seem to have been made to military functionaries known as *nāyakas*,³⁰ some of whom were *vaiśyas*. According to a charter issued in the year 526 of the Gaṅga era under Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantavarman,³¹ three villages were together formed into a *vaiśya-agrahāra* and granted to a certain Erapa Nāyaka, the son of Mañci Nāyaka of the *vaiśya* caste.³² It could not have possibly meant a grant to an army officer for running an educational foundation, a sense in which the term *agrahāra* was used ordinarily in earlier grants; on the other hand it seems to have been an assignment for military service. Some evidence of a grant to a *nāyaka* is also found in an inscription of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, who made a perpetual grant of a tax-free village to his dependent *Mādhava*.³³ The instances quoted above, though not many, are more numerous than what we find in Bihar and Bengal during this period, and suggest that in mediaeval Orissa civil and military officials were paid by grants of villages, which were also assigned to vassals for military service.

As against a dozen vassals and officials, we have records of land grants to nearly three hundred brāhmaṇas,³⁴ most of whom seem to have been imported from outside. The brāhmaṇas are addressed in a few Bhañja land-grants but not in many others belonging to the Bhauma-Kaṇas, the Tuṅgas, the Somavaṃśis and the Gaṅgas. Either the areas in which these grants were made did not have any brāhmaṇa population or it was not so numerous and important as to deserve special mention in the grants. The lists of the donees show that they were invited into Orissa mainly from Madhyadesa, Tīrabhukti, Rāḍha, Vaṅga and Varendra.³⁵

29. *Ibid.*, iii, p. 174, 11. 30-4.

30. *Madras Report on Epigraphy*, 1918-9, Appendix A, No. 3.

31. *Ibid.*, No. 5.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *IA*, xviii, 171-2, 11. 109-113.

34. This number is based on the list of inscriptions given in Misra, *op. cit.*; since 1934 more land grants have been discovered in Orissa but perhaps they do not indicate any material change in the ratio between the secular and religious vassals.

35. Misra, *op. cit.*, Index, p. i.

There is a view that Madhyadeśa mentioned in the Orissa land grants was situated between Bengal and Orissa; at any rate there is nothing to suggest that it formed part of Orissa. Some grants indicate that although the brāhmaṇas came from outside they had intermediate stays in Oḍra,³⁶ from where they were taken into other parts of Orissa.

Generally individual brahmanas were granted land, but sometimes the number of grantees ranged from two to two hundred. The Bhauma-Kara king Śubhākaradeva I, who flourished in the middle of the eighth century A.D., combined two villages in northern Tosali into one and granted the unit to two hundred brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* and Vedic schools.³⁷ This reminds us of a land grant made jointly to one hundred brāhmaṇas by Lokanātha in Eastern Bengal,³⁸ where āryanisation by means of land grants had begun earlier. In Orissa this process was especially carried on by some brāhmaṇa rulers such as the Tuṅgas and Gaṅgas. Gayādatuṅga, whose ancestors had come to Orissa from Rohtas in the Shahabad District,³⁹ played an important part in distributing land in the Talcher area to the brāhmaṇas from outside. In one case he granted the fertile land of a village to eleven brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatrā;⁴⁰ in another he apportioned out a village among three brāhmaṇas from Varendra, their family originally hailing from Śrāvastī.⁴¹ Thus this adventurous brāhmaṇa ruling family installed several brāhmaṇa landholders in Orissa. Similarly the Gaṅgas seem to have introduced brāhmaṇa landowners in the Telugu-speaking areas of their dominions.

The significance of land-grants to brāhmaṇas is not difficult to appreciate. The grantees brought new knowledge which improved cultivation, and inculcated in the aborigines a sense of loyalty to the established order upheld by the rulers, who could therefore dispense with the services of any extra staff for maintaining law and order. In return for performing these functions the brāhmaṇa donees were given all fiscal rights, amounting to virtual ownership of land.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *EI*, xv, No. 1, II. 1-30.

38. *Ibid.*, No. 19, II. 35-50.

39. *JASB*, NS, xii, 292.

40. *JASB*, NS, V, 347 ff., II. 22-20, 33-4.

41. *Ibid.*, xii, 293-4, II. 22-32.

Fiscal rights, enjoyed by the rulers and transferred to the donees, were different in backward areas from those in developed areas. Land grants in forest areas were made under the Bhaṅjas, the Somavaṃsis and the Gaṅgas. Yaśobhaṅjadeva of Khinjalī granted a tax-free village called Pātikomyāṇa (apparently a non-āryan settlement) with its trees, creepers, thickets, forest (*aranya*) along with the rights to fishing and catching tortoises.⁴² The present village was obviously surrounded by forests or merged into them. A Somavaṃsī charter of Mahābhavagupta IV, who ruled over Western Orissa and Kosala in the beginning of the eleventh century, granted two villages, which were given along with the right of killing snakes (*ahidaṇḍa*) and elephants (*hastidaṇḍa*).⁴³ Probably the area abounded in elephants, for the district in which the two villages were situated was called Airāvattamaṇḍala.⁴⁴ The locality was inhabited by the Śvaras (now Saoras), noted for their better knowledge of elephants, lions and huge snakes living in the holes, and the caves of the hills.⁴⁵ The present grant, which was conferred as a fief (*upabhoga*) on two brothers, carried rights to all future taxes (*bhaviṣyatkaṛa*).⁴⁶ It is not clear whether future taxes meant those levied by the king or the donee. But the latter interpretation would imply an extraordinary right, by virtue of which the donees could reduce the villagers to complete serfdom. Some new fiscal rights, appropriate to forest areas, are found in a charter of the last Somavaṃsī ruler Someśvaradeva. He gave away plots of land (*khaṇḍa-kṣetra*) belonging to two villages, and they carried the rights to the enjoyment of ivory (*hastidanta*), tiger's skin (*vyāghracarma*), various animals (*nānā-vaṇacara*) as well as different trees such as tamarind and palmyra, along with forests.⁴⁷ In all the three above grants the boundaries of the villages were not specified, which left scope for their expansion into the neighbouring jungles. But in a grant of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman the donated village was described as practically surrounded by jungle,

42. *EI*, xviii, No. 29, II. 16-22.

43. *JBORS*, xvii, 1 ff., II. 29-49.

44. *Ibid.*, II. 37-49.

45. *Ibid.*, II. 18-21.

46. *Ibid.*, II. 37-49. Only the terms of the grant of one village are indicated, but the grant of the second village may also have been governed by the same terms.

47. *EI*, xxviii, No. 50, II. 3-8.

trees and rocks,⁴⁸ which shows that it was situated in a forest area. Although the terms of this land grant are not laid down, those of others clearly indicate that certain fiscal dues such as rights to trees, forests, hides, fishes, etc., were characteristic of land situated in backward areas.

A striking feature of the land revenue system in settled areas was the transfer by the donors of not only villages with various kinds of dues but also with weavers, brewers, cowherds and other subjects (*prakṛtikah*). The practice was followed by the Bhauma-Kara rulers for about one hundred years from the middle of the 9th century A.D.,⁴⁹ and also by their feudatories the Bhañjas⁵⁰ and Tungas.⁵¹ Of the subjects transferred the mention of weavers and brewers suggests that cloth-making and liquor-making were indispensable rural crafts. Further, the transfer of cowherds points to the importance of pastoral economy in this part of the country. Possibly the transfer of various other artisans and peasants is covered by the term *prakṛti*, which stands for the general inhabitants of the village. The fact that they were specifically made over to the donee shows that they were attached to the soil as artisans and husbandmen and in case of oppression by the grantees could not seek shelter in other village or reclaim virgin areas of which there was plenty in this region. A similar provision occurs in some 12th century Candella inscriptions,⁵² which transfer artisans, peasants and traders to the donees. But in Orissa this practice prevailed on a far wider scale and for a longer period of time. Here it may have been found necessary on account of the scarcity of working population for running rural economy. But such grants reduced the villagers to the condition of semi-serfs, producing surplus for the benefit of brāhmaṇa grantees. Many grantees were allotted *sagulmaka* privileges, which have been

48. *Ibid.*, iii, No. 3, 11. 18-22.

49. H. P. Shastri, "Seven copper-plate Records of Land grants from Dhenkanal: G-Grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī", *JBORS* 426-7, 11. 24-32.

50. *sa-tantuvāya-gokula-saundhi (dī) kādi-prakṛti*... *Ibid.*, *JBORS*, xvi, 81-3, 11. 11. 18-24; *EI*, xxix, 85-6; *IHQ*, xxi, 221, 11. 28-38.

51. *EI*, xxv, No. 14, 11. 12-20.

52. *JBORS*, vi, 239, 115-6.

53. *sa-kāru-karsaka-vanig-vāstavyam*, *EI*, xx, No. 14, B plates, 1. 19. This is my emended reading on the basis of a land grant of Maṇavarman published in a recent issue of *Bhārati* by V. S. Misra.

taken to mean hunting rights.⁵⁴ But the term, on the basis of Manu,⁵⁵ should be understood as military outposts stationed in the villages by the king, who transferred them to the donees. Control over the local machinery for coercion could enable the grantees to exercise their fiscal rights effectively and maintain the self-sufficient rural economy by means of force. We also notice the gradual undermining of customary communal rights in land. The donors transferred trees, jungles, rivers, etc. to the grantees.⁵⁶ Later survivals indicate that in earlier times the villagers had free access to all these local resources, although they were not conscious of their common ownership. But once these were specifically made over to the donees, the latter would not allow its use by the villagers without charging something. Such a practice lingered till the 19th century in U.P., where we find local chiefs levying axe-tax for felling trees.⁵⁷ Besides, the villagers could no longer easily reclaim the jungle land for cultivation. On the other hand as the family of the donees would multiply there would be the natural tendency to appropriate the fallow land for their use,⁵⁸ thus depriving the peasants of their natural rights to expand into the waste land. This was bound to lead to unequal distribution of land in the villages, the lion's share going to the donees and their descendants. Moreover, they had the additional advantage of being vested with numerous fiscal rights, which in course of time gave them practical ownership of land. This development, however, was not typical of Orissa; the transfer of all agrarian rights enjoyed by the villagers was a usual feature in mediaeval grants of Northern India.

The list of the sources of land revenue, due to the ruler and conferred on the donees, is impressive. But what share of the produce was claimed and how the demand was calculated are not known. Two land grants suggest that assessment was made in money. In one instance the revenue of the whole village granted to a brāhmaṇa was estimated as 44 rupees⁵⁹ and in another 42 rupees.⁶⁰ In Bengal money estimates first appear in the ele-

54. H. P. Shastri, *Ibid.*, ii, 426-7.

55. vii. 114.

56. *EI*, xviii, No. 29, 11. 19-22.

57. Baden-Powell, *Land System in British India*, i, 128-9.

58. *Ibid.*, i, 173.

59. *JASB*, NS, xii (1916), p. 295, 11. 22-36.

60. *EI*, xii, No. 20, 11. 27-8.

venth century, in the land grants of the Senas. But it is doubtful whether actual collection was made in money either in Bengal or Orissa during early mediaeval times. Revival of money economy does not seem to have been so strong as to render all payments possible in cash.

The net result of land grants was to create feudal conditions in which superior landholders were imposed upon ordinary cultivators. These were brāhmaṇas mainly invited from outside Orissa. They not only helped their patrons in maintaining power but also acted as foci of culture, providing moral and ideological anchor to the Hindu rulers in the aboriginal sea. Gradually some aboriginal chiefs also were transformed into feudal vassals. The Māthara chief Puñja was given the titles *samadhigata-pañca mahāśabda* and *māṇḍalika-rānaka*.⁶¹ He was called the *adhipati* (lord) of fifteen subdivisions (*pallikās*),⁶² which shows that he was regarded as the owner of the land placed in his charge. Such chiefs, however, did not have the authority to grant land, although one of them, Pulindarāja, was influential enough to prevail upon the Bhauma-Kara ruler Śubhakaradeva (9th century) to grant land for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple and Śaiva ascetics.⁶³ A third class of landed intermediaries was formed by the holders of service tenures, who were generally assigned land on the same conditions as the brāhmaṇas.

The brāhmaṇa donees, far greater in number than the secular intermediaries, were granted not only the usual fiscal dues to which the king was entitled but also the right of confining the working population to the donated land. This together with the grantee's inroads on the customary agrarian rights enjoyed by the villagers reduced the peasants and artisans to the position of semi-serfs. In mediaeval Orissa all this gave rise to some typical features of feudal land system, which did not arise there on the ruins of any centralised empire, as in parts of Northern India, but out of tribal, aboriginal background in which the aborigines could be assimilated into the Hindu way of life by implanting brāhmaṇa landholders in their midst.

61. D. C. Sircar, *HCIP*, v, 209.

62. *Ibid.*

63. *JBORS*, xvi, 81-2, 11. 18-24.

The Lodi Sultans and the Rajput States

BY

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The Rajput States, occupying a spacious area along the southern frontiers of the Sultanate, presented a formidable problem to the Lodi Sultans who were obviously anxious to establish control over them. The founder of the Lodi Dynasty, Sultan Buhlūl Shah Ghāzī (1451-1489), tried to maintain cordial relations with the Rajputs and was very friendly with the ruler of Gwalior which, on account of its strategic position, attracted the attention of all the Lodi Sultans. It had enjoyed virtual independence during the first half of the fifteenth century¹ and when Buhlūl established his power at Delhi, it was ruled by Rai Kīrat Singh who was apparently uninfluenced by the rivalry between the Lodis and the Sharqīs. The situation, however, changed when Ḥusain Sharqī dispatched an army in 1466 to reduce the famous fortress of Gwalior.² His attempt failed and the Sharqī army withdrew after extorting a payment and a promise of loyalty from the ruler.³

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1. After Timūr's departure from India, the Sultanate had been in abeyance until the Sayyids established their authority in 1414. The Rajas of Gwalior owed nominal allegiance to the Sayyid Sultans and paid tribute whenever compelled to do so. Khidr Khan visited Gwalior twice to receive the customary payment. Mubārak Shah saved it from being absorbed by Malwa in 1423, but subsequently had to organize three expeditions against it to recover arrears of tribute. See Yahyā Sīhrindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 186, 203.

2. Nūr al-Ḥaḡ, "Zubdat al-Twārīkh" (British Museum, MS Add. 11633), fol. 230b, Muhammad Barārī, "Mujmal-i-Mufasssal" (A.S.B. Calcutta), MS fol. 245a, Muhammad Baqā, "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office Lib., London) MS fol. 230, (K.C.L. Cambridge) MS fol. 45a.

3. Hasan Khākī, "Muntakhab al-Twārīkh" (Eton College) MS fol. 147b, Nizām al-Dīn, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, (Calcutta, 1927), III, 283.

Thereafter the Raja who had been antagonized by the Sharqī aggression, began to draw closer to the Lodis and within a couple of years became an esteemed friend of Buhlūl. In 1469 when the Lodi monarch sent two successive missions to Malwa to seek Mahmūd Khalji's help against the Sharqīs, he nominated on each of them either the Raja or the Raja's son, Kapūr Chand.⁴ After the lapse of some years Kirat Singh, becoming alarmed at Husain's growing power, effected a reconciliation with him and in 1478 sent his son, Kalyān Mal, to Etawah to offer condolence at the death of Husain's mother, Bibī Rāji. The fact that Kalyān Mal visited Husain in Qutb Khan Lodi's company,⁵ shows that Kirat Singh had decided to assume an attitude of neutrality and maintain friendly relations with the Lodis as well as the Sharqīs. However, the help which he soon after rendered to Husain during the latter's flight from Jaunpur,⁶ offended Buhlūl who led an expedition against Gwalior in the last year of his reign. By that time Kirat Singh had been succeeded by Raja Mān who offered his submission and gave a present of 80,000,00 *tankaḥs* to the Sultan.⁷

Raja Mān renewed his pledge of loyalty to Buhlūl's son and successor, Sultan Sikandar Shah (1489-1517), but secretly began to harbour the Sultan's enemies. During the first decade of Sikandar's reign at least six powerful rebels who had escaped his punish-

4. Kapūr Chand was included in the first mission which waited on Mahmūd Khalji of Malwa on 21st February, 1469, while Kirat Singh accompanied the second mission which met the Khalji Sultan on 3rd April, 1469. See Shihāb-i-Hakīm, "Ma'āthir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (Univ. Lib. Tubingen, W. Germany), Ms fols. 262, 264, (Bodleian Lib. Oxford) MS fols. 307a, 309a, (King's C. Lib. Cambridge) MS fols. 471b, 475b, "Zubdat al-Twārikh" (John Rylands Lib. Manchester) MS fol. 193b.

5. Qutb Khan Lodi was Buhlūl's cousin and brother-in-law, and had gone to Gwalior at that time. See Tab. Akb. I, 308, Ni'matullah "Tārikh-i-Khan Jahānī" (Chr. C. Lib. Cambridge) MS. fol. 86a, (India Office Lib.) MS fol. 82. According to *Firishṭa* (Bombay text, I, 322), the Raja went himself to condole with Husain.

6. After being defeated by Buhlūl at Sonhar and Rapri, Husain had fled towards Gwalior. Kirat Singh received him as a friend and after providing him with men and equipment, accompanied him up to Kalpi. Tab. Akb., I, 310.

7. "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office) MS fol. 295b, "Tārikh-i-Khan Jahānī" (C. C. Camb.) MS fol. 90a, Tab. Akb. I, 313.

Haig has mixed up three different names, Kirat Singh, Kari Singh and Man Singh and has used them in respect of the same person, while making conflicting statements regarding the events of the period in his chapters on Delhi, Jaunpur, Malwa and Gwalior. *C.H.I.*, III, 233, 234, 255, 360, 533 & 534.

ment, found refuge with the Raja.⁸ Matters, however, came to a head when the ruler of Dholpur whom Sikandar had defeated in 1501, also sought asylum at Gwalior. Thereupon the Sultan advanced straight from Dholpur to Gwalior, but Raja Mān probably taken unprepared, agreed to submit and expelled three refugees, Sa'id Khan, Bābū Khan and Rai Gaṇesh, who were still in his fort. He also sent his son, Vikramaditya, to attend upon the Sultan who, however, sent the prince back with robes of honour and a horse. Notwithstanding his professed allegiance, the Raja showed open hostility to the Sultan during the latter's march towards Gwalior in 1505 and opposed a royal detachment that had been sent in quest of *Banjāras*.⁹ This put Sikandar on his guard and after arriving at Hashawar,¹⁰ he ordered an advance party to go twenty miles ahead and keep a watch on the Raja's movements. The Raja, however, suddenly emerged from his ambush when the royal army was returning to Dholpur, but in the engagement that followed, he was defeated. Sikandar did not pursue him in view of the approaching rains and hurried back to Agra. He did not send any other expedition against Gwalior, but the idea of conquering and annexing the state appeared to be always present in his mind and his decision to transfer his capital to Agra was largely influenced by it.¹¹ Towards the end of his reign, he had completed arrangements for launching a big attack on the fort of Gwalior and

8. They included Sa'id Khan Sarwānī, former governor of Lahore, Tātār Khan of Jhatra and Muhammad Shah, all of whom having been banished as traitors, had halted at Gwalior on their way to Gujerat. The other three were Sultan Sharaf of Biyana who had fled after his defeat in 1491, Rai Gaṇesh, a former partisan of Bārbak and lastly, a rebel named Hābū Khan. See 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī* (Cal. 1924), I, 462, 463. Tab. Akb., I, 323-325.

It may further be mentioned that the Raja's eunuch slave, Nihāl, who was sent with gifts to Sambhal in 1500, also offended the Sultan by returning rude answers to some of the questions put to him. "Tārikh-i-Khan Jahānī", fol. 97b.

9. A mercantile community of professional grain transporters. The term appears to have been used for the first time in the history of the Sultanate. See Briggs, *J. History of the rise of Mahomedan power in India* (Calcutta, 1910), I, 579.

10. Identified as Jatwar or Jetwar which lies north of Gwalior. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939), I, 497.

11. For an account of the foundation of Agra, see the writer's article on "The Afghan architecture of India" in the *Revista Degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 35/iii-iv (1960).

had called a number of his *Amirs* from distant frontiers to participate in it.¹² He died, however, before carrying out the project and the task was left to be completed by his son.

Sultan Ibrāhīm Shah Lodi (1517-1526) undertook the conquest of Gwalior early in his reign when his rebellious brother, Jalāl Khan, went there in quest of an asylum.¹³ He dispatched a large force consisting of 30,000 horsemen and 300 elephants under A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī, governor of Kara, and later sent a substantial reinforcement which was accompanied by nine distinguished *Amirs*. They laid siege to the fort, but during its progress the redoubtable Raja Mān died.¹⁴ His son, Vikramaditya, who succeeded him, lacked unfortunately, the father's courage and perseverance. He made desperate efforts to save the fort, but the Afghan army used war engines to throw shells into the massive building and ultimately succeeded in blowing up the walls by means of mines.¹⁵ Rushing in quickly, they occupied the underground stronghold beneath the fort, called Bādagarh,¹⁶ which Raja Mān had built and from where they recovered a brazen bull which had been worshipped by the Hindus for many years.¹⁷ Vikramaditya at last surrendered and Gwalior was annexed to the

12. *Firishta*, I, 342.

13. Jalāl Khan held independent charge of Jaunpur at the beginning of Ibrāhīm's reign, but the latter succeeded in getting rid of him and reuniting Jaunpur with the Sultanate. For details of the fratricidal war and the circumstances which brought about Jalāl's tragic end, see 'Abd al-Haq, "Tarikh-i-Haqqī" (Bodleian, Oxford MS Ous. 59), fol. 274, (U.L. Camb.) MS p. 74, "Mir'at-i-Jahān Numā" (India Office Library, London), MS fol. 296, "Mujmal-i-Mufasssal" (Bodleian, Oxford) MS fol. 144, (A.S.B. Cal.) MS fol. 180, Ḥasan Khākī, "Muntakhab" fol. 79, "Zubdat al-Twārikh", (Camb. MS) fol. 60.

14. According to Ni'matullah, the Raja was an admirer of Islam. Nizām al-Dīn praised him for his distinguished courage and liberality. "Tarikh-i-Khan Jahānī", fol. 122a, *Tab. Akb.*, I, 347.

15. Ahmad Yādgār, *Tārikh-i-Shahī* (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 84-85.

A further discussion on the use of explosive weapons by the Lodi army will be found in the writer's article on "The organization of government under the Lodi Sultans of India" in the *Z.D.M.G.* 110/2, p. 340.

16. To be distinguished from another Badagarh, which was a name given to the fort of Agra. B. De, tr. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 402, N. 4.

17. It was taken to Delhi and was fixed at the Baghdad Gate where Nizām al-Dīn saw it in his own time. Badāūni adds that the nobles sent

Sultanate. He received, however, the *jagir* of Shamsabad and remained loyal to Ibrāhīm whom he accompanied to Panipat in 1526 and died fighting.¹⁸

Mewar

The story of the hostilities between the last Lodi Sultan and the Rajput ruler of Mewar has not yet been narrated in full, and in the absence of any reliable evidence, the unauthenticated statements of Tod have gained currency. Fortunately, a comprehensive account of that important episode has been found preserved in the rare work of the contemporary writer, Mushtāqī, and one is only surprised that the well-known Mughal historians who came after him, should have altogether overlooked it. Even the Afghan writer of Jahangir's reign, Ni'matullah, has not mentioned it although two other contemporaneous writers, 'Abdullah and Ahmad Yādgār, have given different versions of their own. Mushtāqī was, however, an eye-witness of Ibrāhīm Lodi's reign and had exceptional sources of information for the Mewar expedition in view of his personal relations with Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī's son, Mujib, and the Miān's brother, Tāhā, who had accompanied the expedition and had carried messages from Ḥusain to Ibrāhīm. His work, therefore, deserves to be treated as the primary authority¹⁹

the bull to Agra, but Sultan Ibrāhīm passed it on to Delhi. In 1584 it was brought to Fathpur Sikri where it was melted and converted into bugles and bells and articles of that kind. According to Ahmad Yādgār, the bull was made of copper and had a mechanism which enabled it to produce sounds. Akbar had it melted down and made into cannon. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 348, 'Abd al-Qādir Badāūni, *Muntakhab al-Twārikh*, (Cal. 1868), I, 327-328 *Tārikh-i-Shahī*, p. 75.

18. A. S. Beveridge, *The Babur-nama in English* (London, 1922), p. 477, Anon. Work on General History, compiled in Akbar's reign (India Office, MS Ethe-120), fol. 505a.

19. For a general assessment of Mushtāqī's work, see the writer's note on the 'Original Sources' in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960), pp. 761-762.

Sharma (G.N.) has quoted three Sanskrit and Hindi sources, namely, "Amar Kavya Vanshavalī", "Surya Vansha" and *Muhanot Nensi*, all of which deal with Rana Sanga's success. They belong, however, to a much later period and cannot be compared, therefore, even to the Persian authorities of Jahangir's reign. *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors* (Agra, 1951), p. 18-N. 19.

for reconstructing the story, a part of which is corroborated by another contemporary source, the *Bābur Nāma*.

It was probably his success against Gwalior which led Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodī to attempt the conquest of the still stronger Rajput state of Mewar which was then ruled by the renowned Rana Sanga. He fitted out a strong expedition comprising 40,000 soldiers²⁰ and sent forth some of his ablest and most experienced generals to accompany it. The chances of its success were, however, rendered precarious by the internal differences of the nobles some of whom bitterly resented the appointment of a junior *Amir*, Miān Makhan, as the commander-in-chief. Matters were aggravated by the Sultan's folly when in the midst of the operations, he tried to get rid of two of his senior and powerful *Amirs*, Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī and Miān Ma'rūf. He sent secret orders for their arrest to Miān Makhan just when the imperial army was approaching Mewar.²¹ Miān Ḥusain somehow came to know of the Sultan's action and twice foiled Makhan's attempts to seize him.²² Realizing, however, that he could not remain secure for long, he became desperate and took the extreme step of opening communications with Rana Sanga from a nearby place called Todah, and ultimately went over to him with a group of other nobles.²³ The army of Mewar, having thus been strengthened by the adhe-

20. Rizquallah Mushtāqī, "Wāq'āt-i-Mushtāqī" (British Museum), MS p. 117., 'Abdullah, "Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī", (S.O.A.S., London), MS p. 75.

21. According to Bābur, it was at Dholpur that Ibrāhīm's *Begs* (*Amirs*) turned against him. *Bābur-nama*, p. 593.

22. Makhan at first tried to see Ḥusain on the pretext of offering condolence on the death of the latter's son which had occurred in Mandu quite a long time ago. Ḥusain, however, went away to the camp of Ma'rūf who told Mukhan that a lion could not be caught alive and added that Sultan Ibrāhīm had lost the balance of his mind *Sultān-i-mā rā khalal-i-dimāgh shudah ast*. while ordering the arrest of his *Amirs*. Ibrāhīm, on hearing those reports, wrote to Makhan to call the two *Amirs* to an open court and arrest them after reading out the Sultan's *Firmān*. But the pavilion which Makhan erected for that purpose, was pulled down by Miān Ma'rūf's men. See "Mushtāqī", p. 118.

23. They included his brother Miān Ṭāhā, Miān Ismā'il Jilwānī, Miān Lodhā Kākar, Khidr Khan Lodī and Miān Ma'rūf. *Ibid.*

sion of some Afghan nobles and their followers, inflicted a severe defeat on Miān Makhan and killed numerous Afghan soldiers in a sanguinary battle fought near the village of Boli.²⁴

On hearing the news of that reverse, Ibrāhīm marched from Agra and halted on the bank of the Kanbhir.²⁵ He did not engage the enemy in battle²⁶ as Miān Ḥusain had, by that time, begun to repent of his mistake in seeking an alliance with the Rajputs.²⁷ The latter was, moreover, grieved at the bloodshed of the Muslims and the loss of eminent Afghan genearls such as Ibrāhīm Khan Sarwānī Kakpūr, Daryā Khan son of Ma'rūf Lohānī, 'Alā al-Dīn and Haibat Khan. He, therefore, sent a message to Sultan Ibrāhīm through his brother, Ṭāhā, reminding the Sultan of his former services and offering to give up hostility if the Sultan agreed to

24. It might be identical with any of the two places, Bakrole (in the Asandi district) or Ghattoli (near Bundi), mentioned by Tod, but Ibrāhīm was not present there in person as wrongly stated in the *Rajasthan* (London, 1950), p. 241.

According to 'Abdullah, the Afghan army was pursued as far as Biyana, but Mushtāqī has not mentioned it. Ahmad Yādgār, however, states that Miān Makhan withdrew to his own camp from where he got into touch once more with Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī. See "Dā'ūdī", MS p. 76. *Shāhī*, pp. 82-83.

25. The Kanbhir or the Gambhir flows through the Jaipur state. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXVI—36. E.

The exact place where Ibrāhīm halted, has not been indicated by the authorities, but Mushtāqī writes that the Sultan after his arrival there, set on fire some of the houses which had once served as a halting place for Sikandar. One of Buhlul's sons, Ghiāth al-Dīn, who had taken up residence there, fled and joined Miān Ḥusain Farmūlī.

26. There is no historical basis for Tod's statement that Ibrāhīm personally fought against Rana Sanga and after being defeated, left "a prisoner of the royal blood to grace the triumph of Cheetore". *Rajasthan*, p. 241.

27. It so happened that when a joint meeting of the Rajputs and Miān Ḥusain's partisans was being held for mutual consultations, cries of "Rām, Rām" were suddenly heard from the Hindu camp near by. Those of the Hindus who were present in the meeting, also raised similar cries and the assembly broke up. Miān Ḥusain immediately began to ponder over his own conduct and told his brother, Ṭāhā, that it was a pity that in his old age he should have become an ally of those against whom he had fought all his life. He added that he bore no ill will against Ibrāhīm, but only regretted that the latter had failed to appreciate the esteemed position which he and other old *Amirs* like him had enjoyed under Sultan Sikandar. See "Mushtāqī", MS p. 121.

release from captivity Sayyid Khan Yūsuf Khail and Fath Khan son of A'zam Humāyūn Sarwānī.²⁸ Ibrāhīm, who was anxious to win back the Afghan deserters, immediately set free the two prisoners both of whom, after collecting their troops, went to meet Husain. Sayyid Khan, however, proved ungrateful to his benefactor and tried to win Rana Sanga's favour by speaking slightly of Miān Husain. When the Rana, carried away by Sayyid Khan's flattery, began to show indifference to Miān Husain and his brother, Tāhā, the Miān finally decided to part company with the Rajputs. In an open assembly he accused the Rana of bad faith²⁹ and marched off to rejoin Sultan Ibrāhīm's forces, taking with him Fath Khan and all the other nobles who had earlier deserted the Afghan army.³⁰ The Rana who was already upset by Ibrāhīm's arrival at the Kanbhir, was so alarmed at Husain's action in reuniting with the Sultan, that he beat a hasty retreat towards his own capital. Mushtāqī has described the manner of his withdrawal in the following words.³¹

Rānā az ānjā kih bar gardīd, chunān raft kih dera-yi-ū rā dihqā-nān ghārat kardand. Bāz pas nadīd, wa hīch khīmāh hamrāh naburd. wa dar awwal rūz bist-o-do karoh raft. Sīsankh, nāib-i-Rānā, guft kih hīch ma'lūm namīshawad kih īn Miān Husain chih nau' ādmī ast. Bā dawīst sawār bā bādshāh-i-Dihlī mukhālfat kard, wa bāz hālā kih bā ū paiwast, mā huftād hazār sawār chunān az khauf-i-ū gurizān mīrawīm kih khabar az pusht nadārīm.

Sultan Ibrāhīm had assured Miān Husain of honourable treatment and had granted him the jagīr of Chanderi which the latter

28. They had been imprisoned by Ibrāhīm in pursuance of his policy to suppress the nobles.

29. To quote Mushtāqī, (MS p. 123).

Husain Rānā rā guft. mā shumā rā didīm wa āzmūdīm, kih ānchih ittīfāq-i-mā būd, bar ān namāndīd, wa az muwāfaqat-i-mā bīrūn āmdīd. Mā rā khiyāl-i-shumā ma'lūm namīshawad. Harchih dar khātīr-i-shumā bāshad, ān kunīd. Mā rā bahamrāhī-yi-shumā basar kardan muyassar namī āyad...

30. Sayyid Khan also accompanied them up to Dholpur where he was poisoned at Sultan Ibrāhīm's orders.

31. "Mushtāqī", MS p. 124.

had accepted only to be able to carry on his fight against Mewar. After some time, however, he went back on his assurance, and had Miān Husain treacherously murdered.³² This was one of Ibrāhīm's worst follies, for, it not only deprived him of the services of a valiant fighter who was capable of successfully waging a war against the Rajputs but whose brutal murder also stirred other nobles to revolt. On the other hand, Rana Sanga was quick to take advantage of the consequent chaos that prevailed at Chanderi and marching at the head of 100,000 soldiers, defeated Ibrāhīm's supporters and annexed it.³³ He did not attack any other part of the Sultanate even though he was earnestly desirous of ousting the Afghans. Ultimately he sent an envoy to Kabul^{33a} and added his name to the list of those who had already asked for Bābur's help to overthrow Ibrāhīm. The Mughal conqueror, however, spared neither the Afghans nor the Rajputs, for, Panipat and Kanwa sealed the fate of both.

Bhatgorha

According to the Sanskrit source, "Virabhanudya Kavyam", Ghora or Bhatgorha (modern Rewa) was founded towards the end of the thirteenth century by Raninga Deva, successor of Bhima whose ancestry has not, however, been traced.³⁴ One of Bhima's descendants in the seventh generation was Rai Bhaidchandra, the

32. The foul deed was carried out by a group of Shaikhzādahs led by Shaikh Farid of Daryābād who received from the Sultan a reward of 700 *Muhrs* (gold coin, equal to about 16 rupees) and ten villages.

33. *Babur-nama*, p. 593, "Mushtāqī", MS p. 128.

Bābur, after conquering Chanderi, restored it to Ahmad Shah son of that unfortunate Khalji prince of Malwa, Šāhib Khan, who had sought refuge with Sikandar Lodī. Sikandar had sent him back to Chanderi with a large force, but had also deputed five of his Amirs to administer the territory in Šāhib Khan's name, while keeping him virtually interned. Ibrāhīm accorded him a similar treatment, but after his death expelled his young son. See B.N., p. 598, Muhammad Sharif Wuqū'ī, "Majāmi' al-Akhbār" (India Office), MS fol. 342b, "Zubdat al-Twārikh" (John Rylands Library, Manchester), MS fol. 201-2, (British Museum) MS fol. 179a, *Firishta*, II, 488, Hasan Khāki, "Muntakhab", fol. 142b.

33a. Probably late in 1525. See *Babur-nama*, p. 529.

34. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XXI, 5, 12.

Abu'l Faḍl has described Bhatgorha as a *Sarkar* in the province of Allahabad, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, Persian text (Calcutta, 1872), I, 430.

Baghela Raja³⁵ who ruled over Bhatgorha when Buhlul captured the throne of Delhi. He does not appear to have liked the advent of the Lodis, for, he preferred to espouse Husain Sharqi's cause against Buhlul.³⁶ After Sikandar's accession, he supported the Bachgoti rebels and arrested Mubarak Khan Nuhani, governor of Jaunpur, whom he afterwards released on the approach of the Lodi army.³⁷ Sikandar, however, led a punitive expedition against him in 1492, but when the army entered Kantit,³⁸ the Raja came forward to offer his allegiance. He was allowed to retain possession of Kantit, but when Sikandar proceeded towards Arail,³⁹ he became scared and suddenly fled, abandoning all his equipment and effects which the Sultan returned to him intact. Since the Raja did not take any steps to renew his allegiance during the next three years, the Sultan marched against him in 1495 and at Kharan

35. See the genealogy of the Baghelas in the *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 10.

Popular tradition derives the name Baghela either from Vyaghra, believed to be a son of Sidh Rai Jai Singh who ruled over Anhilwara from 1100 to 1150 and settled in Bhatgorha during the next twenty five years, or from the village Vyaghrapalli (the tiger's lair), situated about ten miles south-west of Anhilwara and held by Anak or Arnoraja, a descendant of Solanki Rajputs. See *Rewa Gazetteer* pp. 11-12, *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, 1/1, 198, I.G., II, 318, Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, IX, 113.

36. When Husain after a severe defeat, retreated towards Bhatgorha, the Raja helped him with money, troops and equipment and escorted him back to Jaunpur. See *Tab. Akb.*, I, 310.

37. The Bachgotis were a Rajput tribe, descended from the Mainpuri Chauhans, and were found mainly in the Aldimau, Chandah, and Gadwarah mahals of the Jaunpur Sarkar and also in the Jalalpur, Balkhar and Kathot mahals of the Manikpur Sarkar. See *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, 426-429, Sherring (M.A.) *Hindu tribes and castes as represented in Benaras* (London, 1872), p. 164, Elliot (H.M.), *Races of the N.W.P. of India*, ed. J. Beames (London, 1869), p. 47.

The leader of the Bachgotis was Jaga whom Sikandar pursued up to Jaund (modern Chainpur in Shahabad dist.) where he had taken refuge with Husain Sharqi, and from where the Sultan expelled him after capturing the fort. The name Jaga is not a misreading of Bajkoti, as Hodivala believes, but is the proper name which is mentioned in the "Dā'ūdī" as well as the earlier work of Mushtānī on which 'Abdullah has frequently drawn.

38. A dependency of Bhatgorha, situated on the south-western bank of the Ganges in the Mirzapur district of U.P. According to Abu'l Fadl, it had a fort, built of stone. See *A'in*, Persian text, I, 425.

39. It was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, opposite Allahabad, and should be distinguished from Argal on the Rinde in Pargana Korā. See *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, 8.

Ghati defeated his son, Bir Singh Deo,⁴⁰ whom he had sent to oppose the royal forces. The Raja fled towards Sarkaja,⁴¹ but died on the way. Sikandar turned round and went to Phaphund, but could not advance further on account of the scarcity of supplies and the exhaustion of his army.⁴²

On returning to Jaunpur, the Sultan found that a large number of his horses had died due to the strain of the long journey. This was welcome news for his opponents and Rai Lakhmichandra, another son of Bhaidchandra, together with some zamindars of Jaunpur, incited Husain Sharqi to take advantage of the Sultan's sudden weakness. However, when Sikandar marched against Husain, he sent Khān-i-Khānān to conciliate Raja Bhaid's eldest son and successor, Rai Salivahana, whose cooperation with the Lodis led to the Sharqi monarch's final defeat.⁴³ Sikandar wished further to strengthen the bond of his friendship with Salivahana by proposing marriage with the latter's daughter, but the Rai's refusal again embittered their relations.⁴⁴ The Sultan attacked

40. Shastri has identified him as Virasimhadeva, son of Salivahana and grandson of Bhaidchandra, but Nizām al-Dīn who calls him Nār Singh, describes him as Bhaid's son. Ni'matullah supports the latter view but gives the name as Bir Singh Deo which is further confirmed by Bābur.

According to I.G. (XXI, 281), Bir Singh's son, Bir Bhān, spent some time at Sikandar's court. M. Kabir helps to establish the identity of Bir Bhān whom he mentions as Rāmchandra's father, a description which agrees with that of "Virabhanudya Kavyam". See *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 13, *Tab. Akb.*, I, 318, "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 94a, *Babur-nama*, pp. 521, 562, 639, Muhammad Kabir, "Afsāna-yi-Shāhān" (British Museum), MS fol. 25a.

41. Sarkaja or Sarguja is shown in the *A'in-i-Akbari* (I, 132) as part of the Allahabad province and an area known for the abundance of elephants. At the time of Bhaid's flight it actually lay in the territory of Malwa. Sultan Mahmūd Khalji I had conquered it in 1440 and among the strange things which, according to his biographer, occurred there in that year, was the sudden but natural transformation of a mother of four children into a man who married again and begot four more children. See "Ma'āthir-i-Mahmūd Shāhī" (U.L. Tubingen), MS fol. 85a, 87b.

42. "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 94b.

Phaphund was situated about 20 miles north of Bandugarh, and about forty miles south of Rewa. It should not be taken for Bandugarh itself, as suggested by Hodivala in *S.I.H.*, I, 496. See also I.G., XXI, 281.

43. "Dā'ūdī", MS p. 45. *Ma'āthir-i-Rahīmī*, I, 458.

44. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 321, *Firishta*, I, 334, "Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī", MS fol. 95b.

The "Virabhanudya Kavyam" has omitted any reference to the Sultan's proposal for marriage and Shastri observes that Sikandar was unlikely to have invited bloodshed on such petty excuses. It may, however be noted that

Bhatgorha once more in 1498 and advanced as far as its capital, Bandugarh,⁴⁵ but finding it impossible to capture the fort which was believed to be the strongest in that territory, he returned to Jaunpur and made no further attempt to conquer Bhatgorha.

Dholpur, Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar

Dholpur, like Gwalior, occupied an equally important position. Sultan Buhlul passed through this territory in 1486 when he was marching towards Ranthambhor. The Raja accorded a friendly reception to the Sultan and presented a large quantity of gold to mark his submission.⁴⁶ The latter did not visit Dholpur again during the remaining three years of his reign. Sultan Sikandar maintained cordial relations with that state for about ten years, but at the end of the fifteenth century the new Raja, Vinayak Deo, appeared to have wavered in his loyalty and wished to bring his policy in line with that of Gwalior. Further the peace of the area around Dholpur and Gwalior was disturbed by the notorious activities of the dacoits, and Sikandar who was anxious to exercise more effective control over the southern part of his kingdom, decided to annex Dholpur. Early in 1501 he ordered an attack on its fort, but when his army met with tough resistance from the Raja's forces, he set out himself from Sambhal late in March of the same year. On his approach, Rai Vinayak Deo fled to Gwalior and the garrison, finding themselves helpless, abandoned the fort at midnight. The besieging army ransacked the town and destroyed the beautiful orchards that covered an area of seven miles.⁴⁷ At the end of the year, however, when Raja Mān Singh of Gwalior renewed his allegiance to Sikandar, the latter, probably at the Raja's instance, reinstated Vinayak Deo at Dholpur. Unfortunately, Raja Mān was not sincere in his professions of loyalty and within a few years, he assumed

the "Virabhanudya Kavyam" has, likewise, not mentioned a number of other events recorded by Muslim historians, in particular, Mubārak Khan Nūhānī's arrest, the restoration of Kantit to Bhaid by Sikandar and Bhaid's subsequent flight. See *Memoirs A.S.I.*, XXI, 12, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, II.

⁴⁵ For the precise location of Bandugarh, see *I.G.*, VI, 358-359. See also *A'in-i-Akbari*, I, 423, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVI, 6.

⁴⁶ "Zubdat al-Twārikh" (J.R.L. Manchester), MS fol. 194, (U.L. Cambridge) MS fol. 54b. A brief account of Buhlul's attack on Alhanpur (Near Ranthambhor) will be found in *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 141, 152-N. 9b.

⁴⁷ *Tab. Akb.*, I, 324, *Firishta*, I, 336.

once more an attitude of positive hostility towards the Sultan. In order to prevent a closer alliance between Gwalior and Dholpur, Sikandar finally expelled Rai Vinayak Deo in 1505 and having annexed Dholpur, appointed Malik Qamr al-Din as his governor.

To isolate Gwalior and facilitate future operations against it, the Sultan gradually extended his control over the neighbouring principalities. In the same year in which he took possession of Dholpur, he led an attack on Mandrail⁴⁸ and captured the citadel. He inflicted severe punishment on the inhabitants, destroyed many temples⁴⁹ and ravaged the whole area up to the limits of Gwalior. Next year he attacked the fort of Utgir.⁵⁰ The Rajputs fought bravely from their roof-tops killing or burning their families, but the besiegers succeeded in entering the fort after making a breach in the wall. Sikandar was delighted with the victory and once more he ordered temples to be pulled down and mosques to be built.⁵¹ During their return from Utgir the Afghan army lost about 800 men and numerous animals because of the scarcity of water and the difficult terrain. After the rains had stopped, the Sultan marched towards Narwar⁵² where Jalāl Khan Lodi, governor of Kalpi, had already arrived to begin the siege. The garrison fought heroically and persistent attempts of the besiegers to breach the walls were frustrated by immediate repairs carried out from inside. The want of grain and water, however, ultimately forced them to capitulate and their request for safe passage was granted. Sikandar ordered fresh fortifications to be erected at Narwar as, in his view, if such a strong fort were to fall into

⁴⁸ In Karauli, Rajputana. See *I.G.*, XXVI, 36-E. 2, *A'in*, tr., II, 190.

⁴⁹ The word *Kanā'* is used in *Tab. Akb.*, I, 325, and *Firishta*, I, 327, should be taken to mean Hindu temples in general, and not fire temples as suggested by Elliot. See *Hodivala*, I, 497, XX.

⁵⁰ Also called Uditnagar, Ontgir, Untgar, Awantgarh, Hawantgarh, Himmatgarh.

It is situated about 28 miles south-west of Karauli town, between Narwar and Gwalior. See *A.S.I.R.*, II, 328-330.

⁵¹ According to Nizām al-Dīn, Rai Dongar of Uditnagar embraced Islam and had probably been re-instated by 1509, for, in that year Mīān Sulaimān was ordered to hasten to his help. He appeared to have become unpopular with his subjects on account of his conversion. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 328.

⁵² According to *Firishta* (I, 339) and Nihāwandī (*M.R.*, I, 468), Narwar was at that time a dependency of Malwa, but the fort had been taken possession of by the Hindus. The *I.G.* (XVIII, 396), however, states that it had been held by the Tonwar Rajputs until 1507 when it fell to Sikandar.

an enemy's hands, it would be difficult to recover.⁵³ He also arranged for the settlement of numerous scholars and learned men who were assigned to the newly opened schools^{53a} and mosques, some of which had been built at the sites of demolished temples.⁵⁴ Leaving Narwar early in 1509, the Sultan spent about a month at Lahair⁵⁵ and before returning to Agra, subdued the rebels of Hatkant⁵⁶ and set up a number of police posts in the area to keep peace.

53. The city of Narwar was strongly walled and the fort, according to Tieffenthaler, was built to a great height, being reached by 300 steps. See the sketch map in *De l'Inde* (Berlin, 1786), I, 174-175.

The I.G. further states that Sikandar, after conquering Narwar, restored it to Raj Singh Kachwaha. This is not confirmed by Muslim writers whose account, however, shows that Sikandar had friendly relations with the Kachwaha Rajputs as he included Jagar Sen Kachwaha among the group of robles who were sent to take over the administration of Chanderi. *Tab. Akb.*, I, 332, *Firishta*, I, 341. See also N. 33 above.

53a. For the encouragement of education and the general progress of culture under Sikandar see the writer's article on "Indian culture in the Late Sultanate Period" in the *East and West*, N.S. XII/1, 1961.

54. The destruction of temples at Narwar was not so widespread as is generally believed, for Ab'l Faql has recorded the existence, in his own time, of ancient Hindu temples of stone in certain parts of the fort itself. See *A'in-i-Akbari*, Persian text, I, 450.

55. Modern Lahar, about 50 miles south-east of Gwalior. It was here that Sikandar conferred the fief of Kalpi on his second son, Prince Jalal, who met him in the company of Ni'mat Khātun, widow of Qutb Khan Lodi, and the prince's foster mother. *Firishta*, I, 340. See also N. 13 above.

56. It is an old name for the Bhadauriya country, north-east of Gwalior. Abu'l Faql has mentioned it as a *mahal* in the *Agra Sarkar*. *A'in*, I, 444.

Reviews

STEAMBOATS ON THE GANGES: An exploration of the history of India's modernization through Science and Technology. Henry T. Bernstein. Orient Longmans (Private) Ltd., 1960. Pages xvi and 239. Rs. 15/-.

The sub title of the book is a fair indication of what the author sets out to do in this compact and well produced volume. The author is a scientist turned historian to work on this theme and earn a doctorate while working as a teaching assistant in the History Department of Yale in 1956. He spent ten months in India in 1953-4 and is now engaged in California in further studies in natural history. He does not read in any Indian Language and his work stops with 1840 (because beyond that point the manuscript records of the Bengal steam department were no longer available at the India Office Library and in all probability were destroyed long ago). The author hopes, by his work, to illustrate 'the pleasures and practical utility of historical studies of India's modernization'—a word he uses deliberately in preference to Westernization. He seeks also 'to illustrate the large trends by focussing on smaller details' and limits the field of exploration to Bengal and the Ganges valley between 1819 and 1840. The first step in the move was taken at Lucknow by the Nawab of Oudh, Ghazi-ud-din Haider in 1819, when he got an English man to construct for him a fifty foot craft powered by an engine brought from Europe.

A pioneering voyage in 1828 led the East India Company to launch a regular line of Government steamers from Calcutta to Allahabad in the 1830's for various economic and political reasons. The book not only gives an account of first man who made a success of this laborious and hazardous enterprise, but reflects the social relations among Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus and Muslims who, early in the nineteenth century, were helping to change Indian Society by introducing new knowledge of nature and new technical devices. It also attempts to identify the branches of science and technology taking root in India at the time. The author suggests that further exploration of India's experience with modern science and technology—the Ganges steamers are but one

example—might contribute in a valuable way not only to India's planning but that of other countries seeking to modernize themselves likewise. Though it does not make easy or smooth reading, the book is full of significant reflections at every step from one who has taken a genuine and friendly interest in the economy of the developing countries of the World.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND MYSORE (1762-1790): by J. Van Lohuizen, Ph.D. *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, Land-, en Volken Kunde*. Deel. xxxi 'S. Gravenhage-Martinus Nijhoff, 1961, pages viii and 205. Two maps.

This careful and well documented study of the relations between the Dutch East India Company and Mysore under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan is based on a more complete use of the Dutch sources than that of earlier writers, and particularly of the manuscript records kept in the General State Archives at the Hague. The author does not in any way exaggerate the importance of the subject of his study and says at the outset: 'As the influence of the Company in South India never reached far inland and as Mysore at no time had expanded to the coasts where the Dutch had their settlements, there had not been much contact so far' i.e. till 1743.

In fact Dutch relations with Mysore developed out of their connection with Travancore, and their policy was to protect Travancore from a Mysorean attack and preserve intact their ties with Travancore. But after all, India was only a subsidiary interest of the Dutch whose main preoccupation was with the East Indies. Malabar was indeed an unremunerative asset, and its value as a victualling station for the Company's vessels sailing from Batavia to Morcha and as an outpost to protect Ceylon did not altogether prevent the adumbration of proposals to abandon Malabar; at any rate Dutch policy was negative and lacked a positive side. And when the British and French entered the field and sought serious control of the politics and trade of the region, the Dutch were outclassed. And Mysore itself was no small power and the Dutch did not find it easy to stand up to it.

Haidar was looked upon at first as an esteemed potentially, then as a neighbour who should be appeased, then as an aggressor, and finally as a confederate whom one had to accept by stress of circumstances. Tipu was at first friendly but soon turned into a trouble maker whose sole merit was his opposition to growing British supremacy. Dr. Van Lohuizen has done his best to bring out clearly the significant though modest part played by the Dutch in the historical evolution of both Travancore and Mysore.

There are three appendixes on the origin of the Nair Rebellion of 1766. The conquests of Coorg and Calicut in 1773-4 (by Mysore), and The Mysorean—Dutch agreement of 1781 (Text). There is a good classified Bibliography and a serviceable index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

WORLD HISTORY: OUR HERITAGE. M. Mujeeb. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1960. Pages 344, Rs. 14/-.

Prof. Mujeeb graduated in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford in 1922 and then spent some years in Germany. When he returned to India in 1926 he joined the Jamia Millia as Professor of History and Politics, and has been its Vice-Chancellor since 1948. He is a versatile writer in Urdu and English whose writings include some well studied historical plays in Urdu which he has also translated in English. In the work under review its significant sub-title, he has sought to adopt the standpoint that it is not the history of one's own country alone, but the history of the whole world that is one's heritage. The book is meant both for scholars and the general reader. 'Its purpose', says Mujeeb 'is not so much to inform as to provoke thought. It is not a narration of events, but a series of judgements that should be considered, and then accepted or rejected'. This is not a text book in the usual sense, but is calculated to create interest in the problems of human life and act as an incentive to further and more detailed study.

Prof. Mujeeb does not adopt the narrative form which would have swelled the size of his book, but groups relevant facts relating to each of the eleven broad chronological divisions he adopts under three heads: Skill, Organization and Belief, and brings out the most important features of civilization in these periods. By

belief he does not mean only religious belief, and indicates the scope of his concept by pointing out that, in his view, belief in our own times would include democracy, the welfare state, dialectic materialism, pragmatism, institutional and personal religion, human rights and the equality of the sexes, ideas in regard to the significance of literature, art and science, ahimsa and Panch Sheela, and all these spiritual and moral influences, defined or indefinable, which mould or direct or explain human action and behaviour. Mujeeb has produced a very instructive, if somewhat unusual, account of the progress of the world's cultures which deserves to be read and pondered by all serious students of human affairs.

'The Indus Valley civilisation seems to have disappeared entirely' (p. 42) unlike the Sumerian which merged into the Babylonian to main the traditions of civilized life; this judgement differs much from the usual view. Mujeeb talks of 'the Iron Pillar' apparently of Mehrauli being made in 86 B.C., (p. 117)—a date no one has assigned to the pillar. How at Khwarizm's work (c. 825 A.D.) with its nine numerals and zero can be 'epoch-making' (p. 143) when these had come into use in India already in the sixth century (p. 141) is hard to see. Vijayanagar was founded in 1336 A.D. and not 'late in the fourteenth century' (p. 149). 'The fires lit in 1857', writes Mujeeb 'smouldered here and there for over twenty years, and in 1885 an outlet for the expression of public opinion was created by the establishment of the Indian National Congress' (p. 249); here he seems to succumb to the fashionable, but erroneous, tendency to date the beginning of the Indian Freedom Movement from 1857; the 'Mutiny' had nothing in common with the 'Congress'; the former was the last kick of a dying past, the latter the dawn of a new day.

There is a serviceable bibliography and a good Index.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

HISTORY OF THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN INDIA, Vol. I.

By Tarachand. Foreword by Dr. Humayun Kabir. The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Jan. 26, 1961, pp. xvi and 400. Price Rs. 15.50.

The commonly accepted rule of modern historical writing is that it should stop at a convenient point at least some decades before the time of writing, to enable the historian to see events

in their proper perspective and also to get a fairly comprehensive command of the 'sources' and to gain freedom from the pressures of current politics. But here in India, almost from the day Britain withdrew in 1947, there were many to set up a vociferous demand for the immediate writing of the history of the freedom movement, and we have witnessed even angry disputes about priority in this matter. The Indian History Congress, the only All-India organization of professional historians, was among the first to voice the demand for the History of Freedom Movement being written, though it attained no conspicuous success either then or subsequently in its more legitimate plan of a Comprehensive History of India of which only one volume, volume two, was published in 1957, the rest of the project being consigned to oblivion. The Government of India succumbed to these demands and sponsored the project which has had a chequered career. As a member of one of the Government committees which functioned for three years or so from 1953, the present reviewer often had occasion to feel how unsatisfactory were the results of forcing the pace in a matter like this, and the draft of the first volume that was produced by the then editor did nothing to assuage the feeling, but a lot to intensify it. No wonder the committee was dissolved. But that did not mean the dropping of the project, but its pursuit along other lines. Under the inspiration of the short lived Central Committee, the states got busy gathering material for the study of the movement within their respective territorial limits; some have produced half finished histories, others have published useful collections of source material, and yet others are still at work each in its own way. But all furnished to the National Archives, which took over from the Central Committee, copies of all the material they brought together from time to time. Dr. Tara Chand who had been Chairman of the Planning Committee at an earlier stage was entrusted with the task of sifting the material and preparing a unified history of the Indian freedom movement'.

All historical writing is necessarily subjective to some extent, and Humayun Kabir's statement that Dr. Tara Chand's 'analysis and opinion are his alone' must be taken to mean that the government which sponsors the effort is in no way responsible for them. Kabir also says that the first volume 'deals with the social political, cultural and economic conditions of India in the eighteenth century against the background of the historical processes that had in earlier times shaped the life and history of the Indian

people. It also gives an overall picture of the developments which ushered in the modern age in Europe in order to make it easier for us to understand the impact of the new dynamism of the west on the comparatively static Indian society'. This gives, on the whole, a better idea of the contents of the volume than Tara Chand's own explanation of the plan of his work. 'The history of Freedom' affirms Dr. Tara Chand, 'is a dialectic process. Its first step was antithetical in so far as it amounted to the destruction of the old order. This is the argument of the process which started in the middle of the eighteenth century and culminated in the revolt of 1857. The second step is the emergence of a new order which gradually gathers momentum during the half century after 1857. The third step is one of conflict and synthesis of the spirit of the old order and the new, of the East and the West, and the coming into the world of a new individual the Indian nation State. I have treated this dialectical theme in three volumes, of which this first one deals with the first term of argument'. At least in the opinion of one reader of the book, it has gained little, and perhaps lost considerably, by its affecting the Heget-Marx pattern of thought, and its dependence on citations from Marx's propagandist notes on British rule in India in the later stages of the book should have been avoided.

Both Kabir and Tara Chand speak of two centuries of foreign domination in India; this is apparently to be understood as emphasizing the theme of the book as a whole viz. the attainment of freedom from British rule in modern India, and not as calculated to deny the Himalayan fact of India having fallen under foreign domination virtually since 1200, though there were some areas which remained free and other putting up struggles against the foreign rule. In the opening pages of his work Tara Chand indeed seeks to distinguish the nature of the British and Muslim conquest—the former an alien people whose homeland lay at a distance of several thousand miles from India', but the latter though continuing to adhere to their religion and culture, 'chose to stay permanently in this country, broke with their foreign moorings, and cast their lot with the Indian people'. 'India was enriched by the addition of a new religion to her repertory of faiths' and there was much mental give and take in social life and the arts. This is one side of the picture, but obviously not the whole of it; if it were, there need have been no Muslim league and no Pakistan,

and indeed the curious reader will await with interest Tara Chand's estimate of Pakistan and its background in the Freedom Movement as he understands it. But the attempt to treat Muslim rule in India as an incident of internal history with few of the characteristics of foreign colonial rule is not without its interest, and puts many familiar things in a new light. It derives a good deal of its plausibility from the continuity of Indian culture represented by typical institutions like village, caste, guild and so on that cover a considerable area of Indian polity. It has also meant a studied playing down of the religious antagonisms that found expression in large scale demolition of temples and erection of mosques with their spoils. But even so, some brute facts keep batting in, and the part of Muslim rule in splitting the country and weakening it cannot be disowned.

Speaking of Brahmana Pandits and the Ulema for instance Tara Chand writes: 'unfortunately the two groups lived in almost complete isolation from one another. Religion, language, customs and general conditions prevented mutual intercourse. They formed two worlds apart. They were divided by impenetrable mental walls, occasionally a Zani-ul-Abidin, an Akbar or a Dara Shukoh might seek to pull them down; sometimes a Muslim Darwesh and a Hindu Yogi might meet and exchange views; otherwise the gulf between the sacredotal groups of two communities remained wide' (147), and these groups were the leaders of the respective communities, Again, 'Aurangzeb has been rightly blamed for his bigoted religious policy, which was politically unwise, and from the religious point of view unjustified. It did much damage. Religious fanaticism widened the gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim higher classes, reopened the wounds which Akbar's policy had tended to heal, and reminded the Hindus that they were citizens of an inferior status' (155). 'But', adds Tara Chand, 'it is an exaggeration to say that it provoked a general movement against the Mughal empire or that it provided inspiration for uprising against Muslim rule', a somewhat strange opinion which he proceeds to establish in his own way by 'an analysis of the risings of the times'. While agreeing with some necessary correctives to prevalent 'patriotic' exaggerations on the Hindu side, some readers may still fail to see the validity of the main proposition advanced. Again, Shaik Ahmad Sarhindi 'was fiercely hostile towards the Hindus, when he regarded as infidels, and

considered nothing more pleasing to God than their humiliation and disgrace. He looked upon 'the realization of the poll tax (Jazia) as a means of heaping contumely and scorn upon the infidels'. (203). One more extract along this line. 'The movement initiated by Akbar reached its culmination in Dara Shukoh. But it failed to capture the Muslim mind. The ideas of Akbar were far too much in advance of the opinion of the times. They produced a reaction of which Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was the strongest exponent. Aurangzeb followed him' (205) with disastrous results all round.

So it is clear that Tara Chand is not unaware of the shortcomings of the Islamic rulers of India and their share in paving the way for the British conquest of India. He has, however, sought to bring a fresh outlook to bear on our social and political evolution through the centuries, and the serious minded reader will be grateful for much clear and forceful writing on even familiar subjects and so too he will see that the many excursions into historical parallels from Europe are not without their own value. At the same time, he lays down the book with the feeling that this is too long an introduction for a three volume project; he also misses any indication of the main lines of thought sought to be developed in the sequel. The prolegomena would have been better confined to half the volume or less and followed by a general survey of the Freedom movement and its main phases, and a brief study of 1857. The last two chapters on the Social and Economic consequences of British Rule cannot be said to be on a par with the rest of the book. Possibly there was some hurrying at the end to reach a target date, one does not know.

Two serious mistakes have been corrected in a slip 'errata' preceding the Index. But still, one comes across statements which may not be accepted as they stand. Is it true to say that developments similar to the growth of urbanization in Europe did not occur in India till the beginning of the nineteenth century? (25). We read of the West: 'the most important result of commercial development was the rise of the freedom movement in the towns' (p. 28); to use the phrase 'freedom movement' in this context is, it seems, altogether to miss the very real difference between the freedoms or liberties of the Middle Ages and the modern concept of Freedom which is essentially a growth of the nineteenth century and was practically unknown before American Independence and

the French Revolution. One wonders what warrant there is for the statement: *bhakti* (love) was reserved for the higher caste and *prapatti* (surrender) for the lower (98); the distinction that Tara Chand makes between Brahman teachers and those of other castes is in fact unknown to Vaishnava theory—and also to a considerable extent in practice. In p. 214 an 'of' is missing between the words 'treatises' and '*Raghunandana*', and the whole sentence is a little unhappy in its italicizing the names of authors and works alike. The date when Middleton held up the traffic between Gujarat and the Red Sea to put pressure upon the local Mughal Governor is given as 1617 and 1611 within a few lines of each other on p. 236, the latter being the correct date. Should '*raison d'etre*' on p. 280 be '*raison d'etat*'?

Dr. Tara Chand has undertaken a difficult task, and his plan has involved his concentrating his attention in this volume on the eighteenth century, perhaps the worst in all the long history of our country. The story is dominantly one of blunder and decay, and the author who has pronounced views has not hesitated to set them forth freely and fully; he has often had to discuss subtle intangible factors the evaluation of which could seldom be unanimous. It may be that in his reaction against some current prejudices, the author has allowed himself to go a little too far, but on the whole he has done his work in the given conditions in a competent and conscientious manner; and we wish him success in the rest of it.

· K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

AN OUTLINE OF CZECHOSLOVAK HISTORY by František Kavka, Ph.D., Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy, Charles University, Orbis, Prague, 1960, pages 179. Illustrations, Maps, Guide to the pronunciation of proper names in Czech. Price 10 Kčs.

LESSON FROM HISTORY: Documents concerning Nazi policies for Germanisation and extermination in Czechoslovakia. Compiled with introduction and notes by Dr. Václav Král. Documents assembled by Dr. Karl Fremund and Dr. Václav Král. Institute for International Politics and Economics, Prague;

Historical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science, Prague. Orbis—Prague, 1961, pages 174. Price kcs. 8-

Both these books are very readable English translations of Czech and German originals which provide interesting peeps into the history and some recent occurrences in Czechoslovakia. The first book is an outline of the history and culture of the Country from pre-historic times to our own, written by a Professor of Philosophy. The eleven chapters of the work are remarkable for their sense of proportion and vividness. The narrative becomes more specific and somewhat detailed as we reach modern times, particularly the inter-war period and the aftermath of the second World War. There is no communist jargon anywhere in the book, but the point of view from which it has been written may be seen clearly from the two following extracts: 'The policy of concessions to Hitler Germany, carried out by Great Britain and France, had one central aim—to drive Germany into war with Soviet Union' (p. 136). 'Fears of the constantly strengthening position of Germany and its partners (in Dec. 1941) were stronger than the opposition to a socialist regime in the Soviet Union' (p. 138). On page 152 the word 'supplement' is used where 'supplant' is meant—the only instance the reviewer has noted of a flaw in English in this book. Its 36 illustrations and seven maps are excellent aids to the understanding of the history and culture of this enterprising little country of Central Europe.

The other book is a collection of 32 documents (1938-45) in extenso ably introduced, translated and annotated; they throw a lurid light which reveals in full detail the real aim of Nazi policy in Czechoslovakia: 'this aim has always been the complete domination of the country by German imperialism, the complete destruction of Czech national extreme and the complete Germanisation of this Slav Country' (p. 20). That this is no exaggeration but a precise statement of the case becomes abundantly clear from the documents themselves. Why this horror story is now recalled and what lesson from history the editor has in view is perhaps best stated in his own words: 'After all that happened in Czechoslovakia during the years of the second World War, the Czechoslovak people cannot remain passive in face of the growing revanchist movement in Western Germany, whose most typical representative is the Sudeten German Association of Fellow Countrymen. Henlein's and Frank's former collaborators and present

successors like Leo Schubert, Franz Karmasin, Paul Illing, Walter Becher, Walter Brand, Theo Keil, Fritz Köllner, Konstantin Höss, Ernst Frank, Franz Böhm, Rudolf Staffen and a number of others who are active in the leadership of the revanchist movement of transferred Sudeten Germans, have not relinquished their old aims. To remind all honest-minded democrats throughout the world of these aims in their new garb is the purpose of the present publication.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT (1761) BY KASIRAJ: Persian Text and translation by Dr. B. M. Gai, M.A., Ph.D. Razm-i Isha'at, Ismail Yusuf College, Jogesvari, Bombay-60, 1961. Pages xx, 39, 42. Price Rs. 2.50.

Kasiraj's account of the third battle of Panipat has been used by all historians of India, and forms one of the best known 'sources'. Sri Jadunath Sarkar thought highly of it and Shejwalkar has perhaps rated it unduly low. The account was written from memory, some nineteen years after the event, without any aid from diaries or records, and has all the merits of an eyewitness's account and shortcomings of a picture drawn from memory, which, as every one knows, often plays strange tricks. Again, as Prof. Mrs. Parekh points out in the introduction, citing Shejwalkar: 'It appears to have been purposely written for some one inquisitive on the point, possibly a British official at Oudh court....when he wrote his account he was almost seventy, an age when the mental faculties are on the decline'.

The text and translation now published follow the Rampur manuscript which differs somewhat from the manuscripts used by the earlier translators Brown and Sarkar. There is no attempt to present a critical text or any apparatus, though this is the first accurate and complete translation of the work. There are unfortunately many misprints, but most of these have been corrected in Errata. The book is priced reasonably low, but there would be many prepared to pay rather more to get a better produced book to handle. The Bazam-i-Isha'at is not earning credit to

itself or to Indian publishing industry in general by putting forth such ill-made books.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF GANDHIJI RELATING TO BIHAR, FROM 1917 TO 1947: Edited with an Introduction by Dr. K. K. Datta, Principal, Patna College, Published by the Government of Bihar, March 1960. Pages x, iv, 341. Price Rs. 12/-.

About four years back Dr. Datta produced a three volume history of the Freedom Movement in Bihar. In this volume he has carefully edited the writings and speeches of Mahātmā Gandhi relating to Bihar from 1917 to 1947, collecting them with considerable industry from different sources. The limits chosen are obviously significant—1917 witnessing Gandhi's historic mission to the indigo plantations of Champaran which constituted the first striking success in India of the technique of Satyagraha he had developed during the South African phase of his experiments with Truth in the service of Humanity; in thirty years from then India under his stalwart leadership, aided indeed by world forces of a formidable nature, attained her freedom. Bihar has played a notable part in this achievement and its 'Rajen Babu' became, appropriately enough, the President of the Constituent Assembly which framed the Constitution and also the First President of the New Republic. Bihar and Gandhi were dear to each other and Datta has done well to produce, under the aegis of his Government, this well arranged permanent record of the three fine decades of their mutual reactions.

The Introduction of seventy pages contains a succinct narrative of the different stages in the activities of Gandhi in and for Bihar and provides the necessary back-ground for the proper appreciation of the selections from various sources presented in the rest of the book, under seven sections. There are 18 well chosen illustrations, a glossary (3 pages), and a serviceable index (330-41). Dr. Datta and the Government of Bihar have earned the gratitude not only of all Biharis but of the rest of India as well, if not the world, by this precious production.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE HERITAGE OF THE LAST ARHAT OR LORD MAHAVIRA: the message of Jainism by Dr. Charlotte Krause (Leipzig), adaptation by Balchandra M. Parikh, M.A., Published by Sri Chimanlal Kothari, Madras, August 1960. Pages viii and 39.

This is a simplified version of a lecture delivered by Dr. Krause in 1929 under the presidency of the late T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, then Advocate-General. It constitutes a lucid exposition of the ideals of conduct, individual and social, which laymen and monks among Jains held before them and practised to the best possible extent and the practical purpose of the lecture and its relation to the current world situation are best expressed in the last paragraph of the booklet: 'I have been often asked as to what I think to be the merit of Jainism as a practical religion. I have, therefore, tried to give a short answer today, which the general public might be able and willing to follow. At first sight it might appear to be a one-sided answer, because it is based solely on the problem of the mutual relations of the individual and the society. Still, this problem is one of vital importance and, as I said before, is the very touchstone by which the value of a religion can be objectively assessed. Hence it would not be too much to say, as I conclude, that this exposition may well stand as a kind of introduction into the spirit of Jainism.'

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

FRESH LIGHT ON KĀLIDĀSA'S MEHADŪTA, by V. K. Paranjape. Kalidasa Samshodhan Mandal, Poona. Pages xvi and 302. Price Rs. 12.50 or Sh. 19/-.

Though no date of publication appears on the title page, V. K. Paranjape's note of acknowledgement is dated 31st July 1960. The geography of the cloud messenger's route described in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, in particular, the identity of Rāmagiri whence the cloud starts his journey has long been a vexed question, and till recently there was some consensus that it should be identified with Ramtek near Nagpur. Mr. Paranjape elaborately re-examined the question, and in his Foreword, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar thus neatly summarizes the conclusions of Paranjape. 'The object of the author in writing this book', he says, 'is to establish (i) the identity of Kālidāsa's Rāmagiri with Rāmgarh in Madhya Pradesh;

(ii) the Rāma story as the main source of Kālidāsa for his *Meghadūta* and his heavy indebtedness to Vālmiki in several particulars; and (iii) the location of Panchavaṭī and Citrakūṭa respectively at Bhadrachalam near Rajahmundry and the south-eastern part of the present Madhya Pradesh.' He has also advanced certain interesting suggestions regarding the date and provenance of Kālidāsa. His plea for a first century B.C. date for Kālidāsa, like some other details, may not command easy acceptance. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Paranjape has produced a shrewd and thorough study of the questions he discusses and deserves to be congratulated in his work.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

A SURVEY OF ISLAMIC CULTURE AND INSTITUTIONS

by K. D. Bhargava, Director, National Archives, New Delhi.
Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1961, pp. viii and 280, price Rs. 10/-.

'This book', says the author, 'aims at a popular exposition of the main currents of culture which have moulded the mind and heart of Muslims Important aspects of Islamic culture have been included in the book and copious illustrations from the classics have been given to convey to the reader some idea of the wealth of the materials available.' We may say at once that this object has been achieved to a remarkable degree.

The first draft of the book was made, years ago, in collaboration with the late Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, and has now been revised and brought up-to-date. The book in the main deals with Islamic culture in general and gives one chapter, the last, to Muslim culture in India. It has been written quite obviously by one who loves and admires the cultural achievements of Islam in different fields like polity, society, religion, philosophy, the arts and sciences besides industry and commerce, and is anxious that this fact should be grasped clearly by the average educated person. Even the omission of all mention of Aurangzeb in the chapter on Muslim culture in India is perhaps to be traced to this more or less propaganda motive. But there is much authentic and solid information on Islamic culture and institutions.

The author is widely read and often cites telling quotations from standard authors French, German, and English, besides Arabic

and Persian sources, to enforce his arguments. He is generally convincing so far as he goes, but one sometimes gets the feeling that one is not getting the whole picture into view. Sometimes the writing is repetitious as for instance in the treatment of the quarrel between Turkey and Russia under Salim I and Shah Ismail (127-33). The author also often cites dates in the Hejira era without giving their equivalents in the Christian era.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

THE NATIONAL CULTURE OF INDIA by S. Abid Husain.

Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, pp. xiv and 237, price Rs. 15/-.

The author of this book who had his education at Allahabad, Oxford and Berlin was a Professor of Philosophy in the Jamia Milla of Delhi founded by the distinguished nationalist, Hakim Ajmal Khan and run for a long time by that other great nationalist Dr. M. A. Angari. The author was also connected with the Hindustan Talimi Sangh and with various educational projects of the Aligarh University. He was a member of the Official Language Commission and is now Literary Adviser to the All India Radio. The President of India awarded him a Padma Bhushan in 1957.

We mention these particulars of the author's career to draw attention to the quality and variety of experience that lie behind the writing of this book which, it seems to us, is the best attempt so far made by a Muslim scholar to understand and interpret the cultural problem of India. It will perhaps be not wholly inaccurate to say that the militancy of Islam in the cultural sphere and the general dynamism of its proselyzing activity have, in India at any rate, served to keep the Muslim intelligentsia rather aloof from the country's main cultural stream. The Muslim masses—the bulk of them converts from the most backward sections of the native people of India have also been, rather aloof culturally speaking, though this aloofness is perhaps attributable as much to their relative lack of interest in culture as to a fear conscious or unconscious—not unintelligible in the circumstances of the case—of forfeiting their prospects of salvation by too close an intermingling with the religious and social life of the Kaffirs.' This work by Dr. Abid Husain is therefore very welcome indeed. The book was originally written in Urdu in three volumes and

was subsequently republished in a short English version in 1956. That it has run into a second edition is a welcome evidence of the presence in some degree in its author of that breadth of view, that freedom from fanatic loyalties and militant exclusiveness and that intellectual objectivity and imaginative sensibility which alone are consistent not merely with culture but with its study and exposition. This is the more welcome in these days when there is growing evidence of the recrudescence of that incult Muslim communal fanaticism which led, thanks to unscrupulous exploitation and encouragement of it by the British into such a formidable disruptive force that it broke up the political unity of India.

The author recognizes that Indian's cultural history of several thousand years shows that a subtle and strong thread of unity runs through the bewildering multiplicity of her life. This was, as he realizes not the work of power groups but of the vision of the great sages and seers of India and of her poets and philosophers. Those master-spirits whose faith in Indian unity brought it about have doubtless a continuing influence that will long sustain it. What threatens this unity is a perversion of forces which, rightly directed could make it a great guardian not merely of India's peace and progress but of the world's.

Mr. Abid Husain is refreshingly frank in his recognition of the underlying causes of the disastrous transformation that came over the Muslim League under Jinnah's leadership. For though 'Pakistan' has been won through force and fraud, it remains a curiously backward country, exploited by its ruling class in alliance with foreign powers. Its toiling masses have known no real freedom of any kind. Though the so-called "free" world hails Pakistan as a democracy, the Pakistan masses have never had a taste either of liberty or of well being and certainly none of democracy, Islamic or other'. Pakistan is today a western military base and its martial classes are just cannon fodder in readiness for being offered up in whatever shooting war may break out between the West and Soviet Russia. Of cultural or economic individuality which Jinnah trumped up as the figleaf covering his megalomaniac variety and frustration, there remains not the faintest trace. Even so Mr. Abid Husain seeks to place some of the blame for the petition and the cultural break up which led to it on the Congress which he says, on p. 162, became tinged with both conservatism and communalism after office acceptance under the Government

of India Act of 1935. He offers no evidence whatever of this and he fails to mention the fact that the Congress Ministries, on assuming office, freely and voluntarily authorized the European Governors of the Congress-run provinces to exercise to the full their special responsibilities for the protection of minorities and that Dr. Rajendra Prasad then president of the Congress offered to have an impartial judicial inquiry into the alleged oppression of Muslims by Congress governments. But Mr. Jinnah's appetite for power had been sharpened by close observation during his period of political hibernatism in Europe, of the Nazi techniques of political disruption and political aggression. Wartime expedencies emptied the British government's Indian policy of the faintest element of common political honesty. But it is only fair to add that Mr. Abid Husain recognizes that the unscrupulous way in which they (i.e. Jinnah and the Muslim League) exploited the cultural issue and the gullibility which Muslims, specially in the provinces in which they were in a minority, showed have scarcely a parallel in the political history of nations. It is in the face of this candid admission that one is distressed to find Mr. Abid Husain saying that the cultural pattern which is now being evolved in India, as symbolized in the National language, seeks to reject the contribution which the Muslims have made to Indian culture.

On the question of cultural integration in the current context of fissiparous forces of linguism casteism, Mr. Abid Husain has nothing that is concrete or new to offer. He realizes—as is only proper—that a balance must be struck between the old and the new, between the static and dynamic elements in the culture complex of India. It is perhaps difficult to say how this can be done. That is the task that faces the top leadership of the country today. In respect of a book which is generally so sound and sane in its approach, one is disinclined to indulge in finding small faults. But one cannot ignore those noted on some pages. We find (1) Brahma confused with Brahman on p. 42 and on other pages too, (2) *The Taittiriya Upanishad appears throughout as Tatriya Upanishad* (3) The long quotation on p. 44 of the parable of the chariot and the soul is set forth without mentioning its sources, viz., the Katha Upanishad. (4) On p. 60 there is a long passage quoted without indication of the source. Such long quotations from sources not specified are not desirable in a work of scholarship.

S. R.

LECTURES ON BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM by Dr. Radha-govinda Basak (Published by the Sambodhi Publications Private Ltd., Calcutta), pp. 1-130 with an Index.

This book contains seven lectures on the life and teachings of Buddha, the life of Buddha as depicted by Āśvaghoṣa. Buddha, the conqueror of Māra, the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgal-yāyana, some aspects of Buddhism as in the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, Buddhist Emperor Asoka's liberality, and the interrelation between Brahmanism and Buddhism. I think these lectures are meant for students only. The author's statements are mostly not documented and in places scrappy. They are far from being scholarly. In the first lecture he has referred to some heretical teachers. The theory of non-causation or chance is ascribed to Makkhali Gosāla in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, but the incompatibility of such a theory with the general trend of Gosāla's thought needs some explanation. The author has not made this point clear. As regards Ajita Kesakambali the author ought to have said that the way for Mahāvīra and Buddha was prepared by Ajitakesakambali, the negative side of whose philosophy is more prominent than its positive side. In its negative side his philosophy was employed to demolish the whole ground of the Brahmanic faith and ceremonial works, as already pointed out by the author. But he is totally silent on the positive side of his philosophy. Ajita rendered a great service to Indian philosophy by the positive side of his philosophy, which was directed against the dualistic or pluralistic theory of Pakudha Kaccāyana. What Ajita really contemplated was not to identify body with soul or matter with spirit, but to point out that a particular object of experience must be somehow viewed as an indivisible whole (*Sūtrakritāṅga*, 2.1. 15-17). Mahāvīra and Buddha were right in supposing Ajita's doctrine to be a doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinction by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus deprived life of its zest, as shown by me elsewhere with full details. The author ought to have discussed the point whether Sañjaya Belatthiputta was the same person as Sañjaya the wanderer. Prof. Jacobi has identified the two names. I have discussed this point in my *Buddhist Studies*.

The author has said nothing about the Buddha's discussions with the *paribbājakas* or wanderers from early Buddhist texts.

About the Buddha's influence on ancient Indian kings (e.g. Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, Pasenadi, Udena and Caṇḍapajjota) the author is absolutely silent. This is an important topic in connection with the biography of the Buddha, which should attract the attention of all scholars interested in Buddhism. Buddha's contact with some women of his time and their conversion by him has not been dealt with in this book.

All that the Buddha taught or promulgated for the attainment of Buddhahood till his passing away was epitomized in the *Dhammacakkapavattana sutta* (p. 3) which was the traditional first discourse. The presentation of the Path formula without any reference to the formula of the four noble truths was quite possible, and it would have been more consistent and welcome in the First discourse, if the Middle Path were its main subject matter. The two extremes (*dve antā*) mentioned in the traditional first discourse were not the only pair of extremes that were to be avoided by the Buddha's disciples. The Buddha spoke of three other pairs of extremes that were to be met by the golden mean supplied in the well-known formula of causal genesis. The *Peṭakopadesa*, the Ariyapariyesana sutta of the *Majjhima Nikāya* and the *Vinaya-Mahāvagga* etc. should be consulted to get a clear idea of the *Paṭhama Dhammadesanā*. I have fully dealt with this topic in my *Indological Studies* Pt. II, Chaps. II and III.

In page 5 of the book under review the author has translated *gahanam* as an abyss. It really means a forest or thicket. *Dhamma* has been translated by Max Muller as righteousness and the author has accepted it. It means virtue or piety. The word *suci* has a variant, *sukhī*, meaning happy.

In page 10 the Pali passage quoted refers to *anulomadesanā*. Vide *Udāna*, Vagga, I, i; *Majjhima*, I, 262-63. The second passage relates to *paṭiloma-desanā* - *Udāna*, I, 2. In *anuloma* and *paṭilomadesanā* one has just a co-ordination of the above two formulas (*Udāna*, I, 3).

It is a pity that the author has not given the Pali titles of the two well-known Pali commentaries without any page-number (p. 16). He has given the titles in Sanskrit. Are we justified in giving Pali titles to Sanskrit books? The *Visuddhimagga* (Vol. II, P. T. S., p. 611) contains the matter to which the author has referred. In the same commentary (Vol. II, p. 497) occurs the follow-

ing relevant passage — *Ekam hi saccam na dutiyam*. There is only one truth and no second. Really speaking *nirvāṇa* is that state which is nothing but freedom from all sins and final release from lower nature. The exact reference to the *Atthasālinī* (P.T.S.) is this: *Ettha taṇhāsamkhātāṃ vānaṃ niggataṃ vā tasmā vānāti nibbānaṃ* (p. 409). It means that from which the arrow of desire is gone away.

The author keeps us in the dark by saying "Some other works." Let me mention one or two of them — *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* P.T.S. I, 217, *Kathāvatthupparakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*, P.T.S., p. 178.

In page 17 of the book *siṅca* means 'bale out' and not empty. The author quotes the *Majjhima Nikāya* only without giving exact reference which should be Vol. I, pp. 426 ff. In page 19 *Kadariyam* means stingy or miserly.

Regarding Buddha, the conqueror of Māra, he has relied much on the *Mahāvastu* account which is undoubtedly later than the Pali Canonical account. The author should have consulted the *Niddesa* (Vol. I, p. 96, P.T.S.; *Suttanipāta*, *Padhānasutta*, vs. 436-37) about Māra's army and compared it with that given in his book under review (p. 67). *Arati* (discontent) is Māra's second army. Māra's daughters are *Taṇhā*, *Arati* and *Rāga* (*Samyutta*, I, 124; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 202). This Pali word *arati*, which is not at all a mistake, occurs in all Pali books.

The author has not said anything about the different kinds of Māra, the enemy of liberation. It is interesting to note here as I have done elsewhere that like Māra Satan goes forth to tempt job, to test his loyalty to God whose permission he obtains before commencing his evil activities. Mār, the spirit of the Buddhists, the enemy of the Good Law, appears to have been the personification of an abstract conception of Buddhism.

The word *Upadhi* occurring in page 66 means substratum of being, substratum of rebirth. It brings grief and lamentation to a man (*upadhihi narassa socanā*). The word *mandati* in page 66 should be *nandati*. The author has not given page-reference to the *Diriyāvadāna*. It should be pp. 357 ff.

The author has made no attempt to collect references from other sources to the events noted by him in his Lecture on the life of Buddha as depicted by Aśvaghōṣa. I give below some of them for a comparative study:

Page 30 — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 14 regarding the vision of a dead man.

Page 35 (Return of Chandaka) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 15; *Vimānavatthu*, pp. 73-74; *Vimānavatthu commy.*, pp. 313-14 and *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 159.

Page 39 (Search for the Prince) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 15.

Page 41 (Bimbisara's visit to the Buddha on the Pāṇḍava hill) — Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 198; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 16; *Suttanipāta*, *Pabbajjā Sutta*, vs. 405-424.

Page 44 (Meeting with Arāḍa and others) — Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 118; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 16, p. 238; *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 160.

Page 46 (Udraka Rāmaputra) — Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 17, p. 243; *Mahāvastu* II, p. 119. Five mendicants, Cf. *Majjhima*, I, 170; *Ibid.*, II, p. 94; *Samyutta*, III, p. 66; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 18, p. 264.

Page 47 (Nandabālā's (Sujātā) offering of rice-gruel to the Buddha) — Cf. *Lalitavistara* Chap. 18, p. 267; *Jinacarita*, v. 207.

Page 48 (Māra and the Buddha) — Cf. *Jinacarita*, vs. 239-41, 245, 246; *Lalitavistara*, Chap. 21; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 315.

Page 74 (Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana) — Cf. *Anguttara*, I, p. 23 — *Etadaggaṃ mahāpaṇṇānaṃ* — Śāriputta. *Etadaggaṃ iddhi-mantānaṃ* — Mahā Moggallāna.

There are many misprints e.g., *tranquility* (pp. 11, 39), *Māluṅkāputra* (p. 17), *Siddhārta* (p. 58), *Suddhodhana* (p. 88), *Buddhamānā* (bhūmi) p. 127.

The Index has been hurriedly prepared and hence it is inaccurate (e.g., *Ājīvika* in p. 78; *Mahāprajāvatī* (*Gautami*) p. 78; *Lokāyata* in p. 78. *Keśakambalin* in p. 78; *Saṅjayin* in p. 78; *Manoharā* in p. 80; *Kailāsa* in p. 80; *Kuśinagara* in p. 95 etc. These are untraceable in pages noted.

The printing and get-up of the book are not attractive. Some impressions are not distinct due to bad inking.

In spite of all these inaccuracies the book under review will be welcome by students and general public interested in Buddhism.

B. C. LAW.

THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA by Dr. R. C. Mitra, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris); published by Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, 1954; pp. 164 + viii.

The work under review is the English version of the author's thesis for the D. Litt. degree, submitted originally to the University of Paris. It deals with the condition of Buddhism in different parts of India from the seventh century A.D. and the circumstances leading to its virtual disappearance from its homeland gradually.

Besides a small introductory section and an index, the book has ten chapters, the first of which discusses Chinese testimony on the status and condition of Buddhism in India. In the following eight chapters, the author deals with the evidence regarding the prevalence of the religion, during the medieval and modern periods, in Kashmir, Sind, Northern and Western India, Bengal, Assam, Nepal, Orissa and South India. The causes of the decline of Buddhism in this country have been analysed in the last chapter of the book.

The author's industry in gathering items of information on the subject, especially from epigraphic sources, and his skill in utilising them are both praiseworthy. His work is characterised by sober judgment and freedom from bias. He has rightly pointed out that a great defect of the Buddhist church was 'the very ineffectual organisation of its relationship with the laity' (p. 147) and that the effect of the Muhammadan conquest of India on the ultimate disappearance of Buddhism from the country is often over-emphasised (p. 148). We congratulate the author and the publishers for the well-written monograph.

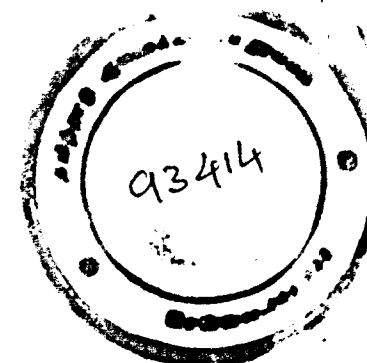
There are certain statements in the book, on which we find it difficult to agree with the learned author. He says, "The *Bṛihat-saṃhitā* (58.45) of the 6th century identified Buddha with Viṣṇu and prescribed that his image should be marked with Śrīvatsa or the auspicious signs of the deity" (p. 135). But the stanza in question reads: *ā-jānu-lambabāhuḥ śrīvats-āṅkaḥ praśānta-mūrtiś=cha| dig-vāsa=taruṇo rūpavānś=cha kāryo=rhatāṃ devaḥ||* and clearly refers to the Jina (cf. *dig-vāsa*, naked) and not the Buddha. The statement that the conception of the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu is foreshadowed in the sixth century (p. 159) is apparently based on the said interpretation. But that the

Buddha was regarded as Viṣṇu's *avatāra* at least in some quarters about the sixth and seventh centuries, if not earlier, seems to be indicated by the quotation of a well-known Puranic verse, enumerating the ten incarnations of the god including the Buddha, found in a Mamallapuram inscription assigned to the eighth century on palaeographical grounds (cf. p. 107). The conception has probably to be regarded as considerably earlier than the date of the record.

The author speaks of inscriptions dating from the fifth to the seventh century, which frequently refer to the performance of Aśvamedha and other Vedic sacrifices (p. 160). But we have numerous earlier epigraphic records referring to the horse-sacrifice performed by Śuṅga Pushyamita (second century B.C.), Gājāyana Sarvatāta and Śātavāhana Śātakarṇi (first century B.C.), Ikshvāku Śāntamūla (third century A.D.), Vākāṭaka Pravarasena, Pallava Śivaskandavarman and Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman (fourth century A.D.), etc. For the various performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, see Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai *Commemoration Volume*, 1957, pp. 93 ff. The ascription (cf. *loc. cit.*) of an Aśvamedha to the Rāshtrakūṭas and of eighteen horse-sacrifices to the Kadambas (cf. *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 240) seems to be wrong. In regard to a few inscriptions bearing on the main subject of his study, the learned author's attention may be drawn to an article on the decline of Buddhism in Bengal, published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. XIII, 1952, pp. 55-61.

We recommend the book to all students of the history of Indian religious thought.

D. C. SIRCAR.



Select Contents of Periodicals

- I. *Bihar Research Society—Journal of the*, Vol. XLIV, Parts III and IV., Patna.
 1. *Gaya in Inscriptions of Northern India (700 A.D. 1200 A.D.)* by Shri V. S. Pathak.
 2. *Fort William and Lord Macartney's Mission to China* by Sri P. C. Roy.
 3. *The Genesis of Janapadas* by Shri Krishna Chandra Mishra.
 4. *A Survey of Land System in India from C 200 B.C. to A.D. 650* by Dr. R. S. Sharma.
- II. *Kannadigas and Bombay, Bombay*.
 1. *Some Aspects of the Early History of Bombay* by Prof. Chidambar.
- III. *Oriental Institute—Journal of the*, Vol. X, No. 3, Baroda.
A Ksatrapa Head from Saurashtra by J. M. Nanavati.
- IV. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. IX, Part II, Karachi.
 1. *Role of a Pakistani Historian* by Mr. Fazlur Rahman.
 2. *Madad-i-Maash Grants under the Mughuls* by Sheikh Abdur Rashid.
- V. *Pakistan Historical Society—Journal of the*, Vol. IX, Part III, Karachi.
Akhbari-i-Rangin by Dr. S. Moinul Haq.
- VI. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, Ceylon.
 1. *Lankatilaka Inscriptions* by S. Paranavitana.
 2. *A Pillar Inscription from Moragahawela* by K. Kana-pathi Pillai.
- VII. *Sri Venkateswara University—Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, Parts 1 and 2, Tirupati.
 1. *Krishna—The Statesman* by Dr. M. Rama Rao.

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*.