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JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY

A European at the Court of the Great Mogul

BY

SIR THEODORE MORISON, K.C.I.E., ETC.

For close upon a thousand years Islam and Christendom confronted each other with mutual mistrust and hostility; between the two commerce either of goods or ideas was scanty and fitful; each built up from native material a distinct and characteristic civilization and each lived its own life ignorant and indifferent of the other. But by the sixteenth century this ignorance began to give way; through the development of navigation, the people of Europe became more mobile and began to spread beyond their own frontiers. While some steered West to hunt the legendary Eldorado, others rounded the Cape of Good Hope in quest of the more authentic wealth of Ormus and of Ind. By the beginning of the seventeenth century reports circulated in London, Paris and Amsterdam of a mighty prince living in India, known as the Great Mogul; he was said to be as magnificent as Solomon in his glory, to be liberal of largesse to foreigners and to offer security for trade throughout his wide dominions. It is no wonder that these reports stirred the blood of the gallants in England and the Low Countries. A number of adventurous spirits took ship to try their fortune in India and of these a good few have left us an account of their travels. These narratives are of very unequal value; checking them by the Indian histories, memoirs and private letters which are our staple authorities for this period, we can often convict these writers of ignorance or carelessness or credulity, but in one
respect their reports are of unique interest. They show us what impression Asiatic society made upon a traveller from Europe; by looking at it through their eyes we can establish some comparison between the civilizations of Islam and Christendom and form some estimate of their relative excellence. The impression which I derive from reading their writings is that these Europeans of the seventeenth century found in India a state of society which, though very different from their own in many of the externals of life was yet in essentials but little, if at all, inferior to that with which they had been familiar in Europe. I propose to submit some of the evidence which leads me to this conclusion. I had originally intended to make a selection of passages from several authors; but, though I could thus have produced a very flattering picture of Mogul India, it would not have been an accurate presentation of average opinion. I shall, I believe, convey a fairer impression by confining myself to one author.

Of all the Europeans who have left us an account of their travels in India in the seventeenth century, the most trustworthy in my opinion is a Frenchman, Francois Bernier. Bernier was a doctor of medicine of the University of Montpellier; he had studied under the philosopher Gassendi, whom he tended in his last illness and for whom he entertained a deep veneration; on his return from India, Bernier was admitted into the brilliant circle of writers which adorned the reign of Louis XIV. He was the friend of Racine, Boileau and La Fontaine; Saint Evremond, with whom he corresponded on terms of intimacy, thought highly of him and used to declare that Bernier by his bearing, manners and conversation justly deserved the title of ‘the handsome philosopher.’ Without fatiguing you by more evidence I feel justified in asserting that Bernier was familiar with all that was best in the European civilization of his day. His claims to be accepted as a competent witness of the condition of India are equally solid. Soon after his arrival in the kingdom of the Great Mogul, he took service under one of the great ministers of the Indian Crown, Dausahmand Khan, who held an appointment analogous to that of Minister of Foreign Affairs. As his title implies, Dausahmand Khan was a highly cultivated man and through him Bernier had access to the most polished society of Delhi and Agra. He read and spoke Persian, which was then the language of polite society and it is clear that he took pains to collect accurate information. As he lived in India for
about twelve years continuously and was exceptionally well placed for ascertaining the truth about the Mogul Court. I cite him as our most trustworthy witness of the state of Indian Society in the seventeenth century. He is a particularly valuable witness in this that his education and philosophic habit of mind enabled him to judge of men and things Indian on their merits, free from that national prepossession which warped the vision of too many European travellers.

While Bernier was yet in India (in July 1653) he wrote a letter to Mons. de la Mothe le Vayer which begins with these words:—

'"I know that your first inquiries on my return to France will be respecting the capital cities of this Empire. You will be anxious to learn if Delhi and Agra rival Paris in beauty, extent and number of inhabitants." That is the very question which I myself would have wished to put to Bernier, and his letter constitutes the best comparison I know of the civilizations of Europe and India at this period. He begins at once with an intelligent observation: 'In treating of the beauty of these towns I must premise that I have sometimes been astonished to hear the contemptuous manner in which Europeans in the Indies speak of these and other places. They complain that the buildings are inferior in beauty to those of the Western world, forgetting that different climates require different styles of architecture, that what is useful and proper at Paris, London and Amsterdam would be entirely out of place at Delhi; insomuch that, if it were possible for any one of those great capitals to change places with the metropolis of the Indies, it would become necessary to throw down the greater part of the city and to rebuild it in a totally different plan. Without doubt, the cities of Europe may boast great beauties; these, however, are of an appropriate character, suited to a cold climate. Thus Delhi also may possess beauties adapted to a warm climate.' He then proceeds to give a description of the plan and furniture of a private house in Delhi, the layout of the town and some of the principal public buildings; comparing Delhi with Paris he calls attention to points of likeness and difference, and like a sensible traveller makes a note of these peculiarities which could, usefully, be adopted in his own country. He says, for instance, that a certain karavansarai was in the form of a large square with arcades 'like our Place Royale,' that it was the rendezvous of the rich Persian, Usbek, and other foreign merchants, who in general might be accommodated with empty cham-
bers, in which they remained with perfect safety, the gate being closed at night, and he goes on to say: 'If in Paris we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different parts of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments.'

Our artistic sympathies have broadened since the seventeenth century and we do not need to be told that the Mogul buildings are not inferior in beauty to those of the Western world. We know that the Great Mosque and the Palace of Shah Jehan at Delhi and the Taj Mahal at Agra are among the most beautiful things which the hands of man have made and in the blindness of our ancestors to the glory of Mogul architecture we see an illustration of the humiliating truth that the majority of men cannot see beauty until it is pointed out to them. Every globe-trotter has heard before he sees it that the Taj is one of the wonders of the world and when he beholds the marble dome rising out of the romantic garden he experiences the emotion foretold him. But Bernier saw the Taj soon after it was finished and if his admiration sounds to us oddly halting and hesitating he does in the end recognize its surpassing beauty. As an illustration I will quote what he says of the Gateway which leads into the garden of the Taj Mahal.

'This pavilion is an oblong square and built of a stone resembling red marble, but not so hard. The front seems to me longer and much more grand in its construction than that of St. Louis in the rue St. Antoine and it is equally lofty. The columns, the architraves and the cornices are, indeed, not formed according to the proportion of the five orders of architecture so strictly observed in French edifices. The building I am speaking of is of a different and peculiar kind; but not without something pleasing in its whimsical structure; and in my opinion it well deserves a place in our books of architecture. It consists almost wholly of arches upon arches and galleries upon galleries disposed and contrived in a hundred different ways. Nevertheless the edifice has a magnificent appearance and is conceived and executed affectually. Nothing offends the eye; on the contrary it is delighted with every part and is never tired with looking. The last time I visited Taj Mahal's mausoleum I was in the company of
a French merchant, who as well as myself thought that this extraordinary fabric could not be sufficiently admired. I did not venture to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted by my long residence in the Indies and as my companion was come recently from France, it was quite a relief to my mind to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so bold and majestic. Bernier had no doubt been brought up in that artistic school which ultimately found expression in the formal symmetry of Versailles; it dominated the age of Louis XIV and made even the well-disciplined Mme. de Maintenon exclaim impatiently: 'We must die in symmetry.' Bernier could never quite free his mind from those five orders of architecture; they bothered him when beholding another of the great buildings of Shah Jehan, the Great Mosque at Delhi. I grant, he says, 'that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste;' and he proceeds to give it the praise it deserves.

But I must not leave you with the impression that Bernier thought that Delhi rivalled Paris or Amsterdam. He specially warns his correspondent against coming to any such conclusion.

'You need not quit Paris,' he writes, 'to contemplate the finest, the most magnificent view in the world, for assuredly it may be found on the Pont-neuf. Place yourself on that bridge during the day and what can be conceived more extraordinary than the throng of people and carriages, the strange bustle, the various objects by which you are surrounded? Visit the same spot at night and what, I fearlessly ask, can impress the mind like the scene you will witness? The immemorial windows of the lofty houses seen from the bridge exhibit their chastened and subdued lights while the activity and bustle observable in the day seem to suffer no diminution at night. There honest citizens and what never happens in Asia—their handsome wives and daughters promenade the streets without apprehension of quagmires or thieves. ... Yet my friend when you are on the Pont-neuf at Paris you may boldly aver on my authority that your eyes behold the grandest of all the artificial scenes in the world, excepting possibly some parts of China and Japan which I have not visited.' And Bernier sums up in these words: 'I may say without impartiality and after making every allowance for the beauty of Delhi, Agra and
Constantinople that Paris is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city of the world.'

So much for what Bernier has to tell us of the physical aspect of Delhi, what of the society which he found there? Did he find in India any one as learned as his master Gassendi? Could any circle in Delhi compensate him for the conversation of La Rochefoucauld or St. Evremond? On this point Bernier does not attempt a precise comparison and unfortunately for us he is not often anecdotal; but scattered through his books and letters there are occasional reports of conversations from which we gather that there was sometimes interesting and animated talk at the Court of the Great Mogul. I imagine that Bernier's employer, Dostahmand Khan, had a pretty wit. As an illustration of the extravagant politeness, or as Bernier calls it, the fulsome mode of address observed in India, he tells this story. 'A Brahman Pandit, or Gentile doctor whom I introduced into my Agah's service would fain pronounce this panegyric; and after comparing him to the greatest conquerors the world has ever known and making for the purpose of flattery a hundred nauseous and impertinent observations he concluded his harangue in these words uttered with all conceivable seriousness. 'When, my Lord, you place your foot in the stirrup, marching at the head of your cavalry, the earth trembles under your footsteps; the eight elephants on whose heads it is borne, finding it impossible to support this extraordinary pressure.' The conclusion of this speech produced the effect that might have been expected. I could not avoid laughing, but I endeavoured, with a grave countenance to tell my Agah whose visibility was just as much excited, that it behoved him to be cautious how he mounted on horseback and created earthquakes which often caused so much mischief. 'Yes, my friend,' he answered without hesitation, 'and that is the reason why I generally choose to be carried in a Palkey.' Dostahmand Khan was of course laughing at his own indulgence, but the man who could thus easily toss back the ball of conversation might not have been unwelcome in the salon of La Rochefoucauld and Mme. de Sévigné.'

In Delhi as at Versailles the monarch fills a large place in any picture of the society of the time; it was therefore inevitable that most of Bernier's anecdotcs should be reports of the sayings of Aurangzeb. Here is one.
It was about this period that one of the most distinguished Omrahs ventured to express to Aurangzeb his fear lest his incessant occupations should be productive of injury to his health. The King, affecting not to hear turned from his sage adviser and advancing slowly towards another of the principal Omrahs, a man of good sense and literary acquirements, addressed him on the following terms: The speech was reported to me by the son of that Omrah, a young physician and my intimate friend.

There surely can be but one opinion among you learned men, as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life and if necessary to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. Yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health and chiefly to study what may minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. . . . It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult, nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority and the security of the State. . . . Go tell thy friend that if he be desirous of my applause he must acquit himself well of the trust reposed in him, but let him have a care how he again obstructs such counsel as it would be unworthy of a king to receive.

This speech might be compared with the picture of himself which Louis XIV painted in his memoirs for the admiration of posterity, but the comparison would be wholly to the advantage of Aurangzeb. He at least never thought of himself with the fatuous self-complacency which led Louis XIV to say, 'There are certain of our functions in which, filling as it were the place of God, we seem to partake of his knowledge as well as of his authority, as for instance in the appreciation of character, the distribution of appointments and the granting of favours and pardons.' The just nemesis which follows such overweening arrogance decreed that those should be the very functions in the discharge of which Louis XIV most signally failed. Aurangzeb had the advantage of Louis XIV in another respect; he was much the better educated man of the two; though his favourite
study was an illiberal theology he had read widely and possessed a breadth of information beyond our expectations; none the less he trounced his old preceptor severely for the insufficiency of his tuition; he complained for instance that his preceptor had taught him that the whole of Europe (Frangulistan) was no more than some inconsiderable island of which the most powerful Monarch was formerly the King of Portugal, then he of Holland and afterwards the King of England. Aurangzeb denounced the philosophy he had been taught in particularly scathing terms, 'During several years you harassed my brain with idle and foolish propositions, the solution of which yields no satisfaction to the mind ... wild and extravagant reveries conceived with great labour and forgotten as soon as conceived.' Bernier seems to have particularly relished this part of his discourse for he interpolates 'Their philosophy abounds with even more absurd and obscure notions than our own.'

Bernier refers in another passage to the store Aurangzeb set upon the right education of princes. 'No person,' he says, 'can be more alive than Aurangzeb to the necessity of storing the minds of princes, destined to rule nations, with useful knowledge. As they surpass others in power and elevation, so ought they, he says, to be pre-eminent in wisdom and virtue.'

As might have been expected from his manly character, Bernier was disgusted at the fulsome flattery which was lavished on the Great Mogul by his courtiers and he quoted with satisfaction a Persian couplet, known he says to every one at Delhi,

Should the King say that it is night at noon
Be sure to cry, Behold, I see the moon

which shows at least that Aurangzeb's courtiers knew what rank hypocrites they were. I wonder what Bernier thought when he returned to France and listened to the adulation poured on Louis XIV, of whom it has been said that his appetite for flattery was only equalled by the eagerness of his courtiers to serve it to him. I suspect that both at Delhi and Versailles the conduct of the courtiers was about the same; they flattered the king outrageously to his face and laughed at their own inaneriety behind his back. Everyone, including the monarch, knew that this was done. One day Louis XIV was playing at trictrac; a doubtful stroke was played; a dispute
arose; all the courtiers kept silence. As the Comte de Grammont came up the king called out to him, 'decide between us.' 'It is you, Sir, who are wrong' said the Comte. 'And how can you say I am in the wrong?' asked the king 'when you don't even know what is in dispute.' 'Ah Sir, do you not see that if the matter had even been as much as doubtful all these gentlemen would have said you were in the right.'

There is one feature of Indian society which Bernier castigates unspARINGLY whenever an occasion offers and that is the widespread belief in astrology. In the Evenements Particuliers he writes, 'The majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of Judicial Astrology that according to their phrasisology no circumstance can happen below which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. . . . This silly superstition is so general an annoyance and attended with such important and disagreeable consequences that I am astonished it has continued so long.' In his letter to de la Motte le Vayer Bernier is more detailed and picturesque; after describing the royal square at Delhi he proceeds 'Here, too, is held a bazaar or market for an endless variety of things; which like the Pont-Neuf of Paris is the rendezvous for all sorts of mountebanks and jugglers. Hither, likewise, the astrologers resort, both Muhammadan and Gentile. These wise doctors remain seated in the sun on a dusty piece of carpet, handling some old mathematical instruments and having open before them a large book which represents the signs of the zodiac. . . . They tell a poor person his future for a paisa (which is worth about one cent) and after examining the hand and face of the applicant, turning over the leaves of the large book and pretending to make certain calculations, these imposters decide upon the Saat or propitious moment of commencing the business he may have in hand. Silly women, wrapping themselves in a white cloth from head to foot flock to the astrologers, whisper to them all the transactions of their lives and disclose every secret with no more reserve than is practised by a scrupulous penitent in the presence of her confessor. The ignorant and infatuated people really believe that the stars have an influence which the astrologers can control. . . . I am speaking (here) only of the poor bazaar astrologers. Those who frequent the court

of the grandees are considered by them eminent doctors and become wealthy. The whole of Asia is degraded by the same superstition. Kings and nobles grant large salaries to these crafty diviners and never engage in the most trifling transaction without consulting them."

That this indictment is true enough we know from Indian histories and memoirs. But was Europe in the seventeenth century much wiser? Voltaire uses almost the same language as Bernier when describing the state of France in the age preceding the accession of Louis XIV. 'Astrologers were consulted and believed in. All the memoirs of that time, beginning with the History of the President de Thou, are full of predictions. The grave and austere Duc de Sulli records in all seriousness those which were made to Henry IV. This credulity, the most infallible sign of ignorance, had such currency that care was taken to have an astrologer hidden close to the bedroom of the Queen Anne of Austria at the moment of the birth of Louis XIV. . . . The weakness of mind which gave currency to this absurd fancy of judicial astrology, led people to believe in demoniacal possession and magic charms.' And Voltaire tells us that in one year (1609) 600 persons were condemned for witchcraft within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Bordeaux and most of them were burnt.

When in 1670 Bernier returned to France he must have been saddened to find how small had been the progress of rationalism even among his most educated countrymen, 'all the philosophy of the celebrated Comte de Bouleinville's' according to Voltaire 'never cured him of this absurd folly.' Voltaire accounted Bouleinville the most learned gentleman of the kingdom in history and adds that in spite of his weakness for Judicial Astrology he was a philosopher. I dare say that Bernier knew well enough the hold that superstition had on his countrymen and perhaps did not intend us to conclude that they were superior in this respect to the Indians; the truth is that in his denunciations of astrology in Delhi we are not listening to the voice of the judicious traveller, but of the pupil of Cassendi; of the palladin of Rationalism who shot this medieval superstition wherever it showed its horrid head, whether on the Pont-neuf or the great Maidan of Delhi. But we should bear in mind the state of contemporary opinion in Europe or we shall do less than justice to India in the seventeenth century.
The most noticeable difference between the society of Europe and India was due, of course, to the seclusion of women in the East. Bernier, we can infer, felt keenly the want of feminine society while he was in Delhi. The thought of the Pont-neuf is enough to remind him that there the handsome wives and daughters of the citizens perambulate the streets and this never happens in Asia. He made attempts to see them and mentions an artful stratagem by which he was able to see the faces of a few in Lahore. He would follow in the rear of a royal elephant as it passed down the narrow streets, its silver bells tinkling and the brocaded housing swaying as it moved, the women in the upper storey would fling their lattices open and lean forward to gaze at the splendid beast—all unconscious of the artful Bernier who was staring at them from the street below. In Kashmir he devised another method in concert with an old pedagogue, well known in the town, with whom he read the Persian poets. 'I purchased,' he says, 'a large quantity of sweetmeats and accompanied him to more than fifteen houses to which he had freedom of access. He pretended I was his kinsman lately arrived from Persia, rich and eager to marry. As soon as he entered a house he distributed my sweetmeats among the children and then everybody was sure to flock around us, the married women and the single girls, young and old, with the two-fold object of being seen and receiving a share of the present. The indulgence of my curiosity drew many rupees out of my purse, but it left no doubt in my mind that there are as handsome faces in Kashmir as in any part of Europe.'

Like almost all travellers from the West Bernier was intensely curious to know what passed inside the walls of the zenana. To most Europeans the word zenana appears to fire a train of lascivious imagery and they straightforward fancy all kinds of naughty doings; having observed correctly enough that most of the domestic work is done by women in the East, as in the West, they proceed at once to the unwarranted assumption that all the housemaids in a Muhammadan family are the master's concubines. Bernier's intimacy with Muhammadan society saved him from this gross error, but he would not have satisfied the taste of his age had he not told us some little-tattle about the ladies of the Palace at Delhi. He relates two stories about the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan, the sister of Aurangzeb, which need not detain us, for they are worthless,
merely baseless gossip, but Bernier prefaces them with an observation which is plainly true and perhaps worth recording. 'Love adventures are not attended with the same danger in Europe as in Asia. In France they only excite merriment; they create a laugh and are forgotten; but in this part of the world, few are the instances in which they are not followed by some dreadful and tragical catastrophe;' and the two stories Bernier tells do in fact end in violent death.

I hope I shall not be thought guilty of enforcing a perverse paradox when I maintain that in the seventeenth century the Court of the Great Mogul was, as regards the relation of the sexes, not only outwardly more decent but intrinsically more moral than the Courts of France or England. The outward decorum of the Indian Court was perhaps an inevitable result of the seclusion of women. As no lady could appear in public, the only women to be seen were the dancing girls, called by Bernier Kanjaus, it is about these women that he tells the only authentic story which has the least flavour of scandal and oddly enough the chief actor in this tale is a European. There resided at the Court of Jehangir (Aurangzeb's grandfather) a French doctor named Bernard. 'This man,' says Bernier, 'disregarded the value of money; what he received with one hand he gave away with the other; so that he was much beloved by everybody, especially by the Kassėwar on whom he lavished vast sums. Among the females of this description, who nightly filled his house was a young and beautiful damsel remarkable for the elegance of her dancing, with whom our countryman fell violently in love; but the mother... never for a moment lost sight of her daughter and she resisted all the overtures and incessant solicitations of the court physician.' While in despair of obtaining the object of his affections Jehangir, at the Hall of Audience, once offered him a present before all the Omrahs by way of recompense for an extraordinary cure which he had effected in the Seraglio. 'Your Majesty,' said Bernard, 'will not be offended if I refuse a gift so magnificenty offered, and implore that in lieu thereof Your Majesty would bestow on me the young Kanjau now waiting with others of her company to make the customary salam.' The whole assembly smiled at the refusal of the present, and at a request so little likely to be granted, he being a Christian and the girl a Muhammadan and a Kanjau; but Jehangir, who never felt any religious
scrapes, was thrown into a violent fit of laughter, and commanded the
girl to be given to him. 'Lift her on to the physician's shoulders,' he
said, 'and let him carry the Kunchen away! No sooner said than done!
In the midst of a crowded assembly the girl was placed on Bernard's
back who withdrew triumphantly with his prize and took her to his
house.'

Bernier tells us that the austere Aurangzeb frowned upon 'the
antics and follies' of the Kunchens and forbade them the private apart-
ments of the palace, 'but complying with long established usage
does not object to their coming every Wednesday to the Hall of Public
Audience, where they make their sales from a certain distance and
then immediately retire.'

Such gravity would certainly not have been to the taste of French
or English Society, all the European memoirs of that time abound
with anecdotes far more audacious than that of Bernard and the young
Kunchen; I fancy that Tallemant des Réaux would have thought it
far too insipid to deserve a place in his collection of Historiettes.

How slight were the restraints imposed by decorum upon our
ancestors in the seventeenth century you may learn from the pages of
Brantome or Pepys but so frank are these authors that it is impossible
now a days to quote them textually.

Outward decorum does not of course always connote a high stand-
ard of behaviour and the relative ethics of Europe and India at this
date must remain a matter of opinion; only with regard to the
sovereigns do we possess sufficiently detailed information to make
a precise comparison and neither continent would I imagine care to be
judged by the behaviour of its monarch; certainly France and England
have little to hope from concentrating attention on the conduct of
Louis XIV and Charles II. A juster opinion could be based upon the
behaviour of the courtiers and noblemen did we know as much about
the private life of Delhi as we do of Paris and London. In one respect
the available records reveal a marked difference of outlook which is
perhaps worth considering. Nowhere in Mogul history can I find a
parallel to the joyful alacrity with which the noblemen of France and
England sacrificed the honour of their daughters to the king's pleasure.
In both European countries they eagerly sought the opportunity of no
doing; at an age when in our opinion they should still have been at
school young girls were sent to Versailles or Whitehall to make their
fortunes at Court; and Saint Simon tells us that in numerous cases the
avowed hope of their parents was that their girl might win the big
prize and become the king’s mistress. Nor was the moral standard
of England one whit more severe. When Arabella Churchill became
the mistress of James, Duke of York, Macaulay says that the only
feeling of her parents ‘seems to have been joyful surprise that so
homely a girl should have attained such high preferment.’

Public opinion in Europe was hardly less complaisant when the
king’s fancy fell upon a married woman. When the father of the
Marquis de Montespan heard of the love of Louis XIV for his
daughter-in-law, he is said to have exclaimed ‘God be praised; now
Fortune is beginning to enter our house.’ In the next century a
strange light was thrown upon the ethical standards of our ancestors
when Louis XV proposed to take as his mistress Madame d’Etiolles,
afterwards famous as the Marquise de Pompadour. The indignation
of the nobility was then deeply moved, but it was not because
the lady was already married but because she was not of noble blood.
‘It seemed’ as St. Beuve maliciously remarks, ‘that to become the
king’s mistress the first condition was to be a lady of quality and the
coming of Madame Lenormant d’Etiolles, of Mademoiselle Polson, as
maîtresse-en-titre of the king created a complete revolution in the
habits of the Court. The Maurepas and the Richelieus were outraged
at the idea that a commoner, a grisiote as she was called, should usurp
the power hitherto reserved for the daughters of the aristocracy’.

There is not to my knowledge any evidence that complaisance was
ever carried to this length at the Court of Delhi. There is as much
evidence as you like that many of the Moghul Emperors indulged in
every kind of sensual excess, but not that the Moghul grandees en-
couraged their sovereign to gratify his passions at the expense of
their own wives and daughters, and that is the only claim I make on
behalf of Indian society.

I have tried by an examination of the evidence of Bernier to leave
you with the impression that Delhi in the seventeenth century did not
compare unfavourably with Paris and London. If a student of com-
parative sociology could have travelled through India and Europe and
produced an impartial report I do not know to which continent he

would have given the palm. I suspect that he would have said that valuable elements of civilization existed in both regions and that the peaceful development of both societies would enrich the world with a variety of culture. Dis aliter visum. The cultivated society that gathered about the throne of the Great Mogul was submerged in the hideous anarchy of the eighteenth century and a hundred years later India began to ascend the path of progress under other leaders and another inspiration.
The Great Civil War of Vijayanagara of 1614-1618

by

The Rev. E Heckas, S.J., M.A.

1. Alexander the Great is said to have exclaimed before his death that his funeral would be a bloody one. He foresaw the fratricidal war that actually broke out among his generals just after his death. The same could have been said by Venkata II before breathing his last. In fact the Portuguese Viceroy had foreseen the civil war several years before and Prince Ranga himself had vainly renounced his rights on Venkata II's death-bed as he was not willing to become the cause of blood-shed.* This second volume will commence with an account of this great civil war, compared by the Rama/epics to the Mahabharata war. After it the Vijayanagara Empire will be but a shadow of what it had been during great Venkata's lifetime.† Prince Ranga, in spite of his remonstrances, was rightly proclaimed king by his dying uncle Venkata, and only acknowledged by the nobles present at the touching ceremony.* Accordingly, the Raga/avanabhyadyasa records that after Venkata II's death all the officers raised Sri Ranga Rihya to the throne. † It seems, however, that from the first moment not all the nobles recognized the new sovereign; for Pr. Barradas explicitly records that 'all came to him (Sri Ranga) to offer their allegiance except three,' and after mentioning them he adds: 'they joined together and swore never to do homage to the new king, but

‡ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p 244.
§ Burnell, South Indian Palaeography, p 56, note, calls Venkata II 'the last of his race.' He died childless, indeed, but his successors belonged to the same family

* Cf. Heras, op. cit.
† S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p 287.
Two pages of the Portuguese account of the civil war of Vijayanagara, found in Sewall, *The Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222-31. It was probably written by Fr. pages the death of Venkata II and the beginning of the reign of Hulaga II are
the Jesuit Archives, slightly different from the 'Story of Barradas', published by Manoel Barradas, Provincial of the South Province of Malabar. In these two narrated.
on the contrary, to raise in his place the putative son of the deceased king."  

The new Emperor of Vijayanagara, Ranga II, was married to one Obamba, the daughter of Jilâla Narasirha. The Râmarâjyamâna mentions five children of this union: Râma Dâva Râya, who had to succeed him, Singâ, Rayappa, Ayyana, and Channa. Fr. Barradas also refers to five children, three sons and two daughters, and according to him Râma was the second son. Again, the Utsur grant of Ranga III speaks of this Râma as a son among others of Ranga Râya (II), and grandson of Râma Râya, the brother of Vankaṭa (II).

We have not been able to gather much information about Ranga II’s rule. The Kundur plates of the time of Vankaṭa III call him ‘famous’. In fact, Querqóz tells us that ‘he was a prudent man’, and his renunciation of his rights seems to confirm this statement. Anyhow the same Querqóz informs us of a fact that shows some lack of prudence in Government affairs. Sri Ranga had, before his enthronement, been in Tanjore, where he made the acquaintance of several Balalas of Jaffanapatam. These Balalas were appointed to various posts of Government shortly after his succession. This was the cause of much discontent among the nobles of the court, who naturally disliked to be ruled by foreigners. Barradas mentions likewise another fact that undoubtedly spread dissatisfaction in the

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3 *Relação de várias seceas*. A photograph of this document is in ‘The St. Xavier’s College Indian Historical Research Institute’, Bombay, MS. section. I found in the Jesuit Archives this account of the civil war of 1614 similar to the one entitled by Sewell ‘The Story of Barradas.’ This Barradas was Fr. Manuel Barradas, Provincial for a time of the Jesuit Province of Malabar. The account I referred to does not mention Fr. Barradas at all. But since the other copy of the *Torre de Teseio*, Lisbon, is said to be written by him, I am not sure about the authorship of this. The slight differences between the copy of the Jesuit Archives and the translation given by Sewell seem to be the mistakes of the translator. I followed Sewell’s version, excepting when reaching these passages.

4 *Râmarâjyamâna*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p. 244.


6 *Relação, loc. cit.*

7 *Bbetterworth, Inscriptions of Nellore District, I*, p. 48, *v. 26


country. ‘The new king,’ says he, ‘began to rule, compelling some of the captains to leave the fortress, but keeping others by his side.’

This inconsiderate conduct of Raṅga precipitated the rebellion of Jagga Rāya.

2. This chief was one of the three who did not pay homage to the king at the time of his accession. He is called by Barradas ‘the chief of the conspiracy,’ and is also mentioned as such by both the Rāmarāṇyam,’ and the Chātaṇjiyadanaṇḍaraṇam.’ He was the brother of queen Bāyamma and hence uncle of her supposed son. The Saṅjiyadanaṇḍaraṇa says only that he was ‘a relative and servant of the Emperor of Karnata.’ He belonged to the Kshatriya caste and was the chief of the Gobbril family. According to an inscription of Atmaṇkar Taluk of the year 1612–13 the Amranjeya temple was built by Bhava Sīriputrapu Yatni Manirāju, younger brother of Jagga Rāju. The inscription mentions both their grandparents, Viramarāju and Virama, and their parents, Lekna and Virama. Barradas says of him that ‘he had six hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and put twenty thousand men into the field.’

The second of the rebel chiefs mentioned by Barradas in Time Nalque (Thrūmala Nāyaka) who ‘had four hundred thousand cruzados of revenue and kept up an army of twelve thousand men.’ The third chief of the conspiracy is called by Barradas, Maṇa Rāju (Maka

1. Relatio, loc. cit.
2. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 305
5. Letters Addressed to the Mysore Province, I.H.R.I., MS. section. Bewell, p. 223, while translating Barradas’ account, calls Jagga Rāya, the father of Bāyamma. But the unsigned copy of the same account I found in the Jesuit Archives clearly calls Bāyamma, ‘the sister of Jagga Rāja.’ Naturally Kuppuswami Kastri, History of the Nāyaka of Tanjore, p. 8, and V. Venkayya, Ancient History of the Nellore District, Ind. Ant., xxxii, p. 28, note 43, call Jagga Rāya, the brother of queen Bāyamma. The strange thing is that the same Bewell, p. 224, calls the pretender a nephew of the same Jagga Rāya. This seems to imply that Bāyamma was sister of the latter.
10. Ibid.
Rāja).\(^1\) He is also mentioned by the *Rāmarāṣṭryams,\(^a\) and by the *Chāṇḍayatracchāram.\(^b\) He had a revenue of two hundred thousand crusados and mustered six thousand men.\(^c\) Mr. H. Krishna Sastri suggests that this Maka Rāja may be one of the Karavettnagar chiefs who were subordinate to Vijayanagara.\(^d\)

These three chiefs were those who did not give obedience to Rānga at the time of his accession, and swore to raise the putative son of Venkata II to the throne. It seems that they, moreover, spread the idea that Rānga did not belong to the Aravidu family, for in an apocryphal prophecy, written, according to Col. McKenzie, probably in 1630, after mentioning Venkata II’s reign, it is added ‘after him, of the kings of the Chandra (Chandra) race none will remain, and foreign kings will rule the land, deriving their authority from no legal right. First Chicha Rayaloo (Rānga) will rule,’ etc.\(^e\) Such an erroneous idea was held by some people of the Empire more than ten years after. This shows that it was much propagated when the succession to the throne was discussed. Now, only the enemies of Rānga II could elaborate such a shameful concoction.

Anyhow, the three rebels did not openly show their disaffection till the following opportunity offered itself. Barradas’ account is as follows: ‘The new king displeased three of his captains; the first, the Dalavay, who is the commander-in-chief and has five thousand crusados of revenue, because the king desired to take from him two fortresses to be conferred on two of his sons; the second, his minister, whom he asked to pay one hundred thousand crusados, out of the great sums he had stolen from the old king, his uncle; the third, Narparaju (Narapa Ram), since he (the king) demanded the jewels which one of his (Narapa’s) cousins, a wife of the old king, had given to him. All these three replied to the king that they would obey his commands within two days; but in the meanwhile they secretly plotted with Jaga

\(^{a}\) *Relação, loc. cit.*

\(^{b}\) S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 944.


\(^{d}\) *Relação, loc. cit.* Kuppuswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 86, says that Maka Raja was the lord of 20,000 soldiers and the lord of a province in Karnatak, but no reference to a source is there given.


\(^{f}\) *Cambridge Sanskrit Grammar*, p. xi, note
Raju to raise up the latter's nephew to be king.' Barradas does not mention the names of the Dalkwāy and the minister who joined Jagga Rāya in the rebellion. They may be some of the chiefs whose names we get acquainted with by reading other sources. For instance the *Rāmavastīyana* records the three following names which have not been identified as yet, Cenču, Virappa and Yachana,¹ and the *Chātupadyāratnākaram* also gives the name of one Rāvillā Vēṅka.² This shows at least that there were some other nobles besides these six in the conspiracy, a fact pointed out also by the Viceroy of Goa, who announcing to his sovereign the death of Vēṅkaṭa II says in general that, ‘the grandees were dissatisfied with the king appointed by the deceased monarch.’ ³

3. All these conspirators marvellously succeeded in their plot. Fr. Barradas continues his narrative as follows: 'Jaga Rāju sent to tell the king that he wished to do homage to him, and so also did Tīma Naique and Māca Rāju. The poor king allowed them to enter. Jaga Rāju selected five thousand men, and leaving the rest outside the city, he entered the fortress with these chosen ones. The two other conspirators did the same, each of them bringing with them two thousand choice men. The fortress has two walls. Arrived at the first gate Jaga Rāju left there a thousand men, and at the second a thousand more. The Dalkwāy seized two other gates of the fortress, on the other side. There being some tumult, and a cry of treason being raised, the king ordered the palace gates to be closed. But the conspirators as soon as they reached them tried to break them down. Māca Rāju stopped their work, crying out that he would deliver up the king to them; and he did so, sending the king a message that if he surrendered he would pledge his word to do him no ill, but that the nephew of Jaga Rāju must be the king, he being the son of the late king. The poor surrounded (Rānga), seeing himself without followers and without any possibility of rescue, accepted the promise, and with his wife and sons left the tower in which he was staying. He passed through the midst of all with a face grave and severe, and with eyes downcast.

¹ B. Kṛishnaswamī Aliyasagar, *Sawasya*, p. 244.
Barradas does not say in which fortress Ranga was residing. We suppose it was Vellore, which was then the capital of the Empire. The circumstance that the fortress had two walls, seems to confirm this opinion. In fact two different walls may still be seen in the Vellore fortress. Nor it is said to which place the deposed king retired. The slight information given about this place both by Barradas and the poems only warrant the opinion that the new residence of the unfortunate king was another fortress, perhaps Chandragiri.

Such was the end of Ranga II's reign. How long did it last? We have very few data to ascertain it. Barradas after having spoken of the acknowledgment of Ranga by the majority of the nobles, says that 'in a very few days' there occurred the opportunity for rebellion we have narrated just now. * The Raghuvarakhyayam agrees with this writer. In this poem the ambassadors of Vijayanagara informed Raghunatha Niyaka of Tanjore that Jagga Raya's rebellion took place 'after the new emperor had ruled for some time.' * From these two statements and from the probable date of Ranga II's murder, to be discussed later on, we may conclude that the real reign of this emperor could not last even a month.

4. After the deposition of Ranga there soon began the sad events and bloody dissensions which the Portuguese Viceroy speaks of in the above-mentioned letter to his sovereign. * First of all, the coronation of the intruder took place in the fort of Vellore. 'The king having left,' says Barradas, 'Jagga Raja called his nephew and crowned him, causing all the captains present to do him homage; and he, finding himself now crowned king, entered the palace and took possession of it and of all the riches and precious stones he found there. If report says truly,' adds here Barradas, 'he found in diamonds alone three large chests full of them.' * I could not trace at all the name of this usurper. In fact he appears to have been a puppet king. The

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* Ralegh, loc. cit.
* 1666.
* S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sowras, p. 297.
* From the Viceroy Dom Jeronimo D’Azevedo to Philip III, Ilhas, December 21, 1614. Anquetil du Perron, Des Recherches Historiques, II, p. 170, mentions also these dissensions after the death of Vakhapa II.
* * *
real ruler of the empire from this time till the battle of Topur was Jagga Raja himself.

One of the first acts of his government proves his political talent. In order to please the deposed king, who had not yet been imprisoned, and to prevent any possible attempt on his part of reconquering the throne, he gave half of the imperial revenue to Ranga, treating him with great consideration. 1 Anyhow, the plan did not work successfully to Jagga Raja's wishes, because Ranga soon tried to rise against the intruder. 5 And it was then that the poor deposed emperor was rigorously imprisoned 'under the strictest guard.' 6

The result of Ranga's imprisonment was a general desertion of his followers, as recorded by Bardadas. 7 And he was deserted by all save by one captain whose name was Echama Niyaka (Yachama Niyaka), who was outside the fortress with eight thousand men and refused to join Jagga Raja. Indeed, hearing of the treason, he struck his camp and shut himself up in his own fortress and began to collect more troops. 12

5. Who was this valiant chief who remained loyal to his lawful sovereign? We spoke of him while narrating the history of Vepakata II's reign. 8 He belonged to the Kalahasti family and was the feudatory chief of Vepakatatgarl. He is also known by the names of Padda Yachama Naidu and Yacha Saruta. His parents were Kastiri-ranga and Vepakatatamma. He had two brothers Ranga and Singa and a sister named Akkamamba who was married to one Chenna. He had a brother-in-law who dedicated to him the poem Battinathamaduranam, from which we gathered most of these family details. The poem also records that he fought with Jagga Raja. 9 He seems to have received the Permeddi country as a gift from Vepakata II, to whose memory he now proved loyal by opposing the designs of Jagga Raja. 8

1 Qunyros, Compendia de Cristo, p. 320.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid.
4 Echamini, loc. cit.
5 Ibid.
7 E. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Sources, p. 401.
8 Cf. Vaclavici, The Ruling Chiefs, p. 440. Krishnaswamy states that Yachama Niyaka was at the head of 8,000 men.
The rebel chief, however, expected to attract him to his nephew's party. 'Jaga Raju sent a message to this man,' says Barradas, 'bidding him come and do homage to his nephew, and saying that if he refused he would destroy him. Echama Naïque made answer that he was not the man to do reverence to a boy who was the son of no one knew whom, nor even what his caste was; and so far as destroying him went, would he (Jagga Rāya) come out and meet him, for he would wait for him with such troops as he possessed. When this reply was received Jaga Raju made use of a thousand gentle expressions and promised honours and revenues, but nothing could turn him. Nay he (Yachama Nāyaka) took the field with his forces and offered battle to Jaga Raju, saying that since the latter had all the captains on his side, let him come and fight and beat him if he could, and then his nephew would become king unopposed. In the end Jaga Raju despairing (of securing Yachama Nāyaka's allegiance) turned his attention to the other captains of the kingdom and won them over by gifts and promises.  

6. In the meanwhile, however, Yachama Nāyaka was not idle. He earnestly attempted to obtain access to the imprisoned Raṅga II, but finding this impossible he thought of winning over one of Raṅga's sons in order to encourage his troops and also perhaps in order to save the royal offspring in the case of a prospective regicide. His designs were successfully carried out in the following manner. 'He sent and summoned the mainato (washerman) who washed the imprisoned king's clothes,' says Barradas, 'and promised him great things if he would bring him the king's middle son. The mainato gave his word that he would do so if the matter were kept secret. When the day arrived on which it was customary for him to take the clean clothes to the king, he took them (into the prison), and with them an olive from Echama Naïque, who earnestly begged the king to send him one at least of the three sons whom he had with him, assuring him of the loyalty of the mainato. The king did so, giving up his second son aged twelve years, for the mainato did not dare to take the eldest, who was eighteen years old. He handed over the boy and the mainato put him in amongst the dirty linen, warning him not to move and not to cry out even if he felt any pain. In order

* Relapce, loc. cit.*
more safely to pass the guards, he placed on the top of a stick some clothes stained with blood (as at essent mulieris menstruatae), such as every one would avoid; and then taking the bundle over his shoulders, went out crying "talla, talla" (challa, challa), which means "keep at a distance, keep at a distance," on account of the linen he was carrying on the top of the stick. All therefore gave place to him, and he went out of the fortress to his own house. Here he kept the prince in hiding for three days, and at the end of them he took him up to Echama Nalque, who was a league distant from the city, and he (the prince) was received by that chief and by all his army with great rejoicing."

This Jesuit account of the rescue of Prince Rāma sounded incredible to Mr. Robert Sewall. "How much of the story told is true," says he, "we cannot as yet decide." The story, however, is now confirmed by the Ramarājunyamu, the Sāthitkārakāravā, and the Raghunātha-abhyupāyam. The last of these poems specially records that the boy was very skillfully rescued from the palace, in the dead of night by a washerman. The same is stated in one of the annual letters of the Malabar Jesuits. Queyros similarly says that the prince escaped "hidden within the linen of a washerman, called Maynato." Captain Pedro Barreto de Resende, Private Secretary to the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Linhares, also mentioned the fact some years later in his Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental: "On one occasion," says he, "he (the Emperor of Vijayanagara) had to escape in a bundle of soiled linen which a washerman, called in these parts Maynato, was taking to wash." 7

7. The news of Prince Rāma's escape caused a great surprise and a tremendous disappointment to Jagga Rāya and his followers. The prison hardships of Emperor Ranga were naturally increased

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1 *Rājapīta, loc. cit.*
2 Sewall, p. 232
3 S. Krishnarwami Aiyangar, Sources, p. 244
6 *Letters Addressed to the Malabar Province, 1617, R.N.R.I., MS.*
7 Queyros, *Conquista de Costelo,* p. 310. "On account of this," Queyros says, "he was called the King Maynato."
after this event. Both facts are narrated by Barradas as follows. The news (of Rāma’s flight) then spread abroad and came to the ears of Jaga Raju, who commanded the palace to be searched, and found that it was true. He was so greatly affected that he was like mad for several days, and such was his fury that he doubled the guards on the imprisoned king, closed the gates and commanded that no one should give himught to eat but rice and brādīs.

In spite of this, the result of the escape of Rāma in his father’s party was encouraging and promising. As soon as it was known that Bēhama Naïque had possession of the king’s son, there went over to him four of Jaga Raju’s captains with eight thousand men; so that he had in all sixteen thousand to defend the rightful king. Hence, he took measures for effecting the latter’s escape. He selected from among all his soldiers twenty men, who promised to dig an underground passage, which should reach the palace where the king lay in prison. In pursuance of this resolve they went to the fortress, offered themselves to the Dalāvay for entry into his service, received pay, and after some days began to dig the passage so as to reach the king’s prison. The king, seeing soldiers enter thus into his apartment was amased, and even more so when he saw them prostrate themselves on the ground and deliver him an olls from Bēhama Naïque, in which he begged him to trust himself to these men, as they would escort him out of the fortress. The king consented. He took off his robes hastily and covered himself with a simple cloth; and bidding farewell to his wife, his sons and his daughters, told them to have no fear, for that he, when free, would save them all. But it so happened that at this very moment one of the soldiers who were guarding the palace by night with torches fell into a hole, and at his cries the rest ran up, and on digging they discovered the underground passage. They entered it and got as far as the palace, arriving there just when the unhappy (king) was descending into it in order to escape. He was seized, and the alarm given to Jaga Raju, who sent him (the king) to another place, more rigorous and

* This word is translated ‘coarse vegetables,’ by Sewall, p. 227. Relações,
narrower, and with more guards, so that the poor king despair of ever escaping.'

It is really a matter of regret that Barradas should not say in which place the king was confined on this occasion, because the same place witnessed the murder of Raṅga II some days after. We shall discuss the local circumstances and details given by different sources, when dealing with the latter event.

When confined to this second and rigorous prison, Raṅga II seems to have been downcast. Anyhow Yachana Nāyaka's plans for rescuing his sovereign were not yet over. Barradas tells us that he when seeing that his first stratagem had failed, bribed heavily a captain of five hundred men who was in the fortress, to slay the guards as soon as some good occasion offered, and to deliver up the fortress (to him). This man, who was called Itcoblensa (Iti Obolosà), finding one day that Jaga Rāju had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief who was coming to offer his submission, and that there only remained in the fortress five thousand men, in less than half an hour slew the guards, seized three gates, and sent a message to Echama Nakque telling him to come at once and seize the fortress. But Jaga Rāju was the more expeditious; he returned with all his forces, entered by a postern gate, of the existence of which Itcoblensa had not been warned, and put to death the captain and his five hundred soldiers.  

8. This second attempt at rescuing the king precipitated his final ruin. The machiavellio Jagga Rāya enraged at the news of it 'resolved to slay the imprisoned king and all his family in order to strengthen the party of his nephew.' As to the way how the crime was committed, there is much discrepancy among the sources. Barradas relates that the poor king was forced to commit suicide after having killed his wife and children save his eldest son, who also killed himself, and the youngest daughter, who was slaughtered by a brother of Jagga Rāya.  

But I prefer the authority of two poems, the Raghunāth
bhuyadaya and the Sakhityarativakara. They give us the local tradition, much more reliable than an account, though contemporary, written by a European at Cochin. Moreover both poems marvellously agree with each other, and are supported by Fr. Queyros, whose account, though much confused, shows the king killed by somebody else's hand.

According to the Sakhityarativakara Jagga Raya along with his friends went to the Emperor as if for some act of service. The Raghunathaabhuyadaya adds that the younger brother of Jagga Raya—most likely the one mentioned by Barradas under the name of Chenna Obo Raya—was also accompanying him. The words of the Sakhityarativakara seem to mean that the real purpose of Jagga Raya was concealed to all excepting his brother and his intimate friends. Other people supposed that he was going to do an act of service to the unfortunate prisoner. The Raghunathaabhuyadaya adds moreover that they entered the prison at night, and the Sakhityarativakara records that they waited till the Emperor was asleep. The coward treachery of Jagga Raya was thus consummated. Then they murdered the Emperor Raiga with his wife, his children and his friends. By the last word the Sakhityarativakara perhaps means some of the nobles or courtiers who had remained faithful to Raiga and who were imprisoned with him.

As regards the fortress where this regicide took place, Queyros says that it was committed ‘at Bimaga.’ This seems to mean that Raiga was murdered at Vellore itself, for the capital of the Empire,

But seeing the determination of Chinnaswamy (sic), who told him that he must necessarily die, either by his own hand or by that of another—a pitiful case and one that cannot be related without sorrow—the poor king called the queen, his wife, and after he had spoken to her a while, he beheaded her. Then he sent for his youngest son, and did the same to him. He put to death similarly his little daughter. Afterwards he sent for his eldest son, who was already married, and commanded him to slay his wife, which he did by beheading her. This done, he (the king) took a long sword of four fingers' breadth, and throwing himself upon it, pierced his heart; and his son, heir to the throne, did the same to himself in imitation of the king. There remained only a little daughter, whom the king could not bring himself to slay; but Chinnaswamy killed her, so that none of the family should remain alive of the royal blood, and the throne should be secured for his nephew. Relatio, loc. cit.

Queyros, Compendio de Cristo, p. 310
first Pentukonda, then Chandragiri, and finally Vellore, had been successively called after the name of the first capital Vijayanagara. The Sathyasankara confirms this when saying that Jagga Raja assassinated the Emperor ‘in his capital’. Indeed, Baradade himself when narrating the second attempt to rescue the Emperor says that Ittebula took the opportunity of ‘finding one day that Jagga Raja had gone with all his men in order to receive a certain chief.’ This evidently proves that Jagga Raja was always in the same fortress in which the king was confined. Now we cannot suppose that in such turbulent times Jagga Raja would abandon his young nephew at Vellore in order to watch over his rival’s prison. Specially Jagga Raja himself being the de facto ruler of the Empire. In fact Vellore, the capital of the Empire, was the best place to keep a watch over the deposed king. He could be confined there in a ‘more rigorous and narrow’ prison ‘with more guards’ than in any other place of the Empire.

We have not been able to ascertain the time of this murder. Anyhow, from the study of some of the sources we may point out a probable date. The apocryphal prophecy mentioned above, though not accurate as regards dates, assigns four months of reign to Ranga II. Though this period seems very short, it is now certain that Ranga’s reign was not so long. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Jeronimo d’Azevedo, writing to King Philip III on December 31, 1614, announces the regicide: ‘The one (Ranga II) appointed by him (Vendanta II) did not please the nobles, who have killed him.’ The fact therefore reached the Viceroy’s ears at Goa at the end of December, 1614. Hence the event must have taken place the latest at the end of November. Epigraphy also confirms this date. A grant of one Mumadi Tammapa Gauda, son of Immadi Tammapa Gauda and grandson of Chikka Raya Tammapa Gauda, was made in the Apadal

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1 Of Hama, The Aravinda Dynasty of Vijayanagara, 1, ch Xva, No. 7.
3 Sewall, p. 238, when relating the second imprisonment of the king, says that he was sent ‘to another place more confined and narrower.’ The word, ‘confined’ does not give the exact meaning of the Portuguese one ‘apartado’ of my account of Baradade. Rigorous connotes the Portuguese idiom much better.
4 Campbell, Telugu Grammar, p. 42, note.
Taluk, Bangalore District, in 1614, "when the Raja of Vira Rama Dasa Mahiraya, seated on the jewel throne in Penukonda, was ruling the Empire." The beginning of the reign of Rama at the end of 1614, proves that his father was already dead some time before. We may therefore place the date of Ranga II's murder at the end of November 1614. Now if we remember that Veksha II died in the beginning of October of 1614, we shall realize that the reign of Ranga II lasted about a month and a half.

9. After the murder of Ranga II the whole Empire was naturally upset. Factions sprang up everywhere. Both armies were shaken with horror. The nobility was afraid of the rising power of that bloody tyrant who headed the usurper's party. Fr Barradas speaks at length of the consequences of this crime. His words are the following: 'Some of the captains were struck with horror at this dreadful deed, and were so enraged at its cruelty that they went over to Echuma Naique, resolved to defend the boy who had been rescued by the mainato and who alone remained of all the royal family. Echuma Naique furious at this shameful barbarity and confident in the justice of his cause, selected ten thousand of his best soldiers, and with them offered battle to Jaga Raju, who had more than sixty thousand men and a number of elephants and horses. He (Yashama) sent him a message in this form: 'Now that thou hast murdered thy king and all his family, and there alone remains this boy whom I rescued from thee and have in my keeping, come out and take the field with all thy troops; kill the boy and me, and then thy nephew will be secure on the throne.' Jaga Raju tried to evade this challenge for some time; but finding that Echuma Naique insisted, he decided to fight him, trusting that with so great a number of men he would easily not only be victorious, but also able to capture both Echuma (sic) Naique and the

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1 Ep. Cren., ix, An, 37. In Ep. Cren. vi, Cm, 103, there is another inscription of 1612-13 in which the king is called Virapati G. Ramachandramiya. Certainly there is an inscription of one King Ranga, dated 1612, in Rangacharya, 11, p. 1312, but such an inscription only proves rather mistake or ignorance.


3 B. Krishnaewami Alurangan, Istory and the Decline of the Vijayanaga Empire, loc. cit., p. 749, says that "perhaps ruled for a year, it could hardly be longer." It is now decided that Ranga's reign was much shorter.

4 Footnote referred to in note 5, p. 178.
king’s son. He took the field therefore with all his troops. Bhema
(sic) Nalque entrusted a force of ten thousand men to the prince;
they remained a league away, and with the other ten thousand he not
only offered battle, but was the first to attack, and that with such fury
and violence that Jaga Raju with all his people, as well as his own
nephew, turned their backs to their enemies, and many met their
deaths in the flight. Bheama Nalque entered in triumph the tents of
Jaga Raju, finding in them all the royal insignia of the old king, and
these he delivered at once to the boy son of Chicarajula (Ranga II),
proclaiming him rightful heir and king of all the Empire of Bikaner.
The spoil which he took was very large, for in precious stones alone
they say that he found two millions worth. After this victory many
of the captains joined themselves to Echma (sic) Nalque, with the
effect that in a short time he had with him fifty thousand fighting men
in his camp, while Jaga Raju with only fifteen thousand, fled to the
jungles. 1

10. This long quotation of Baradadass shows the disastrous effect of
Ranga II’s murder for the part of the intruder. Many chiefs deserted
him, his army was thoroughly defeated, the royal insignia were taken
from him and his partisans had to take refuge in the forest. While his
enemy won a glorious victory, after which the young prince was duly
proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara, and joined by many of the
chiefs who had formerly been in favour of the intruder.

The Ramayana mentions four of these chiefs who were at
this time defending the cause of Rama II. 2 Two of them Rayappa
and Ayyana have not been hitherto identified. The third, Singa Nityati
seems to be the youngest brother of Yachana himself, spoken of as
the Bahudaivacharitam. 3 The fourth of these chiefs, named Chenna,
is undoubtedly the brother-in-law of Yachana Niyaka married to his
sister Akkamamba. In the same poem, Bahudaivacharitam, Chenna is
said to have fought with the Pandya, 4 viz., the Niyaka of Madura, who
in fact joined the army of Jagga Raya after this defeat of the latter.

1 Raja, loc. cit.
2 Somebody has suggested that these four chiefs were the brothers of Rama II
himself, for all of them are compared in the poem to the five Pandyas. This
opinion is inconsistent with the murder of the royal family as well as with the
age of these brothers of the Emperor.
3 B. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Sources, p. 346.
4 Ibid.
We spoke at length of this Chenna when relating the capture of Vellore by the army of Venkata II. Chenna was then the generalissimo of the army. These and some other captains of Yachama Nāyaka were those "grateful officers of the late Emperor (Venkata II) who took up the child's cause, according to the Raghunāthabhākhyudayam." To strengthen their army more and more all these chiefs resolved to request the Nāyak of Tanjore to take up likewise the cause of the fugitive Emperor. The envoys they sent to the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, according to the same poem, demanded of him "to rescue the Empire once more from destruction as he had done before in his youth, and to destroy the party of Jagga Rāya." Yachama Nāyaka himself wished to go to Tanjore for the same purpose. The Sāhityaratnākara says that he with other chiefs were actually "proceeding to the Nāyak of Tanjore for help." Anyhow, before his reaching Tanjore, an emissary of Raghunātha arrived at his court and announced to him that Yachama "is now proceeding to the south for assistance. He requests to be assisted by you in the cause of your common master, the Karnata Emperor." After this, new messengers brought further information to Raghunātha. The Raghunāthabhākhyudayam says that they told him that "the traitors to the Empire had effected a junction with the rulers of Tundira (Jinji) and Pandya (Madura), and with their armies were hunting for the late Emperor's surviving son to put him to death." This piece of news is also confirmed by the Sāhityaratnākara.

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1 Cf. Herm, op. cit., i, ch. xv, No. 11.
2 S. Krishnaswami Aiysanger, Sources, p. 261.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 273
5 Ibid., p. 276.
6 Ibid., p. 289.
7 Ibid., p. 273. This poem says that the Panadkaras (Portuguese) were allied with the Nāyak of Madura in favour of the nephew of Jagga Rāya. I feel sure that the Portuguese did not join this war at all. Otherwise, both Fr. Barradas and the Portuguese Viceroy would have said so. Just the contrary, Barradas records towards the end of his account, a portion not published by Sewell, that the Portuguese Viceroy Ruy Dias da Sampaio made an agreement with the party of the young king, rescued by the mainato Reisão, loc. cit. This is an evident confusion between this war of Raghunātha and the one he held at Jaffnapatam, of which we shall speak later on. In this second war the Portuguese did certainly fight against the Nāyak.
Upon hearing such information the generous Nāyak of Tanjore resolved to join the cause of Rāma II. The young Emperor’s father, the unfortunate Raṅga II, when a prince during Venkata II’s life, had spent long periods in the kingdom of Tanjore on account of the turbulent discussions about the inheritance of the crown held at the court of Vijayanagara. He had become a bosom friend of Raghunātha Nāyaka from whom he had received several favours. Naturally this friendship obliged the Nāyak of Tanjore to join the party of Raṅga II’s son, young Rāma II. Hence, according to the Sahityarāstrakaras, ‘he decided to proceed to Kumbhakonam to effect a junction with the Emperor’s son Rāma Rāya, and celebrate his coronation at this place. The king then vowed that he would proceed against the Pandya and his allies, and having captured the chiefs in the battlefield, would take away all the wealth in the camp and set their empty camp on fire. He would also destroy in battle Jagga Rāya and his other allies. Speaking thus, Raghunātha entrusted the whole management of the kingdom to his minister Govinda Dikshita, and in great anger ordered his army to get ready for the march. Before marching ‘Raghunātha vowed to his favourite God Raghunātha that he would build for him a temple at his enemy’s capital if he blessed him with success in the war.’

11. While thus Yachana Nāyaka’s army was supported by such a chief as the Nāyak of Tanjore, Jagga Rāya was not idle in the forests, where he retired after his defeat. ‘Here, however,’ says Barradas, ‘he was joined by more followers,’ and according to Barradas himself one of those who espoused the cause of the intruder, at this time was ‘the great Naṅque of Madura’ (the Nāyak of Madura). We have seen that both the Raghuvaśīkhabhyudayam and the Sahityarāstrakaras confirm this piece of information. The Nāyak of Madura was at this time Muttu Virappa Nāyaka.

Both these poems as well as the Bakulapracharitam and the Raghuvaśīkhabhyudayam of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka referred also to the Nāyak of Jinji as one of the allies of Jagga Rāya whose name,
however, is not mentioned by Barradas. He was Krishnappa Nâyaka.

12. It was at the end of 1614 or beginning of 1615, long after Rânga II's murder, that the three great Nâyaks of the Tamil country joined the fight between the rightful Emperor and the intruder. From this time up to the end of 1616, when Fr. Barradas wrote his account, we have very slight information concerning the war. Barradas states only that 'the war continued these two years.' This supposes that there were skirmishes, if not real battles, between both parties during these two years. 'But the party of the rescued boy (Râma),' adds Barradas, 'has always been gaining strength.' A Jesuit letter of Malabar of 1617 informs us that the Nâyak of Madura during this time had ordered to reace all the houses of several villages to the ground after having suffered some reverses in the war. This shows an advance of the enemy into the Madura Kingdom. Its Nâyak did not permit his enemies to enjoy their conquests, and ravaged the whole country before retiring. It was then most likely that at the instance of Jagga Râya, the Nâyak of Madura cut the great anicut across the Kaveri in order to prevent their enemies to advance further south, as related in the Sabîyârâmâkârâs. In fact the above-mentioned letter of the Malabar Jesuits points out a further change of fortune. Indeed, it states that the Nâyak of Madura had afterwards become more powerful by mustering more soldiers, while his enemies were retreating northwards forced by the scarcity of water. The Sabîyârâmâkârâs tells us that at this time 'Jagga Râya was wandering with his forces near Srirangam.'

But this apparent success of the intruder's party did not last long. For at the end of 1616, when Barradas finished his account, 'the Nasique of Tanjore though not so great was, with the aid of the young king, getting the upper hand.' 'Indeed,' continues the Jesuit

1 *Kaleidoscope*, loc. cit. Seward, p. 230, adds here 'fortune favouring now one side now the other.' The account in my possession does not refer to such changes of fortune. It says only that 'some captains favoured one of the parties and others the other.'
2 Ibid.
3 *Lettres Anonnes of the Malabar Province, 1617*, I.H.R.I., MS. section.
4 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, p. 274.
5 *Lettres Anonnes of the Malabar Province, 1617*, I.H.R.I., MS. section.
6 A. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Sources, loc. cit.
writer, they are now assembled in the field in the large open plains of Trichenepali (Trichinopoly), which may contain not only a hundred thousand soldiers, as each of the parties has, but several millions of people. Such is the end of Barradas' account as far as this war is concerned. It is a matter of regret that he did not continue his minute narrative till the end of the war. I could not find any other writing about it in the Jesuit Archives.

13. Raghunātha Nāyaka, after leaving Tanjore, marched his army westwards to Topur (Tohur) which was the headquarters of Jagga Rāya's army. Tohur is a village situated on the southern bank of the Kaveri, about two miles from the great anicut. When reaching its neighbourhood, Raghunātha's army encamped at the village of Palavinērī. He then sent orders to every captain in his army to be ready for the next morning for he wanted to deliver the attack upon his enemy without further delay. Sentinels were placed at several posts in the field during the night, and the whole camp was lit up with torches and watch fires to prevent any surprise of the enemy.

On the morrow, after the usual morning prayers and worship, Raghunātha made some gifts to the Brahmins and received the blessings from them. After taking his breakfast shortly after sunrise, he entered the howda called Vijayagarudādri over the state elephant Rāmabhadra. He was attended by his son Ramabhadra. On one side of him rode upon another elephant the town Madillāla, Purushottamāya and Narassappa. On the other side rode upon another elephant the two officers Asteppa and Alagappa. Immediately after them upon another elephant rode the young Emperor Rāma Dēva Rāya. The Raghunāthaśāhyadāyam of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka which we are now extracting does not mention at all Yashaka Nāyaka, probably not to shade the glory of Raghunātha, the hero of the poem. But we cannot suppose that he abandoned his royal protégé in this supreme hour of his contest for the throne. Jagga Rāya was most likely in the same howda with the young Emperor. Then followed a number of

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1 Relação, loc. cit.
2 Raghunāthaśāhyadāyam, S. Krihaswaini Aiyarānti, Elmir, p. 338.
3 Ibid. of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, 1866, p. 287.
4 Ibid., p. 288.
subordinate chiefs who had joined Rāma II after seeing his cause supported by the Nāyak of Tanjore.

According to the usual poetical oriental manner, the Raghunāthabhāṣyāyam compares the meeting of both armies to the meeting of the eastern ocean with the western. The battle was opened with an artillery duel. After this the Tanjore cavalry proceeded in a semi-circular formation and charged the enemy. Soon the infantry joined the action. "The troops of the Pandya (the Nāyak of Madura) could not stand the attack, broke and fled from the field." Then Jagga Rāya enraged with fury on seeing the defeat of his ally, advanced against Raghunāthā of Tanjore. "The sight of the traitor Jagga Rāya, made Raghunātha very angry." The infantry of the imperial army checked Jagga Rāya's advance. A bloody fight ensued. During it Jagga Rāya and some of his relatives and attendants were killed by the spears of the Tanjore infantry.

The defeat and death of Jagga Rāya marked the beginning of a general flight in the intruder's army. Maka Raju fled away with his followers. When he saw the troops of his allies flying from the field,

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1 Raghunāthabhāṣyāyam of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, Sowcar, pp. 259 and 266. The chiefs mentioned by the poem are the following:

5. Rāma Rāju. 20. The Paṇḍā Rāja.
7. Obala Rāju, who is called the Mēsēa, maternal uncle, possibly of the young Emperor.

13. Chirprī of Nandīla. 27. The Bahurūṭa Chiefs.
30. Mallappa.
31. Mēduṇa.
32. Pēmpēlu Madallar.

2 Raghunāthabhāṣyāyam, Ibid., pp. 259-60. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur is also recorded in the Balaś-userārthavāna, Ibid., p. 506; in the Raghunāthabhāṣyāyam by Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, Ibid., p. 285, and in a letter of Pr. A. Huhnpe to the Assistant of Portugal, dated St. Thome, November 20, 1617:

"The boy, rightful successor to the crown, beheaded Jagaraṇu, his opponent, and ha..."
Rāgava Venka lost courage and fled along with the others. Dalavay Chenchu, who had never seen a battle from his birth lost heart even at the distant sight of royal corpses wallowing in their blood and took to hasty flight. Kṛishnappā Nayaka of Jinji also fled from the battlefield 'making himself ridiculous in the eyes of his own officers.'

In the meanwhile the Nāyaka of Madura had come back to the battle field and was one of the last in abandoning it. The Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas of Viṣayarāghava Nāyaka states that he fought 'till the important officers under him, Tiruvandina Pillay, Tītappa Setti, Puram Timma Nayudu, Bhujabela Rao and Errama Setti, the junior captain of horses, had fled.' Then he began to feel anxious for the safety of his own territory. Leaving his elephants, horses, treasury, and parum in the camp, he fled the distance of a league. Anyhow, Mattu Kṛishnappā Nāyaka was captured by the soldiers of Raghunātha of Tanjore and brought before the latter. The Tanjore Nāyaka pardoned his rival of Madura 'gaining great glory by the act.' Then he ordered a pillar of victory to be erected on the banks of the Kāvari.

Such was the end of the battle of Topur. The party of the intruder received its death blow, after which he could not seriously defy the rights of Rāma II, as the subsequent erratic attempts proved to evidence. As regards the date of the battle, it is difficult to fix. Certainly we may affirm that it was fought between the month of December 1616, when Bārradas finished his account, and the month of November 1617, which is the date of Fr. Rubino's letter that mentions Jagga Rāya's death. Now, since Fr. Rubino states on November 29 that Jagga Rāya was killed some months before, we may take it that the battle of Topur took place sometime during the first half of 1617.

14. The death of Jagga Rāya in the battle of Topur was the

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1 Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas of Viṣayarāghava Nāyaka, Sārvas, p. 386 ; Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas, ibid., p. 380.
2 Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas of Viṣayarāghava Nāyaka, ibid., p. 394.
3 Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas, ibid., p. 293. The Raghunātha-bhāyanapravas by Viṣayarāghava Nāyaka speaks also of the Nāyaka's flight 'having behind him his elephants, camp and treasury,' ibid., p. 290.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Cf. note 1 on p. 6?
greatest loss suffered by the intruder's party. Anyhow, Fr. Rubino's letter mentioned above informs us that a new head arose in this party. That was Jagga Rāya's brother, named Itirāj (Itirāja), who had also fled from the battlefield. He now joined the Nayak of Jinni and others among his allies and they prepared themselves to offer battle to Raghunātha. The latter, however, dispatched an army under one of his generals to attack the fortresses of the Jinni territory. Bhuvanagiri was soon captured and then other fortresses were also seized. At this juncture, the Tanjore army was attacked by Krishnappa Nayaka and obtained a great victory.

At any rate, it seems that Itirāja continued for some time to defend the intruder's pretensions. But Fr. Rubino wrote on November 29, 1617, that 'he cannot resist the power of the boy (Rāma II)' and he adds that 'this boy, who is the rightful successor to the crown, is obtaining greater victories (over Itirāja) every day. Hence it is believed that he will be crowned not long after.' In fact, the Bānurāvavāryātara refers to a victory of Yachaya Nayaka over Yatirāja (Itirāja) in the neighbourhood of Palemukota (Palamkota, South Arcot). This victorious campaign of the partisans of Rāma II is also referred to in the Livro da Estada da India Oriental by Captain Pedro Barato de Rezende mentioned above: 'Having grown up in hiding,' says he, 'the king with the help of a faithful subject, gradually recovered part of his kingdom by force of arms.' Indeed, by force of arms, Yachaya Nayaka, and Raghunātha Nayaka of Tanjore and their allies placed Rāma Dēvā Rāya firmly on the throne of Ghanagiri (Ponnonda).

15. No other piece of information has come to us concerning the end of this civil war. Not long after the battle of Toppur, the Nayak of Madura, moved perhaps by the generosity of Raghunātha Nayaka

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2. Kāyakanāthabhyudayam, Ibid., p. 200. This poem calls him Yatirāja.
3. Ibid.
4. From Fr. A. Rubino to the Assistant of Portugal, St. Thomas, November 29, 1617, I.H.R.I., MS. motion.
of Tanjore, offered him one of his daughters in marriage. ¹ This was equivalent to a submission to Rama II. In fact we read in the fourth act of the drama *Raghuvarapalivannarathnam* that the Nāyak of Madura and Tanjore, after their family union, ‘made the small child of the murdered king of Karnatak king of that country.’ ² Though we have no positive proof, we are sure that the Nāyak of Jījī also presented his homage to the new Emperor, for we see him peacefully ruling over his state after the juncture of these events. Even Itirāja himself submitted to the new regime and even married one of his daughters to the young Emperor. ⁶ We shall see him some years later holding a petty chieftainship in the surroundings of Pulicut. ⁶

With the submission of the main chiefs the war was practically over. The other chiefs and captains were also forced to pay homage to Rama II, on pain of their losing their posts and suffering confiscation of their fortunes.

16. This war was extremely disastrous for the country. Naturally three years of continuous fighting had to impoverish the whole kingdom. Both the Portuguese and English records, which we shall quote later on, speak of the miserable state of agriculture and the meagre efforts of trade. Besides, the famous thieves of the forests between Madura and Mārava became very bold when they saw the rulers of the country engaged in waging war between themselves. Their mischiefs in Madura were as calamitous as the war itself. They even dared to assault the villages round the capital itself. A Jesuit latter informs us that it was very dangerous to go from place to place, for the public roads were so infested with the miscreants that everybody was afraid of losing not only their fortunes, but their very lives. ⁶

The war was equally calamitous for the imperial authority. It was the first war of its kind that ever took place in the Empire. There had been subversions of dynasties by enterprising nobles, who obtained without much opposition the subjection of the whole of the

⁵ Letters Addressed to the Princes of *Maduras*, 1631.
Empire. There had been also rebellions of petty chiefs and tributary princes, who were easily put down by force. But there had never been in Vijayanagara a civil war that lasted three years, and divided the whole of the Empire between the lawful sovereign and a shameless impostor. The prestige of the imperial authority lost a great deal in those three years during which the supreme sovereignty was contested by a rebellious appeal to arms. After this war, the Emperor of Vijayanagara was nothing else than a puppet in the hands of the Nāyakas, and when the courageous Ranga III wanted to shake off that shameful protection, the Nāyaks themselves became his most dreadful enemies, and proved traitors to the Empire.

A further consequence of the war was the loss of Mylapore and the neighbouring country conquered by the Portuguese of St. Thome. We shall speak of this event in one of the following chapters.

17 We hear no more of Yachana Nāyaka, the valiant Venkatagiri chief, who so boldly defied the pretensions of the intruder and his uncle in favour of the rightful Emperor. Yacha had been a great warrior in the preceding reign, but in raising his voice and his hand against the traitors to the Empire he deserved the title of father of his country and saviour of the Empire. Accordingly a śāstri verse of the collection Chalukpadyaraināvaram says, that a crore of Jagga Rāya, seventy crores of Maka Rāja's father and one lakh and a sixteen Rāviliya Venkas put together, would not be a match for Yacha 'who bears the title of Ibbara Gandar,' just as any number of goats joined together would not be a match for the tiger.¹

Nothing is heard of the intruder, the putative son of Venkata, in the following years. He most likely escaped and hid himself in a separate corner of the Empire, from where he saw all his adherents subdued to his rival. In the Mackenzie Collection there was an account of one Basavappa Nāyak, Poligar of Balaji, a town near Badnur, who claimed descent from Venkatapati II, Rāja of Vijayanagara.² Was he supposed to be a descendant of the putative son of Venkata for whom Jagga Rāya fought so unceasingly and unfortunately?

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore in the poem Raghunāthak-
Mukhāyar, written in honour of his father Raghunātha Nāyaka, says

² Wilson, The Mackenzie Collection, p. 332.
that in the palace of Tanjore called Vijaya Bhavana Rāja there were paintings representing Raghunātha's successes over the Nāyaks of Madura and Jinji and of his raising Rāma Dēva Rāya to the imperial throne. It is a matter of regret indeed, that such paintings have not come to us. They would be the most fitting complement to the account of Fr. Barradas and to the narrative of the poems for writing the history of this war, so unique in the annals of Southern India.

1 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Skanda, p. 285.
The Two Hollonds of Madras and their Dubash

by

The Hon’ble Mr Justice C. G. H. Fawcett, L.C.S.

It is very rarely that an Indian trial nowadays gets noticed by the press or publishers in England, far less reported at any length. A trial requires sensational features, like those which attended the Malabar Hill murder case, to attain the notoriety of publication outside India. But in the early days of British Rule, at any rate towards the end of the eighteenth century, there were other causes operating in favour of such publication. For one thing the interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was far greater than at present. The main reasons for this are given in Macaulay’s Essay on Lord Clive.\(^1\) A fortune could ordinarily be accumulated in a few years by any Englishman, whatever his age, if lucky enough to be sent out in the Company’s service. There was also the fierce political struggle which went on so long between the friends of the Company and its enemies. Publications relating to Indian affairs had then a ready sale. This led to several Indian trials being reported by persons who had an interest in doing this, e.g. to show up oppression or other misconduct.

There are two cases of this kind which have recently come to the writer’s knowledge. One is that of a trial by jury in the Court of Quarter Sessions at Madras in 1792 and the other a similar trial in the Recorder’s Court at Bombay in 1805. Both are cases concerning Civil Servants of the Company and illustrating the initial difficulties in the way of the action taken by Lord Clive to purify the Civil Service of corruption. Men who had served in the days when, as Macaulay points out,\(^2\) the Company by its low salaries impliedly permitted them to enrich themselves by private trade and indirect means, were not all likely to give up dishonest practices. In the Madras case we have an

\(^1\) Longman’s edition of 1878, p. 532.

\(^2\) Essay on Lord Clive, ibid., p. 326.
instance of even an acting Governor oppressing a member of his own service from corrupt motives, and in the Bombay case the 'father of the service,' who held the office of Custom-Master, was proved guilty of accepting bribes. Fortunately these were exceptional cases, even in those days; and the eventual success of Lord Clive's policy is now recognized.

The Madras trial derives its main interest from the events preceding it. These are detailed in a preface to the report of the trial, written by David Haliburton, a senior merchant who held the offices of Member of the Board of Revenue and Persian Translator at Fort St. George in 1789. A copy of his pamphlet, which was published in 1793 by J Murray of Fleet St., is contained in a volume labelled *Indian Tracts* and marked RR 1-17 in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay.

John Holland came out as a writer in 1761 and in 1782 had risen to the rank of Member of Council. He was one of the Company's servants who ultimately made large fortunes out of loans to the Nawab of the Carnatic. He became acting Governor of Madras in 1789 and was called on by Lord Cornwallis to make preparations for war against Tippoo Sultan of Mysore; but he set the Governor-General at defiance, refused to make such preparations, and appropriated the revenues of the Carnatic to the payment of the Nawab's debts in which he was more interested. His character is sufficiently shown by his offer to the Raja of Travancore, who had been attacked by Tippoo, to help him with a British detachment, on condition of receiving a present for himself of some thirty-five thousand pounds sterling. Lord Cornwallis was much exasperated, and Holland in February 1790 fled from his post to England.

Haliburton's account of his misfortunes begins in June 1789, when John Holland was acting Governor and his brother Edward John Holland was third Member of Council. There was only one other Member, so that the two brothers could carry proposals by a majority. They both employed the same device or private agent, a Brahmin by name Avadassum Pampil, who with three others was eventually tried

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1 *Prinsep's Record of Services in the Madras Presidency*, i. 70.
3 *Wheeler's op. cit.,* p. 323.
4 *Wheeler's op. cit.,* p. 323.
for an alleged conspiracy against Hallburton. This briefly was as follows:—

A monopoly-holder for the sale of betel-nut and tobacco in Madras and its neighbourhood applied to Government claiming a right to have the area of his monopoly extended beyond its accustomed limits. This was referred to the Board of Revenue (including Hallburton), which reported against it. Nevertheless, the request was granted by Government. This led to some opposition by the inhabitants who pulled down the licensee’s huts in the added area. Some of them were arrested and confined, thereupon they solicited the aid of the dubash Pauplah, who had great influence with his masters and was supposed to be all-powerful, where natives were concerned. Pauplah and his co-accused then conspired to have petitions presented to the Governor-in-Council alleging that Hallburton had instigated the riot. Sworn petitions and statements were made accordingly by two persons, and this was supplemented by cleverly concocted evidence of an attempt by Hallburton to bribe the two informants to retract their allegations against him. It was arranged that a pseudo-agent of Hallburton should be publicly seized with alleged hush-money upon him; and sworn evidence of this was promptly given before the Governor-in-Council. The dubash Pauplah was allowed to be present at the examination of the witnesses and could see that they stuck to the evidence he wanted.

These steps culminated in Hallburton being required in September 1789 to answer the allegations. He applied for the appointment of an independent Committee to investigate the case; but this request was refused, and he was told that he was at liberty to cross-examine any person, or to produce any evidence he liked, before the Governor-in-Council. Hallburton was probably well advised in declining to take advantage of this opportunity, having regard to the two Hollonds forming the majority of the Bench that would have decided the case. He however, declared his readiness to affirm on oath, in the most solemn manner, that what had been alleged against him was false and fabricated. The two Hollonds then carried a resolution (the third member dissenting) that Hallburton should be removed from his offices at Madras and appointed Paymaster at Chunderbuary, a place about seven miles from Aroor and Vellore. Hallburton describes it as ‘a frontier garrison in a half and unwholesome country garrisoned by two Euro-
pean officers, two invalid sergeants and sixty-eight sepoys; an appoint-
ment not only new in itself but which, it is fair to say, would have been
considered by the youngest writer in the service more as a banishment
from society than as a mark of attention.

Haliburton, who delayed his departure from Madras as much as
possible, reached Chunderghurry on November 28, 1799. He found
that there were no quarters or tents available for him; and on this
being represented to the Board he was permitted to reside at Arcot.
That his Paymastership was an entirely unnecessary appointment
is shown by the smallness of the detachment (only sixty-eight, men) at
Chunderghurry, and the fact that the duty of paying them had previously
been satisfactorily carried out by the Paymaster of Vellore. The
transfer seems to have been a mere excuse to 'banish him from the
presidency,' so that it should be out of his power to thwart or expose
any unjustifiable measures of John Hollond. The Court of Directors
in London took this view in their orders on the Memorial that Halli-
burton submitted to them in 1790. That this was Hollond's object is
confirmed by his refusal to let Haliburton come to Madras on leave,
although he was allowed to live seventy miles from his station. It was
not till March 1790 that he was permitted by the new Governor, Major-
General Madows, to resign his office of Paymaster and return to Madras.

Even then things did not go smoothly for him. His immediate
application for a committee to inquire into the circumstances of the
accusations against him was refused. This may have been due to the
influence of E. J. Hollond, who remained on as Member of Council
till he was removed from his post by the order of the Governor-
General in April 1790. Then things became better. Haliburton was
re-appointed to his post on the Board of Revenue in July 1790. In
September 1791 the favourable orders of the Court of Directors on his
Memorial were received. These severely condemned the unjust and
dishonest behaviour of the two Hollonds and ordered a Committee of
enquiry to be held. This was appointed in February 1792. It ex-
amined the principal parties to the conspiracy, and the three imitators
of Titus Oates confessed their complicity in the plot. The Committee
in July 1792 made a detailed report of the result of their enquiries
regarding 'the wicked combination and intrigue' against Haliburton.
Upon this, the latter lodged informations. Titus Oates was taken
and two others with a criminal conspiracy.
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The four accused were tried on July 12 and 13, 1792, by a Jury in a Court of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor-in-Council who had this jurisdiction under the East India Company Act, 1776 (26 Geo. III, c. 57, S. 30) Among the witnesses for the prosecution were Haliburton and the three approvers; and some evidence was also called by the accused. There appears to have been no summation beyond a short statement by the Clerk of the Peace regarding the law of evidence applicable, but the Counsel for one of the accused addressed the Jury, and the three undefended accused put in a written statement. The Jury found them all guilty with a recommendation to leniency. All four were sentenced to imprisonment and fine, Patuplah being the most severely punished with a term of imprisonment for three years and a fine of £2,000. They were also ordered to stand in the pillory for an hour, but this part of the sentence was remitted, in view of the Jury’s recommendation to mercy.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the conviction was fully justified. The evidence of the three approvers agreed substantially and was given in such detail as could hardly have been invented. A clear motive for the crime was also established. The conspirators, however, had very highly placed and unscrupulous backing, and in the circumstances Haliburton could well say (as he does in his Preface) that ‘to have traced so complicated and subtle a conspiracy to its source, at a distance of two years and a half after its purposes had been effected showed an almost providential interposition in my favour.’

Whether retribution caught the two Hollonds is not clear. Both, as already mentioned, ceased to hold their office in 1790, and appear from Princep’s Madras Record of Service to have had no further employment in India. The Court of Directors are likely to have done what they could to prosecute them; and Haliburton gives an extract from the Attorney-General’s draft indictment against them, which charges John Hollond with illegally, oppressively and unjustly removing Haliburton from his offices. On the other hand Wheeler’s Short History of India 1 refers to Hollond as one of the band of Nabobs, whose parade of wealth and scandalous intrigues in England were so startling in the latter half of the eighteenth century; and both brothers may have managed to escape the due penalty of their misdeeds.

1 cf. esp., p. 291.
The following letter has reference to the above articles:—

AVADHANUM PAUPIAH
To the Editor of ‘The Times of India’

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to the account of the ‘Trial of Avadhunum Paupiah, Brahmin, in 1792’ when appeared in your columns a few days ago. ‘Judas’ has mentioned the pamphlet published by Murray in 1793 and contained in a volume of Indian Tracts in the Library at Bombay. I have not had access to this edition, but I have read a later edition of the account of the trial, printed at Madras in 1825, available at the Connemera Library, at Madras.

I may point to one or two circumstances, overlooked by ‘Judas,’ which render the trial of Paupiah of more than ordinary interest. The motive which prompted Haliburton to publish an account of the trial was, as he set forth, to lead ‘to a knowledge of the unprincipled audacity of the natives of India, when under the patronage of men in power; and tend to guard all persons who may hereafter hold high and responsible situations under the Honourable Company, against the wily wickedness of dubashes, who have heretofore had too considerable an influence over men in situation, in this Presidency.’ This kind of ‘underling’ has been a definite type experienced in British India. Even today, there are ‘head clerks,’ ‘managers,’ and ‘personal assistants’ wielding an amount of influence in public offices which have always aroused popular bitterness.

The enormous influence wielded by Paupiah is made evident by Haliburton’s little book. He was the only dubash (‘dur-bashi,’ bi-lingual) permitted to be present at the meetings of the Governor’s Council. He had access to the Governor even at midnight, when the latter was undressed. Goundah, one of the witnesses at the trial, deposed that he had heard it said that if Paupiah wished, he could easily remove Haliburton from the Board. Not even the Rajah of Tanjore could refuse the bidding of Paupiah. As long as Paupiah was known to be inimical to Haliburton, the latter could get no witness to depose on his side.

Paupiah’s name lives in a street in the parts of Madras. But more than this, his name lives in English literature in Scott’s novel The Surgeon’s Mate.
tion of the novelist, through his grandmother, and the account of the trial of Paupiah had reached the storehouse of the Wizard of the North and was duly utilized in the novel published in 1827. Paupiah is introduced in the novel directly by name and Scott apologises in a footnote for the anachronism, a careful study of the novel will show that an important event in the novel of the proceeding of the British secollect (political agent) from Fort St. George to Haldar’s court belongs to 1780 and Paupiah’s activities belong to 1789 What attracted Scott was the vindictive action on Paupiah’s part in practically banishing Halliburton to Chandragiri. This is alluded to when Hartley in the novel, in his zeal to save Miss Mende Grey from the clutches of the Begum Montreville, was apt to speak too vehemently to Paupiah. Hartley was advised by his friends to restrain himself, ‘lest the impeccable Brahmin should see to excluding him from the capital and sending him to a feverish frontier where his medical ability would need to be exercised on himself.’

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI.

Note.—The above article and letter recently appeared in the Times of India, and my acknowledgments are due to its Editor, Mr. S. T. Sheppard, for permitting me to re-publish them. I am also indebted him for some further information about the two Hollonds.¹

There are references to both of them in the Memoirs of William Hickey. At p. 300 of vol. iii, Hickey mentions John Hollond’s opposition to the orders of Lord Cornwallis about supporting the Raja of Travancore against Tippu Sultan, and adds:—‘the Governor-General entertaining some doubt of his integrity, his lordship determined to proceed to the coast, there to take the command of the Army upon himself, and he was upon the eve of departure when a dispatch reached Calcutta announcing the arrival of His Majesty’s frigate, the Verul, which vessel brought out this nomination of Sir William Medows to the Government of Madras. Whereupon, Lord Cornwallis, knowing he might rely upon that gallant and experienced officer’s executing any orders of his, relinquished the intention of going himself, and wrote to say what his objects were.’

¹ Halliburton’s pamphlet and Princep’s Madras Record of Services spell the name with an ‘e’ in the last syllable. This is probably correct; but in my transcription in this note the name is given as it there appears.
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The enormous influence wielded by Paupilah is made evident by Haliburton's little book. He was the only dubash ('dur-bashi,' bi-linguist) permitted to be present at the meetings of the Governor's Council. He had access to the Governor even at midnight, when the latter was undressed. Caudapah, one of the witnesses at the trial, deposed that he had heard it said that if Paupilah would, he could easily remove Haliburton from the Board. Not even the Rajah of Tanjore could refuse the bidding of Paupilah. As long as Paupilah was known to be inimical to Haliburton, the latter could get no witness to depose on his side.

Paupilah's name lives in a street of the name in Madras. But more than this, his name lives in English literature, by being incorporated in Scott's novel *The Surgeon's Daughter*. Haliburton was a rela-
tion of the novelist, through his grandmother, and the account of the trial of Paupiah had reached the storehouse of the Wizard of the North and was duly utilised in the novel published in 1827. Paupiah is introduced in the novel directly by name and Scott apologises in a footnote for the anachronism; a careful study of the novel will show that an important event in the novel of the proceedings of the British vakeel (political agent) from Fort St. George to Haidar's court belongs to 1780 and Paupiah's activities belong to 1789. What attracted Scott was the vindictive action on Paupiah's part in practically banishing Halfburton to Chandragiri. This is alluded to when Hartley in the novel, in his zeal to save Miss Mente Grey from the clutches of the Begum Montreville, was apt to speak too vehemently to Paupiah. Hartley was advised by his friends to restrain himself, 'lest the impassible Brahmin should see to excluding him from the capital and sending him to a feverish frontier where his medical ability would need to be exercised on himself.'

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¹ Halfburton's pamphlet and Prinsep's Madras Record of Service spell the name with an 'o' in the last syllable. This is probably correct, but in my quotations in this note the name is given as it there appears.
At p. 17 of vol. iv (second edition) Hickey writes: 'General Medows was now daily expected at the Presidency for the purpose of consulting with Lord Cornwallis upon the state of affairs and what ought to be the future proceedings. One strong measure adopted in consequence of these consultations was the arrest of Mr Edward Holland, a member of the Council of Madras and brother to the gentleman who had recently been Governor. Mr. Holland was taken into custody by a military party, and without the least pause, or being suffered to have any communication with his friends, was sent on board the East Indiaman *Keddiey*, then lying in the roads under dispatch for Europe, the captain of her in his instructions being directed to keep him a close prisoner until he should land him in England and receive the orders of the Court of Directors. As the captain of the *Keddiey* made some objections to receiving Mr. Holland under such extraordinary circumstances, on account of the responsibility he laid himself open to for so violent a proceeding, stating that he thereby become liable to a prosecution for assault and false imprisonment, Lord Cornwallis seeing then force of the captain's representation, at once, in his official capacity, undertook to bear the said captain harmless. Report gave out that the charges against Mr. Holland were of a most serious nature, being nothing short of treason, for he was said to have been discovered in a dangerous correspondence with the enemy. What the final issue was, I do not now recollect, but certainly it ended in no serious attack upon Mr. Holland.'

The last statement of William Hickey is borne out by a manuscript diary of the Hon. C. A. Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin of Elgin Marbles Fame. This is now in the possession of Mr. Sheppard, who has been good enough to let me see it. Bruce was for some time in Calcutta, and Hickey names him as among his guests at his country-house at Chinsurah in 1797. In 1800 Bruce was in England; and in July he left London to return to India by the overland route through Constantinople, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. On his way he stopped at Vienna, where he met Mr. Edward Holland, whom he describes as 'late of Madras.' The diary entry of 1st September, 1800, shows he called on Holland, so the latter was evidently 'in society' at Vienna. The succeeding entries shows that he went about almost daily with
Hollond, sight-seeming in the vicinity. The entry of September 12 says. 'Mr. Hollond and I went to the Picture Gallery at Belvidere, there is a great number of pictures especially from the Italian School, but my curiosity was soon gratified and I retired. I afterwards took leave of Mr. Hollond in whose company I had passed so many pleasant days, and remained in hopes that he would join me at Constantinople, and proceed overland to India, which he promised to do if he could return from Trieste in time, that is, in six weeks.'

Hollond did not, however, join Bruce in his journey from Constantinople, and having regard to the circumstances under which he had left Madras, it seems unlikely that he could have really ever intended to return to India. He may also have been keeping away from England for fear of prosecution, but from the glimpse of him afforded by Bruce's diary he appears to have been flourishing, in spite of his alleged misdeeds.

Perhaps some reader of this Journal may be able to throw further light on the query put at the end of my article?

C. G. H. F.
Yadavas mentioned in the Religious Books of the Mahanubhavas

by

Y. R. Gupte, B.A., M.E.A.

Karad

To judge by the references to the Degeri Yadavas in the nice little book entitled the Mahanubhavita Marathi Vaishnaya, published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., pleader of Yeotmal in Berar; the earlier holy books of the Mahanubhavas written in Marathi, their scriptural language will doubtless throw a sidelight on the history of this branch of the Yadavas. We cannot in future afford to ignore them. As many of their authors were contemporaries of these most renowned rulers, their testimonies are valuable. Written in conventional scripts they remained almost sealed books until quite recently. Mahant Dattaraja was the first saint who liberally opened the doors of the archives of this sect. Mr. Deshpande has dealt with the books of the Mahanubhavas mainly from the literary standpoint. I take this opportunity of bringing to the notice of the historians only those important facts in them which have a bearing on the history of the Degeri Yadavas.

Dr. J. F. Fleet in his Dynasties of the Konarne Districts of the Bombay Presidency, remarks on p. 72: 'It is in his time (in the time of Singhana II) in Saka 1132 that we first have Degeri mentioned as the capital.' But from the Lilacharitra composed about Saka 1184-1193, we learn that it was Bhilama, who first shifted the seat of Government to Degeri from Shingara, which according to the Mahanubhavas is Simnar in the Nashik district of the Bombay Presidency. Hemadri's Vritadasana confirms this statement. At Shingara was erected a Mahanubhav Matha or Monastery called the Bhilama Matha after the Yadava ruler Bhilama. This place is still considered holy by the Mahanubhavas and visited by many pilgrims. It was in the
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Bhillama Monastery that Santoshamuni Krishna was at a later date completed his immortal work the Rabhant-swayamvara in Saka 1486.

Sinnar was believed to be a corruption of Sindhar, mentioned in a copperplate of A.D. 1069. Now it appears to be fairly certain that it is the representative of Srinagar.

Mr Y. K. Deshpande says, on page 15 of his Mahanubhavya Marathi Vatamsa that Mahadeva was Kanbara’s (Krishna’s) son.

The passage in the Lilacharitra translated below, however, uses the word ‘Dhakya’ that is younger.

It is evident, therefore, that Mahadeva was the younger brother of Kanbara. No reasonable doubt can be entertained as in the Appendix C quoted by the late Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar from the introduction of the Vrata-khand of Hemadri, the contemporary of Mahadeva and Ramachandra, the following verse occurs:—

कृणो महादेव हृदि प्रसोती जाती ततः सिंहदृश्य पौली।
तत्सातृत्व पुर्वप्रजय: पुरातन कृणोलिखितयातमसितुपस्मृत्।

Again further on we find:—

स भूमिपालो अन亚运वभूत कृणोमहादेशमहोपरिवर्ष।
हिताय जोकत्य पव षोधितविनिविन्ति कौलुसमम्पुष्ठधर्म।

A contemporary minister is not likely to make a mistake regarding his very patron’s relationship.

From the passages quoted from the Lilacharitra by Mr. Deshpande, the following historical facts can be gleaned:—

While Chakradhara was staying at Lonar, Kanharadeva Raja accompanied by his younger (brother) Mahadeva, went to pay his respects to him on the Purnaani of Somavati in Saka 1178. The offerings made by the royal personages were not accepted for personal use, but with the sum a pavilion of the goddess Kamalja, a flight of steps of Kamrava and a rest-house were built.

Amrta was the son of Mahadeva and is referred to only in one inscription, viz., the Amrangahed grant. Dr. Flesher remarks in his Dynamics of the Kanarwa Districts of the Bombay Presidency on page 74.
as follows:—'He (Amaṇa) seems to have made an attempt to succeed his father, but to have failed, as the inscription describes Rāmachandra as forcibly wresting the kingdom from him.' *Lilākārītra*, however, makes it clear that Amanadēva not only tried to succeed his father but as a matter of fact did ascend the throne. It is distinctly stated that there was a change in rule and that Amanadēva was dethroned. This was not the only punishment which was meted out to him. A worse share fell to his lot. Unlike the treatment generally given by the Hindu rulers to their kinsmen, Amanadēva's eyes were put out, we may assume at the injunctions of Rāmachandra, who came on the throne. The record further tells us that Narasimhadēva ran away. Who this Narasimhadēva was is yet a mystery. He might be the dethroned monarch's son or relative or even his minister or general. The present passage corroborates the statement in the Auranngabad grant, viz., Rāmachandra forcibly wrested the kingdom from Amanadēva.

It seems desirable to quote and translate the Marathi passages in the *Lilākārītra* from which the above inferences are drawn.

The passage on page 15 of the *Mahābhārata Marathi Vālmīki* runs as follows:—

"कूडी मेविकर विश्वान समय सर्वां कान्ह- 
धव रघु विधवा कान्ही। समाकी महावेन रघु शाहसा होता। शापेक्षी शालु 
संस्करण कर्किया परो न केली तमाम स्वामिता। इस्काकी कान्ही वास पाता। वापक वाणी; 
"केंद्रे बोमकेर तिस्कर कान्ह प्रस्ताव साता।" या ब्रम्हाण्ड के न भरता 
संस्करण संक्रम। कुमारे प्रति शालु आणि चौती मा चुना साविज्ञ। वागे 
हृष्टांत करते।"

Translation:—

'While (Chakradhara) was residing near the tank of Bhakrava (at Lōgar), Kīnharadēva Rāya came to pay his respects to him on the Parva (Paryant) of Sūmavatī. Mahādēva Rāya, the younger (brother) was with him. (Chakradhara) did not accept the coins presented at the visit by the king. The (royal) followers waited for a moment and then said; 'Please receive (the coins). Kīnha (grandson) of
YADAVAS IN THE BOOKS OF THE MAHANUBHAVAS

Singhana (Singhama) is pleased. Instead of accepting the sum a pavilion of Kamalaja (goddess) a flight of steps of Kumārēśvara and a rest-house (round it) were built and then plastered with chunam. Saka 1178, etc.

The passage on page 16 of the Mahanubhava Marathi Vaśmaya, runs as follows:—

“तेश्र िंभी तैथ श्रीमानु आके: सर्विं माणिकिंले बुद्धे को सांतु काही मात्रे। ‘की काही नाहीं कोमो? कोडी या काहीं नाहीं!’ राज्यांत्रिक आ काही: रामचं श्री श्री बैस्त आ मण्डेशाने बाह्य बाहिरीत: देवगोळी पालस्तीको पत्रीमूले तथा हा नाही कोडी पालपु बाह्रे: हा होपू: आ बाहरी शोषा: तुम्मे ए गांवी हातूस नेल: तान बाहां काही नाहीं: कोडी काहीं नाहीं: एकी राज्यांत्रिक आ काही: आ मण्डेशाबे बाहे काहीळे: रामचं श्री बैस्तेला: ए नाहीं की: बाहांकी बाह्य बाह्योत्त: माणिकिं सर्विं तथा साठांत बाहीळे दायीळे: सर्विं माणिकिंले: ‘एक बेकु शोषा पां भा’। हो काही जी माणिकिं श्रीमानु आके गेले: बीनिं एकी सर्वहांहुण्डी सांभिकिं: ‘चालाकी काहीं हो अपूध:’ बेही माणिकिं: हाती बेहाणी नासिका: पाठ बेहाणी बेहिरणा नाराजिहु बाहीळे आ मण्डेशाबे बाहे काहीळे: रामचं श्री श्री बैस्तेला: बोले श्रीमानु आके: सर्वहां पुतःर दिविसक बाहितीळे: तान लेकु घा बेहाणु पालपु बाह्र: सग घोडाणी देवगोळे कोडी बोल्ये। १२।"

Translation:—

Then Indrabhata brought off. The Omniscient (Chakradhara) asked: “Oh Indra what is the news in the village.” “No news, Sir.” The Omniscient said: “How is it that there is no news? Revolution took place. Rāmadēva Rāya ascended the throne. Āmapadēva came down (was deposed). Dēvagiri is changed. Are not these people running away? Yes, they are. Go make enquiries. You have your relations in the village. And how is it that there is no news? How is it that there is nothing (particular)? There is such a great revolution. Āmapadēva’s eyes were put out. Rāmadēva sat on the throne. Look
here! Are not the wounded passing?" Saying this the Omniscient pointed him the bullock carts with his hand. The Omniscient said: "Please go and make enquiries once." Indrābhaṭṭa went back, saying 'Yes, Sir.' He enquired and told the Omniscient: "True, Sir. This is wonderful." People said: "The elephant was killed by the lion. The back was broken by the lion (?) Narashimināda ran away. Amaśāva's eyes were put out. Rāmaśāva Rāya ascended the throne." These enquiries he made and returned and told the story in detail to the Omniscient. Just then the people began to see this on climbing to their houses. The master (Chakradhara) then went into the temple.¹

Lilāchārītra also supplies us with the following items of information: Mahāśāva Rāya Yādava's queen Vaiśājī erected the famous Vaijanāth Temple at Paithan (at present included in His Exalted Highness the Nīkam's Dominions). The name of Mahāśāva's consort was not known to us up till now. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande informs me that it is further on record that Mahāśāva Rāya had an interview with Chakradhara, the Omniscient at Sīnagar (Sinnar).¹

Mahāśāvbhaṭṭa Marathi Vaiṣāsya also tells us that Anant Bhaṭṭa, the grandfather of the two celebrated Mahāśāvbhaṭṭa writers Anērāja Vaiṣāsa and Kāśiava Vaiṣāsa, was the treasurer (bhāsaṃkāla) of Kānhara Dēva Rāya Yādava.

Nāgadeśībhārīya was a disciple of Chakradhara. The biography of the former saint, written by Narāndraśāvari Ayāchitī, a contemporary of Rāmaśāva Rāya Yādava supplies us with the name of the monarch's queen, Kānkhī, who twice paid her respects to him. Her name was not known up till now.

Rāmaśāvbhaṭṭaśāvsya was composed by Narāndraśāvari in Śaka 1210. On the book being read out to Rāmaśāva Rāya, it is said, that he was much pleased. It is to his credit that the poet was amply rewarded. Indeed scholarship and enlightenment under this eminent ruler kept pace with the prosperity of his kingdom. In the heyday of the Dēvagiri Yādava talents were much inlent upon.

Muniyāsa Kumārmānaśa, the author of the Sāmachārti, written in Śaka 1275, was a Durbār of Rāmaśāva Rāya Yādava.

It is interesting to find that the Rādhaśāvaracākārya records the

¹ His private letter addressed to me dated February 5, 1923.
extent of the Mahārāṣṭra as it was understood by the end of the twelfth century A.D. The Vindhyā Range formed the northern boundary. The River Krishnā was to the south. The ‘Woody regions’ lay to the east, the western boundary being the Konkan.

It is evident, therefore, that the Lilācharitra, the Nāgadevāchārya-charitra and the other works of the Mahānubhāvās are of peculiar value to the historians, whose labours will be rewarded by their critical study. Mr. Y. K. Deshapānde will be doing a good service to the history of the Deccan if he undertakes to edit these books.
Amitasagarar

by

Pandit M. Raghava Ayyangar

It is well known that among the works on Tamil prosody Yapparushakalam and Karikai are the best. The author of both these works is Amitasagarar, a Jain ascetic, and he appears to have composed Yapparushakalam before the Karikai.

The author's name is variously given as Amudhasagarar and Amitasagarar. The prefatory verse to Yapparushakalam gives the name as Alapparah-kader-payaram, and this has been well explained to be the Tamil rendering of the poet's name—Amitasagarar—Alapparam or limitless being the Tamil form of amitha and Kadar-payaram of sagarar. It appears therefore that Amitasagarar is the more correct form of the poet's name.

Very important matter connected with the poet has been made available to the public by the publication, in the Epigraphica Indica of the Madras inscriptions by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A., Assistant Epigraphist, Madras. The inscriptions are in verse. The errors due to the stone engraver's ignorance of the language added to his carelessness tend to obliterate the true form of the verse; but a skilful application of the rules of prosody, however, yields us the following as the verses actually composed by the poet.—

First Inscription

[Translation not provided]

1 A free translation from Tamil by R. Narayanan, M.A.

2 That the author of both these works is the same person is obvious from the Yapparushakala-siyam commentator writing, after citing the 18th verse of the Karikai, 'Thus says the author of this work.' That the Karikai is the work of Amitasagarar, is clear both from the preface to the Karikai itself and the commentary to the 30th verse of Alambagbaram in the Vimadiyam.

3 As the commentator writes 'vaimuktham surah surah samathi, samathi surah samathi vimaluktham te surah samathi, surah samathi surah samathi samathi samathi.'

4 Originally by Mr. S. Anuvanda Vinayakara Pillai, M.A., K.T.

5 Vol. xili, pp. 54-60.
The description "सल्लं कुसुम सागरं" (lit. Kūsūr abounding in bulls of booted rice) is in consonance with the description of villages adjoining Kūsūr by Parāvar as rich in food during the time of Vaišēṣika, the chief of Kūsūr in Mīlalai-nādu.¹ The description of Kāndan-mādavan as a member of the Vai tribe and the chief of Kūsūr in Mīlalai-nādu, has the effect of suggesting to us that he was possibly a descendant of the celebrated Vai-Evoor of the Saṅgam age. But while Buvi lived in Chōla-māndalam we find that both Kāndan-mādavan and his ancestor are settled in Toḍolai-nādu. This may probably be due to the fact that the branch to which they belonged settled at Toḍolai-nādu as important officers of the Chōla State.

These two verses record that Kāndan-mādavan, the chief of Kūlattōr—described as Toḍolai-Kānalan and Mīlalai-nāṭīṇu-vēḷ—erected a temple at Kūsūr for Śiva in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Kūlottunga. He is also said to have built another at Chidambaram for Śārman-  

¹ Akanṭhun. 298.
voor the popular exposition of the puranas in the forty-sixth year of the reign of Kulottunga. He is styled in this record as the marumata of the chief who caused Amitasagarar to compose the Kārkat. From the paleography of the inscription and the length of the king’s reign Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar comes to the conclusion that the reigning sovereign mentioned therein is Kulottunga I. On the basis of the text ‘sRXssé uggIjna uggIjna’ taking marumata to mean sister’s son, he proceeds to establish that Amitasagarar, the chief his patron, and his marumata Kandamidavan were all contemporaries of Kulottunga I. But in works of a more ancient character, we rarely find marumata used in the sense of sister’s son; it simply means a descendant, removed from the ancestor by more than one degree.

If Kandamidavan is mentioned in his inscription as the marumata of Amitasagarar’s patron it is because of the other’s glory in having made available to the world such a work as the Kārkat, and if, as suggested by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar, that patron is the uncle, we can surely expect to find his name in the inscription. The fact that the inscription leaves unmentioned the name of this illustrious ancestor leaves room for the reasonable doubt if, at the time of the inscription, his name had not already faded away from memory, with only a faint association of the Kārkat with Kārkat-kulattur and the distinguished family at whose instance it was composed surviving.

In my article on ‘Mandala-purusha’ in the Mythis Society Journal, a (Vol. xiii, p. 490) while fixing the upper limit of his age, I had occasion to point out that he mentions in unambiguous terms, the book Kārkat a and that therefore he could not have lived earlier than the tenth century, which ample reasons confirm to be the time when Amitasagarar himself lived. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar hopes that they would have been based on good grounds and as the grounds

1 ‘गंगवीष मेधावीयान नीतिरान्त (शराब)’
2 ‘कारकात’
3 ‘कारकात’
4 ‘कारकात’
5 (द्वारकायंगम, 47, 62, 79).
6 ‘भारत अजुन्त लोक गोवर्ता’ (कारकात, 11, 187).
for the conclusion are the subject of this inquiry they are set out briefly.

Parundévanár, the commentator of Vira-sútyam appears to be the contemporary of its author Putha-mitra (Buddha-mitra) who lived in the time of Viraśāla alias Vira-rājendrā and dedicated the book to him. Not a single verse cited in the commentary speaks of Kulottunga I or Kulottunga II. They eulogise only their ancestors Virārajendrā and Sundarachōla alias Parāntaka II. Not that the former kings were less celebrated by contemporary poets, for their glories find abundant expression in later works as Dundi-y-adhakarana. The inference is that Parundévanár lived before Kulottunga I (1070–1118). Now, in his commentary on the thirty-ninth verse in Alavikāra-p đếnalam, of the Vira-dōlyam, Parundévanár quotes the last sūtra in Yāpparūnakalam and writes 'nuv apābhrājā smāla gara' (i.e. so says Amitasāgarā). So we find that Amitasāgarā should have lived before Parundévanár who it has been shown lived in the first half of the eleventh century. Obviously, therefore, Amitasāgarā could not be a contemporary of Kulottunga I. At what time then did Amitasāgarā live?

The first feet of stanzas from current literature intended to serve as illustrations of his rules have been versified by Amitasāgarā and among verses so quoted we find some from the Śrīnājana of Tōlamollī-tēvar who according to the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao lived in the latter half of the ninth and earlier half of the tenth centuries.²

Again, from the second stanza of the inscription we learn that the chief of Kulaśīr caused Amitasāgarā to stay at his town in Jayabhūmī-chōla-mandałam. It is well-known that after his conquest of it, Rājarāja I gave Tōndal-nāṇu the new name Jayabhūmī-chōla-mandałam. If this new name was not current at the time of Amitasāgarā himself, we may expect the inscription to say he was stayed at Tōndal-nāṇu. However as it specifically says he was stayed at Jayabhūmī-chōla-mandałam, we have to infer that the inscription gives the name of the country as it was known at the time of Amitasāgarā himself. If this be correct, Amitasāgarā, whom we found should have lived after Thōla-mollī-tēvar, i.e. the early part of the tenth century, but before Parundévanár, i.e. the early half of the eleventh century, should have lived in or about the time of Rājarāja I (985–1013).

See-Tamil, vol. v, pp. 98–100.
This conclusion finds corroboration, as we shall see later, when a collateral enquiry concerning Amitasāgarā's Acharya is made. We learn from the prefatory verse to Yapparāvalaśekha that the preceptor of Amitasāgarā was Guṇacāda-pēyava, or in other words Guṇacāda. The commentator of the Karikai is also a Guṇacāda. But it will be the height of absurdity to identify the preceptor with a later commentator of the poet. Who then was the preceptor Guṇacāda and when did he live?

Two inscriptions of the Kajaku-malai (Tinnevelly) speak of a Guṇacāda Bhāṭārava, a famous Jain apostle who appointed preachers for disseminating the tenets of Jainism and endowed them with lands for maintenance. And this inscription mentions among others Uttaṃmēcha and Viranārāyanan-tri. Viranārāyanan was the name of Parāntaka I (907–933) and Uttaṃmēcha was Madhurāntaka (970–975), one of the grandsons of Parāntaka I. From this it is obvious that Guṇacāda Bhāṭārava should have lived after the accession of Madhurāntaka (970). That Guṇacāda Bhāṭārava should have lived at about 970 can be arrived at by a study of the Pandian genealogy. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar finds that the Mārān-caḍayaṇ mentioned in the Kajaku-malai inscriptions, should be the son of Rājasaṁha Pāṇḍiyan, the grantor of the Śhīmāmānoor biggar plate who ascended the throne in the early part of the tenth century. If this be correct, we can expect his son to be on the throne by 970 and hence be a contemporary of Madhurāntaka and Guṇacāda Bhāṭārava.

We have seen already that Amitasāgarā should have lived before Virarājendra (1062), but how many decades before we cannot say. Hence, it may not unreasonably be expected that his preceptor Guṇacāda was famous by 970. It appears therefore clear that we cannot be mistaken in identifying Guṇacāda with Guṇacāda Bhāṭāraka their times being the same and both being great Jain Acharya. Guṇacāda being identified with Guṇacāda Bhāṭāraka, a contemporary of Madhurāntaka and probably therefore of Madu-
rantaka, we can have no difficulty in regarding his disciple Amitasagarar as a contemporary of Mathurantaka’s successor Rajaraja I (985–1013).

No village bearing the name Kārikai-k-kuṭṭāṭr can now be pitched upon in Tondai-nāḍu, as the place where the Kārikai was composed. But the Tiruvōṟiyir inscriptions dated the 28th regnal year of Parakāsari-varman Rajendrā I (1011–1049) mentions a Kārikai-p-pēṟuṟ-nāḍu in Pulai-kōṭṭam. Kārikai-p-pēṟuṟ may mean either the big town where the Kārikai was composed or the place bearing the name of the Kārikai, and Kārikai-p-pēṟuṟ-nāḍu, is the division with the principality of Kārikai-p-pēṟuṟ. Whatever the expression may mean, we may be certain that the place derived its name by its connection with the Kārikai of Amitasagarar. With its name reminiscent of the Kārikai and situated in Jaya-konda-chōla-mandalam, Kārikai-p-pēṟuṟ of the Tiruvōṟiyir inscriptions should in all probability be the Kārikai-k-kuṭṭāṭr of the Niḍur inscriptions.

This identification lends further support to the conclusion that Amitasagarar should have lived in the reign of Rajaraja I. It is clear that by the reign of Rajendra I (1039), the Kārikai had so lent its name to the place where it was composed, that it became a permanent integral part of the name of the town itself. It is equally clear that Amitasagarar’s preceptor should have lived during Mathurantaka’s reign (970–975). The only possible period, therefore, when Amitasagarar could have composed the Kārikai is the intermediate reign of Rajaraja I.

The fact that the second inscription says that the chief caused Amitasagarar to stay at his town in Tondai-nāḍu seems to suggest that he was a native of neither the town nor of Tondai-nāḍu itself. A certain amount of colour is lent to this view, in that the Tondai-mandala-dalhamāram does not claim him as a native of Tondai-nāḍu.

The commentator of the Kārikai, Gunasagarar, appears to have lived close to the time of Amitasagarar, as can be seen from the entire absence of citations in praise of kings or chieftains who flourished later than the eleventh century. The proximity of time between Amitasagarar and Gunasagarar, seems to suggest that the latter is a disciple of Amitasagarar who bore the name of his preceptor’s akṣaras

2 SA. Rep., 140 of 1912.
Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

BY

Harthar Das, B. Litt. (Oxon.), F. R. Hist S.

Sir William began at once to arrange for his journey to the Court of the Great Mogul. On October 10, 1699, he wrote to the Prime Minister, Assad Khan, asking him to notify the various Governors, through whose provinces he would pass, that they might grant safe conduct for himself and entourage, including artillery, as well as for the presents intended for Aurangzebe. At the same time he requested that the Mogul might be notified of his arrival. A few days later, on October 16, he was waited on by Hadji Mahomet Syed who had already—three weeks earlier—visited him. At the previous visit this person had represented himself as the agent of Sultan Shalim, the Mogul's eldest son, and to him Sir William had used the customary inflated expressions. He was afterwards discovered to be only the agent of a Moorish merchant and acting in the Old Company's interests. He now advised His Excellency that the usual way for an ambassador to announce his arrival was to acquaint the Vassalovis with the fact. That officer, anxious to impress the new-comer, ascribed to the Mogul an army of 200,000 men, maintained at an annual charge of five millions sterling. To this Sir William, not to be outdone in boastfulness, records that he replied 'upon a great puch I believed it was for ye security of ye kingdom of England yt sum might be doubled (by the King) wch made him strooke his beard.'

In about a week's time the Council of Embassy met to arrange for procuring two interpreters and two Englishmen with a knowledge of Persian—the latter to prevent misrepresentations on the part of the former. There was also discussed the best method of announcing to the Mogul the arrival of the Embassy. Consul Pitt was asked to arrange for the journey, and all hands set to work to expedite matters.

*Vassalovis—Mogul's public intelligence.*
But since necessaries like tents, palanquins, furniture, horses, etc., had all to be got from Golconda and Fort St. George, three hundred miles away, great dispatch was impossible.

A few days after the Council, Sir William wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat, informing him of his arrival at Masulipatam and of the preparations being made for proceeding to Bijapur where the Mogul was then said to be. He also requested Sir Nicholas to send on the presents intended for the Mogul so as to meet him on arrival at the latter’s camp. He asked further for accurate information regarding the privileges, freedom from customs and other advantages enjoyed by English nationals at Surat and elsewhere, as well as suggestions as to others desirable in the interests of trade. Then, anxious to assert his position at the outset, he asks Sir Nicholas to make it clear to the President and Factors of the Old Company that as English ambassador he alone was empowered to redress the grievances of his countryman, who must bring to him all complaints against either the Mogul’s subjects or one another. He added, ‘I would have them acquainted ... that they may not plead ignorance.’ Already he had formed the opinion that as many ‘governors and great men’ besides the Mogul would have to be ‘gratified’, the presents sent from London were ‘much too short’, so he asked Sir Nicholas to procure what other articles he might consider likely to be acceptable.

A letter from Mr. Edward Norris also informed Sir Nicholas of the ambassador’s arrival. Dealing with the difficulty of procuring good interpreters, Mr. Norris mentions that the Directors had suggested Nicola Maruchi, and Mr. Trenchfield. The latter, however, he points out, is unskilled in Moorish and Persian, while the former, although completely satisfactory, has not indicated whether or not he will accept the position and no other is in prospect. By the end of October an official dispatch written in Persian was sent to the Mogul announcing the ambassador’s arrival and quality.

It now began to be obvious that Sir William’s position as ambassador was not to be yielded to him without a struggle. On the 25th the Consul showed him a letter from the Governor of Fort St. George, ‘in wch he tooke not ye least notice of me.’ Nor was it to his own countrymen only that he was an object of suspicion. An officer from the Dutch factory at Golconda was sent to discover the
nature of his errand and he believed that he was being spied upon from other quarters as well. Amid this general hostility, however, he received a civil letter from Simon Holcombe, Chief for the Old Company at Visagapatam, promising assistance and assuring him of his own loyalty. To this Sir William at once replied with a letter of thanks. The position was made still more uncomfortable by lack of money. The latter caused him to write on October 30, to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal, requesting him to obtain bills of credit from eminent merchants, otherwise he would require to draw upon the factors. He further requested that his arrival should be notified to the Nabob or Governor of Bengal as well as to the Old Company's Presidents, chiefs and factors in that province.

The Old Company's hostility is well shown by a letter, written from Ahmedabad by Thomas Lucas to Consul John Pitt, dated November 2, 1699. After congratulating the Consul on his safe arrival Lucas proceeds to warn him of the Old Company's doings, and declares that they had boasted of their intention of showing the New Company such a trick as would make their stock not worth a rupee at two years' end. Mr. Lucas further expressed the opinion that Surat was more suitable than Masulipatam for the ambassador's operations because the former, he writes, 'had been the proper place being the eye of this great Empire, and the Government of it coveted and generally managed by the most eminent persons of it, and at all times may receive answers of letters in fourteen or fifteen days from Court and an easy journey thither.'

On November 2, Sir William records in his diary disagreement between the Consul and Mahomet Syed about presents for the Vassal-novis. 'I find,' he writes, 'ye whole contrivance in the kingdom from ye highest to ye lowest is to squeeze out of everybody as much as they can and as yet they gett anything care not how scandalously they come by it.' From the diary and other sources we have glimpses of his doings during these days of delay. On November 4, which was King William's birthday as well as that of the Mogul, he entertained all the Europeans including the staff of the Old Company, and also forty-nine guns were fired for each.¹ The 'Kutwal' sent him the

¹ See O. C., 55, Part II, No. 6954.
² The word is Indo-Persian, and signifies the Warden of a Castle or Fortress, or the governor of a town.
usual salutes on the 13th, the day of the new moon. He records that on the 15th he went out incognito in a palanquin and visited the English and Dutch cemeteries. At the grave of the Dutch ambassador he reflects 'I not far of his age [45] ... was a proper lesson of Mortality to me to make me think of my latter end.' Next day he gleans information on Indian politics, and learns that a rising of the Gentooes, or non-Moslems, is likely owing to the levying on them of a tax similar to the English poll-tax. He recorded 'These poor Gentooes are miserably harrassed by ye Moorish Governt since ye Mogull conquerd Golconda and tooke their Kings prisoner.' He receiv'd news that owing to pestilence the Mogul has removed his camp fifty leagues away thus increasing the distance between them, which he (Sir William) already thought long enough. The affairs of the Company receive their share of his attention and he learns with disgust that their debt at Surat was much greater than he had suspected.

Mindful of his ambassadorial dignity he has a seal 'cut in gold' with a Persian inscription 'His Excellency Sr Wm. Norris Baronet Ambassador Extraordinary from ye Kings, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland to salute Allum Gueir anno Christi 1699.' The coming of winter fills him with apprehension. He records incidentally that there is no fall of the leaf, but what he had hitherto thought a 'fancy of ye poets'. Perpetuum Ver.' On November 28, Mr. Bright, the Consul's surgeon died and the diary records its author's reflection that Masulipatam is very unhealthy because of the morass.

Sir William gives a vivid account of Masulipatam which may be thus summarised. The people depend on rice from the Bay (of Bengal). The land is rich but uncultivated; any paddy sown is claimed by the Mogul or Nabob. What little cultivation there is, is the work of one caste only. The people can keep as many cattle in the meadows as they like. The grass is not mown, but pulled up by men and women who carry it on their heads to the town. It is the highest impropriety to kill a cow. There is neither drainage nor ploughing, with frequent pestilences and famines in consequence. During the great famine of 1696 many sold themselves to the Dutch as slaves and were taken to Batavia and the Spice Islands where they still are in a state of slavery. Through decline in population trade has...
failed. A fire in 1679 and later a flood had injured the town. There was great want of good water, his own was ' fetched above 9 miles by Cooley's well before I drank it I have boiled with spices.' In the town are from thirty to forty little mosques, which are little frequented as the inhabitants are chiefly Gentoos. Aurangzebe had destroyed all their 'pagodas' and kept the Gentoos in total subjection, they 'being an affaminate weak unarmed people whose principle for ye most part is not to kill.' When fighting was necessary they appealed for help to the Rajputs. 'I make no complemet to my Country at all,' he adds, 'when I attest yt 20,000 Englishmen well armed would beate all ye Moguls Army both Moorcs and Gentoos.' Provisions were good and Sir William mentions that he had '14 or 18 good dishes every day att dinner.'

The coinage current at the time was in pagodas, rupees, cash and pice. The rupee at 2/3 sterling was the standard unit, and the other relative values were as follows:--1 pagoda = 3½ rupees; 46 cash = 1 rupee; 69 pice = 1 rupee. Sir William had instructions to institute a mint at Mysore in order to checkmate the Old Company who in changing dollars to rupees charged at the rate of ten per cent.

About the beginning of December our ambassador's attention appears to have been withdrawn from the description of outward things to matters of greater inwardness. The change of Nabob gave him an insight into the character of the Brahmins. They had been ordered to get their accounts ready and to stop paying Moe Khan's (the new Nabob's) predecessor. In connection with this he notes that the Brahmins are 'expert and cunning in all ways of gain as any sort of men in any Nation, and I believe could outwit ... any Jews.' Still deeper do his observations go, for after discoursing with a learned Brahman on his religion and the Sanskrit language he seems to have become convinced himself from what he learned that the former had its foundation in Christianity. Possibly recent letters had turned his thoughts to religious matters for on December 4 he had learnt of the death of Mr. Philip Pitt, chaplain and kinsman to the Consul of that name.

But public affairs demanded attention. The new Nabob made his formal entry into Mysore on December 3, and Sir William from a balcony watched the procession pass, ordering twenty-one guns to be fired as soon as the Nabob took his seat in the 'Bankaill',
Neither took any private notice of the other's presence, but Sir William continued his public courtesy by ordering that music should be played as the Nabob's party passed by. Thereafter an officer ostensibly sent by the Mogul to tax the Gentoo arrived with fifty horses, causing disturbance and fighting. Later on he withdrew and Sir William suspected that he had no authority from the Mogul at all. News came too that Aurangzebe and his army were continually on the march and that the new Nabob had lost his commission. These varied happenings caused great inconvenience to the English at Masulipatam and Surat. And an official letter to Consul Pitt expressed the utmost regret that Sir William had not been ordered to Surat instead of Masulipatam.

As we follow the career of the ambassador practically throughout this mission to the Mogul we learn much from records and reports of the condition of the people, their trade with the English and the difficulties experienced by the latter from want of the ordinary facilities of communication. The Gentoo were plainly subject to the Moslems as a conquered people. The English factories had contracts with the former, but not with the latter, from whom apparently fulfilment could not be obtained. Sir William mentions specially the difficulties of communication, 'such a convenience as a post not being suffered.'

He feels his way slowly as he goes along, learns that personal importance is reckoned by the number of 'Dulasses and Peans he keeps'—he had 120. He writes that the Shubah of Golconda offered to obtain freedom from the Mogul's taxes for the English in consideration of Rs. 20,000, and remarks this 'will be a cheap panworth if to be had for such a sum.' The offer was not accepted. He observes shrewdly, and records this reflection as the following comparison shows:

'The Governor sit Madapolam it seemes is a Gentoo which is not usUal . . . ye Gentoo when he gets in office is apt to be very Haughty and Insolent for beings in Realty ye anciant Inhabitants and possessors of Indostan they are a little of ye Humour of our Welsh men who believing themselves to be ye true anciant Britains value themselves upon it and if ever they get in authority take care to exercise to ye height and think it is their due to Lord it over those they have under their subjection.'

There was some quarrel between the Gentoo Governor at Madapolam and Mr. Holcombe of the old factory; but any development
was prevented by the brass guns of the factory as 'natives much fear firearms.' During an excursion into the country in mid-December he saw an antelope hunted by English greyhounds. He was seriously asked more than once by people in responsible positions if he were the King of Golconda in disguise, and explains the error quaintly by remarking 'wt confirmed ym in yt opinion was yt I never stird abroad.'

Meanwhile he was informed by the Council from Surat, under date of December 12, 1699, that the Company's ship Norris had arrived with the result that the noisy insolence of the Old Company's servants was to some extent abated. At the same time the belief was expressed that old Company's agents were at the Mogul Court using money freely to obstruct his (Sir William's) mission. The writers further informed him that Sir Nicholas Waite would shortly communicate any necessary information and meanwhile they wished him to know that 'the avarice of the Governors and other officers here, and the dilatory and irregular proceedings in discharge of goods at the custom house, make the trade very chargeable and uneasy, and indeed the frequent imprisonment of the merchants from Europe upon the least caprice of the Governor, is a grievance almost intolerable; they in the New Company's service, as well as the rest, are at this time confined within the walls of the city, and are not suffered to go out without leave first granted by the Governor, which is no easy matter to obtain.' A later letter announces the arrival at Surat of the new Governor and Dewan and records that several conferences had taken place between the former and agents of the Dutch Company. The latter were demanding the return of an undertaking extracted from them by the late Governor to the effect that they would protect the ships of the Mogul and his subjects from pirates in the sea. It was believed that to force compliance the Dutch intended to land 700 men at Swally. The Old Company and the French had given similar undertakings to secure freedom of trade in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, but would probably wait before attempting their recovery to see what success the Dutch might have. There was a report also that Commodore Warren had died.

* Sir Factory Records, misc., vol. 10, India Office.
* Financial Minister.
* Warren died at Calcutt.
A letter, dated December 20, from the Court of Directors in London records matters from the home point of view. Pleasure is expressed at the progress he has made and intimation is given that they are sending for the Coast and Bay £160,000 in money and £20,000 in cloth and other merchandises. Matters between the Old and New Companies remain as before. Remonstrances from the Mogul concerning repeated puracies had stirred the Government to a display of zeal. Parliament had sat since November 16, but no petition had as yet been presented by the Old Company. Several pirates had been tried lately including some of Avery’s crew, and six executed that very day; accommodation near the place of execution having been provided in order that some Lascars¹ might witness it and spread the news after return to their own country. Sir William is directed too to make the most of this as a signal instance of English justice. They repeat their confidence that the ambassador will do his best to forward their interests and desire that he will impress on the Mogul their dependence rather on His justice than on any display of force. All they ask is a permission securing trade. They request a detailed account of how matters stand in India between the Old and the New Companies and close with the injunction that he will ‘endeavour to comply with the humors of the natives so far as is consistent with your honour.’

On December 23 the diary records that Masulipatam has been occupied on behalf of the new Nabob by a Dewan and in this connection it now gives some evidence of suspicion on the part of its author that disloyalty and even worse on the part of some Englishmen existed. There is reference to a ‘cowie’ obtained from the Nabob by Mr. Holcombe forbidding trade on the coast by English ships except those allowed by the former and Mr. Lovell. Something is also said about an order to empower the raising of horse by which to drive out all the English. Sir William thought Mr. Lovell had not been sincere in his dealings. This suspicion was not without foundation as the records show that since the ambassador’s arrival at Masulipatam, Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George, had kept himself constantly informed of Sir William’s movements, and also asked Mr. Lovell’s assistance in that matter and wrote to him: ‘methinks it should not be difficult

¹ Indian sailor.
for you to have good information thot some charge.' This request for news was repeated in other letters to Mr. Lovell and Mr. Woolston by Thomas Pitt. Sir William was being closely watched by spies who reported everything to the Old Company. Personally, however, he appears to have felt that he had been able to defeat these underhand activities, for he writes 'It was perhaps happy for ye Company yt I came to this place having frustrated their villainous designes and kept ym in Aw and in some bounds.' He adds his opinion that the old Nabob was 'a fit instrument for ye Old Company to make use of to doe whatever they will have him.' It was fortunate, therefore, that a new Nabob should displace him. He records also the opinion that 'a large present' will be necessary to secure favour for the New Company's interest, there being no other way to gain 'either favour or justice in this Government.'

The prospect of the new regime caused him some anxiety. He heard that a 'reformation of manners' was to be inaugurated, involving the closing of houses where strong drink was sold and the expulsion of loose women. As the new Nabob could embarrass the Company's affairs and even stop their trade his own course as their representative gave him considerable thought. And as the favour of the King of Golconda could no longer be depended on, Sir William finally decided to send his chief Dubash, or interpreter, with presents. This was in contrast to the action of the Dutch chief who was going in person to 'crouch and cringe.' The reformation of manners was he believed simply an excuse to get money, for 'the higher authority squeezes ye lower, and ye Mogulli squeezes all.' The chief Dubash returned on the 30th and reported his having met the Nabob and presented him with three gold seckars and his son with two.

Indian feeling at this time is indicated in a letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. James Vernon, dated January 1, 1700. In it he expresses a fear of great bitterness on the part of the Mogul's subjects against Europeans, more especially the English, on account of piracy. This feeling was undoubtedly intensified, he thinks, by friction between the Old Company's factors and their creditors, and he expresses the hope that Sir William will use his influence to reduce it.²

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² See Nos. 4, 15, 16 of Addl. Ms., 22839, British Museum.
² See Factory Records, Misc. 19, India Office.
On New Year's Day, 1699-1700, Sir William sent Consul Pitt and Mr Graham, second in charge of the factory, attended by Mr. Harrewyn and Mr. Mill to have audience with the new Nabob, who had now arrived. They went in state accompanied by an imposing retinue bearing blunderbusses, trumpets, flags and country drums (The last mentioned the Dutch had not been allowed to bring.) Their instructions were to compliment the Nabob in the Ambassador's name and to assure him of the latter's pleasure at the new and deserved honour bestowed on him by the Mogul. Further, they were to inform the Nabob of Sir William's status as ambassador extraordinary from the King of England to Aurangzebe and that his mission was to treat of several weighty affairs in order to the 'better settlement of the English trade in the Mogul's dominions.' Before this deputation set out matters as to etiquette had been carefully considered and Consul Pitt was instructed 'upon his access to make only one small bow with his Hatt on and to sitt down with his Hatt on next to ye Nabob.' The Nabob received them in great state and the message was delivered to him by Consul Pitt as spokesman and head who, at the same time presented 'a curious watch with Persian characters and his son a silver snuff-box.'

Sir William's own record of the new Nabob Mede Khan's entry into Masulipatam which took place on January 4, is to the effect that he came 'on an elephant, attended by about 500 horse and as many foot, he sent a compliment to me by two officers, which I returned in like manner before he went out of town.' He comments: 'I am well satisfied 50 Englishmen well mounted would have dispersed ye whole company Elephants and all.' The Nabob was saluted with music; and during his stay, ordered some scarlet and green cloth from the English factory, which were supplied without charge. After the ceremonious compliments were over Sir William directed the Consul to inform the Nabob of the establishment of the New Company by authority of the King and Parliament and to say further that the Old Company would cease to be on September 22, 1701. All this the Nabob received very pleasingly, assuring the Consul that everything would be as the ambassador desired.

The same night, however, Sir William was told that the Dewan had sent demanding 50,000 rupees Factory custom for goods imported since the settlement there and insisted on having that sum and nothing
less. He immediately ordered a reply to the effect that the English had never yet paid any custom there and would not begin now, that they were in possession of *plihrzands* granted by the Kings of Golconda, a *Nabha*\(^3\) from the Mogul's second son, \*perswas\(^8\) granted by all Nabobs.' Believing that this demand was the outcome of intrigue on the part of the Old Company, Sir William sent a message to the Nabob declaring his belief that such a message could not have been sent by him but had come without sanction from some of his officers. In reply the Nabob pretended ignorance but immediately after asked the Dubash what Sir William would give him if he granted the desired *Perswas*. Unable to answer, the Dubash was sent to Sir William, practically to negotiate a gratuity. The latter was not surprised at the message and replied that it was beneath his dignity to make any such arrangement, but added that if the Nabob should grant freedom of trade such as the English had always enjoyed there he would see that a suitable 'return' was made. There was added a hint that the 'return' would be more valuable than had ever been given before. Then followed a species of dead-lock in which neither party trusted the other: Sir William became more and more suspicious of the whole business while the Nabob hampered the Company's activities as much as possible. The ambassador thus expresses himself 'indeed these people from top to bottom are so mercenary and used to bargains Ye they have not ye least notion of Generosity.'

On January 6, Emanneouli Beg, Consul Pitt's agent, wrote from Assad Khan's camp acknowledging receipt of the Consul's letter announcing Sir William's arrival at Masulipatam and stating that he had shown it to the Nabob Zulphur Khan who had sent him to Assad Khan for *Dusticks*,\(^6\) to be used by the ambassador. He further stated that he had written to the Mogul and the principal secretary, Phassell Khan, announcing His Excellency's arrival and assured him that the necessary *Dusticks* would be provided. Vincenadre immediately replied thanking him for the service he had rendered and suggested that he should come in person to Masulipatam to convey the ambassador to Aurangszebo's presence. At the same time he

\(^3\) Persian—the letter of a Prince; standard.

\(^8\) Arabic—order, a written commission.

\(^6\) A passport.
mentioned that orders had been given for the purchase of 50 camels and that a bill of exchange for Rs. 80,000 had been remitted, all by way of preparation for His Excellency's journey.

Meanwhile on January 11, Sir Nicholas Waite notified to Sir John Gayer from the Montague then three leagues off Bombay that he had been constituted Public Minister and Consul General with sole power to grant passports to the subjects of the Emperor and Princes of India, to settle all differences between His Majesty's subjects and to see preserved for them such privileges as his ambassador shall obtain.

On January 13, Consul Pitt wrote to Emanucoonl Beg complimenting him on his arrangements for the ambassador's journey and mentioning that, the season being far advanced, Sir William would be ready to set out as soon as he should arrive.

There now follows an open manifestation of hostility from the Old Company. On January 13, news arrived from Fort St. George that two of the New Company's ships were at Swat and that there was no probability of agreement between the Companies. The latter was made clear by Thomas Pitt, who a day later wrote to Sir William protesting against his action in forbidding Mr. Thomas Lovell to communicate with any of the Mogul's officers and threatening should he do so to have him sent home in irons. Thomas Pitt stated also that the Old Company intended to continue their trade with the Government and informed Sir William that the injury he had already done by placing an embargo on their ships would be notified to the proper authorities. At the same time he wrote also to the Governor of Masulipatam complaining of hindrances offered to the factors of the Old Company by the New Company's agents who prevented the former from approaching the Nabob, Mebo Khan. In another letter to Sir William he insisted that no hindrances should be offered to the Old Company's trade till September 1701, the date when the Old Company's existence was to come to an end.

At the same time, however, news arrived from Emanucoonl Beg to the effect that by the Nabob's orders he was coming to Masulipatam to conduct the ambassador to the Mogul's camp. He wrote assuring the preparations he was making out of friendship for the ambassador and gave all assurances that His Excellency would see the Emperor and in due time be escorted back to Masulipatam with his mission.
accomplished. His fair words were however discounted by slow performance. Nevertheless Sir William’s hopes were raised and in a corresponding frame of mind he wrote to the President and Council at Surat. In this letter he asks Sir Nicholas Waite to perfect the arrangements necessary, mentioning what has been already done as well as what is still necessary. Among the latter he mentions carriages for his artillery and an escort of twelve men. His chief anxiety apparently was the lack of an interpreter. Mr. Trenchfield, already mentioned, was dead; Nicolao Manucol had excused himself on account of age, blindness and other infirmities, and at Masulipatam no other with the necessary qualifications could be found.

Sir Nicholas Waite had arrived at Swally Bar on January 19, 1699—1700. As Consul-General he at once summoned the Council that he might be informed as to the progress of the Treaty and also that the Mogul should be officially informed of his arrival. Dianat Khan granted him a pass to the effect that he should be free from restraint at Surat, might hire a house there, have liberty of trade, have his merchandise immediately cleared at dues to be agreed on by the Mogul and the ambassador, have all necessaries in the way of food and clothing free from custom duties and be at liberty to use such flags, trumpets, etc., as his official status should require. His arrival with the style of Consul was in itself an affront to the Old Company, while prompt attempts to use his powers did not tend to soothe matters. He ordered Captain John Wyatt of the Frederick to strike his pennant and peremptorily summoned the English in the town to an audience aboard his ship. To this order Stephen Colt and the Council refused obedience and Waite then ordered the flag at Swally to be struck—the latter, it is said, at Sir William Norris’s own suggestion. The Council objected on the grounds that it would destroy the Company’s credit and give offence to the Mogul. Their previous answer had made it clear that the required visit would not be paid till they had seen Waite’s authority. The latter’s reply was that if they would not obey they need not in the future look for his protection: that his commission would be shown them but they would not be allowed to

1 It is evident from a letter from Jeevan Dass to John Pitt that Manucol was not really incapable of acting as interpreter on the grounds he alleged, but hesitated to take the office without Governor Pitt’s permission, to do so. See Diary of William Hodges, vol. ii, pp. 223-9.
copy it; and that he had authority, higher than his own, for ordering the striking of St. George's flag. At the same time he wrote to Dianat Khan, Nabob of Surat, stating that the flag had been taken down. The Nabob's death about this time caused some delay, but on January 28, his successor refused permission to hoist the flag on the new factory.

Commodore Warren's death caused Sir William Norris much concern. Warren's loyalty to the New Company had been undoubted and his successor was thought rather to favour the Old. Sir William advised Waite to watch the latter carefully while showing him—as well as the other commanders—all possible civility and respect. He was further perturbed by a rumour of the presence of Dutch men-of-war at Surat, sent thither to demand satisfaction for alleged hardships to their countrymen at the hands of the Mogul Government. Sir William wrote asking that any Dutch action might be reported to him at once and at the same time took occasion to refer to the Old Company's affairs, directing that they should be held responsible for the discharge, with as little delay as possible, of their debts and other obligations.

On January 2, a report reached the ambassador to the effect that a Dutch ship had been captured by pirates sixty leagues off Achin. The pirate ship was said to carry seventy Europeans and thirty Caffres, with twenty-four guns, and was understood to be on the watch for ships going to China. Sir William was much disconcerted with the news, as the success of his negotiations with the Mogul seemed to him to depend largely on the issue of the operations against the pirates. The Dutch man-of-war at Surat, also said to be seven in number, made matters more critical, as he feared they might try to entangle the English naval commander in a joint demand for satisfaction from the Government. Sir William, therefore, warned the Commander to remain aloof, pointing out that unless he did so, his own mission as ambassador would be made extremely difficult. From this letter it can be seen that the ambassador had other troubles, for he mentions in it that one of his suite, Mr. Thurgood 'with too close application to the Persian language has disordered his brains so far that he has made himself incapable of business, and unfit for conversation, and indeed is a melancholy object' and had, therefore, to be sent home in the Deprem.
The situation far from improving seemed to grow daily worse. On January 18, the diary records the presence of ten French ships of war at Goa: Dutch feeling seemed to be with the pirates, and some leaders in the new Company’s service made an unjust demand for wages and appealed to the Nabob for support. Out of this appeal there sprang a period of strained relations with the Nabob. The latter seized Vincetadre, one of the ambassador’s interpreters, and the latter immediately demanded his release, threatening the Nabob with penalties if he did not acquiesce. So serious did the aspect of affairs become that the embassy was put into a state of defence and everyone was armed to resist an attack. The demand for Vincetadre’s release, at first ignored, was renewed with more success. English persistence frightened the Nabob, who not only released his prisoner but apologised for detaining him and begged that His Excellency would take no further notice of the matter. Sir William, however, demanded public satisfaction sending Mr. Mill, his secretary, with thirty Indian servants to support the demand. He was to point out that no ambassador from so great a Prince could suffer such an indignity nor would he accept any less satisfaction than that the Nabob should beg His Excellency’s pardon and express his regret. For their services on this occasion Mr. Mill and Mr. Harlewyn were recommended to the notice of the Court of Directors. A few days later the trouble broke out afresh with the seizure of a drummer by the Kotwal. The latter, however, released his prisoner on receipt of demands for release accompanied with threats.

The impression produced by such success was not usually of long duration. It looked as if a fresh wrangle would be occasioned by the Nabob’s delay in issuing dasticks for goods awaiting shipment. Sir William suspected the Dutch of having a hand in the obstruction. In the end, however, matters were amicably settled and the dasticks granted. But difficulties seemed to swarm in from every quarter. The Old Company’s agents continued their opposition; piracy went on, inflaming the minds of the Mogul’s subjects; and the activities of the Dutch men-of-war added to the ambassador’s general distraction. Nevertheless we find him in his diary writing hopefully of being able to start on his 900 mile journey to the Mogul’s Camp on March 25, the first day of the new century.

All through February, Sir William seems to have been in receipt
of letters which could hardly have any other than a discouraging effect upon him. His correspondents write apparently as hopefully as possible, but the information they send is almost uniformly depressing. Yet in the beginning of March preparations were begun for the expedition. A 'scrutiny' was taken of the servants who were to accompany him and all but one were found eager to go.

On March 2, Sir William was disturbed by the Moors celebrating the Death of Mahomet, 'ye Grand Impostor'; there was a procession with a coffin, etc. He thought it 'hard to Judge whether ye Moors or Rashbootes or [e] more Ridiculous in their Ceremonys,' but 'this I thinke is observable yt there is not ye least clashinge or fellinge out amongst soe many different sectes and castes.' On the 4th he writes: 'Yesterday ye Gold embrodered furniture for one of my State Pusankeens was brought hither from Golconda.' The next day the Degraws arrived from Bengal with a rich cargo. Six days later Sir William writes from the palace of the King of Golconda to James Vernon, principal Secretary of State, describing the preparations already made for the journey and the expected splendour of his equipage. Even in this letter he seems unable to forget his difficulties and the obstructions put in his way by the agents of the Old Company: 'Our own countrymen are our greatest enemies in working underhand and setting these people on, I believe they are fully resolved as far as they are able to sacrifice the Nation's honour and the trade itself to their own malice and revenge without the least prospect or possibility of reaping any advantage by it themselves.' He also added that they have agents at Court employed at great expense to frustrate his negotiation. The ambassador was able to procure copies of letters originally written by the Governor of Fort St. George to the Nabob and Governor of Masulipatam in which he denied Sir William's authority as an ambassador. He lays the chief blame not on the Old Company's agents in India, but on their chiefs at home and expresses the hope that with his appearance at the Mogul's camp their power to obstruct and delay would 'vanish like clouds before the sun'.

1 See Factory Records, Misc. 19.
2 Thomas Pitt in one of his letters written from Fort St. George on the eleventh of February, 1699 (1700) mentioned that he was unwilling to write much about the ambassador for fear that some persons might turn informers and give evidence against him. This suspicion seems to be well founded. See Addl. MS., vol. I, No. 44, pp. 642.
same time he writes in similar terms to the Court of Directors and complains especially of the discourtesy of Thomas Pitt, who had described him as 'Ambassador to the Great Mogul' and suppressed altogether the name of the King. The insinuation of course was that he was merely the agent of a private company, without public authority. This letter to the Directors contains the depressing intelligence that although all possible economy had been observed yet the expenses of the embassy had proved greater than that at first computed. In it also he expresses his intention of setting out for the Mogul's camp without waiting for arrival of the latter's deputation, said to be now on their way to him in the hands of Emamcoulı Beg.

Meanwhile at home a distinct check had been suffered by the Court of Directors. They wrote on March 15 stating that the Old Company had got a Bill through both houses of Parliament permitting them to continue as a Corporation to trade with the £315,000 subscribed by Mr. Dubois, while a further Bill passed by both Houses prohibited the wearing in England after September 29, 1701, 'of several sorts of East India goods.'

Now arrived the first day of April and we find that Sir William expected a further delay of six weeks owing to the want of certain necessaries which ought to have been ready by the middle of January. This delay cannot have been made any more palatable by receipt of a letter from Surat which declared that had he come there first he might have been at the Mogul's Camp within forty days of his landing. Sir Nicholas Wacte had now secured a Persian interpreter of French parentage who having been lately at the Court of Aurangzebe was well qualified to serve Sir William. Five days later the latter learnt that Emamcoulı Beg was at last on his way with deputation and camels and in view of these facts he fixed his departure for May 1. On April 11 a public entertainment was given as it was the anniversary of King William's Coronation. Only a few details now remain to be arranged. Sir Nicholas expressed his earnest desire that a meeting might be arranged between himself and Sir William within eight days in order to confer together before Sir William went to Court. He further proposed to send a guard with the presents and also to send as well six of the Company's writers, 'Gentlemen's sons,'
very well clothed,' to enlarge his retinue. Yet even now when the arrangements for the embassy were so far advanced, the cabal against Sir William continued, and in this the name of Commodore Littleton comes into considerable prominence.

But a defection, if possible still more serious, now began to become apparent. On April 23, a Council was held at Masulipatam. From certain happenings in connection with it the ambassador began to entertain suspicions of the Consul Pitt himself. He writes: 'I am sure I have been more surprised for some weeks past to find ye Consul ... not only using arguments for my farther stay but offering to give it me under his and ye Consul's hands. This shows that it is his Intrest upon some account or other yet I should not go away yet, and I cannot see any way but this, that he having ye sole management ... is offered a good sum of money from Fort St. George to Impede matters.' Sir William asked for the reasons for delay and received from the Consul and Council a 'very disrespectful and unbecoming' reply. This was to the effect that the delay had been really due to Sir William's coming to Masulipatam. He had been advised by the President that the Mogul being at Brampore, Masulipatam was nearer than Surat. But John Pitt and his Council had even then pointed out the disadvantages of adopting this advice and told Sir William that it would be very difficult to furnish an equipage as it was such a desolate place. Yet they had promised that all diligence would be used for a quick dispatch. Their daily reports must have shown that this had been done, and satisfaction had apparently been given to Sir William. They thought therefore that they deserved rather thanks for their diligence than blame at his hands. The ambassador replied justifying his former representation and expressed surprise at the tone of the President and Council and had he known the difficulties he would not have landed in such a barren place. The breach between the Consul and himself grew wider until at last when the former offers him a man to be sent to Golconda for oxen, palanquin, boys, etc., to be used on the expedition he writes that 'havinge had some suspition lately of their management chiefly in Relation to my concern and dispatch I refused ye offer.' It was found also the country round was plagued in war and disorder, so it was not easy to procure all the necessaries for his journey.

On April 27, the London arrived from Bengal and saluted Sir
William with nineteen guns. She brought from Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal a letter which announced that he had procured copies of eight grants 'the best the English nation ever yet had.'

The following is a list of these:

1. Shah Jahan his Pharmamand.
2. Aurangzebe his Pharmamand.
4. Sultan Azum Borah the present second son to the Emperor. Aurangzebe, his Nishan
5. Mahomet Zooma Nabob of Orissa his Pervana. This was the first grant obtained by the English in Bengal, on their first settlement by Mr. Thomas Cartwright in the year 1633.
6. Asut Cawhan his Pervana on the King's Hukum.
7. Hadjee Zaffer Khan, King's Dewan of Bengal, his Pervana.
8. Nabob Shaista Khan's or Bnir Umbrah, his Pervana.

When the month of May opened there seemed as little likelihood of a start as ever. Letters in Persian had indeed been brought to Sir William from a Dewan of Zuilphar Khan but 'I could make nothing of ye purport ye Mulla first turning ye persian into Gentoo and Vincatdrre at ye 3d hand telliges me just wt he thought good (wch has been my misfortune all alonge not to have an Interpreter I could in ye least rely on or confide in). The Desicts from the Mogul for his safe passage, addressed to all Nabobs and Governors, also came, and Sir William ordered them to be translated, but expected as hitherto to be misled. There arrived also on May 1st the Hattabul-Hukum to Mede Khan for conveying the ambassador from Musollpam to the Mogul's Camp. It was dated 29th Ramazan. Two days later at a meeting of Council there was read a message from Emauncouli Beg saying that he was actually 'upon ye road.' Immediately there was a spasm of local activity during which 300 coolies and 100 palanquin boys were ordered. But next day came another message from Emauncouli intimating that he was not coming himself, but sending his son.

The long delay and many worries had now not only aroused Sir William's suspicions but overtaxed his temper. Discovering evidences

* Mixture of Arabic and Persian—Rules regarding any administration.
of what looked like a conspiracy of double-dealing and obstruction on the part of his Indian suite and dependents he ordered one to be bastinadoed and cashiered, another cashiered, and seventy more dismissed his service. Vincatadre, who had formerly been in the Old Company's service and been once described by Thomas Pitt as a 'perjur'd knave', was especially the object of his suspicions. Of him he writes 'I have more than once told ye Consul of my suspicions of Vincatadre's false and double-dealing, but he always pasionatly... vouch'd for his honesty and yet I am firmly of opinion we have all been betrayed by him.'

Seeing yet no prospect of getting away he now asked the Captain of the London, then at Masulipatam, if he could take him on to Surat. The request was refused on account of the monsoon, etc. We have a glimpse into the depth of his disappointment through the following extract in which he tries to express Christian resignation:—'See shall as in all duty bound expect with patience God's appointed time, and wth his good providence sees best that in all circumstances of my life has ordered all affairs to my advantage even beyond expectation and above my wishes which I hope I shall never forget to acknowledge and be thankfull for.' It seems like the utterance of a baffled mind controlling itself with difficulty.

In this exasperated condition he received from the Court of Directors a letter dated May 9, 1700. Its fineness must have made him angrier still. From the calm atmosphere of London it sagely advises the Company's agents in the tempertrying East to avoid all quarrelling and by courteous and civil behaviour win over to their interest not only the Indians but, in addition to other Europeans, the English also. They should not allow themselves, it proceeds, to be undermined or obstructed in their business, but to use all honest means for the prosecution of their own interest. The letter contained, however, one grain of comfort. It informed him that Dr. Davenant whom the Old Company had been arranging to send out to India as a sort of chargé d'affaires on their behalf was now not to come.

Meanwhile Sir Nicholas Waite had written to the Mogul from Surat on May 14, announcing the early dissolution of the Old Company and the appointment by the King of England of Sir William Norris, Bart., as his ambassador. He writes: 'I brought twelve curious Cannon order'd to be deliver'd by our serene King's Ambassador to
yor Emperial Majesty to be used in ye field for destroying of all yor Enemies wch are ready when have notice of sd Embassadors arrival to be sent into your glorious Court.' In this letter a bold attempt is made to make favour with the Mogul on behalf of the New Company. He notified to the Mogul that it was King William's express desire that all debts owing to the inhabitants of Surat should be defrayed by the Old Company. Having thus smoothed over one obstacle in his path, the fear of pecuniary loss from the proposed change, he tries to stir up odium. 'I have shown my Commission from my King to the Governor but he regards not my words. The Old Company's Servants do the violence and are thieves and confederates with the pirates.' In conclusion Walte explains that he and the ambassador have been sent to rectify matters.¹

The following is a summary of the requests put before the Mogul on his own authority by Sir Nicholas Walte in a document of May 14, 1700, in twenty-one paragraphs. Thistechneaut in the event of Sir William's non-arrival at the Imperial Court, Sir Nicholas requests may be delivered to himself. The first and last of these were quite general: to have liberty to trade and to establish factories at Surat and other ports in the Mogul's dominions, and to have the Mogul's command to his governors and ministers to carry out the various provisions fully and inviolably. The other paragraphs concerned Surat itself, but could have been applied, with necessary changes in the wording, to the other ports. They secured liberty to go in and out of the Surat to visit the ships at Swallowe without interference, the Consul in particular was not to be searched on such journeys. Liberty to build a house, to have lands for a storehouse at Swallowe, for building and repairing boats and ships, and for building a warehouse near the town gates. Four more paragraphs concerned the customs: Duty not to exceed 3½ per cent.; goods landed at Surat and then exported again not to pay more than one duty, and not to pay any in case of mere transshipment; goods purchased in the interior for shipment to pay only at the port; indigo to pay only 2½ rupees. Protection was desired for goods in transit; robberies were to be compensated for by the Mogul's officials, who were not to take goods and curiosities at their pleasure but to buy from the merchants. A mint

See O. C., 50, 4.
for coining silver was to be allowed. Payment of debts to be enforced by the governor. Horses to be free of duty, as also plate and necessaries for the factories. The English Consul to be allowed to carry a flag and travel in due state. The Governor to arrest anyone leaving the factory without the Consul's permission. The traders to be free to choose their broker. Then follows an important provision. Should difference happen at any time between the subjects of the Mogul and the English, no officers or subjects of his shall assault or affront the English, but the difference shall be determined by the Governor and Consul. If the English be found in fault they shall be punished by the Consul, and if the people of Surat, they shall be punished by the Governor.¹

On May 16, Sir Nicholas writes again to Sir William narrating his landing four months before his reception by the Governor and the condition of things he had discovered. There had been opposition from the Old Company, the Dutch and the French. The Old Company's servants persisted in refusing to acknowledge Sir William's ambassadorial powers, and had found an ally in Commodore Littleton who maintained that Sir William was the New Company's and not the King's ambassador. He writes:

'All three European nations have given bond for securing the Seas, the Dutch for the Red Sea, the French for the Persian Gulf and the "dull unthinking timorous English" from Bombay to Zillun Coast, Bay, Malacca and all the South Seas without obliging these people to send their ships in fleets for which they are to receive one per cent convoy money, an insufferable burden, occasioned by the avarice of the late managers of the Old Company. A declaration of the most ambulant merchants of this city claiming upwards of £100,000 bond has occasioned the Emperor to direct their detention and not permit them to go thro' the gates. They tried to get this voided by purchasing some few acres to subscribe a justification in the name of the whole city that they had satisfied all debts. This was discovered, otherwise they would have gone and left us to be enchained in their stead. They have sent an Armenian to Court to try and prevent your reception this season.'²

The next day he wrote again, absence of news since January 19, having apparently made him afraid that earlier letters had miscarried, and matters were now in his opinion urgent; the Emperor having just made peace, a golden opportunity had arisen. In the Company's interest the ambassador must reach the Imperial Camp before the rains.

¹ See No. 7900 of O.C., 59, 1, India Office.  
² See O.C. 59, 1.
The contents of a letter written so early as the previous March by Consul Pitt at Masulipatam to Aasad Khan, were now, towards the end of May, divulged by the latter. They offer strong evidence that Consul Pitt was even then playing for his own hand. He describes himself as 'Consul Genr and Captain of Masulipatam and Madapolam for the English there' and asks among other things for a convoy to travel with the ambassador. For that purpose he had sent Meede Cooly Beggue, who is 'somewhat acquainted with the customs and manners of the batt men' with orders to all the Fowjdas between that place and Surat to assist the convoy.¹

We learn something of the Mogul's Ministers and other officers from a letter of the President and Council of Surat to Sir William, written on the same day, May 23. This letter gives a particularly lucid picture of the forces working for the two Companies even at the Imperial Court. It contains many details and many names, principally of officials at Court, but its chief effect is to show clearly that the Mogul's officials were as much divided over the affairs of the two Companies as were the servants of the Companies themselves. They pointed out it was a mistake to apply to Asseett Khan for assistance, who as Governor of the King's House, naturally possessed the slightest influence over the Mogul. Unfortunately Asseett Khan was a prominent partisan of the Old Company, at any rate for the moment. It was true that he was brother-in-law of the Governor of Surat, through whose good offices, they thought, he might be induced to alter his conviction. Still the selection by the Mogul of this man to convoy the guns, presents, etc., was most disquieting, especially as Asseett Khan's action was due to the request of John Pitt. Aasad Khan on the other hand had not yet declared himself for either Company, but at least, according to the President and Council, he was an enemy of Asseett Khan. There was also a strong faction on whom the New Company could rely as they were enemies of the Old Company. These were 'men of honour,' Muchalesa Khan, 2nd Treasurer of the House, in great esteem with the King; Rubula Khan, Great Steward to the King; Varleshig, 1st Arashekee, and favourites with the King, 'whose virtue and integrity gives him always the pre-eminence of the King's favour.' The latter is the principal

¹ See O.C., 28, 4.
advocate and patron of the New Company, will receive nothing. Of course behind each of these protagonists in each party friendly, hostile or neutral, were lesser leaders whose characters are succinctly summarized in the letter. Behind Arset were Monim Khan, 2nd Arasbekee who might ‘secretly be gained’; Mullett Khan, a Councillor of no great interest; Abdul Raman Khan, 2nd Judge of the Court, entirely in the interest of the Old Company and ‘not to be brought over’; Sufiascun Khan, ‘false and of no account with the King.’ Then there were the Procurators of the Old Company,—Dianat Raya of the Cuttaree caste always resident at Court; Basacur Ray; Gocoldass Banian; Cogie Aumass, an Armenian from Surat who went about a month with Rs 20,000—most potent of arguments. Among the neutrals were Terabeet Khan, Councillor; Beramuna Khan, Chief Treasurer of the Horse.¹

At last on May 27, Emauncouli’s son arrived with the original Haswull Hookum for conveying His Excellency to the Court.

Meanwhile the President and Council at Hoooghly wrote to Sir William announcing that they were sending Mamood Herseph to explain to him how affairs were in Bengal in preparation for his business at Court. Mamood seems to have been well fitted for the task as he was used to the King’s Court and was an advocate by profession. Among the matters explained by him to Sir William was the wish of the Council to obtain a akhwansad from the King free of tax, fixing instead of customs an annual payment into the King’s treasury of Rs. 3,000 for every ship. In the event of this being refused they wished to have the custom fixed at 2 per cent as at Surat and to have a mint at Hoooghly.

At a Council Meeting on May 30, Sir William asked for a supply of money in view of his expected early start, but was informed by the Consul that he could not provide more than Rs. 34,000 as the Embassy had already caused great expense.

From the Council of Surat came on May 30, intimation of sundry preparations they were making for Sir William’s journey, their anxiety to obtain as early as possible the akhwansads for the New Company and an instruction they had received from the Company to supply him with £30,000.² The latter sum would have been sufficient

¹ O.C., 58 1.
² There seems to be a discrepancy between the sum mentioned at the Council meeting on the 30th and the letter written by the Council of Surat.
if he had come by way of Surat. Writing on the following day to Sir Nicholas Waite, the ambassador took a very pessimistic view of matters, ascribing his delay to the 'poverty and desolation' of Masulipatnam, its great distance from any centre whence necessaries could be obtained, and tactics of a deliberately obstructive nature which he suspected. He now believed that June 10, would be the earliest date on which the journey could be begun. He also urged the necessity of a meeting with Sir Nicholas before beginning his negotiations at the Court. If this should prove impossible he offered to send his brother or Mr. Harlewyn to Surat. He comments with some bitterness on Masuncooli Bag's action in sending his son to discharge the duty of escort which he had been directed by the Mogul to discharge himself. Sir William's depression had evidently been increased by sickness in his suite and the death of three servants. Altogether he was far from hopeful and imputes the delay to Vincenzo, Consul Pitt's chief Daubay.\footnote{Interpolator.} It is possible that there had been bribery on the part of the Old Company; for there is on record a warm assertion\footnote{See Miss Factory Records, vol. 10.} by Consul Pitt of his honesty and integrity, which smacks of protestation overmuch.

The first day of June, 1700, found Sir William still busy with preparations for his journey. On the 4th and 5th Councils were held. The former decided to pay higher wages demanded by the coolies. At the latter a new hindrance appeared. The Governor who had returned from Goodere the previous night brought news with him that the Governor there would give no orders for cows or coolies as the Mogul's instructions to him were only to convoy or assist His Excellency.
The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthaśāstra'

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CHAPTER II

THE EPICS (Ithibhāra-Purāṇa)

There is a striking coincidence between the change of the form in our literary documents (from the Brāhmaṇas to the epics), and the change in the norm of our national history. The pre-epic literature is essentially sacerdotal and contains all the elements which have been developed at a later period. It accords a prominent and rather exaggerated importance to the power of the priests as we see in the legal literature, where the priest appears as the 'norm of the world'. Notwithstanding the inevitable Brahminical alterations, the epic bears witness to another line of evolution, where the norm of the world is the king.¹

As sociological documents, the epics are too substantial and too life-like to be completely altered by the schematic brain of the Brāhmaṇas. We obtain for the first time here a glimpse of real life, with all the natural anomalies to a period of assimilation,—anomalies which defy all efforts of didactic reconciliation or of religious justification. War and diplomacy, crimes and passions of the epics are authentic facts of Hindu social history as well as that of every other race. Thus the epic furnishes us with an occasion to observe for the first time secular life, side by side with sacerdotal life. Viewed

from this point the epics are documents of inappreciable value. They are correctly judged by a great authority in this branch of studies, Mr. Hopkins, who expresses himself thus:

'The same spirit which produced the best Vedic hymns, the spirit reflecting independence and freedom, appears in this royal literature: the great epic in its earlier parts bears the stamp of the age of the Upanishads. The Upanishads are in part the product of unpriestly, or at least anti-ritualistic thought and the epic also emanates from the throne and not from the altar.'  

Mr. Hopkins again draws our attention to this fact, namely, that in one Upanishad (Br. A. N., i. 4) we read of the indisputable affirmation of the supremacy of the warrior-class over the Brahmins. 'Nothing is greater than a warrior, and the priest comes after the warrior, in the ceremony of the Rajasuya, because the warrior alone brings glory.' This appears also in the Kshatriya version of conflict between the spiritual power and the temporal, as we have noticed already in the Asvamedha Brahmana.  

It would be hazardous no doubt to speak of the war of the Mahabharata as a war between the Brahminised Kurs, and the un-Brahminised Panchala-Pandus. It is equally risky to believe entirely in the anti-logicastic attitude and moral anarchism of the epic age as depicted in loud colours by Mr. Hopkins, thirty-six years ago, but since very much softened, as is seen from his description of the 'Princes and peoples of the epic poems.' However it is indisputable that as we find in the epics, the governing class has contributed largely to the evolution of Hindu culture. Some of the most enterprising thinkers of the Upanishads are Kshatriyas. Also, the founders of the orthodox philosophical system of the Sutakya and of the heterodox systems of the Buddhists or Jains, belong to the royal class. Thus the Kshatriya power became established in the course of several centuries. This fact is as clearly defined as the apotheosis of the Brahman, man-god (Varadhan) showing that the power of the Brahman continued side by side in the days of later literature. Hindu social history is full of cross-currents and of simultaneous evolutions in

1 Cambridge History of India, vol. i, p. 286.
3 Vide 19.
5 C. H. I., vol. i, ch. 43.
parallel directions. And therefore it is extremely risky to affirm within narrow chronological limits that such a state of affairs was followed by such another.

The atmosphere of the epics, as has been demonstrated by Hopkins and Rayson, is essentially aristocratic. But from the scholarly analysis of Mr. Senart on the Castes of India, confirmed by the later discoveries of Hindu epigraphy, it is difficult to admit that there existed an exclusive aristocratic class and that the castes were close and fixed compartments as they appear in modern Hindu society. Ghaṭotkaca, the barbarian son of Bhima, enjoys all the privileges of a Kshatriya, and is not considered unworthy to cross sword with the proudest of Kshatriya chiefs, Karna. Notwithstanding his disputable genealogy, Ghaṭotkaca was as much a Kshatriya as Chandragupta Maurya—he too of low descent—or Kaniška the Indo-Scythian King and the great Maurya champion of the Mahāyāna.

Outside the legal codes which always frame new systems, the position of the Kshatriyas in actual life should be considered rather as a high privilege open to all successful conquerors and governors and not confined to a social caste altogether rigid. These so-called social anomalies, these exceptions are invaluable landmarks in our social history. This powerful fermentation during the course of the evolution of the Hindu nation is well represented by the great epic which covers practically the whole Hindu continent and embraces all the races of India in its ethnographic catalogue. We must not fall into the error of limiting strictly this geographic and ethnographic enumeration to a narrow period or space which would be equivalent to attributing scientific precision to a work that is semi-legendary and semi-poetic.

The tendency of the Hindu society to emerge from the tribal state which is manifest during the later Vedic period, has found its logical development in the formation of great nations which, gradually and inevitably brought about international wars. The shadow of these wars looms largely over the great epic, notwithstanding the later attempts of literary or sectaryism transformation by the addition of a huge mass of extraneous matters. These facts are admirably brought to light by the valuable researches of Mr. Pargiter into the most neglected remains of the Kshatriya literature (Mānas-Pārvas). His analysis

1. Pād. "Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" by D. R. Bhandarkar, JAD.

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of the names of the chieftains and the peoples who participated in the Great War has led to remarkable results which he has published in his essay, the Nations of India at the battle between the Pândavas and the Kauravas. We would give here a summary.

1. On the side of the Pândavas there were:
   (a) From the Madyadeça, the Pâñchîlas, the Matsyas, the Cedis, the Karasas, the Daçáras, the Kàças, the Eastern Koñalas and the Western Magadhas, etc.;
   (b) from the West, the Vâdavas of Gujarat, and of the regions east of Gujarat;
   (c) from the North-west, the Kalkayas and the Abhirâras;
   (d) from the South, the Pândyas with their troops of Dravidian race.

2. On the side of the Kauravas there were:
   (a) from the East, the eastern Magadhas, the Videhas, Prâjyotises with Cinas and the Kiratás, the Añgas, the Veddhas, the Pundras, the Utkales, the Mokalas, the Kalingas and the Andhras;
   (b) from the Madyadeça, the Surasenâs, the Vâtsyâs and the Koñalas;
   (c) from the North-west, the Sindhus, the Sauvíras, the Madras, the Bihîlas, the Kalkayas, the Gândhîras, the Kámbojas, the Trigarttas, the Ambasîhas and the Silvis;
   (d) from the North, the mountain tribes of the Himalayas excepting those on the north of Pâñchîla;
   (e) from the West, the Sûlavas and the Mâlavas;
   (f) from Central India, the Vâdavas, the Avantis, the Mûshmakas, the Vidarbhas, the Nîgadhâs and the Kuntalas.

This brief analysis would be sufficient to convince any reasonable person that it is as hazardous to fix the chronological limits as to define the etno-graphic value of the various enumerations in the Mahâbhárata. It is evident that age after age the Mahâbhárata is retouched and amplified and this explains how the Vedic tribes like the Kûmas are found together with the Cinas and Kûlas.

Leaving aside the question of the origin as well as the oral transmission of the epics, we know it for certain that during the thousand years (since the time of Panini down to that of Panini and

1 J.R.A.S., 1903.
the Harivamsa), the Hindu people endeavoured to work up that wonderful literary monument. While the Ramayana remained more or less intact as the model of poetry (Kavya), the Mahabharata was gradually transformed. From an aristocratic epic it became a national encyclopaedia. The Vedic legends and the Brahmanic rituals, the scholastic philosophy and sacerdotal jurisprudence, the military science and royal diplomacy, Puranic cosmogony, later treatises on art and architecture, in short, nearly all the branches of national culture, were summarized, popularized, and finally incorporated in the great national anthology. At the same time the Buddhists developed likewise their religious canons and their spiritual encyclopaedia. It is not therefore unreasonable to trace in the Mahabharata, despite its significant silence on Buddhism, an earnest yearning to win the heart of the common people as attempted by the Buddhist literature of the Jatakas and the Avadanas. The conclusions of Mr. Hopkins are very instructive on this point: 'The epic had become what it called itself the "fifth Veda," and may be regarded either as a store-house of didactic matters (it calls itself a Dharmaśīrṣa) or as a magnified Itihāsa Purāṇa, which, even before the epic existed, was regarded as supplementing the Veda. Both elements are united, religious-didactic and legendary, in such parts as treat of the demons, gods and seers of old. How ancient may have been collections of such material prior to our extant epic is uncertain: but the evidence for earlier collective works does not appear to be convincing. That a mass of legends existed and that this mass was used by Brahmans and Buddhists alike as they needed them, may be granted, just as the mass of fables known to the ancient world was utilized by the epic writers and by those who composed the Buddhist Jatakas.

In the light of these facts it would not be prudent to characterize the whole epic as entirely aristocratic. To consider it as such would mean that we are not noticing some important historical tendencies. First, even if it were ostensibly, composed for the aristocracy, that so-called aristocracy was not the rigid caste of the Kshatriyas, but the elastic class of warriors. Secondly, its chief object was unquestionably the democratization of Brahmanic culture probably with a view to oppose the Buddhist propaganda. It would appear as a chal-

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lange of organized orthodoxy to an equally well-organized heterodoxy. And the very fact that the Mahabharata succeeded in penetrating thoroughly the Hindu spirit so as to captivate the popular imagination, shows that from the first, it had a democratic tendency and the germ of popularisation. It would then appear that though the Mahabharata is in form the literature of a class still in spirit it is the literature for the mass.

This epic world naturally centred round the king. All the various branches,—law and politics, war and diplomacy (which is of special interest to us) are represented, thanks to the Hindu academic fiction, as developing with the king as its centre. But this kingship is surely not the monopoly of the Aryan in general or of the Kshatriyas in particular, Mr. Hopkins observes justly: 'Despite the pride of the hereditary crown it has been admitted that the king is often chosen for his personal qualities. He is generally chosen from one of the three classes, aristocracy, heroes or army-commanders.'

In that disorderly state of the primitive society, the commanders of the armies were very probably elected by the armed nation rather than taken from a special class. Any commander who distinguished himself by heroic actions could attain aristocracy and sovereignty. Thus in examining those parts of the Mahabharata which treat of politics and diplomacy we must remember that we are dealing with the life and experience of a class which is by no means rigid, and with the history of the entire warrior-peoples, bearing the generic name of the Kshatriya. The considerate conclusions of Mr. Fergiter 7 corroborate these views. After analysing the names of several tribes and nations in the battle of Kurukshetra, he draws our attention to three important facts: (1) the races and nations-in-arms are not all of the same blood, (2) the kings and chiefs who assemble with their armies on the field of battle are not of the same race as that of their armies, (3) the mighty sovereigns summon their military contingents from neighbouring countries and tribes.

In handling the historical materials of the Mahabharata it must be remarked at the outset that the great compass of the texts and the absence of every critical arrangement, do not permit us to make any philosophical or chronological deduction. We would proceed to give

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1 J. A. O. S., 18, 93.  
2 J. R. A. S., 12/2.
a selection of the most important pieces as evidence as to the evolution of the science of Hindu diplomacy which reaches its apogee in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. If we dive deep into these epic texts we see from the very commencement that the atmosphere is far from being ascetdotal. On the contrary it is secular to the core. The ethico-didactic elements are, without doubt, ever tending to soften the violent realism of the portraiture but the point of view is totally different from that of the pacific Brâhmañas. The centre of gravity of national life, such as it is represented here, is no longer the altar but the court of the king. The first diplomatic document in that first book of the Mahabharata discloses a stifling atmosphere of court intrigues and cruelty.

Dhârârâstra, the uncle and guardian of the Pândavas is represented here as the prime cause of the catastrophe at Kuruksetra. Though the first-born, still being blind he was disqualified to rule the kingdom, and hence he vacated the place to his younger brother Pânda. After the death of the latter (Pânda), his sons were naturally to succeed him. But many an attempt was made to kill them. They managed to escape from a house covered with reed in which, it was so arranged, they were to be burnt alive. They entered in disguise the kingdom of Pañcabala Drupada and espoused the Princess Drupadâ, an event which made them stronger than ever. During this period of intrigues, the aged uncle Dhârârâstra took counsel of his Brâhma minister Kapika who is represented as a great diplomat (Mantrârâja) well versed in the science of kingship (Rajasastra). Comprehending the motives of this old prince and the difficulties of his task, the Brâhma minister began his cruel discourse on diplomacy begging the king not to be offended at his words.

'The King must ever actively hold his sceptre of punishment (aśvalâdanāya). He must exhibit his power. Without any foible in himself he must observe the weak points of his enemies (chitraśūp). Just as a tortoise hides its limbs the king must guard his weak points (vīcara). If he should begin any enterprise, he should not abandon it without completing it (cañcepah-trieśat). Even if a little thorn were not removed it would produce an abscess. An enemy though weak must not be neglected. Oh master! a single

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* Bhâ., Adi. kh. 143.  
* MAh., xii. 140. 7, Mau, vili. 102-3.  
* Cfr. Arthasastra, l. 11, p. 29; Mau, vili. 105.
spark is enough to consume all the forest because everything is contiguous.'

'To pretend that one is blind is good as long as it is a matter of policy. Similarly to feign deafness. By peaceful or other means enemies are to be eliminated especially when they are at your mercy. No quarter is to be given even if they surrender (parasadgata). It is only under these conditions that one might be freed from all anxiety. From the dead nothing is to be feared. Remove the adversary and those who are prejudiced against you by gifts (dana). Destroy the three, five and seven resources of the enemy. Cut off his roots in the first instance and then destroy all his allies (adhye) and all his partisans (asya.) By the ritual fire (Agnya-dhana), by sacrifice, by the ascetic robe (Kasya), by plaited hair, by the skin of the antelope (jaive-fue), win the confidence of the people to throw yourself over them afterwards like a wolf. For it is the sacred discipline (asvaha) that serves as a hook to gather the fruits of Artha. We must gather fruits only when they are ripe. Carry your enemy on your shoulders as long as it is necessary; and when the right moment arrives dash him to pieces, as one breaks a pot against a stone. Thus destroy your adversary by conciliation (asvaha), by gifts (dana), by making a division (bhidana) and by punishment (danda), in short, by all means.'

Having thus formulated the general principles of diplomacy, the minister Kapika explained the ancient Hindu methods under the cover of a fable with its profound instructions, the story of the cunning fox, which rejoiced to eat by himself the flesh of an antelope after having driven away the tiger, wolf, mouse and mongoose, by diplomatic war and so without bloodshed. That manner of exposition was later on rendered famous throughout the world by the Tantrikhywitsas, the Purashakram, etc. Mr. Hartal who has made a special study of the latter remarks that the authors of these works profoundly honour Champaika-Kantalya. The Kapika-niti is so near to the spirit of Kantalya, that one is justified in asking whether the name of Kapka is not simply another edition of Champaika, some of whose ideas could have been incorporated in the Mahabharata at an opportune moment.

Kapika completes his discourse by adding a few more instructive
stances on diplomacy. 'Divide the timid by exciting their fears, the courageous by submission, the greedy by presents of money, and equals and inferiors by force.'

'Again if a son, a friend, a brother, a father or even a spiritual guide, plays the part of an enemy, each of them must be exterminated if one desires prosperity.'

'Enemies must be destroyed by imprecation, gifts of wealth, poison, and incantations.

'Even though you are irritated appear calm and speak with a smile and take the initiative in addressing (the man who has offended you). If you are vexed do not accuse anybody. speak soft words when you are on the point of striking and Ö Bharata! even when you strike.

'And after striking the adversary speak softly, show your own anguish and even shed crocodile tears, thus winning his confidence by means of pacific principles and actions. But if he would deviate from the straight path beat him down.' You must observe the same attitude towards a great criminal who lives under the disguise of virtue by which his faults are for a time covered like a mountain by the clouds.

'Thus ruin some by surprise attacks, and others by arms or delay, and still others by gifts of wealth. Then be ready to destroy even the most confiding. Have your teeth ever sharp and ruin the enemy. Trust not those devoid of fidelity—and even those who seem to be faithful for the danger born of confidence cuts the very root.'

'The tried spy (chra) shall be employed in your state as well as in that of others.' The heretics and ascetics shall be employed in the kingdom of the enemies. In gardens, monasteries, temples of Gods, rest-houses, in public streets, in all the eighteen Purānas or the departments of state, in places near the wells, in hills, forests and rivers, besides the many corporations.'

'In the three-fold group of Trivarga, there are two possibilities. Either one of the parts suffers from a morbid increase or the parts harmonises and co-ordinate as in a healthy organism. This last is desirable and the first ought to be avoided. By all means servile or despotic lift yourself from humiliations so that you would be capable of

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1 *Arth., xii. 140. 4; Yajñ., 1, 368, Arth., xii. 86 27.
3 *Arthādīrata, i. 7, 8; Kāma, xii. 37.
5 *Arth., xii. 160. 67; *Arthādīrata, p. 12, 251-52.
practising virtue. Unless one fluctuates between life and death, one would never hope to attain to prosperity. But if he survives this trial he attains true success.

"He who comfortably reposes after concluding a treaty with the enemy as if he had attained his purpose, resembles a mad person who, having fallen asleep on the top of a tree, would wake up only after falling down. One must be careful to hide one's resolutions under the cloak of magnanimity and control the external manifestations of his emotions when he is listening to spies.

"So long as he has not torn the vital parts of his enemies, and has acted in a terrible manner, or has killed as a fisherman his fish, the king could not attain great prosperity. The army of the enemy must be cruelly beaten even when it depends upon your good faith, when it is dispirited, sick, exhausted or deprived of drink and fodder.

"He who possesses wealth never visits a person who is affluent. He who has attained his purpose does not seek one's aid or alliance. Consequently we must act in such a way that others would be ever in need of us. Let your movements be always unknown to your friends as well as to your enemies. Let them hear of your movements only after the beginning or towards the end.

"Praising when the enemy is present, fight with introversion and keep an eye on the future as well as on the past. Thus you would avoid blunders committed owing to lack of intelligence. He who wishes to prosper must carefully cultivate his energy, distinguish in everything, time, place and fate as well as the three-fold group, Dharma, Artha and Kama. It is well known that the circumstances of time and place can bring great advantage.

"An enemy, though weak, if overlooked, strikes roots as the palm tree. As a spark falling in a forest, he grows until he causes a general conflagration. First offer politely your services but without conviction. Postpone the carrying out of your promises and when the moment arrives, multiply obstacles, speak as if those obstacles were the consequences of such and such circumstances (aisthēs) and show that those circumstances resulted from such and such causes (artha).

"Destroy your enemy as the sharp razor cuts the hair silently and also completely."

These are the principles of diplomacy inculcated by the great Brahman minister Kautilya. It is easy to notice how they are in
accordance at the bottom, with the principles formulated in the celebrated treatise attributed to the other Brähman minister Chāṇakya. We meet with two stanzas in the 100 stanzas (Chāṇaka-pāka) traditionally ascribed to Chāṇakya. Thus the equation Kanikā-Chāṇaka-Kaúṭalya seems to us a tempting conclusion. It is no less significant that some technical terms are common to both. The most important is the expression śrīka which means the eighteen departments of state which the spies ought to watch carefully. We give below a comparative list of the śrīkas according to the texts of the Māhābhārata and the Rāmāyāṇa as well as to the diplomatic treatise attributed to Kaúṭalya—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Māhābhārata</th>
<th>Rāmāyāṇa</th>
<th>Commentaries on the Mahābhārata, I. 133, 64; II 5, 36, Raghū, xvii. 36.</th>
<th>Commentaries on the Rāmāyāṇa, II 100 36. (of Pṛthakamela, III. 89— incomplete) and Cukra, II 71 ff.</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Śaṃkārī.</td>
<td>Dṛṣṭyā Śaṃkārī.</td>
<td>Śaṃkārī.</td>
<td>Dṛṣṭyā Śaṃkārī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Saṇḍapāla—śrītadānādhyakṣa.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
These eighteen essential parts of the state are given exactly as above in the *Makâbhârata* commentary of Nilakantha who indicates his sources as manuals of diplomacy (*Niti-astra*) in general. The same poetical catalogue is quoted by Cârîtravardhana in his commentary on the *Râga-purusârtha* of Kâlîdâsa in like terms. He definitely attributes the catalogue to Kauṭalya with the usual formula: सृजन विद्वानः।

But before the discovery of the famous treatise of the *Arikâstas*, few had the courage to affirm that the ancient Hindus had elaborated such fine theories on diplomacy. Moreover in explaining the term *Tri-varga*, Nilakantha mentions clearly the name of Kauṭalya and gives an excellent and correct resume of his attitude in regard to this question. We see then that there is a continuity of diplomatic tradition so far at least as the vocabulary is concerned. Further Kanîka uses sometimes expressions which are very well known as terms of the Hindî diplomatic code, and which later on had become enigmatical. For example, *Tris*, *Paśas* and *Saptas*, understood formerly, had to be explained by the commentators thus:—

The *Tris* comprised of wealth, counsel, and activity. Kauṭalya mentions these with one difference,—the lord (*prâsâda*), the council (*mandira*) and energy (*mitâs*). The *Paśas* are the minister, kingdom, fortress, treasury and army, whilst the *Saptas* are exactly the same as in Kauṭalya—the king, minister, allies, treasury, kingdom, fortress and army.

Besides ascertaining these facts we find one other motive of interest in this first diplomatic piece from the *Makâbhârata*. It describes to us the diplomacy of the Khshatriya in its true colour. The atmosphere has changed since the Brâhmanic regime. Though these principles are formulated by a Brâhman minister, they contain the experience of the realistic science of the new masters of society.

Notwithstanding all the diplomatic intrigues of their cousins the Kauravas, the five sons of Pîndu, succeeded ultimately in establishing themselves in their paternal kingdom. The eldest Yudhishthira managed the state with the help of his brothers. This was an excellent occasion for introducing a sermon on the duties of the king. And the divine sage Nîrada appears to preach this sermon. While Kanîka has been characterised as a scholar in royal science, we see here Nîrada honored by a number of grandiloquent titles.

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He is applauded as the master of the Vedas and the Upanishads, and immediately after, as a specialist in history (Itihasa), legend (Purāṇa) and ancient tradition (Purāṇaśāstra). Then follow the enumeration of his philosophical equipments Nyaya, Saṅkhya, Yoga and the description of his moral equilibrium. Further on he is praised as the master of the science of the Kshatriyas—war and treaties, and the application of sixfold policy Šadgavyapadi.

When the divine sage Nārada had been honored duly with welcome rites and had seated himself on an elevated seat, as the true guardian of the royal conscience, he commenced a questioning the king on the manner in which he was governing the state. This question is not only grounded on theoretical principles as is the case with Kaṇika but on a profound knowledge of the application of the political science. We seem to read as it were a table of contents of some practical manual of Hindu politics. For example the sage asks whether the king has paid attention to the following points:

1. Three-fold pursuit, 2. six qualities of the king, 3. seven means, 4. fourteen possessions of the enemy, 5. eight occupations of the king, 6. seven limbs of the state, 7. eighteen śīkas of the enemies and fifteen śīkas of his own (the Crown prince, the Purohit and the first minister were not to be watched by spies), 8. four diplomatic arts Śīma, Dīna, Bheda, Daśña, 9. four divisions of the army, 10. eight parts of the army, 11. four-fold employments of the pacific methods, and 12. fourteen vices of the king.¹

This list of which we find an explanation in the commentaries appears to be a diplomatic grammar. Nārada the teacher, traces in a few lines a complete scheme of this science. The picture is very interesting from the point of view of pacific administrative life. He draws the king's attention to the tasks of good government namely, effective control and the trial or test of officials, verification of reports or accounts (allowing even the servants to criticize the king for his extravagance,)² organization of the budget, administration of justice, military pensions, protection of widows and orphans, education of princes and nobles, honours to the learned and the Brāhmaṇa, works of irrigation with the help of cisterns and of lakes, and lastly health and

¹ Ci. Manu, vil. 46-52. ² Arthashastra, p. 12.
hygiene under the direction of able doctors versed in the eightfold methods of treatment.

The section relating to the sermon on diplomacy is one of supreme interest. We proceed to give a résumé in the style and the very words of the great sage Nārada:

'I hope that your deliberations are not disclosed by your spies, by yourself or by your ministers.

'Do you know the movements of your allies, neutrals and enemies?

'Do you make peace or war at the opportune moment?

'Have you properly organised your politics with regard to the neutral and intermediate States?

'Are the superior officers of your army, versed in divers systems of warfare, of good discipline, courageous and honoured by you?

'I trust you pay in due time and never hold back the rations and salary (Cākṣsāta vaisa) due to your army?'

'The greatest danger for the king (mutinies) arises from the detention of rations and pay.

'Are the military chiefs of high birth devoted to you and ready to give their lives for you?

'By means of the six qualities pertaining to royalty (eloquence, promptitude, intelligence, memory, morality and complete political mastery) do you practise the seven means (conciliation, gifts, division, punishment, incantation, medicine and magic)?

'After considering deeply both your strength and weakness do you examine the fourteen weak points of your enemies (kingdom, fortress, chariots, elephants, cavalry, infantry, principal officers, harem, provision-stores, statistics of the army, special sciences, budget, revenue, and secret enemies)?

'When your enemy is entangled with vices and distresses (Vrajas) do you march promptly against him after carefully examining the three sources of power (king, deliberation and energy, or deliberation, treasury and troops)?

'Do you begin your march (Vāja) at the propitious moment fixed by astrologers? Do you comprehend that the security and defeat

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1 śāh., xii. 28. 12. 2 Āṭhānātīka, iv. pp. 177-79; 435-436.
are dependent on the reserves (pārṣṇi māla) which form the twelfth Mandala?

' And do you pay then your army in advance?

'Do you secretly furnish the chief military officers of your enemies with gifts according to their respective merits?

'Do you go to conquer your enemies when they have lost their judgment and character and after you have disciplined yourself?

'Before actual marching do you employ the four means (Upāya) of diplomacy (conciliation, gifts, division and punishment)?

'Do you march against your enemies after having consolidated your kingdom?

'Do you attempt to vanquish thoroughly, your enemies? And after having vanquished them do you see to it carefully that they receive due protection?

'Do you protect with paternal care the enemies who have asked for your protection through fear, exhaustion or defeat?

'Are you impartial and above all suspicious, as the veritable father of society?

'Do you maintain the widows and orphans of those who have given their lives for your sake?' *

We see in this discourse some fundamental ideas of diplomacy as we find them in the Arthasastra of Kautilya. Conquest is not an end in itself, the victory is counterbalanced by responsibilities and acquisitions by necessity of safeguarding them. Towards the end of this interrogatory, Nārada puts two significant questions which throw much light on the development of diplomatic life in ancient India:

'Do your officers of customs (pjakopātāsal) impose duties according to just laws on merchants coming from foreign countries? Are these foreign peoples respected both in the capital and in the country? And do they carry their merchandise without being cheated (Upadāśa) by your officers or your subjects?'

Thus at the conclusion of his discourse Nārada uses an expression Upadāśa which is important in the lexicon of Kautilya; there is a section on this institution entitled, 'Determination of honesty and dishonesty of ministers by means of temptations (Upadāsa).'*

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* Arthasastra, xii. pp. 176, 483-10.  
** Manu, viii. 26-29.  
*** Arthasastra, i. 10.
Megasthenes clearly mentions this fact of protection and
the just treatment of aliens, the solicitude of Nārada. Megasthenes
notes in his Indica that one of the six municipal departments of the
Maurya Empire was occupied exclusively with the attention paid to
the strangers, providing them with lodgings, protecting their
property and returning their goods to their homes or country
in case of death. Though these observations of Megasthenes are not to
be found in the Arthashastra, Kautalya shows himself sufficiently
preoccupied with foreigners. He advises the monarch to superin-
tend them closely—be they merchants or not—as we see it in his chapter
on the 'Superintendent of Passports' Mudra and of Customs (saika).
Here, as regards foreign commerce, we find the following principles
of wise liberalism enunciated. 'The superintendent shall encourage
those who import merchandises; mariners and traders who import
goods from foreign countries shall enjoy exemption from certain
taxes (pārīkṣa) which will permit them to secure a profit in trading
(sarīkṣa). Also it is enjoined that every article, useless or
dangerous for the state, shall be stopped, whereas those which are
useful such as new and rare grains, shall be exempted from every
tax (sāhāla).' 6

The question relating to the age of these documents can be solved
only after making a profound analysis of the Arthashastra. But we may
obtain a few ideas or facts of inestimable value by a simple comparison
of the data as a whole. As regards diplomatic evolution the ascen-
dotal literature (Samhāla-Brahmaya) furnishes us with important
indications. But the materials which we find in the Kshatriya literature
(Jehân-Purana) are more interesting and abundant. Prof. Rapson
says: 'Without doubt, in India as in mediaeval Europe the religious
authority affirmed its supremacy and the whole ancient literature of the
Kshatriyas had been Brahmanised'. Nevertheless this literature
contains much that is indispensable for understanding the political
conceptions of the ancient Hindus. It is certain that several digres-
sions on the royal policy and diplomacy are intercalated from time
to time in the original epic. But the fact of their having been added

2 Ed. 10. 
3 Ed. 83-A, Indica, p. 82.  
4 Ed. xxii. and xl.  
5 Arthashastra, xxiii.  
to later on does not diminish their documentary value. Formerly it was usual to condemn and neglect them as interpolations but now the authorities in Kahatriya literature have changed their opinion.

The point is obvious for those who examine these documents, that out of the fluid mass of didactic elements which contain the experience of the Hindus in diverse aspects, are born the special disciplines studied in the various schools of thought of which we would have occasion to speak. These fragmentary ideas are arranged in a systematic and coherent whole during the period of the Sūtras and the Sastras—of which the famous Arthaśāstra forms a part. Let us in passing notice some other important fragments in the epics. In the third book of Vanaśparva several questions relating to the duties of kings are discussed in a triangular conversation between Yudhishthira, Bhima and Draupadi. In the same book is also found the portrait of a philosopher-king. It is drawn by a hunter (ch. 207 ff.) who exposes the ideal of royalty incarnated in Janaka, the King of Videha. In another place the great monkey-hero Hanuman (well known in the Rāmāyaṇa), instructs Bhima his younger brother on the duties of the kings. (Both of them are sons of the God of Winds in two incarnations.) Several profound observations on this subject are made by the sage Vidura, the half-brother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. But the Viduruvati is unfortunately dispersed. In the Aparajitāvadik Purva the aged prince Dhṛtarāṣṭra gives an excellent resume of the royal science to Yudhishthira. Lastly, after the war of devastation at Kurukṣetra, the wise general Bhima presents a systematic exposition of Hindu politics which stands as a turning-point in the evolution of this science. But though this exposition is included in the epic, in reality it belongs to the scholastic period which we shall examine in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOOLS (The Sutra and the Sastra)

At the commencement of this scholastic period, the studies were beginning to be systematised. Let us remember that the ancient Hindus classified their sciences at first into two great categories, namely, the spiritual discipline (Pāra), and the non-spiritual discipline (Aparā).

1. ibid., Yama, ch. 27-28.
2. ibid., ch. 120.
3. ibid. Aparajitāvadik, ch. 7-11.
The Vedas represent the former while the derived sciences such as
the grammar, astronomy and ritual belong to the latter group. With
the development of the Brāhmaical learning there began to appear
separate works destined to help the memory of the students because
the habit of writing had not yet begun to spread. These scholastic
manuals were either in verse, later on popularised by the legal codes
(Swētas), or collections of short aphorisms in prose accompanied
with commentaries (Bhāṣāya) which the grammatical works popula-
rised. While the origin of these technical works goes back to the pre-
Buddhistic period it is generally considered that their systematic com-
position may be placed between the birth of the Buddha and the
composition of the first artificial poetry (Ādiya)—the Buddha-charita
of Āśvagōṣha.

These are the centuries of wonderful productivity; in the domain
of grammar the Nīruttas of Yaśka was succeeded by the marvellous
Sātras of Pāṇini, and the commentaries of Kātyāyana and Patanjali.
As for the legal works the Sātras and the Šāstras of Gautama, Baudha-
yanayana, and Āpastamba were composed between 500 B.C.—A.D. 200. The
famous Code of Manu comes according to Bühler between B.C. 200 and
A.D. 200. Professor Hopkins and Keith are inclined to believe that the
Mābhāṣyaśic with the Pāṇḍavas as heroes existed already during the
time of Pāṇini, while, to the beginning of the Rāmāyana and the
Mābhāṣyāśic, Mr. Macdonell suggests a more ancient date. Dealing
with the philosophical and religious systems Dr. F. W. Thomas obser-
ves that as a philosophical system the Śāṅkhyā seems to be anterior
to Buddhism and the Vaidyāśika developed during the period of the
Mauryas and it was known to Āśvagōṣha in the Śāṅkha-śāstra. Finally
the canons of Pali-Buddhism and also those of the Jains following the
tradition, were fixed at Pataliputra about 313 or 312 B.C. And the
systems of Lokāyatas or Ājīvikas are also essentially pro-Mauryan.1

From the point of view of Hindu scholasticism Buddhism was
more or less a reactionary monastic movement inseparable as it depre-
ciated the value of secular sciences for the edification of spiritual
discipline. The result seems to have been, at least for a time, a violent
dualism with a veritable conflict between the old Purāṇa and the Ādiya
Vinaya under a new form. The Agastheśa Nīkṣepa (I., p. 157) divides

the mendicant masters into two classes: the first, the Brāhmaṇa discussing the worldly life (lokapāla) and secondly the Annatikhiya who is occupied with the realization of self in meditation as well as in action.

The number and influence of these peripatetic teachers were considerable. Mr. R. C. Law has shown in an interesting article how these professors prepared the way for the systematic writers of manuals like Chāṇakya who respectively quotes them under the generic name of Āchārya.

Mr. Law has also given a list of forty-one names of those masters and the subjects which they discussed orally. One of them, Kundalīya came to Buddha and communicated to him that he had met several Śramana and Brāhmaṇa discussing traditional learning, the benefits of sacrifice, etc. The Buddha replied that he was only occupied with the benefits of knowledge and of emancipation.

On the other hand, the secular science of politics is deprecated; it consists only, so they say, of accounts of 'kings, robbers, ministers, wars, battle, alliance, equipages, villages, cities, heroes, gossips and the legends of creation and speculations on existence and non-existence.' Surely this is an unconscious caricature of the Itikāma-purāṇa. Richer are the catalogues of secular arts (sīkṣā) no less deprecated, which we find in the Brāhmaṇa Sutta (Ch. 1); recitation of ballads (ākānāśa); chants of the bands (vataśa); instrumental music, dance, shows (prākāma), elephant and horse fighting, boxing, mock fighting, manoeuvres, military review, apikās (Khāllika), or letter-guessing (ākhārītika).

Some of the Brāhmaṇas are deprecated for having transmitted political messages, communicated news and served as intermediaries in the service of the king and ministers of the state, and also for having lived on vulgar professions as to the science of measures (Khālīa Viśa), the science of the bow (Dāsamrita), the science of poisoning and the science of divination formulated as follows: 'The king shall march in front or to the rear, the enemies will attack, the enemies will withdraw or advance, the allied chieftains will be victorious, the foreign leaders will be defeated, etc.' This branch of science regulated then the progress of diplomacy by fixing the auspicious time for concluding

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treaties or entering upon wars. These are ignoble sciences. There are other pursuits of profound knowledge, soothing and mild, which cannot be grasped by logic only, subtle, intelligible only to the wise. Those subjects the Tathagata has realized and promulgated."

But before attaining the illumination of the Buddhahood the Bodhisattva is known according to many Jātakas, to possess a knowledge of the three Vedas and eighteen vidyās at Takkāsila. Among others are mentioned, the science of the bow (Dharmavāda) and that of elephants (Hālka Sūtra), snake-charming (Alambana-Maṇtra) and the art of discovering treasures (Nidhi baddharana Maṇtra). Takkāsila was certainly an important centre of learning which attracted the attention and favour of great kings such as Pasenadi of Kosala and Bimbiśara of Magadha, the contemporaries of Buddha. It was from that town that came Jīvaka, the physician who treated Buddha in his last moments of illness.

The ancient texts on medical science were systematized in the first century of our era by the well-known Charaka, the specialist at the court of King Kamishka. The Charakas Samhitā even in the later recension which we have now has an indisputable character of antiquity and presents a parallelism with the style and method of discussion noticeable in the Arthasastra of Kautilya.

Finally we may remark that besides the rituals Śāstras (Sūtras and Grīhyas) there were several other entirely secular Śāstras especially used by the military class and on that account important for us.

Nārada demands of Yuddhiṣṭhira at the end of his discourse whether the king had studied with application the different useful sciences such as the science of elephants (Hasit Śāstra), of horses (Alaśa Śāstra), of chariots (Rathā Śāstra), of the bow (Dharmavāda), and of machinery (Yāntra Śāstra).

A portion of these Śāstras is incorporated in the works on diplomacy such as the Śāstraris and some others appeared separately in later forms, for instance, the Mitāngadhitā published in the Travancore Sanskrit Series.

But the greater part of these works have been without doubt lost. It is very probable that the science of profit (Arthasastra) was thus systematized at this epoch and it is not impossible that a part of this work of systematization was done by the first minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The Arthasastra is mentioned along with Dharma, Kañca, and Nāsa, as the four pillars of the scholastic science of ancient India.
The more ancient schools of the Upanishads classify the study in two principal branches Para and Apara, according to the two objects of existence, namely Ātman (emancipation), and Āyām (enjoyment). But as the order of life advanced and became more complicated a new classification, less narrow and more liberal, was necessitated. The old group of the Ātmas became Mohika whilst that of Āyām became divided into three branches, Dharma, Artha and Kāma.

The extant texts of these three later schools are of variable antiquity and authenticity, but they represent the true foundations on which the Hindu scholastic science is elevated. The juridical school (Dharma) is very important from the point of view of social life, inasmuch as its elaboration is confined to the class of Brāhmans who were professional jurists. So they are abundant, systematic and authoritative.

The school of Artha was more or less a special study followed particularly by the governing classes. It was systematised by Kṛṣṇa-dvīpas and popularized by KāỪāndaka. But it was not able to preserve its superiority over the juridical school which to a great extent absorbed it. The school of Kāma became more and more a secret and reserved science. It is the most recent and the least pervasive. It became greatly assimilated to the art of Poetics (Kāvyalakāna).

The three schools were influenced by a common scientific atmosphere and an historical vision. All the three constructed their system by collecting traditional observations and scattered principles. All the three are faithfully represented in the great Encyclopaedia of the time, the Mahābhārata. Their relations are indicated by several scholars in a definite manner. Mr. Hopkins in his essay on 'Manu in the Mahābhārata' shows how the great legal code was written to a great extent between the composition of the essential parts of the epic and its last development. He shows also that before this collection there existed a large number of observations, sage maximms, rules of conduct, etc., handed down from mouth to mouth among the people. The same sort of concordance between the schools of Dharma and of Artha, is evidenced by Dr. Jolly, in his Study on the Arthasastra and Dharmaśāstra. Some striking resemblances between the phraseology of the Arthasastra of Kautalya and of
the Kamaśāstra of Vātśayana have been pointed out by Mr. Shama Sastri and the problem of their historical relation has been studied by Mr. H. C. Chakravarthi.

The elaboration of the intellectual and the aesthetic disciplines (Vidya-Kalas) under the influence of the schools is evident in the lists of the Śāstra-literature as also in the Kamaśāstra, in the epics, and in the lengthy enumeration of the sixty-four arts of the following period. But what is important from the point of view of the Hindu political and diplomatic evolution is the list of the subjects of study as indicated by Kaṭṭalaiya.

In his chapter on the enumeration of sciences (Vidya Samāddēpa) he remains faithful to the ancient traditions although he is original in certain things. He admits that the Vādas are three, Śāma, Rig and Yajus; but in the following phrase, he enlarges those limits by including the 'Atharvavāda and the Itibāvāda'.

It is interesting to note here that the Brāhman Sāla living at Aṣama is considered as the perfect master of the three Vādas, of the vocabulary, of the Keśhika (? of the etymology, of the Itibāas, considered as the fifth Vēda, the prosody, the grammar and the Lokayata.

Then Kaṭṭalaiya mentions the six auxiliary sciences: phonetics (Śiksa), ritual (Kāla), grammar (Vyākaraṇa), etymology and glossary (Nirukta), prosody (Chanda) and astronomy (Jyotisā). These are the angas—members of the scholastic body. The philosophical sciences are presented by the systems of Sākhya, Yoga and Lokayata, collected under the common title of Āvānikēka. Next come two purely secular disciplines, first the Varta comprehending agriculture (Krishi), the science of animals (Pattikalpa) and commerce (Varta) and secondly the Dashānti or the science of government.

After having given the definitions Kaṭṭalaiya compares them with those of other schools.

The school of Manu (Manavēka) admits only three sciences: the Traya, the Varta and the Dashānti, because Āvānikēka is a particular aspect of Traya.

The school of Bhaskari (Bhaskariyēka) admits only two, for the Traya is only a disguise (Savarupa) for those who are experienced in human affairs (Lokarānava).
The school of UÇaṅs (Aucarsak) recognizes only one science, the 
Dvàpati. In it all sciences have their origin and end.¹

But Kàntalaya recognizes four sciences. And he concludes by a
very broad generalization when he says that 'one shall refer to the
Tvray, in that which concerns the Dharmas and the Adhamas; to the
Varta, in that which concerns the perks and losses (Lathalabha), to
the Dvàpati, in that which concerns expediency or otherwise (Nayà-
naya) as well as the questions of force or weakness (Bala-bala).
Among these the science of Government is the more important
because it is the veritable root of all other sciences (Dvàpamala).
But the Danda in its turn depends on discipline (Vinasamala). Hence
the importance attached to the discipline of the sovereign under the
guidance of the aged (Yuddha).² After terminating the ceremony
of tonsure the boy learns calligraphy (Lipī) and calculation (Saurkva).
After the investiture of the sacred thread, he studies the Traya and
the Árvababhī under competent savants (śita),³ the science of the
Varta with the functionaries (Adhyakṣa), and the science of the
Dvàpati with experts in theory and in practice (Vadhya-prayokta).
He employs the morning in practising the science of elephants, of
horses, of chariots, and the use of weapons. The afternoon is devoted
to a study of history (Itihas-pravasa), ancient legends (Parasca)
chronicles (Itvita), stories (Adhyātyka), parables (Udakarana), law
(Dharmastra) and the science of profit (Arthasastras). All these
branches of knowledge form the science of history.⁴ Such is the
admirable conception of the historical science which Kàntalaya pre-
scribes as the best method for rousing the sense of responsibility in a
prince who is unreasonable or is under the influence of the wicked.⁵

It is interesting to note that in the Hiranyakaśa-Griśya Šatra ⁶ it is
demanded of the students to offer water (Tarpasa) to the sacred
memory, first, of the great Rṣis like Kṛṣṇa Dvāpapāyana, Kutsama, Purusha, Vaisvan, Rudra, Skanda, Vasista and Indra, some
of whom are considered as masters of the discipline of Artha and
Dharma; secondly, of the diverse disciplines personified and praised
by their masters: the Rg, Yajus, Sama, Athisas, Nyāya-Purāsa
and Dharmas, Arthas and Kama.

¹ Cfr. Dvàpati, H. 36.
² Ibid., 1, 3, 6; Banabha, I, 4, 6.
³ Vidyāśāstra, w. 8, p. 29.
⁴ Arthasastras, I, 3, 3.
⁵ Itihāsa, cfr. Arthasastras, I, 2.
⁶ S.B.E., xxx, p. 44.
Thus with a clearness and perfect precision, Kautilya presents us with a picture of academic disciplines of his times, thus defining the place and the aim of the Arthasastra proper. It is worthy of remark that the Puranas occupies an important place in the system of Kautilya while the Puranic literature we possess, seems to be late.

Bühler says rightly in commenting upon the Apastamba Dharma-sutra that the Puranas as a literary piece of composition existed ever since the Vedic times. Those that are grouped to-day by the name ‘Puranas’ are the last remains or adaptations of the ancient Puranas. This fact is again corroborated by the valuable researches of Pargiter. From a form which is manifestly late we cannot necessarily conclude its recent origin.

We may remark also that Kautilya ignores the science of love and the arts of Kala. Perhaps he was more occupied with the Vidya than with the Kala. Or he thought it fit to keep silent with regard to the seducing disciplines of Kama. Perhaps also the Kamasutra and Satra were not systematized in his time, as supposed by Professor Chakravarthi. But there must have formerly existed a close relation between the Kala and the Arthasastra, as suggested by Bühler in his comment on the Apastamba Dharma-sutra, II, 11. 29, 11-12. According to the commentaries, ‘the sciences which the Sudras and women can take to, constitute the last stage of studies.’ ‘They declare that those branches of knowledge are a supplement of the Arthasastra.’

Bühler remarks thus in commenting that the knowledge possessed by the Sudra and the womenfolk consisted of the dance, the theatre, the music, and other branches of the Arthasastra, the science of arts and crafts.

Bühler cites also the Pratiharamahides of M. Sarasvati who affirms that the Arthasastra is an Upasada of the Arthasastra of which Kautilya speaks with great respect. Whatever may be the exact chronological relation between Kautilya and Vishayana there is a close resemblance between the styles, the legends, etc., as well as between the opening chapter of the Arthasastra and the first three chapters of the Krama.

If the relation between the schools of Kama and of Artha remains

2 Kama-sutra, 1. 5.
3 See note in which contempt for the artist is evident. Arthasastra, pp. 63 and 125.
yet ill-defined, that which exists between the schools of Artha and of Dharmas is very clear. These two disciplines have as a common aim the Government and their centre the king. It is, therefore, natural that they should have common parts. It is thus that we find in almost all the great collections of law books an important section on the duties of the king (Rajadharma) which contains important portions of the Arthashastra1 and inversely, in the works of the Arthashastra as those of Kautilya or Sukra, are discussed problems and articles of law. In these circumstances conflicts are inevitable. We find an allusion to these conflicts in a stanza of the well-known code of Vajishvatya (1. 21)

‘When the Smritis are in conflict, then the royal authority (Nyaya) must be stronger than the evidence (Vyasahara); the authority of the Dharmaashastra prevails in this case on the Arthashastra.’ The commentary of Mitakshara attempts to weaken the opposition in stating that the above stanza does not refer at all to the conflict between the legal code and the Manuals of the Artha as those Ucans, but that it has an allusion to the conflicts between the Dharmaashastra and its supplementary chapter on the Rajasutth with the help of which one must interpret the Arthashastra.

But the sophistry does not suppress the conflict on the fundamental question. Here Kautilya furnishes us with a very valuable commentary. In the chapter on the law he says 3:

‘The king is the source of Dharmas (Dharma pravartaka) for the protection that he exercises of the four Varnasrama (castes and orders), of the usages (Artha) of the society and noble virtues in decadence. Dharmas or the sacred law, Vyasahara or evidence or obligation by contract, Charitra or established precedent or traditional authority, and Rajasuttham or statutory law, these are the four bases of law in discussion enumerated in the order of increasing importance. In this group Dharmas is based on established truth (Sayasthithah), Vyasahara on the witness (Saist), whilst Charitra is a collection of personal examples or precedents (Samajukha Pratikam) and Rajasuttham is based on the mandates of the king.’

‘It is the Dharma (science of government) which defends this world and the other when it is exercised impartially (aprasa) according to

1 56-66, 6, p. xxvi.
2 Vyasahara, 27, 147-181; Thiruvidaimarutam, 29-36.
the faults of the moment (Yathādaya) whether they come from the very son of the king or from an enemy.1

'By rendering justice agreeably to Dharma, Vyavahara, Samsūka (established precedents) and (Nyāya) equity, the king shall conquer all the earth to its four boundaries.

When there is a conflict between the sacred law (Dharma) and the established precedents (Samsūka) or between the sacred law and the evidence, the final decision must always rest with the sacred law.'2

'But if the sacred texts are in conflict with the sacred equity (Dharmamāyā) then the latter shall be of more value. In this case the citations of texts are of no value.' Thus as a practical politician Kautilya, while trying to systematise the school of Artha, considers the impartial equity of the king as superior to the scholastic logic of the texts. Whilst Sahasthī severely criticises the Dharma school, Kautilya with a sense of equality and lofty equanimity, assigns to the Dharmas, its proper place; but at the same time shows that the royal justice is the sole centre of equilibrium between the conflicting theories and struggling parties. The king, Dasadākara (he that wields the sceptre) is the true supporter of the four Varnas and Aṣṭramas or orders.

By the side of this vigorous principle of political life Kautilya had also the courage to preach in the land of mortification the principle of liberal and harmonious enjoyment of life: 'Be not bereft of joy, satisfy Kama without doing injury to Dharma or Artha. Dharma and Kama have Artha as their root. Artha is, therefore, supreme.'3

Whatever be the differences between the schools of Dharmas and of Artha, from the point of view of ultimate superiority, the one and the other are unanimous in accepting the Dasadasī as the veritable soul of the science of Government. The very highest place, except for the Brāhmans, is attributed to the king by a Satra of Gautama (xl. 1) (Rajasaṁsvaramaṇa Brāhmaṇas vāyam) for his impartial Government (x. 6) and even his contribution is considered by Gautama as superior (to those of the Brāhman because the protection of society depends on the king. 4) Mint also in the section on the Rajadharmas exposes the same principle according to which the Dasadasī is an eternal subject (Sahastī).

1 Arthaśāstra, i, 3.
2 Vyāsya, vol. 14 and 43, Vyāsa, i, 310 and 313; Cāṇ, x1, 4.
And the excellent commentator Mādhavītīti honoured Chāpakya specially as an expert in the science of Dāvapānti while Kullīka gives the Arikṣatātra as a synonym for Dāvapānti. The same tradition is preserved in the lexicons (Kopa). Amara in his Namalīgarndyusana, defines Anukla-kādāvapānti as logic (Turkāndyus) and the science of profit (Arikṣatātra). And Śārvānanda in his commentary on the Lexicon of Amara cites Chāpakya as an authority.

This science of Dāvapānti or the Arikṣatātra holds a very important place in the Mahābhārata, especially in chapter 58 of the Śantisāstra relating to Rajadharmā. As we have already said it was formerly the fashion to consider all the didactic passages of the epic as interpolations. Under the influence of that disdain and with the enthusiasm particular to a neophyte Mr. V. Ayer in his criticism on the text of the Mahābhārata denounces the two books (xii and xiii) as two 'enormous falsifications.' But if one has a little of historical sense and the patience of comparing what is said of the Rajadharmā in Manu and in the Śantisāstra to what Kantālā says, one will discover a good deal of valuable information from this mass of apparent falsifications and confusion of contradictory theories. We have reserved the examination of this question till we come here because though the Śantisāstra belongs formally to the epic, it furnishes principles of great value for the history of Hindu scholasticism.

The terrible carnage at Kurukṛṣṭa is over; the Kuruś are exterminated, and the Panduś have gained victory, but Yudhīṣṭhīra, the elder and the unique sovereign is filled with disgust for the sovereignty and wishes to renounce the world. Thus the 'chant of Peace' opens with a dramatic discussion between that afflicted king, and his brothers and their wife. These latter by turns attempted to recall the king to his duty. The most interesting discourse is that of Arjuna who had undergone a similar moral crisis just at the outset of the war, a crisis averted by the famous discourse of Kṛṣṇa which forms the Bhagavad Gītā. Here we see Arjuna speaking in two or three different ways. At first he justifies the war and all its horrors by citing the most cruel philosophy of Kaśyapa. The king never attains prosperity
without tearing away the life of his enemies, like a fisherman. . . .
Afterwards he preaches in an over-subtle language the elastic doctrine of the Gita:

'The most profound soul of all beings is incapable of being killed. How can, therefore, one be killed by another? Just as a person enters a new house, the soul passes through successive bodies.'

But the most important of his arguments is that which leads to the apotheosis of the Daśas, the one principal regulator of the society, incarnate in the powerful sovereign. Arjuna quotes at first the Viṣṇu Saṁhitā which commends the Daśas and finally rests on the philosophy of Kaṁḍalya.

'If the king, ever anxious about the tasks of Government does not apply the Daśas, then the weaker will be devoured by the stronger as fishes in the water.'

For not being applied it brings about the order of fish morality. The stronger devours the weaker owing to the absence of the bearer of Daśas. This is the reason why it is said: 'the Gupta is the master.' One could recall to mind here the establishment of monarchy by means of a regular social contract in order to destroy anarchy as described later on in the Śrauṣṭiras.  

But Yudhishṭhira remained still depressed with this moral crisis. To effect a remedy, the great sage Vyāsa appeared and advised him to consult the dying hero Bhīma on Raṣṭākṣeras. This is the epic justification of this vital topic. Bhīma is honoured by Vyāsa as the greatest master of the royal science, having studied it with the learned Bhārata, the master of gods and also with Śukra, the master of demons. Bhīma commences his discourse in chapter 56 and gives a splendid resume of the royal science as a whole in three successive

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1. Śi. II, ch. XVI, xii, 15-11.

2. This is simply putting in verses the prose of Kaṁḍalya (Arthaśāstra, i, 1, p. 8).

3. This is only putting in verses the prose of Kaṁḍalya (Arthaśāstra, i, 2, p. 15).
chapters, while examining frequently the accessory problems. It is interesting to note the different schools of royal science therein mentioned.

At the beginning, Brahma-Prajñāpati composed a work in hundred thousand chapters in order to assure the good Government of the world. This treatise did not only embrace the Trītraya, Dharmasastra, Artha and Kama 1 but also the Moksha. It was condensed by god Śiva-Viṣṇu-Lakṣāna in ten thousand chapters. Again Indra-Bahudantakam condensed it into five thousand chapters, Bṛhaspati into three thousand, and Kavi-Ucānas in a thousand chapters. This was out of commission for the progressive diminution of the span of human life. In the chapter iv of Śatītparvā is given a résumé of the original treatise of Brahma which is concerned practically with all the important branches of the Dvīparājya. In the preceding chapter (ivii) the compilers (राजसायिनिक प्राप्तिः) of the royal science are enumerated as follows:—

2. Viṣṇulakṣāna. 5. Praçētasa Manu.

7. Gauḍēcitrās.

Such is the history of the royal science at the time when the epic hero Bṛhaspati discourses on it. When a historic compiler like Kaṭṭalaya appears the science has already behind it centuries of discussions and elaborations. But he finds himself in presence of a great confusion, because of the accumulation of texts, of glosses, and of contradictory theories promulgated by divers schools. Thus the science was almost lost in a sea of obscurities from which Kaṭṭalaya rescued it (sādhyās). He composed his āṭhā as well as his āṭhāra or commentary, himself for avoiding the mistake, as he has said at the conclusion of his treatise. 2 The comparison of data of the epic with those of the Arthaśāstra is of enormous importance. Dr. Jacobi in two essays 3 studied this subject and gave a list of schools and the respective authors of the Arthaśāstra, and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has utilized 4 the results of Dr. Jacobi in his study of the Śatītparvā.

1. MB, xii. ch. 388; Kauṭalya, 1. 5, 6, 7.
Schools

1. Mānavaḥ
2. Bārhaspatyāḥ.
3. Aucaśamsāh.
4. Pārāśaraḥ.
5. Āmbhiyāḥ

Individual authors

1. Bhāradvāja.
2. Viśālakaha
3. Parāśara.
4. Pičuna (Nārada).
5. Kaumnāpadanta (Bhīṣma).
6. Vātavyādhī.
7. Bāhudantiputra (Indra or Aindra)?
10. Dirge Cārīyana (—? Cārīyana of Kamaśītra, l 12).

The conclusions arrived at by D. R. Bhandarkar by comparing a few texts of the Mahābārata, of Mantu and Kauṭalya are interesting. These three texts have drawn their substance from more ancient sources, although one of these schools preserves the more primitive form, whereas another shows traces of later manipulations. The traditional texts are partly in prose and partly in verse (Śastras or lokas). The differences between prose and verse are relevant in the study of style but they instruct nothing on chronology.

The Brahmastra published by Dr. Thomas is written in the style of the Śastras but is surely a later work, whilst the syntax of several lokas of the famous Arthasāstra proclaims them as ancient.

It is probable then that many Śastras and lokas which Kauṭalya has cited and amalgamated in his text were from older sources.

Kauṭalya seems to belong to an epoch when the science of profit, was in great confusion. It is difficult to distinguish today, as in the time of Kauṭalya, between the divers authors and schools. The disciple of Bāhuddantaka-Indra appears as an author Bāhuddantiputra exactly as Pičunaputras, disciples of Pičuna-Nārada. The identification which Bhandarkar proposes between Bhīṣma (he who gives out the Rajasūti in the Śastiparśa) and Kaumnāpadanta, following
the authority of Tṝṇḍaśisṣa, is very probable. But a number of new names of the masters of the Artha appears and Kaṭṭalāyā has in his compilation collected all the theories and fluctuating principles under the generic name of Āchārya which is referred to twenty-three times. It is very probable that the science of profit in the epoch of Kaṭṭalāyā had suffered from dispersion just as the science of pleasure Kāmalāśīra which Viśaṭṭyāya has rescued as we see in his introduction.¹

'These scientific treatises reduced to fragments by several savants, is nearly lost.' Kaṭṭalāyā at the end of his Arthālaśīra shows a similar solicitude. He is entitled to our lasting gratitude for having delivered the science from oblivion and his having infused into it a new spirit of life. His Arthālaśīra occupies a position, quite unique in the scholastic tradition of ancient India.

The other existing treatises on the same subject are small and fragmentary. Time has greatly damaged the works of the schools of Bhāspati and of Śukra who are ever venerated as pioneers of this science. Kaṭṭalāyā has rendered homage to these at the beginning of his treatise. The compilers of the epics, likewise render them homage through the mouth of Ḥanumān² who commences his discourse on policy by saying that the 'world of men is governed according to the laws of Bhāspati and of Uṣāṇa.' Amongst the works of these two schools, that of Śukra has been partially discovered and published by Dr. G. Oppert under the title of Suṣravasūtram translated into English by Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. But this seems to be a recent manual where there is mention of gun powder. The works of the school of Bhāspati passed for being completely lost, until Dr. F. W. Thomas happily discovered and published them under the title of Bhāspati śāstra. Written in the ancient style of the Śāstras they contain many ancient things. That text includes recent sectarian interpolations amidst which is preserved in the old orthodox style several genuine Śāstras.

We have also a very complete résumé of the Śaṭṭipāraṇa and Maṇmadhaṇī in the style of Āgāhat of which we have another specimen in the discourse of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Yudhiṣṭhīra.³ Under the same form we find a résumé of this science in the Agnīpurāṇa.⁴ Finally we have a systematic summary in the Kāmandaśaṇya Nītīśastra (which we suppose

¹ Kāmaśīra, i. 1, 18.
² MB, 'ḥ. 150 2b.
³ MB, Agnīpurāṇa, ch. v, vi, vii.
⁴ Ch., 233-227; 233-241.
to be of the third and fourth century after Christ), which remains for several centuries (ages) the most appreciated of manuals of royal science, and which has been transported to Java and Bali by adventurous princes who set out to colonize the insular India.¹

We can follow in detail the history of the Artha through all these texts making use when necessary of the source of those texts, and examine the section of the Arthasastra which treats of diplomacy proper and which constitutes the sixth and seventh Adhikarana. This exposition will allow us to form an idea of the position of Kantaliya in the evolution of the theories of Hindu diplomacy.

¹ Cf. Fornichl, Cf. Indiani in loro scisma politici, 1909
The Rebellion of Prince Khusrv
according to Jesuit Sources

BY

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Father H. Heras published in the Indian Antiquary of 1924 (pages 33 to 41) a letter of Fr. Jerome Xavier on The Siege and Conquest of the Fort of Asirgarh by the Emperor Akbar, translated from one of the annual accounts of the Jesuit Missions edited in Portuguese by Father Fernão Guerreiro. The narrative of the rebellion of Prince Khusrv, I am going to give in this paper, is also a translation of one of these accounts by Fr. Fernão Guerreiro.

The title of Guerreiro's work is as follows: 'Relação Anual das cousas que tiveram Os Padres Da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da India Oriental, e em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 606 & 607. Do processo da conversão, & Christandade daquellas partes.'

The work was printed at Lisbon in 1609. The narrative of Khusrv's rebellion is contained in Chapter V, pages 148 to 151. The author of the letter is not mentioned as usual, but I think I shall not be mistaken, if I advance my suspicion in favour of the same Fr. Jerome Xavier.

At the end of this translation, I shall add another extract referring to the same Prince, translated from a similar account published in Spanish by Doctor Christoval Svares de Figheraos, under the following title: 'Historia Y Anual Relacion de las cosas que hicieron los Padres de la Compania de Jesus por las partes de Oriente Y otras, en la propagacion del Santo Evangelio los annos pasados de 607. Y 608. The work was printed at Madrid in 1614, and my extract is taken from page 13.'
CHAPTER V

How the Prince revolted against his Father
and the End of his Undertaking.

A little after the death of the old King and the appointment of a
successor, the Prince, son of this new King, revolted against his
father, as he was not in his favour, just as this new King had revolted
against his own father.

1 Prince Salim, who assumed the title of Jahangir when succeeding Akbar.
2 Prince Khurram, who was the eldest son of Jahangir.
3 During the Emperor's illness, the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-
Ascari, and when it became evident that the life of the illustrious sovereign was
drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles,
and they agreed to make Sultan Khurram Emperor and determined to seize the
Prince (Salim) when he came according to his daily customs to pay respect at
Court.' Azam Beg, Mubay, Elliot, vi, p 169. Jahangir himself writes in his
Memoirs about the beginning of Khurram's rebellion as follows: 'Futile ideas
had entered the mind of Khurram in consequence of his youth and the pride youths
have, and the lack of experience and the lack of foresight of worthless companions,
especially at the time of my revered father's illness. As the futile imaginations of
the ambitious and short-sighted had no result but disgrace and regret, the affairs of
the kingdom were confirmed in the hands of this suppliant at the throne of Allah.
I inerably found Khurram preoccupied and distracted.' Memoirs of Jahangir,
p. 81. William Hawkins says: 'But Cossar (Khurram), who was proclaimed heir
apparent, estranged his father, and rose with great troops, yet was not able to
induce after the loss of many thousand men on both sides, but was taken and
remained still in prison in the King's palace, yet blind as all men report, and
was so commanded to be blinded by his father.' Foster, Early Travels in India,
p. 106. 'Sultan Choaraun (Khurram), the eldest son, a very hopeful prince, and a
great friend to the Christians, having been settled in a peculiar Lordship, rebelled
against his Father Akbar Salim in the year 1606. Under pretense that the kingdom
belonged justly to him, because King Bikar his grand-father had on his death
bed given his Realm to him, as being his grand-child, who was then born, and
had excluded Selim his Father, and only son to Bikar, wherewith he took up arms
against him to obtain that from his Father which his grand-father had in his last
will and testament given to him.' John Ogilby, Asia, the First Part, p. 170.
' Sultun Choaraun, the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, rebelled against
his father, under pretense that the kingdom by right belonged unto him, because
indeed King Bikar, his grand-father, at his death left it to him, his nephew (sic),
being then born, and not to Selim the Father, who was his son, being displeased
with his son Selim, for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him.'
Gray, Travels of Peter Dilea Wallis, p. 86.

William Hawkins says: 'This Selim Pavishe, being in his rebellion, his
father dispossessed him and proclaimed heir-apparent his eldest son Cossar, being
eldest son to Selimsha, for his own sons (Murad and Dmytih), younger
brothers to Selim were all dead in Doccen and Genaret. Yet shortly after hi
On Saturday, April 15,\(^1\) he went out at night,\(^2\) with some selected officers and friends be had in the fortress,\(^3\) without telling them his intention.\(^4\) His friends however began to tell each other that he was going to the tomb of his grandfather.\(^5\)

Hearing this the sentinel as well as the guards of the fortress allowed him to pass; and at the same time his men styled him as King Sultan, and were taking as many\(^6\) horses as could be found and whatever necessary for their defence.

father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him again.\(^7\)

Foster, Early Travels in India, pp 107-8. William Finch 'Selim, upon some disgust, took arms in his father's lifetime and fled into Turrop, where he kept the Strong Castle of Abohase (Allahbad) (but came in some three months before his father's decease), whereupon Acbar gave the Crowns to Sultan Cussaram his son' Foster, o.s., p 128. Jehangir had revolted against Akbar about July 10, 1600 and assumed royal title in 1601. Cf V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 301-3.

\(^1\) Jehangir himself says 'On the night of Sunday, Zil-hijja 6th, of the year mentioned (April 6, 1605), when two charges had passed, he (Khurru) made a pretense of going to visit the tomb of His Majesty (Akbar)' Memoirs of Jehangir, i, p. 51. 'At length, he conceived a scheme with his abettors and on the night of the Zil-hijja 20th, he represented that he was going to visit the tomb of my father' Waliul-Jahangiri, Elliot, vi, p. 231. Father Du Jarrie, Travours Romain Indiennes, ii, p 105, gives the date as April 15, 1606. Notice that there is a great discrepancy on this particular point among the sources. Beveridge's date of rebellion is not correct, for Akbar died on October 15, 1605. Hence Khurru could not have rebelled against his father six months before Jehangir in his Memoirs says: 'The flight of Khurru was in the middle of the first year of my reign.' Memoirs of Jehangir, i, p 51. This assuredly proves that the rebellion must have taken place in the first half of 1606. As regards the day, Beveridge is more reliable than Elliot. So it is April 6, 1606. As regards Du Jarrie, he took his information from the Jesuit account, we are translating, which gives a wrong date. Beni Prasad, History of Jehangir, p 139, also gives the date of Khurru's escape as April 6, 1606.

\(^2\) Khurru went out on Sunday night, Zil-hijja 6th (April 6, 1606). Cf Memoirs of Jehangir, p 52. By Sunday night is meant Saturday evening. Sunday was Akbar's birthday. That is the reason why he said he was going to visit his tomb. Cf Memoirs of Jehangir, p 52, foot-note.

\(^3\) Khurru was imprisoned in the fort of Agra on account of the recent injuries and insults. Cf Memoirs of Jehangir, p 52. 'I confined him, and quelled my doubts and apprehension' Waliul-Jahangiri, Elliot, vi, p. 231. Beni Prasad says: 'On the other hand, the recent injuries and insults rankled in the heart of Jahangir who, appreciative of a repetition of the tales he had undergone, placed his son in a sort of semi-confinement within the Fort of Agra' Beni Prasad, History of Jehangir, p 139.

\(^4\) His intention was to rebel against his father.

\(^5\) The tomb of Akbar was about three kos distant from Agra, at Sikandarah.

\(^6\) He went off with 250 horsemen, who were his adherents, from within the Fort of Agra. Memoirs of Jehangir, i, p. 52.
Having learnt this news, the King consulted with his minister, who advised him to detain the Prince; but the King finally resolved to go after him.

Early next morning, he marched out. His son (Khusru) had met on the way a general of the army who was coming from Lahore to see the King. The general, on being treated very kindly by the Prince, was drawn to his side, and accordingly he went with all his men back to Lahore, in company of the Prince.

He also met another general who was bringing to the King

Jehangir's account is as follows: 'Shortly after, one of the lamp attendants, who was acquainted with the Washr-i-mulk, gave him the news of Khusru's flight. The Vizier took him to the Amir-i-umara, who, as the news seemed true, came in a distracted state of mind to the door of the private apartments, and said to one of the eunuchs, "Take in my request and say that I have a necessary representation to make, and let the king honour me by coming out." When I came out and heard what the news was, I asked, "What must be done? Shall I mount myself, or shall I send Khurrum?"' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, p. 62.

The minister was the Amir-i-umara. Jehangir's words are the following: 'The Amir-i-umara submitted that he would go, if I ordered it. "Let it be so," I said. Afterwards he said, "If he will not turn back on my advice, and take up arms, what must be done?" Then I said, "If he will go in no way on the right road, do not consider a crime anything that results from your action. Kingship regards neither a son nor son-in-law. No one is a relation to a king."' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, p. 62.

In consequence of the dignity and nearness (to me) which he (the Amir) enjoyed he was an object of envy to his equals and contemporaries. Perhaps they might devise treason and destroy him. I therefore ordered Matwur-i-mulk to recall him, and selecting in his place Sheikh Farid Bahadur Begi, commanded him to start at once.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, p. 55. Elston, op. cit., p 520, seems to have mistranslated the above passage. He says: 'He (the Amir-i-umara) also, in consequence of the position and dignity that he holds, is jealous of his peers, God forbid lest he should be malicious and destroy him.' From the words in note 16, we know that Jehangir was not apprehensive at all, lest the Amir-i-umara should destroy Khusru, but the Emperor was afraid lest his favorite the Amir should be killed by Khusru or by his favorite's treacherous enemies.

Mean time day dawned, and in reliance on the grace and favour of God Almighty, and with clear resolve, I mounted, withheld by nothing and no one. When I reached the venerable mausoleum of my revered father, which is three kis from the city, I begged for aid to my courage from the spirit of that honoured one.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, p. 54.

When Khusru arrived at Mathura, he met Husain Beg Badakhshi, who was of those who had received favours from my revered father and was coming from Kabul to wait on me. As it is the temperament of the Badakhshis to be sedulous and turbulent, Khusru regarded this meeting as a godsend, and made Husain Beg the Captain and Guide of 200 or 300 Badakhshian Aimaq, who were with him.' *Memoirs of Jehangir*, 1, pp. 54-55. It seems that Husain Beg was on his way to the Court in obedience to an imperial summons.

He was Absur-i-Rahim, the Diwan of Lahore. 'About this time Absur-i-Rahim also reached Patlipat from Lahore, and Dilkawar Khan suggested to him.
about Rs. 100,000,¹ which amounted to more or less 40,000 cruzados.² He took this sum from the general and distributed it among his soldiers, and whatever else he had with him also he gave liberally to them.

By the report of this act of generosity, about 12,000 men³ joined the Prince on the way, and when he reached Lahore, a distance of 100 miles from Aga, he had already a good army.

When the people of Lahore came to know of the flight of the Prince⁴ they closed the gates of the city and refused to hand it over to him. Thereupon the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days,⁵ but could not take it.

Here he heard that his father was pursuing him. He abandoned the siege and marched against his father in order to block his passage

that he too should send his children across the river and should stand aside and await the victorious standard of Jehangir. As he was lethargic and timid, he could not make up his mind to do this, and delayed so much that Khurram arrived. He went out and waited on him, and either voluntarily or in a state of agitation agreed to accompany him. He obtained the title of Malik Anwar and the position of Vazir.' Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 58

¹ On the way, the Prince intercepted an imperial convoy of a lakhan of rupees, which he distributed among his followers. Flying past Delhi, they were joined by Abdur Rahim who was on his way to the court. Beni Prasad, History of Jehangir, p. 146 It seems however that the convoy was brought over to the court by Abdur Rahim himself.

² Cruzado This was a Portuguese silver coin worth 60 reis. A rei is equivalent to one paisa.

³ As Lahore is one of the greatest places in Hindustan, a great number of people gathered in six or seven days. It was reported on good authority that 10,000 or 12,000 horses were collected. Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 63 The fact is also mentioned by William Finch. But after Amber's defeat, Rahim by his friends seized on the castle and treasure, and his sons fled for Lahore, where he gathered some 12,000 horses, all good soldiers and Moguls. Foster, Early Travels in India, p. 159. Beni Prasad, History of Jehangir, p. 146, says they were ploughmen and free lances.

⁴ They were made aware of it by Dilawar Khan, a general who remained loyal. Dilawar Khan, like a brave man, turned towards Lahore, and on his road informed everyone and everybody of the servants of the court and the Jesuits and the merchants, whom he came across, of the exodus of Khurram. Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 65.

⁵ When the siege had lasted for nine days, news of the approach of the royal army came repeatedly to Khurram and his adherents. Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 65. In the translation, we find that the Prince besieged the city and harassed the people for eight days. This means that the Prince besieged the city, in the strict sense of the word, and on the ninth day made up his mind to face his father.
over a river. But he arrived too late, because already some standard bearers of his father's army had crossed.

And the bad luck of this unhappy Prince was further heightened by torrents of rain which made all his bows wet and thus reduced their bending power, and the horses could not be controlled owing to the damp and marshy ground.

Resigning himself to fate, he daringly attacked that part of the King's army which had crossed the river, killed a great number of soldiers and routed the rest.

And all would surely have perished, had not an officer who saw their slight resistance used this stratagem. The officer sent out apes as messengers who went to the army of the Prince, with the report that the King had already crossed the river and was coming with a great army; and all those who heard this news believed it.

After this the officer suddenly ordered the beat of drums and blow the trumpets, as played when the King marches.

The Prince wanted to continue the fight with the King's men; and had he done so he would have destroyed that detachment which had crossed the river; and the other part, which was with the King would have lost courage, and he would have succeeded.

But by the false news that the King was approaching the officer attained his object. And the King's men who were defeated and subdued believed in earnest that the King had arrived, and entreated the Prince not to march further, but to turn back. The Prince refused,

1 The bridge of Cohlindwali, which was over the Beas tributary of the Indus. —
2 In fine, when I reached the head of the bridge of Cohlindwali, 400 or 600 horse good and bad had come together. Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, p. 63.
3 It rained heavily in the night of Thursday the 16th. Cf. Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, p. 63.

4 William Finch says: 'In this place, he (Khumur) gave battle to Serek Feroed (Shahin Farid), and disordered his three hundred horses and put them to the sword. To the second (i.e., resistance) of him came Melic Alc Cutwall (Khwik'a Malik Ali, the Kotwail) (the King being some 50 a. behind) with some two hundred beating up the king's drummers and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim; upon which the Prince's soldiers fainted and fled, the Prince himself seeing only with five horses, and 50 a. beyond Lahore for Cabul.' Foster, Handly Travels in India, p. 190. No other author but W. Finch gives such a detailed account, which tally with the Jesuit one, regarding the ingenuity of the Emperor's Captain in terrifying Khumur and his men. Jahangir only says: 'Sayed Khumur and his brother, two of Khumur's generals, terror-stricken by the din of the imperial kettle-drums, fled in consternation from the field, at the very commencement of the action.' Tarikh-i Selim Shaikh, Elliot, vi, p. 762.
But his Captain General\(^1\) catching the horse by the reins forced him to turn back, and said. ‘We surely will lose, if you march further.’

With this advice,\(^2\) the Prince turned back with him and his soldiers fled in confusion. Thereupon the King’s men began to kill some of the Prince’s soldiers. The King then crossed the river and the Prince fled to take refuge into the kingdom of Kabul,\(^3\) which also belonged to the King.

The King then issued orders along all the fordable parts of the river,\(^4\) to prevent the Prince from crossing it. When the Prince reached one of these fords,\(^5\) order had already reached, and the Captain who was the governor of that country was already there to hinder the Prince from crossing.

The Captain ordered all the boats to be cleared off this place, keeping only one to whose crew he gave instructions that as soon as the Prince embarked, they should take him to an islet in the middle

\(^1\) The general was Husain Beg. Cf. note 3 below.

\(^2\) ‘Husain Beg, whose people and family and treasure were in the direction of Kabul, suggested going to Kabul.’ Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 66.

\(^3\) Cf. note 2 above. ‘In the end, as action was taken according to the wish of Husain Beg, the Hindustani and the Afghans decided to separate themselves from him.’ Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 66.

\(^4\) The river was the Chenab. ‘The ferries over the rivers had been stopped, because before Khusru’s defeat orders had been given to all the jagirdars and the superintendents of the Punjab, that as this kind of dispute had arisen, they must all be on their alert.’ Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 66.

\(^5\) William Finch says ‘But (Khusru) being to pass a river, where he gave motions of gold, the boats-man grew in distrust, and in the midst of the Chennall leapt over-board and swammo to the shore, where he gave notice to the Governor of the town adjoyning, who presently with fifteen horse came down to the river, where the boat was still floating, embarked himself in another and saluted by the name of king, dissemblingly offering his side and inviting him to the house; which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded till he had sent the king word, who sent Connan Beg to fetch him seated on an elephant.’ Foster, Early Travels in India, p. 159. This account of William Finch nearly agrees with that of the Jesuit. Jehangir himself says ‘On arriving at the ChenAb, he proposed to cross at the ferry of Shikarpur, which is one of the recognized crossings, but as he could find no boats there, he made for the ferry of Bodarab where his people got one boat without boatsmen and another full of firewood and grass . . . . Husain Beg wished to transfer the man from the boat with firewood and grass to the other, so that they might convey Khusru across.’ Memoirs of Jehangir, 1, p. 66. The Jesuit account says that there was only one boat, whose crew were instructed as to how they should act, when Khusru and his followers reached the ferry. Probably the boatmen of the empty boat were transferred with due instructions to the boat full of firewood and grass.
of the river and with the pretext of bringing the rest of his retinue, to come back and inform him (the Captain).

They abided 1 by the Captain's instructions. The Captain then embarked on another boat and went to the Prince with whom was the general and a few other officers. He greeted them and confidently took them in his fortress, and when all were in, he made them understand that he was going to order a dinner and came out, and he then bolted the doors from outside.

The followers of the Prince could not do anything. They could not cross the river, for there was not a single boat in the river. At this juncture, they came to realize that the Prince was made a prisoner, and they dispersed.

About this time, the King was coming to Lahore, and the two Padres 2 who were in the Church of Lahore went out to receive him. These priests were threatened by the heathens, who had resolved to kill them when the Prince would enter the city. They went two leagues away from the Church 3 to greet the King, who was coming, surrounded by two body-guards of soldiers well organized; close to him some officers, behind him the army, and in front of him were scouts to clear the road. But when these scouts saw the two priests, they allowed them to pass. Then the King, who was riding on a horse, as well as the whole army halted.

The priests saluted the King, who received them most joyfully, asked them about their health and accepted the small gift, which they offered him. The King wished them 'Au revoir' and gave orders to march.

In the evening, he got news of his son's imprisonment, 4 and

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1 The Jesuit account of the capture of Khusrav varies from that of Jahangir.
2 On the morning of Sunday, the 34th of the aforesaid month, people on elephants and in boats captured Khusrav.  
3 Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, p. 67.
4 The Fathers of the third Jesuit Mission reached Lahore on May 15, 1606. They were given a house between the fort and the river by order of the Emperor. Cf. Guzmán, Historia de Las Misiones, p. 180.
5 Later on the Emperor gave these Fathers a firmar to build a Church and a house, and both buildings were finished in 1637 by Fr. Manoel Pinheiro. Guzmán, Historia de Las Misiones, pp. 182-4. One of the two priests referred to here, was Fr. Manoel Pinheiro and the other was most probably Fr. Jerome Xavier, who had gone previously to Lahore to receive the King, though he was usually in the capital.
6 On Monday, the last day of the month, news of this (capture of Khusrav) reached me in the garden of Mirza Kamran.  
7 Memoirs of Jahangir, 1, p. 67.
immediately despatched one of his generals with soldiers to fetch him. The general went to the Prince, and without saluting presented some fetters covered with velvet to him; and saying that such was the order of the King, he put these fetters to the Prince's feet and brought him guarded by soldiers. Along with him he brought the officers, who were imprisoned in the fortress.

Upon arriving at Lahore and after crossing the river, the King sent him an elephant ill-equipped, and took him to his (the King's) camp, because the King had not entered the city as yet.

When the King was informed that the Prince had arrived, he went to his tent weeping bitterly like Joseph because he could not control his paternal feelings.

After a while, he came out and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement. The Prince was brought in to the presence of his father, and after saluting the King, he stood. The King bade him come close through the high officials and dignitaries of the court. He was brought there with chains on his feet and handcuffs. This was a pitiful scene indeed. The King, his father,

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1. I immediately ordered the Amla-kumara to go to Gujarat and to bring Khusru to wait on me. Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p 88.
2. Cf note 1, in p 8. Jahangir in his Memoirs says, 'On Thursday, Muharram 3rd, 1013, in Mirza Kamran's garden, they brought Khusru with his hands tied and chains on his legs from the left side after the manner and custom of Chingis Khan.' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p 88.
3. On Wednesday, Muharram 8th, I suspiciously entered the Fort of Lahore. Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p 70.

Only Reit Prasad mentions that Jahangir wept bitterly. He says, 'Jahangir himself was overwhelmed with sorrow and retired to a private room to weep out his feelings. He burst into tears at the thought of the strife within his family.' Reit Prasad, History of Jahangir, p 168. This is an allusion to the biblical account of Joseph, Jacob's son, who being Viceroy of Egypt, after seeing his youngest brother Benjamin, 'his heart was moved upon his brother, and tears gushed out, and going into his chambers he wept.' Genesis, xliii. 30.

4. 'And when he (Joseph) had washed his face, coming out again, he refreshed himself and said, 'Set bread on the table.' Likewise Jahangir also after a time controlled his feelings and ordered the whole court to be present to hear the judgement.' Pietro della Valle says, 'With this pretence Sultan Chosroes once raised a great Army against his Father, but, coming to a battle, he was routed, and forced to surrender himself freely to his Father, who, chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, asked him what would he do, and how he meant to make these tumults, knowing well that he held and kept the whole Kingdom for him.' Grey, Travels of Pietro della Valle, 1, pp 55-6.

There is no mention of this Durbar in any of the Mohammedan authors. The Jasut Narrative were most likely eye-witnesses of it.
feigned to be very angry, spoke hotly and very severely reprimanded him. He also ordered the two commanding officers to be brought near. One of them had been a "very important Captain and as such had served the King and his father in different and important undertakings. The other was the head of the revenue and governor of this kingdom of Lahore. Both of them were chained from head to foot. The King then spoke to them mocking the King that had taken as well as the Captains who supported such a King.

The end of the trial was that the Prince was put into chains and given into the custody of a Captain. As regards the two captains he ordered that the clothes of the first General should be stripped off and that he should be attired with the fresh skin of an ox, which was to be slaughtered at that very moment; as regards the other Captain, he was ordered to be dressed with the skin of an ass, which was similarly slaughtered. The King finally ordered that the skins should be tightly sewn, so that they when drying should adhere to their bodies and torment them.

In this state, they remained that night, and in the morning the King ordered them to be carried in the city and to be led through all the roads each of them riding on a donkey with their faces turned to the tail. This was a horrid sight indeed, because people knew them well in quite a different dress and position and because they were dressed in those skins in such a manner, that the horns of the ox and ears of the ass were over their foreheads.

When they reached the camp where the King was staying, the first Captain had become suffocated and vexed with the injuries and insults, he received on the same roads he had so often crossed accompanied by cavalry and infantry. So he became entirely exhausted and

2 "When his purpose became apparent to me I did not allow him to continue talking, but handed over Khuram in chain. Memoirs of Jahangir, I, p 68. Moreover he suffered him (Khuram) no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but honorable custody of certain Grandees of his Court." Grey, Travels of Pietro della Valle, I c.

3 "I ordered these two villains to be put in the skins of an ox and an ass, and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city. Memoirs of Jahangir, I, p. 68-9. Pietro della Valle says: 'And (his Father made him) to behold some of his faithfulest confidents sew'd up in beast's skins, and he as left miserably to rot, he bade him see in what sort of people he had confided.' Grey, Travels of Pietro della Valle, I c.

4 Cf. note, 2 above.
fell down senseless. The King at once ordered to sever his head and carry it to the gate of Agra in order to hang it there and to make four pieces of the body and to pin them at the four corners of the road. The head of the controller of the revenue was ordered to remain on his skin-dressed body, granting him as a favour that a servant should wet some parts of his skin, so that he might not get tormented. This was some sort of relief to him. However, he suffered much due to the humidity, which generated worms in the skin that were molesting him and he considered himself fortunate, whenever he could remove some with his fingers. The skin on his body rotted so much by the heat of the sun, that a very nasty and foul stink was issuing. No one was daring to approach him. But, at last, he was pardoned, because a private officer of the King had proposed to marry one of his daughters and interesed on his behalf offering the King to pay 100,000 cruzados; and the same evening, he was released. Then he was reinstated by the King on his former post, as if nothing had happened.

Regarding the soldiers of the Prince, many were captured as sheep without shepherd. As the King desired to enter the city with them, he ordered the roads from the camp to the city where he was halting to be fixed with stakes, because he wanted to hang about a hundred men apiece on both sides of the road, among whom were relations

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1 'As the ox-hide dried more quickly than that of the sea, Husain remained alive for four watches and died from suffocation.' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p. 60.

2 'There is not the slightest mention of this in any of the authors.

3 'Abdu-r-Rahim, who was in the sea's skin and to whom they gave some refreshment from outside, remained alive.' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p. 63.

4 Jahangir does not mention the reason why he pardoned Abdu-r-Rahim

5 On the 14th Zil-hijja, having pardoned all the faults of Abdu-r-Rahim Khan, I promoted him to the rank of Yusufi (Centurion) and 20 horses.' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p. 154.

6 Cf. note 4 above.

7 Jahangir in his Memoirs does not give the exact number of Almaga hung—

8 For the sake of good government I ordered posts to be set upon both sides of the road from the garden to the city, and ordered them to hang and impale the seditions Almaga and others who had taken part.' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, p. 63. The number of Almaga hung according to the Jesuit account most probably seems correct. Yet his deeds were sharper than his words; for in the first place he seized all the chief Captains to be slain and showing them up slain to Cheeni, as in his return with triumph he made him to pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of those barbarously mangled in several manners.' Grey, Travels of Panetana Faith, Ic, 17
of some of his private officers. But they could not do anything for them, nor did any one venture to plead for them, lest they should be suspected as partisans of the Prince.

After this, the King rode on a huge, richly caparisoned elephant, as a victorious sovereign, looking in all directions and receiving congratulations for what he had done. Just behind him, rode the Prince on a lean, small elephant. The poor boy was with chains on his feet, awaiting the end of his pitiful tragedy.

The King on entering the city, ordered the Prince to stay in the same palace with light fetters on, and deprived him of all the decorations and titles, even the title of heir to the throne. The King then appointed heir to the throne his second son—the brother of the Prince. The King got 100,000 cruzados from the Captain killed by his order and from the other culprits he received a large amount, which he kept for himself. And the horses and other goods taken from the Prince were distributed among some officers, who were enemies of the Prince, in order to weaken his power.

When the Prince was fleeing from Agra, on that road there was a pagan, called the Gara, who was considered among the pagans like

3 'On the 13th I sent for Khursan and ordered them to take the chains off his legs that he might walk in the Shah-ara garden.' Memoirs of Jehangir, i, p 111.
4 He was Prince Farid. 'Farid was born of Sahib-Jameel (Mistress of Beauty), the cousin of Khan Khulm Koka, two years and two months after the birth of Khursan.' Memoirs of Jehangir, i, pp. 18-19. 'I bestowed on him the parasol (atif-yez), which is one of the signs of royalty, and I gave him the rank of 10,000 and sent an order to the officials to grant him a tankhwah jagur.' Ibid., p 74.
5 Cobbdwal. Cf. note 1 in p. 272
6 Arjun, the Gara, was the son of Ramdas. With him the hereditary succession of the Sikhs Gara began, which continued to the end and added greatly to the wealth and influence of the latter Gara, whom Sikhs grew gradually to look upon as their actual sovereigns. He was the first Gara who mingled with politics. He collected the verses of his predecessors, added many of his own and completed the work with extracts from the popular writings of previous Gara. His book was known by the name of Adi Granth or The Book. Arjun substituted in place of the fascinating voluntary offerings of his disciples a sort of title or tax to be received by collectors appointed by him. They were known as Mezzed, and had to forward the money once a year. Arjun, after some time laid aside the penitent’s garb and adopted the state of a grandee and a great trader. He is proved to have been a man of great originality as an organizer, and in his time the Sikh community increased quickly and spread far and wide over the Punjab. Arjun became famous among pious devotees and his biographers dwell on the number of saints and holy men who were edified by his instructions. Nor was he unheeded by those on high stations, for he is said to have refused to bestow his son to the daughter of Churndoo Shah, the finance administrator of the Lahore
our Pops. He was supposed to be a holy man and honoured as such. And on account of his high dignity and reputation, the Prince visited him desirous of hearing a good prophecy from him. The Guru congratulated him for assuming sovereignty and applied three marks on his forehead. Although the Guru was a heathen and the Prince a Mussulman, yet he was glad in putting on the Prince's forehead that pagan sign as a mark of good success in his enterprise, taking the Prince as the son of a pagan mother. The Prince received this sign, on account of the wide reputation of the sanctity of the Guru. The King came to know of this affair. Keeping the Prince as a prisoner, he ordered the Guru to be brought before him and imprisoned him also.

Some pagans begged the King to release him, as he was their saint. At last, it was settled that he should pay a fine of 100,000 cruzados. This was done at the request of a rich pagan, who remained as a

Province; and he further appears to have been sought as a political partisan, and to have offered up prayers for Khurru, the son of Jehangir, when in rebellion and in temporary possession of the Punjab. The Guru was summoned to the Emperor's presence and fined and imprisoned at the instigation chiefly, it is said, of Chundoo Shah, whose alliance he had rejected, and who represented him as a man of a dangerous ambition. Arjun died in 1608, and his death is believed to have been hastened by the rigors of his confinement. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, pp. 30-1. Ct. Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, II, pp 263-8, III, pp 92-100, Irvine, Last Moguls, pp 75-6.

1 Khurru's mother, Man Bai, was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwan Das. She gave birth in 1595 to Prince Khurru. She in a fit of madness, apparently brought on by the behavior of Khurru and by the misconduct of her brother Madho Singh, committed suicide by swallowing opium. Jehangir's words about her are as follows: 'My first marriage and that at the commencement of my adolescence was with her. After Khurru's birth, I gave her the title of Shsh Begum. When she could not endure the bad conduct of her son and brother towards me she became disgusted with life. At a time when I had gone hunting on 24-I-hijra 26th, 1013 (May 6, 1605), she, in her agitation swallowed a quantity of opium and quickly passed away. It was as if she had foreseen this behaviour of her unworthy son.' Memoirs of Jehangir, I, p. 58.

2 He [Arjun] behaved to Khurru in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger mark in saffron, which the Indians (Hindus) call saha, and is considered propitious. Memoirs of Jehangir, I, p. 72.

3 When this came to my ears and I clearly understood his (the Guru's) folly, I ordered them to produce him and handed over his houses, dwelling and children to Murtaza Khan, and having confiscated his property, commanded that he should be put to death. Memoirs of Jehangir, I, pp 72-3. Here the Emperor is quite positive in his statement that he sentenced the Guru to death, which was no doubt done solely to political reasons. The significant prefix 'when this came to my ears and I clearly understood his folly,' clearly shows that the Emperor was urged on by others.
security for him. He thought that the King might remit him the fine or the saint might pay, or he might borrow that amount, but in all this affair the rich man was disappointed.

He brought whatever 'his Pope' had in his house, including the household furniture, also the clothes of his wife and children; and finding that whatever he had brought was not enough to cover up the fine, since the pagans have no respect to their Pope or their father, besides depriving him of all his money, he tormented the saint with new insults every day. The poor saint even received kicks on his face on many occasions, and was prevented from eating till he had paid more money.

The rich man did not believe that he had no money, though he had absolutely nothing and no one was even willing to give him. Thus having suffered so many injuries, pains, insults, given by the same that were adoring him, the poor Guru died.

The surety giver wanted to escape, but was made a prisoner and killed, after all his possessions had been confiscated.

The following is translated from the second account mentioned in the beginning of this paper:—

"After the imprisonment of the Prince, as previously narrated, his father, the King, takes him in his retinue, whenever he goes from one city to another. The prisoner is brought under custody on an elephant enclosed in a kind of a cage. In this manner he was taken during this journey from Lahore to Agra. On arriving at the spot, where the same Prince fought with the army of his father, to punish his disobedience, the King caused the Prince to be blinded, by means of some liquid like milk."

Jahangir in his Memoirs says: 'On the 19th of Dhibhi in the fifth year of my reign, there occurred a strange affair at Patna, which is the seat of Government of the province of Behar. By chance, at that time, an unknown man of the name of Qutb belonging to the people of Uch who was a mischievous and seditions fellow, came to the province of Ujjainiya (Bhoja), which is in the neighbourhood of Patna, with the look of a dervish and the clothes of a bhangar, and having made acquaintance with mess of that part, who were always seditions, represented to them that he was Khattan, who had escaped from prison and conveyed himself there; saying that if they would accompany and assist him, after the affair had been completed they would be the ministers of his State. . . . He showed those received ones the parts about his eyes, where at some time he had produced seven, of which the marks were still apparent, and told them that in the prison
they had fastened caps (hauts) on them, and those were the marks' Memoirs of Jahangir, i, pp. 175-4. The above passage is commented upon by the translators as follows: 'Apparently we may infer from this that Jahangir did blind or attempt to blind temporarily at least, his son Khurru though he says nothing about it. Else why should this impostor pretend that he had marks of the blinding?' Ogilvy, who published his work in 1674, also speaks of the temporary blindness of Khurru, though narrated in another way. The Jesuit account seems more reliable. 'Chorun was committed, though after an Honourable manner, to the Custody of several Noblemen, his Father likewise causing his Eyes-lids to be sew'd up, so he might perceive him of his Sight without putting out his Eyes, and at once deprive him of the means to make any further trouble in the Kingdom. But after the expiration of some days, Selim causing his Eyes to be open'd again, prevented Chorun from being always blind, yet though he beheld the Light of the Sun again, he enjoyed not his Liberty, but was kept a close Prisoner for space of two years, not being allow'd according to the King's Command to have above one Man to wait upon him.' Ogilvy, Asia, The First Part, p. 170

I have found nothing in the Jesuit accounts about Khurru's death. Hence I am going to end this paper, by quoting Ogilvy's words, which once more point out Prince Chorun, the future Shah Jahan as the murderer of his eldest brother. They ran as follows: 'Chorun by his own adwell Contrivance and Conduct, and by the high esteem of his Father-in-Law Ajet Chum, and his Sister Normahal, had so wrought with the King, that the Prisoner Sultan Chorun was committed into his Custody, but with Commands to use him well and take special care of him. . .

No sooner was Chorun deliver'd up to him, but he immediately went from thence, and kept him two Years in an honourable manner. But at last Chorun, who had no other design but by his brother's death to secure himself of the Kingdom, practis'd all the time since his coming from his Father's Court, as some affirm, to poison him. But Chorun having notice thereof, would not eat any of the Meat that was brought to him by them, expressly telling them (waiters) that it was poison'd. The Keepers seeing no way to perform their Master's Commands by Poison, fell all upon him with drawn Swords, and after a long resistance strangling him with a Bowe-string. Some affirm, That Sultan Chorun kill'd Chorun in publick with his own hand.' Ogilvy, Asia, The First Part, pp. 170-171. Cf. Grey, Travels of Pietro Della Valle, pp. 86-8.
Reviews

'THE OCEAN OF STORY'


This new volume of Mr. Penzer's great work may be called the Paśchatantra volume, as it contains, inter alia, Somadeva's interesting extract from the Paśchatantra and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penzer to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the Paśchatantra in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of Paśchatantra reconstituted, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the Paśchatantra, and by Sir E. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian Collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of fables is contained in Mr. Penzer's second Appendix on an Indian Replica of the Tale of Rampalinitus, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The Index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the Ocean of Story.

J. JOLLY.

'LIFE OF HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA TUKOJI RAO HOLKAR II OF INDORE'

1835–1886

BY

M. W. BURWAY

Indore

[1925—With a Foreword by Mr. C. B. Luard, pp. 643; xcvi and 7.]

To his many books of biographical and other interest, Mr. Burway has added one more that is very readable and at the same time exhaustive. Maharaja Tukoji Rao Holkar is certainly a very attractive figure in the long chain of the Holkars who have not lacked certainly in both heroic...
and eccentric figures. From the great Mulhar Rao, the founder of the line and but a shepherd in origin, through his immortal daughter-in-law Ahalya Bai to the accession of Tukoji Rao Holkar II in 1844, the history of Indore was an alternation of periods of sunshine and storm outbursts. Mr. Burway's Tukoji Rao has a uniformly good tale to tell. After a preliminary survey of the rise of the Holkars which covers nearly 150 pages, Mr. Burway takes us on to the reign of his subject. He touches somewhat delicate ground when he tries to exonerate the conduct of the Holkar from all suspicion of complicity in the acts of the Mutineers. Indeed the Holkar tried hard, but ineffectually, to restrain the impetuosity of some of his troops who attacked the residency and obliged the Political Agent to retire to Lahore; he gave every possible assistance to the authorities, and at considerable personal risk sheltered many Christian and some European refugees in his own palace. Mr. Burway shows us how the official records and private papers of Lord Canning and other actors in the drama of the Mutiny do not contain the slightest evidence by which the undoubted loyalty of the Holkar could be called in question, in spite of the hasty and suspicious denunciation of the Indore Durbar's conduct by Colonel Durand. After the storm of the Mutiny had blown over, the Maharaja was busily engaged in improving the internal administration, himself looking personally after the affairs of the revenue and foreign departments. The Government was regularly divided into departments; the ruler had a great capacity for choosing excellent ministers like Sir T. Madhava Rao and R. Raghunath Rao; he successfully saved the Dhar State from extinction by bringing the prominent attention of the Home Government to it. On the occasion of the great Delhi Assemblage of 1877, he was raised to be a Counsellor of the Empress and admitted to the Order of the Indian Empire. It was he that shrewdly remarked to Sir Hugh Daly, when discussing the episode of the Gaekwar's deposition in 1874-75—'The person for the time being is little; the State with its rights is the point for consideration'—which indicates a very correct point of view. The Maharaja's extensive influence both with the Government in India and with English leaders at home stood the state in good stead for a number of years after his death. He has been very well depicted by writers like Luard, Evans Bell, Talboys Wheeler, etc.
The life-story of such a ruler is a fitting addition to the series of biographies of eminent Maratha rulers and statesmen, like Ranoji Rao Sindia, Mahadji Sindia, Ananya Bal, Dinkar Rao, etc., already produced by the author who has made use, in his own way, of original state records and correspondence. The book is profusely illustrated and is a standing tribute to the virtues possessed in a large measure by our Indian Rulers.

C. S. S.

TRAVELS IN INDIA

BY

‘JEAN BAPTISTE TAVERNIER’


In the year 1666, the year of Shah Jahan's death, there were simultaneously in India three Frenchmen, Bernard, Tavernier and Thevenot, of whom any country might be proud, and each one of whom has left ample records of his travels and experiences. Tavernier made six prosperous voyages to the East extending from 1631 to 1668 and finally retired to France wealthy and embossed. In 1675 he published his first book Nouvelle Relation du Serrail du Grand Signeur; and in the next year appeared his magnus opus 'The Six Voyages' which went through several editions rapidly and was translated into English and German and Dutch and Italian within a few years. Even the learned work of the philosophic Bernard did not meet with such success; while the accounts of Thevenot and Chardin, who were better educated than Tavernier, were relatively insignificant. Tavernier's book excited the jealousy of his fellow-travellers as well as the spite of Voltaire, while Gemelli Careri, a slightly later traveller, was inclined to regard him as 'a dupe rather than a liar.' Tavernier did not reciprocate their hostility and meted out scrupulously fair treatment to him. Dr. Ball speaks of frequent obscurities and contradictions in Tavernier and says he was a plagiarist 'in a certain sense and to a limited degree.' He got his information wherever he could, mainly from fellow-travellers like Bernard and Gabriel de Chimon.
The only subject on which our traveller is invaluable is that of the Indian diamond mines, he gives but little information about the Mughal court and only some sidelights on the condition of the various provinces of the Mughal Empire and of the peasants. Tavernier narrates incidents as they occurred; and ‘his narrative, when tested by modern authorities is,’ according to Dr. Ball, ‘much more accurate than it has often been supposed to be.’ When he depends on hearsay information, he was usually inaccurate especially in his geographical knowledge of routes, place-names, etc. But Dr. Ball added that the work of Tavernier was a classic and opined that the task of tracing his obscure routes and place-names was not altogether labour mispent.

Making up for these deficiencies in the text, Dr. Ball has annotated particularly the obscure points in questions of science and topography, in a very exhaustive manner. The varieties of precious stones and pearls, the trade in commodities such as spices, snake-stones, musk, indigo, ivory, etc., the methods and tricks of the native-bankers and of the scholares (money-changers) are all well described by Tavernier from the point of view of the merchant and of the expert. His account of the Koh-i-Noor Diamond, and of some leading nobles like Shaista Khan and Mir Jumla, and particularly of the European trading powers like the Dutch against whom he brings some ugly charges (with his exposures of the Dutch contained in The History of the Conduct of the Dutch in Asia) is very clear and valuable under some limitations. The excellent two-volume edition of Dr. Ball has now been supplemented by Dr. Crooke with further information on questions of archaeology, historical events and personages and the social and religious life of the people. Dr. Ball himself had prepared additional notes for an intended revision; and these also have been made use of by Dr. Crooke. The main value of both these English editions, apart from the notes, is in the careful translation of the French text originally published in 1678. The preface of Dr. Ball; a life of Tavernier based on an eminently just, but not partial, estimate of him by Charles Joret; and an introduction to the present edition by Dr. Crooke, with additional notes on Tavernier’s history and geography by H. A. Rose and with an extensive bibliography of the traveller’s works prepared by Dr. Ball—these enhance the value of the edition, and make up for the difference between the commercial traveller and his more philoso-
phic contemporaries, showing that even the former has his own special value. The editors have shown that to Tavernier also may be applied the remark which Thevenot's translator made about his subject:—
' An honester man never lived in the world.'

C. S. S.

'THE ARAB CIVILIZATION'

BY

S. Khuda Baksh

[Translated from the German of Joseph Hall, by S. Khuda Baksh—published by W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., Cambridge Price 8s 6d net. pp. xvii and 128]

The Translator who has brought out several works on Islamic history and culture, like the Orient under the Caliphs (Calcutta, 1920) History of the Islamic Peoples (Calcutta, 1914) and Politics in Islam (1920) has now attempted to give to the students a translation of Prof. Hall's monograph—Die Kultur der Araber which is, according to him 'at once a summing up and a revaluation of Arab civilization.' Prof. Hall has used up all available materials and told the history of Arab civilization in short compass with 'wide-mindedness, sympathy, clearness of vision' and also simplicity of narrative and style. The Translator intends that this book may well serve as an introduction to the study of more learned authors on the same subject like Arnold, Becker, Alfred von Kremar, Goldscher and Lane-Poole.

Dr. Hall describes the state of Arabia prior to the rise of Islam giving a picture of the nomad life of the Arab tribes, of the peculiarities of the land and of the advent of the Abyssinians and their rule and also of such attainments in poetry, eloquence and the arts as they had reached. The next chapter on Mohamed contains nothing remarkably new. But the Translator expresses his disagreement with the author (p. 21 note) regarding the point that the Prophet who left Mekka was a very different man from the chief of a community who entered Medina; and he holds that the only difference was that the Prophets' work was considerably extended in Medina to problems which could not have arisen in Mekka. Nor does Mr. Khuda Baksh support the view that after Badr love of power and vengeance were the cardinal points in the Prophet's programme. He would cite this...
sympathetic writers, Dr. Krahl and Dr. Arnold to support his point of view. The succeeding chapters include a brief survey of Muslim conquests in which the real aim was not so much the diffusion of Islam as the seizure of wealth of the neighbouring states by the dominant Arab race, while Omar pursued a deliberate policy to set up the ascendancy of Arabism and to remove the cultural disparity between them and the other races. The rise and fall of the Omajyada, and the splendid period of Abbasid rule are next set forth; and these changes in the line of the Caliphate are due essentially to the conflict between the Islamic and the Arabic outlook—the bulk of the Arabs holding that there could be no other title to the Caliphate than kinship with the Prophet. Abbasid learning largely influenced by Persian scholars and animated ancient Persian chivalry and ideas, formed the golden age of Islamic culture—while a portion of it, such as jurisprudence, medicine, and natural science had largely a Hellenistic basis. Dr. Hall describes the influence of Arab psychology upon Islamic culture, while in jurisprudence in particular the western borrowings of Alm. Haniya may be noted. The chapters on Bagdad and on Muslim rule in North Africa and Spain are not the least interesting portions of the book which tries to teach the truth that Islamic civilization is world-embracing in its range, eclectic in its principles, 'developing the sense of nationality and yet preserving the ineffable brotherhood of the faith.' The appended bibliography is exhaustive, but omits strangely enough writers like Muir.

C. S. S.

'ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN HISTORY,
VOL. IV. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF BRITISH
INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY'

BY

DR. SHAHAAAT AHMAD KHAN

[Oxford University Press, 1926 pp. ix and 396.]

The book under review aims at supplying a critical analysis of essential data for the study of the seventeenth century British India; and it tries to bring within one compass accounts of the materials lying scattered in the various record offices in England, like the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the Bodleian, Privy
Council Registera, the India Office, the Archiprespiritual Library at the
Lambeth Palace and the All Souls' College Library at Oxford. The
last section deals with the relevant records preserved in India. Each
record examined is analysed with regard to its contents, its date and
its significance and value. The collection in the British Museum is by
far the most valuable including such items as the Journal of John
Jourdain (recently edited by William Foster for the Hakluyt Society)
and the originals of the correspondence of Factors in the East with the
Company, some of which have been included by Mr. Foster in his
'Lettors received by the E. I. Company from its servants in the East'
and others abstracted in his English Factories series. The earlier
Correspondence addressed from abroad to the company is exceedingly
scanty, not more than fourteen documents of dates prior to 1610 having
been handed down to the present times in the P. C. volumes of the India
Office, according to the report of Sir George Birdwood besides items
in the Court Minute Books and in the Marine Records. The records
connected with the case of Skinner vs. the East India Company
(1667-89) have been noted; while the manuscripts of John Marshall
who was the first European probably to study the religion and
literature of the Hindus, even before Anquetil du Perron, have been
exhaustively analysed.

Dr. Khan shows how many facts concerning the early history of the
East Indies are contained in the general series of Domestic State
Papers and in the State Papers, Foreign, of the Public Record Office;
his notes on the selected records are based mostly upon official lists,
calendar reports and other printed authorities, though also
supplemented by direct examination of certain documents. The
papers calendared by W. Noel Sainsbury and Miss Sainsbury and also
by W. Foster contain to a large extent documents from the Public
Record Office. Among the relevant MS records in the Bodleian may
be noted the Travels of Peter Mundy, a manuscript of the highest
value, which has been edited by Sir Richard Temple for the Hakluyt
Society; some letters from the masterful Governor of the Company,
Sir Joseph Child; and the diary of Sir William Norris (1699-1700) now
being dealt with by Mr. Haribara Das. The Registers of the Privy
Council proceedings, with the exception of those for the years
1604-12 which have been destroyed by fire, have been carefully
abstracted and contain matters of varying interest.
The notes given with reference to the records at the India Office relate mainly to documents not hitherto analysed or calendared or to series not already in process of publication, and are derived from direct examination of originals in the Marina, Factory and General Records Sections. Particulars of the journals of the early voyages are given, while all notes of any historical interest have been reproduced in full. The Factory Records were originally roughly calendared by Sir George Birdwood and by F. C. Denvers, both letters received by the Company and its despatches to its settlements. Both the sections are in course of publication either in extenso or in extract. These are merely noted by the author.

The General Records section is elaborately minuted, while references to documents of Indian interest found in the Guildhall and Lambeth Libraries make us wonder whether there may not be more places of likely interest similar to these. The last section deals with the records in the various Indian Record Offices—the Madras Despatches to England and the Consultation Books being specially prominent. The book is intended to impress on the student as well as the writer, the necessity of the Archive Method, of completely sifting all the available original data, before accounts are made and conclusions drawn, and this purpose the book eminently fulfils.

C. S. S.

'DRAVIDIAN INDIA,' VOL. I

BY

T. R. SEKHA IYENGAR, MADRAS

(Price, Rs. 4)

This little book which is described in the foreward to this work as a 'valuable introduction... to Dravidian culture and its place in the Hindu civilization,' consists of four chapters of varying value. These deal respectively with (1) The Indo-Aryan Epics and South India, (2) Dravidian Origins, (3) Dravidian Glories, (4) and Ancient South Indian Polity.

Insufficient is the conception of writing a much-needed work like this we regret to find that a great deal of its value is lost by a
series of defects in the treatment of the subject. One of these is the failure on the part of the author to discriminate between the relative value of authorities which range from Dr. Tagore on the one side to the obscure observations in the daily press. Another defect of this work is the display of excessive and unjustifiable zeal towards everything Dravidian in the course of the work. It is apparently this weakness that prevents the author from taking a fair and dispassionate view of the relative value of Dravidian and Aryan cultures. This displays itself in various parts of the work, a prominent instance of which may be cited. On page 119 the author observes without any evidence that the influence of the Dravidians on the culture of India has been ignored because the literature which records the development of Hindu religion in India was the work of a hostile priesthood whose only object was to magnify its own pretensions and decry everything Dravidian. It is again the same spirit which makes him justify even savage ferocity of the early Tamils in warfare (page 254).

Without entering into a detailed analysis of the work it would be sufficient to point out in the interests of historical research a few of the many overstatements, inconsistencies and unsound theories and conclusions which mar this little book. On page 96 the author seems to support the highly doubtful theories of Dravidian origin of Varuna and Rudra, and quotes with approval the views of Dr. Slater that Kali, Siva, and Vishnu are Dravidian deities. It will however be patent to all that it is too premature in the present state of research to uphold the correctness of these views. Again on page 119 the author quotes the same authority that the caste system was Dravidian in origin and that the Dravidian magicians became the ancestors of the Brahmins. It would be interesting to know the reasons for which the author considers this baseless view of the origin of the caste system as very profoundly interesting, in view of the fact that the absurdity of this theory had been sufficiently exposed at the time of the publication of Dr. Slater’s Dravidian Origins of Indian Culture a couple of years ago.

A prominent instance of self-contradiction occurs towards the closing portion of the first volume which deals with the attitude of the Tamils in warfare towards the non-combatants and the vanquished. On page 251 the author observes ‘that the invader (the Tamil king) was equally inhuman to the aged, the infirm, the women and the Brahmin..."
Illustrating this however the author cites the instance of Karmaka and observes on page 253, rather curiously, that the ancients (Tamil Kings) were marvellous to the vanquished and the inhabitants of the invaded country would flee on every side, and that the country would be ravaged with fire, etc.

His views on the Kural, its date, character and contents do not appear to be quite sound. On page 71 he observes that it is original in design and execution, and almost independent of Sanskrit. Again on page 203 he says that Vejjuvar’s religion is the religion of the Dravidians. The references to Aryan deities such as Brahma, Lakshmi, and Vishnu, as well as the orthodox view that the author of the Kural was a Jain and that the work is Jaina in conception contradict this latter assertion. As regards the former view of the author, recent research has shown that Sanskrit influences especially of the Dharma-sastras and Arthasastra including Kantalya’s monumental work on politics are clearly traceable in the Kural. In view of this fact it is difficult to uphold the view that this work is free from Sanskrit influence of any kind. On page 211 the author in dealing with the devotional element in classical Tamil poetry quotes the substance and almost the very words of a paragraph found in one of the chapters of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar’s Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture. There is however no acknowledgment anywhere in this page or in the previous pages to indicate where the views are taken from and the author contented himself with enclosing two half sentences within quotation marks.

The work strikes one as a hastily written compilation although the author claims in the introduction that he has been engaged at it during the last twelve years. The minor defects of the work include the want of discritical marks for proper names now considered so indispensable to publications of this kind. Even the spelling adopted by the author for the names of early Tamil and Sanskrit writers and their works is defective and not uniform. We have expressions like the following: page 89, Pathirupathu, Akovathama (page 100), Kalikshet (page 200), where we would write Padiyrapattu, etc. An instance of carelessness in proof correction is furnished in the following:—Ulasmatuvare (page 95), Kalkamavir (page 162). The absence of an index, an indispensable adjunct to all critical works of this kind, makes the work still less valuable.
In spite of these and other defects this little book will have its own use to the public and we hope that when a second edition is contemplated or the second volume is published the above defects will be rectified and the book made really useful.

'SIMHAVISHNU.'

'ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT'

BY

PROF. BENÖY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

[Published by B.G. Paul & Co., Madras. Price, Rs. 8]

Any study of the science of economics would be incomplete if the various problems and side-issues involved therein are not interpreted in their geographical and historical perspective. More examination of the theory would not go a long way in helping us to determine the several complex problems on an objective basis as it were. It is for the province of applied economics to indicate to us in a clear light the different aspects of a crucial economic question. The Great War of Europe has not unnaturally affected the economic and industrial conditions of the whole world. Especially in the industrial field capital held sway and had so far Labour under its thumb. Labour which was showing manifestly signs of discontent now and then has begun to assert its rights. Healthy regulations touching the labouring classes in general have been put forward and adopted rapidly. A new and brighter outlook for technical education has been inaugurated in most of the civilized states in consonance with the prevailing social, economic and industrial conditions of the respective states.

These and other problems of moment are presented to us in a systematic whole in this book by a competent writer who can speak with authority on these subjects. Prof. Sarkar had the rare advantage of getting first hand information from the several economic and industrial institutions of practically every country in Europe, which he visited recently. A serious student of economics and politics as he is, he was able to collect a mine of information at once useful and instructive.

The book under review contains small chapters, forty-six in number, occupying in all 492 pages. In these pages one finds strong evidence of earnest study and strenuous labour. The data furnished,
the figures, charts and tables presented, and the comparative study of several states in their geographical and historical perspectives, certainly enhance the value of a work of this kind. But one finds disappointment in the arrangement both of chapters and of facts in them. Though the subjects are treated in a systematic manner, still there is no connected whole. And the author himself is alive to this defect of an otherwise useful book. He characterises the sub-title of the work as ‘snapshots of world-movements in commerce, economic legislation, industrialism and technical education.’ We regret to find fault with this method of treatment. It would have been far better if the author had examined country by country bringing into one view all problems connected with it; or subject by subject under the mainheads of agriculture, technical education, etc., examining under these respective heads the actual state of affairs obtaining at present comparatively and historically. But for this drawback the work is replete with facts and figures which would facilitate the work of the laborious student of applied economics.

Prof. Sarkar’s book is still more valuable because he has given a large space in the consideration of the vital economic problems affecting India at present. Indian industrialism is still a thing of the future. We are still in a stage of transition with all the endeavours on the part of the state as well as private individuals. It would be decades before we cross successfully this bridge of transition, and could speak with pride of an Industrial India. In our lines of development we must profit by the experience of other states and countries. If a study of history could be of any real service, it must be in this direction. But yet we could not build up the fabric of our economic and industrial institutions on purely Western models. Here then we should not afford to neglect the economic history of ancient Hindu India. A study of our past institutions would tend to solve some of the knotty problems which face seriously enough professors of economics to-day. The growth and development of institutions, social, economic or political, must be adapted to the culture and genius of the race as portrayed in their history. In discussing an economic scheme for young India, the author remarks that it is industrialism that is the cure for all our poverty, and that the role of foreign capital towards this end is a great necessity. We are afraid that mere students of Indian economics may not agree with our author’s views in this particular. Here is one other statement among others of Prof. Sarkar
with which one will pause a little before he accepts the position as tenable. He says that our agriculture is 'overcrowded,' and continues that 'not 'back to land' but 'away from land' is to be the motto for, say, one generation.' Let alone students of economics, even laymen we presume, could not see eye to eye with Prof. Sarkar in this respect. With the unemployment of even our educated young men ever on the increase there would be no economic salvation for us if 'back to the land' is not urged and put into actual practice There are great possibilities of improving our land and agricultural methods. And there is not the least doubt that for some generations to come, these would afford a stable and more secure employment to a large number of our unemployed.

We congratulate the publishers for their enterprising spirit to publish books of great value like the one under review. We agree with them that the bibliography at the beginning and the index at the end will be of great utility. The printing and get-up are excellent.

V. R. R.

'THE MUSIC OF INDIA'

BY

ATTIA BEGUM FZYRE-BAHAMIN.

[Long & Co., London.]

Indian music has begun to figure prominently in the general revivalist movements of modern India, and attempts are made all through the country for recovering it from the neglect into which it had fallen owing to the changing circumstances of the last century and a half in India. Signs of a revived interest in Indian music are visible all round, and show themselves in many ways. As in various other matters, there have been meetings and conferences for the purpose of reviving and promoting the study of Indian music. It is in response to a demand somewhat similar that the Third Oriental Conference in Madras arranged for a musical demonstration of Hindu music in particular, which still continues to be cultivated in South India in the old style, not uninfluenced, but yet unsubmerged by other influences that have had their sway in the north. The organizers as well as the audience were agreeably disappointed at the display, which showed that the art still exists in a living form to a far higher degree than a few
ordinarily anticipated. Experts in Indian music have been making their own efforts, and in the words of the Begum 'our never-ting efforts have proved somewhat successful, in the past five or six years, pointing to the dawn in the musical world of India.' There have been three Conferences of importance for the purpose, and efforts have been many to make the music of India understood by the outside world. There have even been two or three books on the subject, which expounded Indian music in European notation by Europeans and Indians alike, and the work under review is the latest of such efforts.

The work attempts to treat Indian music in a systematic style. The talented authoress treats the subject by a survey of works bearing on it and the lives of the practical exponents of the art; she then proceeds to a brief survey of the history of the subject. She then proceeds, in the following chapters, to treat of the seven divisions of music, such as swara or tones, taal, time and rhythm, raga or tunes and melodies, madhy, musical instruments, nritta, dance to the accompaniment of music, bhava, or the significance of music as exhibited by action, and artha, or exposition or modes. All these subjects are treated with an understanding and simplicity making the somewhat abstruse subject comprehensive even to the ordinary understanding. The book gives, however, but a partial treatment, as for obvious reasons the talented lady has not been able to give adequate treatment to the music of South India, which forms quite a separate department of Indian music, and has to be cultivated altogether differently from the methods of the other schools. 'The leading motive,' according to the authoress, 'of Indian music is an expression of the feelings and emotions in a series of moods; this being woven with the legends and traditions of the poetic fancies and reveries of the human soul and spirit of the country.' These she tries to render, as far as may be, in words assisted by a number of illustrative blocks, which take one farther than mere exposition can.

The work is very well got up, and will certainly prove a very useful introduction to the music of India. It has an interesting chapter upon the various exponents of music and anecdotes connected with them. It has further the advantage of a valuable appendix upon the composition of Indian music with Indian astrology explained by means of a table setting the astrological significance of Indian music. The book is hoped to be of great value to those interested in Indian music.
INDIA

By

Sir Valentine Chirol

This, the latest work of the accepted authority on Indian affairs, is one of a series entitled The Modern World each work of which undertakes to make a survey of present historical forces. India like every other country in the world has come out of the crucible of the Great War in a condition anything but settled in respect of the various forces which go to the make up of a modern community. Forces external and internal are in a great struggle, finally to settle down in an equilibrium more or less stable. But while the struggle is keen, the equilibrium and its comparative stability are alike as yet in the distant prospect. The survey of historical forces in a society in that condition and that a vast conglomeration of peoples like that of India is not a task that one would enter into with any great hope of achieving success. Sir Valentine Chirol has great qualifications for essaying the task, complicate as it is and difficult beyond power of an ordinary man. The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher claims for the work that 'in this survey, all the factors essential to the comprehension of modern India are made to stand out in their true perspective.' Sir Valentine Chirol has attempted it in the nineteen chapters of the book, we should rather say eighteen, leaving the nineteenth as the concluding remarks; he passes in rapid review various of those vital factors which have gone into the make up of modern India, laying more stress on modern events, and comparatively less on the older, very naturally for a man of his position. He has, on the whole, achieved his task with considerable success. Notwithstanding the easily visible attempt at impartiality and holding the balance even, he cannot but take a partisan view sometimes, and appears now and again as an apologist of the administration and an antagonist of forces that seem to be arrayed against the British Raj. On many burning questions his views may be accepted as impartial, such as the South African question, for instance, and the attitude of the British administration towards the Reform. As much cannot be said in regard to his understanding of the Revivalist Movement in the country, which strikes him too readily as anti-British in character, and hostile, therefore, to Western civilization.

This comes out in bold relief where Sir Valentine has to deal with
the modern movements which have for their object the understanding of the country, its past history and its present culture and civilization. While, thanks to the influence of a new civilization, somewhat alien in spirit and even in aim, the intelligentsia of the country have their attention turned forcibly towards studying their own history with a view to a reasoned understanding of the present developments would be but natural, it is equally natural that people belonging to an ancient civilization who get for the first time a more or less clear view of it after the lapse of a few centuries of clouding, take a natural pride in it, and seem to be wanting in the docility, which perhaps is too often demanded by the teacher from the taught. That a man of Sir Valentine’s eminence and experience of affairs should expect that in an ancient country like India the implanting of Western education and civilization would readily produce a society which is but a flimsy copy of the society of the West is certainly to expect too much in it. Even those pioneers of the introduction of these Western elements of civilization did not expect it from the position of lesser advantage that they occupied in respect of their understanding of the soil upon which they sowed their seeds. That Western education and Western methods of criticism should turn the attention of educated Indians to an investigation and understanding of their own culture ought to be regarded as but a natural consequence of that education. When educated Indians turn their attention to the study of their past, there would naturally be a deeper understanding and a wider comprehension of the more ancient civilization. As a consequence, educated Indians would perhaps show more self-respect, perhaps even self-consciousness, at which no reasonable outsider need take offence. The result would have to be a struggle to begin with between the ancient ideals of India and the new ideals of the West, and the result of this struggle will have to be inevitably something very different from that which is Western civilization and that which was ancient Indian civilization. A reversion to the past is impossible, as Sir Valentine readily admits. A copy of the West is equally impossible, he does not seem ready to admit. There is the crux. Throughout the book one sees an undercurrent of a feeling of disappointment that the seeds of Western education and Western civilization that have been sown with such considerable pains, do not seem to show a luxurious crop of imitation of the West. The glamour of the new civilization had exercised its
influence at the beginning and it has exhausted itself almost nearly, and what is to be looked for is a new synthesis of the ancient civilization of the East, and, it may be, the economic civilization of the West. To expect anything else is to read history wrong.

Some of the manifestations of the society of present-day India are nothing more than one phase or another of this struggle which is inevitable. Even democratized representative institutions of Government may have to undergo a certain amount of modification when they get to be applied to the conditions of India, historical and contemporary. There is hardly enough allowance made for this throughout this volume of survey of historical forces struggling in present-day India. Reforms have been introduced five years ago, and the reforms have worked, they cannot have worked to the satisfaction of all concerned. It is an experimental measure of democratizing the administration, and even as an experiment, they have had to make concessions to Indian conditions, and one of the most important, and perhaps not the most healthy from the point of view of the consequences, is the undemocratic principle of communal representation. If an experiment, launched under very peculiar circumstances, has not had a smooth working, it would be difficult to allot the blame to this or that or a third party. It is in the very nature of the thing itself, and the wiser course would be for those responsible not to waste time and energy in allotting blame, but to use both efficiently in an honest attempt to remove that which is detrimental to progress in the scheme that has been adopted.

While we welcome the book as an honest attempt to picture the struggling India of the present-day in all its multitudinous phases, we should have very much wished that Sir Valentine had been somewhat less partisan in certain chapters. He has shown comparatively small acquaintance with the Hindu India of old, as in fact his knowledge of Hindu civilization is anything but profound. He has, on the whole, called up a picture which may be flattering to the pride of the well-meaning Englishman, well-affected towards the future of India. But he could not be credited with having produced an illuminating book for the serious student of Indian History in India itself. While it may serve a very valuable purpose to the general reader, both Indian and European, the serious student of Indian History is perhaps doomed to some slight disappointment.
'INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED'

BY

LT.-COL. L. A. WADDELL

[Long & Co., London]

The archaeological discoveries made recently in the Indus Valley give
to the study of assyriology in its more ancient reaches, a nearer
interest to India and to those interested in its history and civilization.
The finds, monumental and other, are of a character to justify inferences of an anterior civilization in the Indus Valley, prior, it may be
long prior, to the coming of the Aryans in that particular region. As
far as assyriologists have turned their attention to these finds, they
seem to take us back to the beginning of the third millennium, if not
somewhat earlier, for the period of existence of this civilization.
Whether it is native to the Indus Valley, or an intruder from elsewhere
is matter that may have to remain open for yet a while, particularly in
the light of the fact that the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia has
for some time been considered an intruding civilization there. The
question awaits careful investigation and patient study. Col. Waddell,
the Tibetan scholar, has applied himself to the task with great enthusi-
asm and has been at pains, through years of study, to have arrived at
certain very definite conclusions in regard to the matter. The result
of his own study of this particular question is embodied in two books
already published with the promise of a more elaborate third in the
very near future. The first book, the Phoenician Origin of the Britons,
Scots, and Anglo-Saxons, has already been reviewed in the Indian
Antiquary, with a fulness which it deserves, by Sir Richard Temple.
The conclusions to which that work leads are, in brief, that the Britons
and all other so-called Aryan races of the West have had their origin
in Phoenicia, Phoenicians themselves being Aryans and not Semites.
The work under review continues that investigation and comes to an
equally definite conclusion that the region of Phoenicia and Syria was
the cradle-land of the Aryan race, and a branch of that race emigrating
therefrom into India is the Indo-Aryan and Iranian. Waddell claims
that the results that he arrived at in the first work of his are 'now
dramatically confirmed.' The results are undoubtedly dramatic in
character, but as to confirmation we may take leave to wait a little.
The whole argument of the book lies in this;—that the Panch in the Panchala are an enterprising and commercial people; the word is radically the same as Pani (Phoenicians), and therefore Panchalas of Indian literature and the Phoenicians of the West are of the same race. He takes it that the Ammonites, Goths and Scyth are synonyms for Aryan and Phoenician. For proof of this thesis that the Indian Epic and Vedic list of kings are exactly the same as the list of early Sumerian and early Babylonian inscriptions, he starts with the position that "a great proportion of the names of Sumerian and Babylonian kings, gods and places as restored by assyriologists is largely and often wholly fictitious." Having regard to the progress of assyriological studies and the stage reached by assyriologists in the course of their study, it is not impossible that there are errors even in some number. But a careful study of the restorations made by the author in the work, does not give a layman the impression that Col. Waddell's restorations are any nearer correct. One cannot afford to be dogmatic on a subject like that at present. The question requires careful and patient study by assyriologists, who may take full advantage of the suggestion in the work to consider if anything like the principle of restoration adopted here would be possible. The restoration suggested in the tables seem to us so radically different that we are in some doubt whether we would be justified in taking assyriologists as a whole to be so entirely wrong. Anyhow it would be safer to suspend judgment and to await fuller investigation by assyriologists themselves.

In regard to the Indian equations suggested by Col. Waddell, the locations of the various dynasties would seem not to be in complete agreement with the results of Vedic studies alone. That is yet another of the basal points of this kind of research. The weakest point as it seems to us, in the whole of the book, is the philological part of it. While several words equated seem to be near enough in point of sound as they are presented to us in the work, there are some which indicate clearly how dangerous it would be to proceed further on methods adopted by the author. The work presents, however, the investigations of a scholar not unaccustomed to this kind of work, and embodies results of great labour and much thought. The work ought certainly to stimulate enquiry, which is bound to result in a great advance in the study both of assyriology and of the new Indian discoveries.
'RIG VEDIC CULTURE'

BY

A. C. DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

[Cambray & Co., Calcutta and Madras]

This work is really a continuation of the author's study of Rig Vedic India published by the Calcutta University some years since. The work should have constituted the second part of Rig Vedic India, but some years having elapsed between the publication of the first one and the second, and since this constitutes by itself a self-contained work more or less, the author published it as a separate work. The work falls into two parts naturally, one of which concerns itself with that much contested subject, the chronology of the Rig Veda. The Rig Vedic India of the author contains his chronological estimate based on what he thought was the trend of geological evidence, which took the Rig Vedic culture to a very considerable antiquity. The examination of that subject again in this work concerns itself merely with meeting various criticisms of the original thesis, and drawing some little additional support for it from H. G. Wells's publication, the Outlines of History. The claim of this thesis is that the whole of the culture, layer by layer, received its development in the region called Sapt Sinda, somewhat more widely defined to take into it North-Western India, Afghanistan and Bactria, cut off from the rest of India itself by almost an impassable sea, or rather two seas. The author revised the geological side and put down the beginnings of Rig Vedic culture somewhere about twenty or twenty-five thousands B.C.—a beginning which we may say lies beyond any calculable estimate of time with the means at our disposal. The fact that the estimates of Vedic antiquity could vary from twenty-five thousand B.C., to five hundred B.C., is clear evidence of the uncertainties attending this investigation.

While on that subject, it would be well to draw attention to a course of two lectures delivered in the School of Oriental Studies, London, by Prof. Jari Charpentier of Upsala. Prof. Charpentier attacks the problem from the philological and linguistic sides and arrives at Central Asia as the home of the Indo-European, carrying back the ethnical movement towards migration to a date near the middle of the third millennium B.C. He ascribes
the movement to same causes that brought about the later ethnic movements of Central Asia, and arguing from that historical parallel towards the movement in various directions, points out the half-way houses where the different branches may have tarried for longer or shorter periods of time. On the whole his hypothesis seems to offer very much more of a satisfactory explanation of the details of the problem than other theories in the field, all of which he examines carefully. Perhaps that is as far as we can go in these Vedic investigations at present, and an attempt to trace the origin of the Rig Vedic culture by going back to its very roots would be matter which can hardly lead to any precise conclusions. Mr. Das, however, makes an attempt with a great deal of learning, and does not lay claim to having settled the question where settlement is obviously an impossible feat, as he admits.

The rest of the second part have reference to the life and the cultural aspects of Aryan society. He collects together a vast mass of disjecta membra of information scattered through the Rig Veda itself, and sorts them out and arranges them in about ten chapters full of useful information. He begins with the life of the Aryan in village communities, and carries us through chapters on various arts and industries of the people to their state organisation, and ultimately to their religious conceptions, winding up the whole with a couple of chapters on Vedic sacrifices and Rig Vedic poetry. To the student of history the book is of great value, as it brings in a more assorted form the details of Vedic culture, much of which can be found in the monumental works of Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic India* and Macdonell's other works, such as *Vedic Mythology*. We congratulate Mr. Das on the successful completion of his labour on which he had been engaged for many years and look forward to his revised edition of *Rig Vedic India* with expectancy.
Obituary

THE LATE MR. B. VENKOBA RAO

As we go to press, I regret very much to hear of the sudden and unexpected death of Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, who sent copy of his work on the History of Śrī Vyāsa Yāgī, one of the pontiffs, and a much venerated and influential one, in the days of the empire of Vijayanagar, which is based upon a historical kavya by poet Sūmānātha, and the work is given to us with an introduction running to 164 pages, the text itself occupying only 84 pages. We shall make a detailed review of the work in the next number of the journal. This is merely to record our very great regret that he should be snatched away in the prime of life, full of promise even in this comparatively foreign field as this effort on the part of a busy Divisional Officer of the Mysore Service, shows.

Books Received for Review in the 'Journal of Indian History'

'History of Historical Problems.' By Earnest Scott.
'The Doctrine of Buddha.' By George Grimm.
'The Life of Vyāsaraṇa.' By Venkoba Rao.
'Journal of Department of Letters,' Calcutta University, Vol. XIII.
'A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy.' By R. D. Ranade.

'History of Mediaeval Hindu India.' By C. V. Vaidya.
'History of Burma.' By G. E. Harvey.
'India and the Western World.' Rawlinson.
'Short History of India,' Part 2. By Garret and Kohli.
'Short History of India,' Part 3. By Rushbrook Williams.
'Rama Mala,' 2 Vols. By H. G. Rawlinson.

The Editor regrets very much that reviews on these works could not be made in time for publication in this issue of the journal.
Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

May 1926—

SYLVAIN LEVI: 'Paloura—Dantapura.' This is an English translation by S. M. Edwards of Sylvain Levi’s Notes Indiennes in Tome CCVI of Journal Asiatique identifying the place called Paloura by Ptolemy with the City of Dantapura.

June 1926—

JOUVEAU DUBREUIL: 'Vyasra, the Uchchakalpa.' New interpretation is offered here by Prof. Dubreuil on the inscription discovered in 1919 and published in Ep. Ind., vol. xvii, p. 12. It is suggested that Prithivisena of this inscription was the Prithivisena the Vakataka reigning in Bundelkand in A.D. 475 and that Uchchakalpa was his vassal.

S. M. EDWARDS: 'Sidelights on Decorian Village Life in the Eighteenth Century.' The extracts published here are taken from the diary of the Raja of Safara and throw considerable light on the political, administrative and social condition of the period to which they relate.

R. C. TEMPLE: 'To the East of Samatata.' This paper presents the points of view of L. Finot and Bidyabindod regarding the countries visited by the Chinese traveller Y. Chwang. Tables of identifications indicating the direction pursued are added.

H. G. RAWLINSON: 'The Mutiny at Indore.' These are selected from unpublished Indore Records and throw light on one of the obscure episodes of the Mutiny of 1857, by Prof. W. Paul of Jubbulpur.

July 1926—

AURouSSPau, M. L.: 'The Name of Cochin China.' This is devoted to a discussion of historical, geographical and linguistic reasons for deriving the name of Cochin-China through the Portuguese Quanchyn-China from the phrase of a similar nature in vogue in the sixteenth century indicating the Annamite kingdom.
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 305

August 1926—

V. S. Bakhle: 'The Capital of Nahapana.' This is an attempt to prove that the capital of Nahapana was situated at Junnar, and that the Munnagar mentioned by the author of the Periplius is the Omoragora of Ptolemy and the modern Junnar.

Sylvain Levi: 'Pithunda, Ptbuda and Pithundra.' This is an English translation from Notes Indiennes on the subject by S M. Edwards

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute

VOLUME VIII, PART I

C. R. Devadhar: 'The Plays ascribed to Bhasa: their Authenticity and Merits.' Concludes after discussion that the writer of those dramas now passing under the name of Bhasa is some obscure Southern poet of about the seventh century A. D.

D. R. Bhandarkar: 'Parakika Dominion in Ancient India.'

D. M. Roy: 'The Culture of Mathematics among the Jains of S. India in the Ninth Century.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

July 1926—

P. C. Babu: 'Art and Philosophy in Hindu Temple Building.'

Nimdolal Dey: 'Rasatala or the Underworld.' Continues previous matter on the subject.

L. Firoz: 'Indo-China in the Records of the Chinese Pilgrims.'

A. Ghoos: 'A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting.'

B. K. Sarker: 'Sukra's Economics in Hindu Science.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, VOLUME XIII

Hemchandra Ray: 'Economic Policy and functions of the Kautilyan State.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOLUME XII, PART I

V. H. Jackson: 'Notes on the Barabar Hills.'

Bakkerji-Sastri: 'The Ajivakas.' The relation between the Ajivakas, Buddhists, the Jains and Brahmins of early times is discussed here.

S. Ganguli: 'Notes on Aryabhatta.'
S. C. Roy: 'The Asurs.'

P. Acharya: 'The Bhanja Kings of Orissa.' Discusses the chronology and position of the Bhanja kings.

Epigraphia Indica

Volume XVIII, Part IV

H. Krishna Sastri: 'The Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Raja-simha II.' The text of the inscription is given with English translation and notes on Pallava chronology. It is suggested that the engraving of this record probably took place on the occasion of the accession of Rajasimha. The reference to Dvipalaksaka in the last line is taken as hinting the Laccadive Islands known as Lakshadweep. (Note on p. 152)

Hirawanda Sastri: 'Brahmi Inscription on a Wooden Pillar from Kirali.'

Dayaram Sahni: 'Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam.'

T. A. Gotimatha Rao and K. Amrita Rao: 'Two Copper Plates of Krishnadeva Raya, Saka 1486 and 1490.'

L. D. Barnet: 'Inscriptions at Hull.'

J.R.A.S., London

July 1926—

W. H. Moreland: 'Sher Shah's Revenue System.'

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, N.S.

Volume II, No. 1

J. J. Modi: In a paper on the inscribed Cross with Pahlavi inscription recently discovered at Kadambattam in Travancore State. J. J. Modi examines the script of the inscription and assigns it to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. He concludes that the Crosses might be the offerings of some of the Christians who had come to the shores of India from Persia in the seventh and the eighth centuries owing to the Arab persecutions.

S. H. Hodivala: 'The Unpublished Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat.'

A. L. Conerston: 'The Educational Policy of Mountstuart Elphinstone.'

M. Winternitz: 'The Serpent Sacrifice mentioned in Mahabharata. This is a translation in English from the original German work of M. Winternitz. Kulturgeschichtliche aus der Hermetic by H. B. Uygurker.'
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOLUME XLVI, NO. 2

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY. 'The Indian Origin of Buddha Image.'
In this paper the author gathers together a number of quotations chiefly from Western scholars' writings committing themselves more or less to the theory of Indian origin of Buddha image. The author's view is that the Buddha image is of Indian Origin the Gandhara and the Mathura types being created locally about the same time in response to a necessity created by an internal development of Buddhism in both the areas.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOLUME XXI, 1925, No. 1

H. BRUCE HANNAH: 'Indian Origins.'
N. B. SANYAL: 'The Predecessors of the Gahadavalas of Kanouj.'
B. C. LAW: 'Gautama Buddha and the Paribrahmaka.'
AMARBHAR THAKUR: 'Jail Administration in Ancient India.'
B. L. MUKHERJEE: 'The Vratyas and their Sacrifices.'
H. K. DEB: 'Mede and Madra.'

', 'When Kurus fought Pandavas.'

Bengal, Past and Present

VOLUME XXXI, PART II

M. J. SETH: 'Armenians and the East Indian Company.'
P. C. MUKHERJEE: 'Influence of Sea-power on the Consolidation of the Position on the East.' A certain phase of this subject was dealt with by Prof. J. Holland Rose in a previous issue (September 1924) of the Journal of Indian History, which covers the period from 1746-1802. The object of the present paper is to show that the real crises which the English sea-power averted and made possible the growth of the empire belong to the seventeenth century.

R. G.
OUR EXCHANGES

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
Volume V, Part III  DECEMBER, 1926  Serial No. 15

JOURNAL
OF
INDIAN HISTORY
(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR)

EDITOR
S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, Hony. Ph.D., F.R. Hist. S., etc.
Professor, University of Madras,
Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the
Government of India.

MADRAS
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Notice to Contributors

Contributors are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, Journal of Indian History, 'Srījāyavāsan,' East Māda Street, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding titling, style of printing, submission of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions:—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If foreign characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or italic characters with diacritical points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CLARENDON TYPE may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indentation at the beginning; or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation ('""') should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation ('"') for actual quotations.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where
NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

first occurs. In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, entire uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics; titles or articles in periodicals, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (JA, JAOS, JASE, JRAS, ZDMG,) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

Remittances, correspondence relative to subscriptions, and notices of change of address should be addressed to—

THE MANAGER,
Journal of Indian History,
'SriJayashekaram,'
East Mada Street, Madras,
MADRAS, S.
EDITORIAL NOTICE

It has been in contemplation for sometime whether something could not be done to make research work in the Department of Indian History in the Universities accessible to teachers and the more advanced students of Indian History. Arrangements are in progress to bring this about, if possible. If our efforts in this direction should succeed, the journal will hereafter be in two parts, as it were; the first part containing articles of research, as heretofore; and the second part will consist of (1) translations from works of general interest in foreign languages, such as the one on the Diplomatic Theories in Ancient India based on the Artha sastra and others of a similar character; and (2) articles of general interest bearing upon Indian History and historical studies on topics and periods which may form courses of lectures at Universities. The latter part, is expected, will be of direct use to students and teachers of Indian History, and may be marked off as a distinct part of the journal called University Supplement. It is expected that this supplement would enhance the direct utility of the journal, and provide a medium between workers in Indian History and readers interested in the subject. We hope the response would be sufficient to justify the effort.

EDITOR.
Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to be present amongst you this evening and to participate in the Jubilee Celebration of the Sanskrit College. Both my revered father and myself have been always keenly interested in the welfare of this College and watched its work with pride and pleasure. Started in 1876 at the expressed desire of my grandfather, it has passed through many vicissitudes; but in spite of these, it has continued to flourish and it now occupies a unique place in the educational system in the State. It is no doubt true that latterly it has been eclipsed in importance by other educational institutions which cater to modern needs. Nevertheless the work which this College has been doing is of immeasurable value and its importance cannot be judged by numerical standards alone. For, this institution stands for all that is great, noble and eternal, in our ancient culture. It is the centre of Sanskrit learning, from which a knowledge of the rich store of our ancient heritage has radiated to all parts of the State and even outside. It has, in fact, preserved, for the use of future generations, the essence of those traditions and characteristics,
on which the structure of our Indian civilisation was built in the past. This College is thus rendering a national service of no mean order to the country. That this is not an unduly large claim will be clear, if we remember that in any reconstruction of our social, political or religious polity, we could not, and should not, cut ourselves off from all our historic past and that our future must have its roots deep in the past.

Besides, Sanskrit learning embodies a culture, a discipline, a type of humanism, which no other learning, old or new, dead or living, can present to our age. It is not from the stand-point of objective knowledge, the knowledge of the facts and laws of the world, that we should adjudge the value of Sanskrit learning. For, the Knowier that stands behind that knowledge, the Atman, has also to be known, and it is this Atma-vidya, the knowledge of the self, to which the study of Sanskrit opens the way, in a sense which is true of no other literature to the same degree. And this is not a barren knowledge—it is indeed the supreme Vidya, the science of sciences. And its sovereign character is known by its fruits. For, in India, it has created and industrialised the arts, and given birth to a distinctive civilisation.

Oriental Art, to-day, is seen to be a new world in itself, the discovery of which is likely to usher in a World-Renaissance as creative as the sixteenth-century Renaissance in Europe. And much of what is unique in this Asiatic art had India for its fountain-head. And it is the spirit enshrined in Sanskrit literature that can alone reveal the inner meaning of that art, in architectural types of temple and pagoda, in sculptural motifs of the Nataraja or the Buddha, in generalized lines and curves of the Ajanta frescoes, or in the melodic systems of the Ragas and Raginis. It is the light derived from Sanskrit learning that illumines, interprets and recreates the marvellous world of Asiatic art in all its ramifications from the steppes of Central Asia to the coral islands and roots of the Far Eastern Archipelago.

But deeper than all this is the need of the world to-day for that fundamental truth, which Sanskrit learning uttereth above all others—more sublime, more genuine, more substantial, and any other learning of literature. The truths which should
in Brāhma and the Peace of Brāhma, in other words, in the oneness of man and all creations in the cosmic Reality and in the realization of that oneness, the sovereign cure for the malady of the world, a malady which an ill-directed pursuit of Science and Power has only aggravated, has indeed brought to a paroxysmal fury in our age. The emancipation of the man and the world of man from this illusion is the problem of our age, and this emancipation will not only be a fitting conclusion to the age-long history of human freedom, but will also usher in a Renaissance fruitful in works of Peace and in saving Power and Knowledge. Sanskrit Learning and the spirit enshrined in it, are of inestimable value to this world’s emancipation and renaissance.

But, this makes it all the more necessary that all students of Sanskrit learning including the classes of this institution should value this discipline of the spirit, this cultural ideal, more than the mechanical or formal elements, the debris of ages, with which all ancient learning must be loaded. A Pandit, trained in an institution like this, cannot be a Vedācarya unless his whole mind and life are rightly attuned to this sovereign culture, which is the genius of India and of her Sanskrit learning. He must be a light-bringer, a bearer of this message of Wisdom, a living example of the true Vidyā and the Satyadharma, of that conquest of matter by the Spirit, that independence of mind and character, and that fearlessness of conduct, which are of the very essence of Brāhmaṇya. He must always be conscious that he bears a sacred responsibility, for by him and in him will the ancient Vidyā be judged. And, if he thus fits himself for serving his fellowmen in the higher needs of the soul, he may rest assured that the Providence, which works ever in the dispensations of Society, will not abandon him, for is it not written—' Yoge-bhūmam Vaṁsyaaham'? 

But, his greatest treasure in life will be that learning of which he is the custodian,—a blessing and a treasure of which none can deprive him. Let him live happy in the consciousness of his privilege.
Committee this evening, two points of some importance emerge, viz.,
the future policy regarding the courses of studies to be followed in the
College; and secondly, the prospects of the students who take degrees
here. With regard to the first point, you must all realize that the
Sanskrit College alone cannot escape the consequences of the impact
of Western civilization upon all our ideas and institutions. I do not
propose to lay down this evening what shape the courses of study
should take in future. Such questions must be left to the experts;
but this much I must say, that, whatever changes may be called for
in this respect to suit modern conditions, every care should be taken
that the essentials of our ancient culture are preserved, viz., that intimate,
may, almost filial, connection between the teacher and the taught,
that thorough mastery of the subjects studied, that love of learning
for its own sake and keenness to impart it to others without
thought of reward, and, above all, that close association of religion and
education, which has so large an influence on the formation of charac-
ter. As regards the second point, I can assure you that my Govern-
ment will view with sympathy any representations on this matter and
on other matters pertaining to the improvement of the College, which
the authorities of the College may make.

Gentlemen, the occasion that has brought us together this evening
is a historic one. The continued existence of any institution for fifty
years is in itself remarkable and it is all the more so in the case of
this College devoted to the neglected study of Sanskrit and confronted
with innumerable difficulties. I must therefore congratulate all those,
who have been responsible for its efficient maintenance on the success
of their efforts. I must specially congratulate the teachers, past and
present, of this institution, to all of whom it has been mostly a labour
of love to work for the good of the College. I wish the Sanskrit
College all success and many more years of prosperous and useful
work.

In conclusion, let me thank the students and Teachers for their welcome
Forgotten Episodes in the History of Mediaeval India

by

Professor S. Krishnaswami Aiyanagar

University of Madras

'Harsha's death must have loosened the bonds which have restrained the disruptive forces, always ready to operate in India, and led them to produce their natural result, a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century, and such it always had been except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellant molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.' These are the terms in which the talented author of the Early History of India described the condition of affairs that followed the death of Harsha. The century following, namely, the period from A.D. 650 to 750 is comparatively barren of events so far as Hindu India as hitherto known, is concerned. There are, however, some few glimpses into the condition of India at the time from a few sources, the placing together of which may give us an idea of the actual position of affairs during the period of the three or four generations from that of the great Emperor. From these it is found that an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, was made to revive the empire of Magadha, so as to make it the dominant force at least in Mid-India. This empire perhaps held together for four generations when it passed on to another dynasty under Yasovarman of Kanauj, of whom we have had but a few glimpses so far. It would be interesting, therefore, to pursue the painful process of building up from these stray glimpses a picture of the state of affairs, which would give us a fuller view of the...
political condition of India in the century following the death of Harsha.

The death of Harsha, without leaving a successor with a title beyond question, would in the ordinary course of things have resulted in the empire breaking up into the separate kingdoms composing it. It would have been the legitimate ambition of each of these to achieve the imperial position in its own turn. Such, however, does not appear exactly to have been the case in this instance. It is generally taken that there was a usurpation, and the usurper fell a victim to the consequences of his own unroyal treatment of the ambassador from China. For this so-called usurpation and what followed in consequence our only source of information is such references as we find in the History of the Tang dynasty of China. As far as the available details take us, there is nothing clear to indicate that Arjuna, or Arupāśva as he is called, usurped the empire. It seems to be much rather that Arupāśva was the ruler of the province called Tirabhukti in that period, embracing within it the region between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and extending eastwards from the Ganges Doab to the Kharotoya River. That would mean no usurpation in the ordinary sense of the term, unless by usurpation is meant the assertion of independence by a governor when the empire ceased to exist in consequence of the death of the emperor and the absence of a successor. This inference seems clear as, among the details relating to the Tibetan war, there is no indication of Arupāśva having mobilised the whole of the military resources of the empire against the Tibetan army under the Chinese Ambassador. There is a positive statement that Kumāra Bhāskara Varman of Assam supplied provisions and rendered other assistance of the kind to the Tibetan army. This he could not have done if it was the empire that was at war with the Tibetans. Besides Magadha, south of the Ganges seems to have remained absolutely unaffected by the war. It seems, therefore, better to regard the war as a local affair concerned only with a single province of the empire of Harsha which at the time, had set itself up as an independent kingdom.

This conclusion comes out clearly from the dispositions that Harsha made of his empire in the later years of his reign. We learn

[Note: Incomplete sentence due to missing content at the end of the text.]
from the Harshacharita and from Huien T’sang that one ruler that
defied Harsha’s power even after he established himself firmly upon
the throne of the united kingdoms of Thanesar and Kanauj was
Sasanka of Bengal. Apparently the operations against him committed
to the charge of Bhandi by Harsha did not have the result of crushing
the enemy out of existence.1 Far from it Sasanka was still ruling over
Bengal with considerable power till almost about the year A.D. 620.
The only possible inference from this is that the punitive expedition
against him ended merely in an agreement, the actual terms of which
we do not know, but the fact that Sasanka was still left in considerable
power—perhaps even extended power—indicates that the terms were
not all to the advantage of Harsha. The issue of the Ganjam grant in
the Gupta Samvat 300, that is A.D. 619-202 would justify this
inference. Up to the year therefore A.D. 620 Sasanka lived and
exercised his authority unimpaired over the eastern kingdom of
Bengal and the adjoining territory.

Huien T’sang makes the statement in his description of Gaya,
that Sasanka uprooted the Bodhi tree there root and branch, and that a
suceeding ruler, Parnavarma by name, of the dynasty of Asoka
repaired the damage and let the tree grow twenty feet. He further
states that Parnavarma was the ruler till some time before the visit of
Huien T’sang. These remarks of the Chinese traveller warrant the
inference that Parnavarma became ruler in the region where
Bodh-Gaya is situated in succession to Sasanka, and ruled till a short
time before the visit of Huien T’sang.3 It seems probable that,
after the death of Parnavarma, Harsha annexed the territory to his
own dominions, if he did not do that before, and this conclusion finds
support in another remark of Huien T’sang that about the year
A.D. 640, Harsha was returning from an expedition to Konyodha.4
There is further support for this position in the fact that Kumara
Bhaskaravarman of Kumaraupa (Assam) issued a copper plate grant5
from Kanyakubha, the capital actually of Sasanka. As this ruler and
Harsha were on terms of a treaty alliance, and very friendly to

1 Harshacharita, translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 234.
2 Epigraphics India, vi. 143.
3 Waddell, Huen Ch’ang, II. 718.
4 Ibid., i. 369, 441, p. 190.
each other, it would be safe to infer that Karṇāśvarṇa and a part of the territory of Śāśāṇka were made over to Kumāra by Harsha after the death of Śāśāṇka. It was probably in this general arrangement, that Pāñcavarna became ruler of at least a part of Magadha, it may be the whole of Magadha. The death of Pāñcavarna probably occasioned the need for Harsha’s intervention in Magadha, and that is perhaps what is indicated in his expedition to Kanyakodha referred to above. It seems, therefore, justifiable that the death of Śāśāṇka led to the annexation to the empire of Harsha of the extensive kingdom of Bengal, and that Harsha did not straightway annex it to the empire but made his own dispositions by dividing the territory of Śāśāṇka among the rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms or viceroyalties by rounding off their frontiers on a systematic basis. It seems, therefore, clear that the territory east of the Doab and extending from the Himalayas to the sea was, in the last years of the emperor, divided into the following viceroyalties—(1) Tirabhalikā taking in the whole territory between the Himalayas and the Ganges, and westward of the Kharatoya River to the very frontiers of the Doab; (2) the territory of Assam to the east of the Kharatoya River taking in bits of Bengal in the near border; (3) Magadha with perhaps a considerable slice of territory added extending its frontiers up to the Ganges in its lower course; (4) Bengal itself must have been reconstituted by including in it all the territory in the lower course of the Ganges, and must have comprised in it the districts lying along the coast of what is now Bengal and all Orissa. This we find to be the actual disposition of powers in the century following the death of Harsha from such records as are accessible to us. Tirabhalikā must have been a viceroyalty of very great importance, and so also Magadha. Kimarūpa was undoubtedly a kingdom in alliance, subordinate alliance though it be. Bengal was perhaps a feudatory kingdom also, but may have been under the rule of a local dynasty, which may have been even that of Śāśāṇka himself. If Harsha made such a disposition of his territory during his life time, it is possible to infer that this territory broke up into four kingdoms on the death of Harsha, without having a name or a family name. Tirabhalikā,
who intervened on behalf of the Chinese ambassador Wang Hien T'ae. The war went against the Indian ruler, who was taken prisoner along with his family, and was carried over ultimately to China by the ambassador, where he died. As far as the details of the war accessible to us go, we do not find that the neighbouring province of Magadha, the part of it south of the Ganges, or any other part of the empire was involved in it, except for the assistance that the ruler of Assam gave to the Tibetans by way of supplies, etc. Therefore it may be taken that the war was actually confined to the single province of the empire, which may for convenience be called the viceroyalty of Tarabhakti. Almost ten years after the war, the self-same Chinese ambassador, a high placed official of China, the Minister in charge of the Imperial Archives, visited India again on a tour of pilgrimage in the course of which he was able to proceed unmolested to all the Buddhist holy places within the sphere of a Buddhist pilgrim's beat. What was more he returned without molestation across the northwestern frontier. The actual date of this pilgrimage is A.D. 657. In A.D. 657 therefore the country must have enjoyed a certain amount of peace and provided a sufficient amount of security for an official of the importance of Wang Hien T'ae to pass through unmolested. More than this perhaps we may even presume that there was something like a common authority recognized though this need not necessarily be an inevitable inference. Was there such a power which may be taken to have exercised extensive authority over the region of Mid-India to be regarded more or less as a successor of the empire? 

We have some records of a dynasty of rulers who affiliated themselves in their grants to the family of the later Guptas, though not to that of the imperial Gupta dynasty. One ruler by name Ādityaśūna has left behind him half a dozen records of his, of which all but one are undated.  

The dated one belongs to the year 66, obviously of the Harsha era, which would mean the year A.D. 672. Another feature of these records is that in some of them he does not give himself the suzerain titles of Mahārāja, etc., while in some he gives himself those titles. The inference therefore is clear that he started as a subordinate

[Note: Gupta Inscriptions, Nos. 48–49.]
ruiser, and at some stage of his career he transformed himself into a suzerain power. This is confirmed by the fact that his father is referred to with no higher titles than that of a silamata, and nothing more is stated of him than that he was the intimate friend of Harsha. This reference to Mādhavagupta in association with Harsha in the records gives us the clue to an identification, which perhaps would throw light upon the connection of this feudatory family of the Guptas, with Magadha.

If this Mādhavagupta, the father of Ādityasena, was the same as the Mādhavagupta who figures in the Harsha-charita as the friend and companion of Harsha, we may draw the inference that when Harsha rearranged the province in consequence of the death of Śāṅkha, he may have appointed his friend to the viceroyalty of the important and even palatine principality of Magadha.

The Aphaud stone inscription of Ādityasena gives a list of eight generations of Guptas in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Krishna Gupta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harsha Gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śri Jyotis Gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumāragupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damōdara Gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāśena Gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mādhavagupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādityasena</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In regard to some of these the following points of historical interest are also noted. No. 4 Kumāragupta is said to have defeated the ocean-like army of Iśānavarman, and entered, as if plunging in water, the fire specially lighted in Allahabad. This means that he fought against Iśānavarman and ascended the funeral pyre, perhaps because he was defeated. His successor Damōdara Gupta died in battle against the Mankharis, whose elephants caused the death of the Iśāna soldiers. His successor Mahāśena Gupta defeated Svetabhavatrītiya's army, the name of which deed of heroism was heard on the
banks of Lauhitya. Then come Mādhavagupta, whose friendship Śrī Harabadēva sought. Then followed Adityāsena. Of these Mahāśeṇagupta was probably a ruler connected by marriage alliance with the family of Harsha. Harsha's grandfather Adityavardhana is said to have married Mahāśeṇagupta, who from her name was probably a sister of Mahāśeṇagupta. If so he must have been a maternal uncle of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha. Mahāśeṇagupta is said to have defeated the army of a Susthītavarman. This Susthītavarman is taken to be the ruler of Assam and the father of Kumārabhāskaravarmman by some scholars on the ground that the River Lauhitya is mentioned in the connection. This, however, does not necessarily follow. The River Lauhitya is not mentioned anywhere near the scene of battle; it is merely mentioned as a place on the utmost eastern frontier up to which the fame of the heroic deed had spread. It cannot, therefore, bear the weight of the inference that the Susthītavarman referred to is the ruler of Assam. There is undoubtedly an Assam contemporary of Mahāśeṇagupta by name Susthītavarman. If this Susthītavarman had gone to war with Mahāśeṇagupta, the fact is likely to be mentioned in connection with the embassy that came to Harsha from Assam. The Harshacakrīta is not likely to have overlooked a detail like that. The probabilities, therefore, are that this Susthītavarman was a Maukharī ruler, though the name has not come down to us in any of the records or coins so far accessible, of this dynasty. Notwithstanding this want of direct reference, it would be more in keeping with the history of the relations between the Maukharis on the one side and the ruling dynasty of Thanesar on the other, to regard this Susthītavarman as a Maukharī, a brother probably of Śarvavarman rather than a son. Apart from that it is clear that this Mahāśeṇagupta was the Gupta contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana. Where did he rule, and what was his kingdom? These are the points that we shall have to settle on the basis of such evidence as we have.

In the dynastic list of these Guptas, the first three names have no historical association. The next three names come into close connexion with the Maukharis as almost hereditary enemies. The following

two belong to a period following Harsha, which we have dealt with already in part. The Maukhari had their headquarters at Kanauj, and had a comparatively extensive kingdom. Among them there are eight rulers in succession forming a dynasty up to the date of Harsha or Mādhavagupta. Their names may be set down in order as follows:

Harivarman
|
Adityavarman, married Harshagupta
|
Iśvaravarman, married Upagupta
|
Īśānavarman
|
Śarvarman Susthitavarman
|
Avantivarman
|
Grhavarman

The fourth Īśānavarman seems to be thought of as the ruler of this dynasty who really brought it into importance. Of the first we have no information; of the second and the third, the only useful information is that they married apparently two Gupta Princesses, and if we may assume from the name that they were related to the contemporary Gupta rulers, the queen of Adityavarman must have been a sister of Harshagupta, and the queen of Iśvaravarman a princess perhaps similarly related to Jivitagupta. Whether that be so or no, Īśānavarman assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja, and was the son of Iśvaravarman by Upagupta. It is against him that Kumāragupta fought and failed. His son was Śarvarman, who styled himself Parameswara, and Mahārājādhirāja. We have already stated that Susthitavarman, must have been a successor of Śarvarman, either a brother or a son, and as such fought against the Maukhari. Next follows Avantivarman, whose son Grhavarman was married to Rājya Śri, sister of Harsha. We thus see that Susthitavarman may have been the contemporary of Mahēśānagupta. Passing on to the family of Harsha himself, we find that Prabhākaravarman was the son of Adityavarman by his queen Mahēśānagupta. The latter name Mahēśānagupta raises a presumption that she was a sister of Mahēśāna-

gupta who fought with Susthitavarman. If this should be correct Prabhākara-vardhanas took rank with Avantivarman, his son Harsha with Grhavarman, a position which seems to be warranted by what appears in the Harshacharita. Where did this dynasty of Guptas rule? Was it in Magadha?

We know that Mādhavagupta's successors were associated with Magadha. This would naturally raise a presumption that the family ruled in Magadha. We see in the Harshacharita and in the inscriptions that a certain number of Gupta princes played a prominent part in his reign. Of these three names are worthy of notice. The first is Dēvagupta whom Rājayavardhana destroyed according to the Madhuban grant of Harsha. Rājya during his short life fought only two wars: the one against the Huns and the other against the Malva ruler who carried on a war against Grhavarman, his brother-in-law, killed him, and threw Rājyaesi into prison. Rājya had to conduct a war of reprisal against him. He conducted the war successfully, killed the Malva ruler, and returned victorious with his cousin Bhanḍi as his companion. When Rājya in his turn was assassinated by Susthiṅka, Bhanḍi led the army of his master successfully back to Thanesar and is said to have brought along with him a number of Malva notables in Chains. It, therefore, seems indisputable that Dēvagupta was the ruler of Malva. Again the Harshacharita makes reference to two princes of Malva. Kumāragupta and Mādhava-gupta, slightly older than the brothers, Rājayavardhana and Harshavardhana who were sent by their father to the court of Prabhākara-vardhana.

Of these two brothers, Kumāra was made the companion of Rājya and Mādhava occupied a similar place with respect to Harsha. It is obviously this person to whom the Harshacharita refers as the Malva prince (Malava Rājarṣe) when Bāna paid him the first visit.

The Malava Rāja from whom these princes came to the court of Thanesar must have been in alliance, and related to the royal family, or else it would be difficult to understand that these princes should be

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1 *Ep. Ind.,* i. 67.
2 *Harshacharita,* pp. 254-5. See also note on this subject by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vardeya, *History of Medieval India,* vol. 1.
3 *Harshacharita,* p. 159 and Translation, 128.
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sent as pages in attendance. If Mahadevagupta, the mother of Prabhakaravarman was the sister of Mahadevagupta he would then be sending his son to the court of his nephew, and there would be certainly nothing undignified in it. It appears therefore that Mahadevagupta, the father of Mādhava-gupta and Kumāragupta was the ruler of Malva being allied by marriage with the family of Thanouar and kept the peace with them while carrying on an unremitting war against the Makhara of Kanara. The fact that the brothers Mādhava-gupta and Kumāragupta were sent to Prabhakaravarman’s court was probably because there was another prince who succeeded to the throne with whom these princes could not have been as happy as at the court of Prabhakaravarman. Dīva-gupta whom Hējya-varman punished must, therefore, have been the ruler of Malva in succession to Mahadevagupta. So then we can take it that Mahadevagupta and his predecessors ruled in Malva in all probability and were Gupta rulers of Malva. After the conquest of Malva the dynasty came to an end in Dīva-gupta, and the two princes belonging to the royal family were in the court of Harsha himself. Harsha made other arrangements to carry on the government. That accounts for the statement of Hsien T’ā-sang that there was a Brahman ruler in Malva. Dīva-gupta and Kumāragupta get omitted in the inscriptions of Adityavēla and his successors, because they were collaterals and Mādhava-gupta had performed to be mentioned as he was in the direct line. Even so the Apsara inscription has nothing more to say of him than that he was sought in friendship by Harsha. There is no other person who appears to have been as good a friend of Harsha as the Malva prince Mādhava-gupta in the Haraśccharita. We can, therefore, safely take it that the Mādhava of the inscription referred to is no other than the Mādhava-gupta, the friend of Harsha according to the Haraśccharita. This Mādhava was in the company of Harsha almost in all critical moments of his life. He was the one companion on whom Harsha rested his hopes when fatigued by his wandering in search of his sister, as he had to go on foot in the last stage of it. He seems to have been the person to whom he addressed the remark about the young gallant when Hēja first paid him a visit in his camp on the river Ajñāvat. This Mādhava-gupta, the father of Adityavēla was clearly,

1 Mr. C. V. Vaidya, op. cit., note referred to above.
2 Haraśccharita, p. 355. Translation, 234.
the Malva prince of the name. How did he come to be the ruler of Magadha?  

This could only be by appointment of Harsha. As we have pointed out already Harsha must have made disposition of the territories in the eastern part of his empire after the death of Pampa-varman, and in the arrangements must have constituted the vicereignty or Magadha, to which he probably appointed his trusted friend Mahavagupta. Adityasena inherited the territory from his father. He probably assumed independent titles, and even styled himself paramount ruler some time after the Tibetan war when there was no chance of a revival of the empire. After the death of Bhojaka, Harsha must have reconstituted the province by creating a vicereignty for the whole of the region of Thirti carrying its eastern frontier up to the Kharatoya River. All east of it was within the kingdom of Kunaka Bhaskaravarman, whose authority extended even to this side of the Kharatoya river, as he issued a grant from Karnavaras, near the capital of Bhojaka. The territory on this side of the Ganges, extending as far as the frontier of Orissa, was constituted as the province of Magadha, appointing Mahavagupta to the charge of it. The kingdom of Bengal must have been reconstituted and with the addition of Orissa, and possibly a part of Kalinga, should have been formed a province by itself. That it was so under the empire is clear from the fact that Hsin T'ang refers to Harsha's return from an expedition to Kangyodha which is referred to in the Ganjam inscription of Bhojaka. Arjuna or Arupalka was apparently ruler of Tirahkuri, and his defeat and imprisonment as a result of the Tibetan war must have induced the others to seek their own safety. That was probably the occasion when Adityasena assumed independence which may be about A.D. 659. His inscription is dated A.D. 672 and gives him paramount titles, and these were probably assumed by Adityasena some time about the period when the Chinese ambassador Wang Huen T'sao visited India on his third mission. The position thus founded by Adityasana continued intact through the reigns of his son Divagupta, his grandson Vishnugupta, and his great-grandson Jivitagupta. The Dee Burtark inscription of the last makes reference to grants of Bhulikya, Sarvavarman and Avantiyavijnata which he renewed by this grant. This is additional evidence that he was ruler over the territory not only of the two Malukhars, but even
of Bhillamlya, in all probability the Maharaja Bhillamlya of Hissen T'ang. The territory of Adityasena should have been the same as the territory over which the Maithulis ruled in this part, and supports the view put forward here that the earlier Guptas were rulers of Malava, and the father of Adityasena was transplanted in Magadha.

What was really the position or the extent of the empire of Adityasena, if it is permissible to call it such? Of the few inscriptions that have come down to us relating to this period and of this dynasty the actual records of the dynasty do not give us any idea of the extent of his empire, or the character of his authority. But there is a record at Dongari in Bihar, in the heart of his territory proper, which states that he was ruler of a comparatively extensive empire, and that his authority at any rate, extended as far as Chedia. He is said to have brought vast wealth obtained at the capital of the Chola, and with that, celebrated the third Asama. He is further said to have constructed a temple of Vishnu in the form of Narasimha, and in connection with this establishment the record purports itself to have been originally made. Unfortunately however, the record is found in a temple dedicated to Vaidyanathas, that is Siva, and is in the Mahabhir character of about the sixteenth century. As the record itself contains reference to a further establishment of Vishnu in the form of the Primeval boar (Varaha), the document that has come down to us cannot be the original, but a comparatively late copy. One feature in it is worthy of note. Adityasena is said to have brought the wealth and built the temple referred to before, in the Krivaguna, that is in the golden age of the Hindus, and the queen's name is given as Koshadri, instead of Kanadri which was her actual name. The latter feature can be explained as a copyist's error, and the former feature would mean that at the time the record was put in its present form, it was no ancient in the estimation of contemporaries that the temple was taken to be of immemorial foundation. Notwithstanding these defects, we may take it that the record is a copy of an older, and even genuine original. At the same time it must be admitted that the Chedia, which would mean nothing else than the capital of the Chola country, may contain an error in transcription. It may not be safe, therefore, to draw the inference

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1 Fussel, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 212, No. 6.
that he actually went to the Chola country, or laid the Chola under tribute. In the latter half of the seventh century, the Chola power may have existed, but in no high position in the Chola country proper. But there was perhaps a Chola country in the region extending from Kollam to Cuddapah, to which Hsuan Tsang refers in his Chi-li-yi. Whichever be the Chola country under reference it would perhaps be unsafe to take it that Adityasena’s authority, or even influence, extended as far south as the Chola country. But the mere general achievements ascribed to him seem possible from the other records of his, and would make the inference sustainable that he was a sovereign of very great influence in Magadha and the surrounding territories, and that his influence and power were great enough for him to put forward a claim to imperial authority, without the claim being seriously called in question.

We have the date for Adityasena of A.D. 672 as was mentioned already, and according to a Nepal inscription, he married one of his daughters to a Manikari prince, by name Bhogavarman, which means that at the time of the dominance of Adityasena’s influence in the central region of Hindustan, the Manikaris, had not gone quite out of existence. They were still in a position of sufficient influence and retained so much of their prestige, as to enter into marriage relations with the ancient dynasty for the time being.

This Bhogavarman’s daughter married the Nepal prince, Siva-Deva, and her son was a Jayasura for whom we have a date in the Harsha Satra. 163, which would correspond to A.D. 759-60. At the time of the Tibetan invasion, Nepal was in alliance, perhaps a subordinate alliance with Tibet, the Tibetan rulers having married one of the princesses of Nepal. This Jayasura of Nepal was the great grandson of Adityasena in the female line. Jivangupta was his great grandson in the male line. We shall not perhaps be far wrong if we took it that Jivangupta of the Don Bararkh inscription was almost a contemporary of this Jayasura of Nepal. Therefore Jivangupta’s date would be roughly about the middle of the eighth century when according to Kalhana’s Rajatarangini the Kashmiri ruler, Lakkudhya, Multikshita defeated, and overthrew completely the ruler of Kamet, Vishavarman. This perhaps indicates that the sovereignty of Adityasena

\[\text{Jayasura, Satra, I., 163.}\]
and his successors gradually shifted from the Guptas of Magadha to the ruler of Kanauj, who might possibly have been of the dynasty of the Maukhari. This seems to be borne out by the statement in the inscription of Jayadēva of Nepal, referred to above, for the record mentions the fact that this Jayadēva married princess Rājyamati. Rājyamati is said to have been the daughter of a Śrī Harshadēva, Lord of Cōla, Odīra, Kalinga, Kosalas and other lands, and was of the race of Bhagadētas. The race of Bhagadēta was the race that ruled over Assam, as Bhagadēta was the son of Harshadēva, and the family of Kumara Bhaskaravarma claimed descent from him. This Harshadēva must, therefore, have been the ruler of Assam, to which perhaps, he had added by his own efforts, or by those of his immediate predecessors, the province of Odīra, Kalinga and Kosalas, as Pundras had already been added to the territory of Kumara perhaps in the last years of Harsha. This description of Harshadēva’s territory keeps close of Magadha, and is almost along three frontiers of it. Therefore at the period of rule of Yasovarmma the rulers of Pundra or Bengal must have exercised authority or rule over a considerable extent of territory along the eastern frontier, extending from Assam to Gaṇjam in the Madras Presidency. When Multikipā had overthrown Yasovarmma and started on his Ítikāja, the first ruler he could attack was the ruler of Kalinga, according to the Rājārājasūtis 3 as the territory of Yasovarmma had already been subdued. In another of his adventures he had to get across to the ruler of Bengal to try his strength against. When he wanted to gain assistance against the Bengal ruler, having escaped from prison by stratagem, he could apply to the king of Nepal. Thus the reduction of Yasovarmma to subjection brought the Kirtikāla ruler into conflict with the ruler of Kalinga with none other between Yasovarmma’s authority must, therefore, have extended not only over the territory of Kanauj proper, but the ancestral kingdom of the Maukhari, but must have taken in the whole of Magadha. That again is an indication that the dominant authority passed from the family of Ādityasūtras, that is, from the Guptas of Magadha, to Yasovarmma of Kanauj.

Of Yasovarmma we have hitherto known but little beyond what is contained in Kālhana’s Rājārājasūta. So far as that work is

3 Translation by Stace, Book I, p. 148, eto.
concerned it mentions Yasovarman only incidentally as an important ruler of Central India who had been overcome in war by Laillisatiya Muktipida, in the course of a description of the incidents of the reign of the Kshatrap ruler. It adds one more detail regarding Yasovarman, namely that he was a patron of two great poets Bhavabhuti and Vilkapatna. Bhavabhuti is the well-known author of the three dramas, Mahavira Charitram, Uttara Rama Charitram, and Millati-Madhava. Vilkapatna describes himself as a pupil of this Bhavabhuti who ultimately succeeded to the position at court occupied by Bhavabhuti as poet laureate.⁰ In his Prakrit poem Gaudavaha (Gaudavatika, the abiding of the Bengal ruler), he is described in this epic fashion as a great ruler, a veritable incarnation of Vishnu, whose chief achievement and title to fame was his conquest of Gauda (Bengal) and the killing of the Ganga ruler, which forms the subject of the Prakrit epic. Laillisatiya Muktipida who vanquished Yasovarman in his turn claims to have overthrown and killed another Bengal ruler. From what has been said above, Harsha was the great ruler of Assam in whose territory was included Bengal and the province appurtenant thence. He is given the name of Harish in the traditional history of Assam.¹ That probably was the ruler who was overthrown by Yasovarman, and hence the great glorification that is made of this incident in the Gaudavaha. In the History of Assam the dynasty of Bhagadatta is said to have come to an end either directly or indirectly with the ruler Harish. Is this not a variant of the name Harsha? There was a short succession of two or three rulers following this revolution, and another dynasty settled itself upon the throne. Has this not a reference to the death of the two successive rulers one of them having been put to death by Yasovarman and the other by Laillisatiya Muktipida? If this should happen to be correct, Yasovarman must have established an empire in succession to Adityasena in Mid-India, as his first title to greatness, according to Gaudavaha, is the overthrow of a Magadha ruler. He extended this empire to include Vanga (Bengal) and all that formed part of it at the time. The empire, therefore, founded by the last dynasty of the Gupta in Magadha was continued under Yasovarman and was put an end to by the overthrow of Yasovarman by the ruler

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⁰ Gaudavoha, 707-246 Introduction vadiil.
¹ From Sir Edward Gait's History of Assam.
of Kashmir. This put an end to the ascendancy of the central powers, and it was now the turn of the frontier kingdoms to assert their power and establish an ascendancy if possible. Three powers stood out almost in competition to achieve this ascendancy, the frontier kingdom of Kashmir, the rising kingdom of the Gujaratas in Mawa or Marwar, and the newly established kingdom of Bengal in succession to the rulers of Assam. The latter half of the seventh century and the greater part of the eighth century were taken up with the revival of the Gupta empire in Magadha followed by that of Yasovarman, possibly a Mavara, and this central Indian Empire made way for the struggle between the Gujaratas and the Pules of Bengal and culminated in the establishment of the empire of the Gujaratas at Kamanj.

NOTE

The poem of Gandavyūha of Vīpkirtīja, published so far, consists of 1300 stanzas in the Bombay Sanskrit series (No. 354). On the face of it it deals with the slaying of the Ganda king on the analogy of the poem Rāvanavatthu. The poem therefore is expected to deal with the death of a Ganda king at the hands of the enemy presumably in war, or after a combat of some sort. In the form in which it is available to us it seems an incomplete poem. The 1300 stanzas, all that is available so far, do not carry us far into the narrative. The Editor, Mr. S. P. Pendte, sets himself up to consider whether it is a complete work or no, and adduces many arguments of values to prove that the poem is incomplete. He nowhere refers to the colophon of the work which states in clear terms, that what is printed, the whole of 1300 stanzas, is Kathakalikā or introduction which makes all discussion on this question superfluous. Obviously therefore, he has some reason to regard this colophon as not genuine or not forming part of the original. Even if it should be so, there is but little doubt that the part printed is nothing more than the introduction.

If the published part of the 1300 stanzas is the Kathakalikā that it pretends to be, there must be a hint at any rate of the Gauta monarch who died at the hands of the hero and some indication of the greatness of the achievement. The first 597 stanzas describe a sort of sketch of the hero, and what follows is merely an account of the author and the circumstances under which the poem came to be composed. Is it legitimate to expect any indication of the main topic
In the first as Mr. Pandit has done? This part has reference only to the anterior history of the hero and what follows is really the introduction to the main theme. In the first 697 stanzas there is frequent reference to the defeat and death of a Magadha king and to an invasion of Vanga territory involving a defeat of the king. There is no warrant for equating the Magadha-Apsaras of the stanzas as equivalent to the Gandhā, nor does the commentator do so in these cases. He falls into the blunder, so it must be called unfortunately, as the poem refers to Magadha, Vanga and Gandhā separately only in Stanzas 848 which states that formerly, Magadha-Miyaka was uprooted and dispossessed of its kingdom.

This was not all. The Magadha king fled from the field and was taken and killed, his queens having been taken prisoners and reduced to servitude. Hence this achievement against the ruler of Magadha stands out distinct as a separate achievement, and this is clearly indicated in the expression pārśva in Stanzas 848 meaning a former achievement of the monarch.

Following this comes the successful invasion of Vanga and the defeat of its ruler. Then the hero is taken to the Dakhan and the South, then against the Pātrikās and ultimately against the Himalayan regions almost on the lines of Rāma-vāsa. In all this Gandā as such, or its ruler, finds no mention whatever.

Stanzas 1184 describe Yasovarman as Chasakapakdiś meaning thereby that he was a proficient in the arts of statescraft and diplomacy. It is in Stanzas 1184 that we get the first direct reference to the Gandhā ruler as the drawback, your sword prospers by cutting the throat of the Gandhā ruler.

Does it not follow from this that, in the first half, Viśvātikā merely describes the anterior history of Yasovarman and then gives the actual introduction to the subject which he intended to treat in true epic form in the rest of the work whether it ever was written or no. It would be too much of an idiosyncrasy in an author of the eminence of Viśvātikā to call his work Gandhāvāho and refer to the Gandhā uniformly as the Magadha king. In what is actually no

1 Stanzas 848, 476 and 876.
2 Stanzas 848 and 876.
3 Viśvātikā 1184, pārśva-pārśva-pārśva-pārśva-pārśva-pārśva.
4 Theu, &c., su-niśkam-puṣ-pa-su-niśkam-puṣ-pa-su-niśkam-puṣ-pa-su-niśkam-puṣ-pa.
more than the Kathavamsa or the introductory chapter. Yaduvarman first of all conquered Magadha killing its ruler in war, and having established an empire in consequence in succession to that of Adityasena, went further and annexed to it Bengal though only for a very brief period of time. This seems the only legitimate inference from the Gaudavaha in the form in which it is accessible to us so far.

1 C.L. Anitthamahā in the Kathavamsa of Somadeva.
CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF KÂTUŚALYA

I

THE BASIS (Prakṛti)

(Ar. Śār. vi. 36; Kau. iv; Aṣṭāda., ch. 233)

As the true founder of a system, Kâtuśalya endeavours at first to determine the basis of diplomacy. He distinguishes seven elements which he calls Prakṛti. This expression is as old as the Sāṃkhya philosophy which is pre-buddhistic in its origin. True to the tradition and the special psychology of Hindu schools, Kâtuśalya takes hold of an old word and gives it a new meaning. In the last chapter of his book, he describes his method of exposition (Teorūyaśāstra) and remarks thus:

'I call that my own definition, which has not been given in a similar form by others. For example, the first Prakṛti, the contiguous ground and the second Prakṛti, etc. . . .'

So the word Prakṛti possesses a special significance. But we must remark also that Kâtuśalya mentions first the Sāṃkhya in the group of the four systems of philosophy which he calls by the common word Sāṃkhya. Besides there seems to be a close parallelism between the struggling primordial atoms which we find in the Prakṛti of the
Sāṅkhya, and in the atomic diplomacy of Kaṇṭālīya. Leaving aside this problem, tempting to students of panca philosophy, we shall analyze the conception of Kaṇṭālīya.

These seven Prakṛitis are:—

1. The sovereign (Svēśa).
2. The ministers (Amaṭya).
3. The country (Janāpada).
4. The fortresses (Dvāra).
5. The treasury (Kāra).
6. The army (Dvāsa).
7. The allies (Aśtra).

These are according to Kaṇṭālīya the vestigial elements of all sovereignty. But some centuries later Kśramadīka, who is a pandit and not a politician, gives in his Māthura, a resume in verse of the Arthaśāstra and does not seem to realize the comprehensiveness of the definitions of Kaṇṭālīya. Kśramadīka enumerates indeed the seven elements but in following his conclusions he narrows down the general idea of sovereignty (Rajamāṇapa) to that of a kingdom (Rajya). He forgets that the kingdom is already one among these elements and thus he confounds the part with the whole. But his excellent commentator Sūryakṛṣṇa who seems to have studied profoundly the text of Kaṇṭālīya, partly corrects the error of Kśramadīka by returning to the original conception of the elements (Vijñāna) at their state of integration and of disintegration (Vijñāna).

The theory of seven elements appears also in Māṇu (i. 334), Vātisvatīka (i. 358) in the Mābhāsośa (i. 59-70) and the Śatamāla (i. 81). But in Śātras these Prakṛitis are defined as ten functionaries.

Finally the word Prakṛti finds a place in the lexicon of the Aṣṭādhyāyīs:

क्षेत्रमातमात्राभिः पुराणलिङ्गः

Then Kaṇṭālīya characterizes every one of these elements, and the sovereign (Svēśa) appears as the centre of the whole system.

एक्कर मक्केद्र मक्केद्रादि महानवराम

Pāṇini Dr. Belotronics Sūntu, The Prophetic Science of the Ancient Hindus, Sāṅkhya, Yoga modern.
1 ii. 71-72.
2 Compare with Arth. Sūntu, viii. 137 यत्तित्वपंक्तिः मेघ, i. 626-629.
Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India

Hara Śukprakārya (on Kāmapāla, iv, 1) following Kāmpāla is in accordance with all the other schools. The first question put by Yudhikirta to Bhrasra (Ma. ch. 35, 3) on royal diplomacy was: 'Why a certain person who is subject to both birth and death, and who possesses the same qualities as others, is placed at the head of others?' In reply (Ma. ch. 35) Bhrasra represents royalty as the last remedy against anarchy (Ahṭyapāya). He tells how the social contract with the first king Mann secured the life and property of the people. The same argument in favour of monarchy is given in Mann (vii), Kāmapāla (i, ii) and the Śabdavastī (i) with simple variations. It is dangerous to affirm that such a one is borrowed from such another. They appear to have come from that mysterious source of Hindu wisdom—oral tradition which transmitted a vast collection of floating truths long before the schools and the schoolmen.

Just because kingship is an exalted privilege it carries with it grave responsibilities. Nowhere is this point better developed than in the employment of time as indicated by Kāmpāla for the king. In the section on diplomacy he gives the first place wholly to the necessary virtues of the king (Śwast Śakṣaṭ).

There he follows the footsteps of his two great masters, Śakra and Bṛhaspati. According to one stanza of the Śabdavastī (i, 78) the king has at first to discipline himself, afterwards discipline his sons, then his ministers, his officers and lastly his subjects. Also the Bṛhaspatīthā (i, 1) begins with the Śakṣaṭ, Bṛhatī śāstra and Kāmpāla seems to have written only one Śaṃy (commentary) on this point in his first chapter on diplomacy. We find there a veritable catalogue of the royal virtues carefully classified:

(a) The qualities which attract partisans to the king (Ahṭyaṇaśūla śuddha): noble birth, luck, intelligence, heroism, habit of taking counsel from the aged, piety, sincerity, fidelity, greatness, magnanimity, great energy, prostrations, possession of powerful (or disciplined) vassals, resolution, attitude of treating near himself the broadminded people, and lastly love of discipline.

The same story is repeated in the Abhāṣakāra (i, 6) although it is presented as a piece fiction designed to weary the discussion of kingship and to maintain them in confusion.


The intellectual qualities (Prajña swādhyāya): curiosity, attention, assimilation, memory, discernment, reasoned choice (Viveka) and passion for truth (Prajavātanā). The signs of energy (Uḍaśayana): courage, pride (Āmasa or impatience under humiliation), prudence, competence (Skīra). The personal qualities (Ātma-prakāśa): he must be prudent (or alert), spiritual, of good memory and vigorous intelligence, of imposing presence, master of himself, master of different arts (Kšāmya), he must employ the punishment, etc., in moments of danger, do good to the good and harm to the wicked; be moderate, capable of preventing public dangers; he must see profoundly and abashed (Śrīkālaśa), expert in what concerns the place (Deśa), time (Kha) and personal initiatives (Purushārkha), the treaties (Sādī) and wars (Vīṣṇa), the omissions (Yaska), the reserves (Sakṣa) and agreement (Pāpa); he must be sharp to discover the weak points of the enemy; measured in his emotions, disguised in manifestations of his fatigue, of his anger, etc., free from passions, from immobility, greed, arrogance, indolence, inconstancy, impatience and cruelty, and he must be ready to speak first with a smiling countenance, agreeable to the counsels of the ancients.

This respectable list of virtues is almost entirely reproduced in verse by Kṛmaṇḍaka and his excellent commentator Sāmkariyāya from time to time the original text of Kṣantika, drawing our attention to the alterations due to the requirements of the metre in Kṛmaṇḍaka. Thus the group (a) is reproduced in Vīṣṇulokā 1. 506, 310. The Śrīkālaśa also contains the echoes of the pharmacology of Kṣantika. Lastly, when the Kṛmaṇḍaka enumerates the catalogue of the virtues of an heir-apparent, it reproduces the list of choice virtues mentioned in the four groups of Kṣantika. On the other hand, the counsels of the venerable Yāga Devanatha to his son Rāma, accepted as the succeeding prince by the people, are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Arthasastra, such as they are formulated in the brief and profound paragraph entitled the conduct of a saintly king (Kīrṣṇavītām)

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1 Cp. Śrīk. 1. 506, 310. 2 Cp. Śrīk. 1. 506, also Śrīk. 1. 14, xvii. 3 Kṛmaṇḍaka 2. 1. 48-46. 4 Śrīk. 1. 68-72. 5 Kṛmaṇḍaka 1. 8-11. 6 I, 8-11.
The ideal king must first conquer his senses by watching over the group of ascetic moral enemies. He must acquire wisdom (Prabodhāna), be just, and acquire wealth (Prayāsa) by associating with the aged (Baḷidharmāśaṅkha), he must see by means of his eyes (Cakṣa), he must be attentive towards acquisition and energetic to consolidate what is thus acquired (Vaiśeṣikaśuddhi), he must defend the respective duties of the four criteria (Śuddhārthāśaṅkha) by proper conduct and attain excellence (Vivaraṇa) by cultivating the sciences (P displayed). He must endear himself to the people (Pratītyāsāraṇa) by assuring them profits, and must regulate his conduct by considerations of general welfare (Aṣṭimā Vīri). This solicitude to win the goodwill of the people is the strongest guarantee against despotism. Therefore all the maxims of Niti insist on this point and Kāmandaka has faithfully preserved this tradition when he gives this significant title. The manner of winning the subjects (Prajāyāśaṅkha). For success in this line, the king must sacrifice his vanity, and then by the positive virtues of discipline, he will be able to conquer the whole world. His very enemies will be transformed into good friends. This idea is found also in Avaghoṣa who gives an ideal portrait of king Śuddhodana, the father of the Buddha. It is developed later on in the poetic sketch of the great kings like Dilipa, Raghu, Dālārātha, Atithī outlined by Kālidāsa in his epic of Rāmāyana.

The king, even if he were to be perfect, cannot bear alone the burdens of Government. Hence the necessity of ministers, and other functionaries. Kantālaśa lays down as a principle that sovereignty depends on co-operation; a single wheel cannot suffice.

2 Cj. Śekharaścīrti, III, 16.
3 Cj. the Ideal of Kaṇṭālaśa and Hāsa's edict of Asona's inscriptions, and Kaṇṭālaścīrti of the Kālidāsa.
4 Kaṃ, II, 22-32.
5 Cj. Śeṣuścīrti. I, 8-41. Li. 6.
6 Mena, viii, 10, Vṛṣa, vii, 11.
7 Li. 1, 1. 2.
8 Cj. Vṛṣa, I, 11.
approval of the majority. He may, however, do it if men of experience recommend it.  

Likewise the second book of the Śalaksya commences with a rule which appears with a slight variation in the Śrutisūtras of the Mahābhārata. If, for a petty action, it is difficult to achieve the task alone, how could one without co-operation cope with the great task of Government? Therefore even if the king is versed in all the sciences, and expert in diplomacy, he should never discuss the problems of Artha without his councillors. Thus the second Chapter of the Śalaksya devotes the latter from 71 to 102 to the higher officials and the section 110 to 176 to the smaller officials. That text rivals the second chapter, Adhyātisāstras of Kanāla, on the same subject, if not in quality, at least in extent. The Ratnavyapena also, when it describes the ministers of King Dvārakā, summarises the essential virtues of ministers according to the rules of Kanāla. But the latter is superior to all the other texts on that point because Kanāla conserves the different theories of diverse schools on the subject of the creation of ministers.  

Bhāradvāja says:—

'The king shall choose his ministers from among his companions of study for their purity (Śrauta) and capacity (Śastra) are well known. He can have confidence in them.'  

'No,' says Vīśālākha, 'such men, being playmates shall dominate the king. the ministers shall be chosen from those whose private character is known to the king who shares their views and virtues. They will thus be afraid to injure the king who knows their hearts.'  

'But the danger is reciprocal,' says Pārśivāna, 'because the king will have to follow them in their bad as well as in good actions, since they know his secrets as well. So long as the king fears, least the people should know his secrets, he is independent only in theory. Let those only be ministers who serve the king in his dangers, even at the peril of their lives, for their loyalty is proved.'  

'No,' says Pāśurma, 'this is loyalty but not intellectual capacity (Buddhiyoga). Those who are experts in the financial matters.

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2. Māya, 1, 2, 4, 5 and vi. 5, 6.
4. L. 7, 6-10; L. 100, 4.
5. A. 1. 1, Maru, vi. 36.
6. S. 1. 1, 6, 11 with Madhusūkha.
7. A. 1. 1, 4, 6.
who maintain steadily the level of profits and even produce a surplus, such men are to be appointed ministers, for their capacity is proved.'

'No,' says Kampadanta, 'such people are devoid of other ministerial qualities. The king must have hereditary ministers, for even if they act wrongly they will never abandon the king, for they know his glorious actions and respect the family relations which bind them (Sangasatva). It is the same even in animal species: the cattle remains always with its own herd and leaves that with which it has no bond.'

'No,' says Vidavyadhi, 'for these hereditary men would domonstrate over all and not as the king himself. The king shall choose, on the contrary, new ministers versed in politics. Such ministers would dare not offend the king since they would consider him as Yama, the god of Justice, the strong upholder of the noosphere of discipline.'

'No,' says Bhudantatma, 'for a mere theoretist of political literature would bring disasters through lack of experience in the matter of good and bad actions. The ministers shall be chosen from among those who are noble by birth, wise, honest, and pure,\(^1\) heros and loyal and chosen only on consideration of their virtues.'

'This,' says Kampalya, 'is just from all considerations: the way of working proves personal worth in general.'

Having thus fixed the method of choosing the ministers (Answars), Kampalya\(^2\) indicates the criteria to be employed in the choice of counselors (Kastus). The king shall verify the following points concerning them: domestic (Kastus) and local influence (Answars) by means of persons worthy of credit; technical ability (Shivas) and knowledge of the states by means of colleagues; wisdom (Pravritti), honesty (Dharmasatva) and skill (Saktta) by means of practical test (Karmastuvas); eloquence (Vicrti), resourcefulness (Pragatis) and ever-renewed talent (Praabhasa) by way of discussion; endurance (Karmavarga), by means of the display of energy and heroism in case of danger; honesty (Saan); spiritiness (Rasitva), proved loyalty (Prasangshi), by means of intimate association (Saduvanastha); conduct (Sah), strength (Bala), health (Agni), powers of resistance (Satta), application (Paga), vigilance in work (Aksamata),

\(^1\) Op. Ar. Sat. 1. 6 cited by Blavatski on Hara, vi. 1.
\(^2\) Op. Kamp., br. 31-37.  \(^3\) Ar. Sat., l. 8.
constancy (akṣara) by means of intimate friends; assability (śamāsya) and absence of all hostile sentiment (āsattvya) by means of personal experience.

By such standard of choice of capable and responsible ministers, the Artikśāstra places itself high above the picture of the primitive and conservative constitution that we find in the literature of the school of law (Dharma). It would, however, be an error to conclude that the tradition of the school of Arthā is but a late and amplified version of ancient traditions of the school of law. For it is possible that the theory of Government, inasmuch as it concerns directly the school of Arthā, is more faithfully and completely preserved in the literature of that school than in that of the school of law. Everything in the latter is summarised and subordinated to the central theme, the Ratnakāraṇa which is but a section of the Dharmaśāstra.1

The third element is the country whose ideal qualities are enumerated thus:

'A beautiful country must be extensive, must support itself and support others, be able to defend itself, and be self-sufficient in case of danger; to be invincible towards the enemies; to possess obedient vessels; to be free from swamp, from rocks, from rock-salt, from unevenness, from thorny bushes, from forest shelters of tigers and wild beasts, to be pleasant, to have fertile furrows, to contain precious minerals, forest products, parks for elephants, pasturages for cattle; to be populous, to have hidden ways of access, to be rich in cattle; to be naturally irrigated, to be provided with routes on land and water, rich in valuable and various merchandise, capable of supporting military charges; having active agriculturists, intelligent masters and labourers, and a loyal and honest population.'

This description of an ideal country resembles the description of Mānadeva Panha (I 2, v. 4). This classical Buddhistic work, in a dialogue between a conquering prince and a learned sāvaka reproduces numerous reminiscences of the Arthāśāstra as understood at that time. The smallest commentator Meghiṭṭhita cites, so to say, word for word, this section of Kantākya in commenting on Manu (vii. 55). The expression śāstra is defined by him as a synonym of a group comprising army, treasury, fortresses and kingdom; but this seems to be a later

3 Cp. Vījñāna, i. 330.
refinement. He accepts Kausa as synonymous with Kausapatha after Kamalaya (ii. 24) and in his Kusapya, be it the authorized text of Kamalaya almost with the same expression. The commentators on Manus (vii. 59), Vishnu (530) and Vayu (iii. 49) show an interesting parallel. Kaimandaka has simply given in verse the text of Kamalaya.

The fortresses have played a great role in primitive wars and naturally occupy an important place in the diplomacy of Kamalaya. Curiously enough, the description of an ideal country immediately followed by that of a fortress considered as a glorious crowning piece, so found in Kamalaya as well as in the Milky Pundro (v. 4). The similarity is striking, if not in the phenomenology, at least in contents especially in what concern the construction and decoration of fortresses. Leaving the architecture of the fortresses of Kamalaya to the students of Hindu Archeology, we would give only the diplomatic utility of such fortresses.

Kamalaya classifies these in four groups:

(a) Those which are in an island or on a plain in the midst of a low country (Sama);
(b) those which are on rocks or in caves (Parawda);
(c) those which have no water-course or wells (Kumar);
(d) those which are in forests with the water-course known only to the inhabitants (Vasa).

Among these (a) and (b) are defenses of inhabited country, whilst (c) and (d) are those of desert or forest countries. This classification is faithfully preserved by Kaimandaka and is shown with slight variations in the following texts:

Manu, vii. 70-71.

Naha, vi. ch. 87, 4-5.

Svet., vi. 6.

The treasury. The treasury ought to have been acquired honestly by the king himself or his predecessors, must be rich in gold and silver, must possess divers and vast collections of jewels (Kaus) and coins (Hiranya), be capable of tiding over misfortunes and the stoppage of supplies of long duration.

1 vv. 42-44
2 cf. Dharmaratna, vi. 11, 29; cp. Aggef Pandita, ch. 21.
3 v. 41
4 cf. 53, 68.
The Army

The army must be hereditary and permanent. The soldier must be obedient and contented. He must be able to support his family and children. Far from being demoralized, as it happens in foreign service, the army must be recondite in all circumstances, accustomed to fatigue, experienced in several combats and in the science of arms, entirely loyal in adversity as well as in prosperity, having a common purpose, and being mainly composed of Kṣatriyas.

The Allies:

The allies ought to be hereditary, permanent, obedient, and loyal; they must act with promptitude and vigour. The qualities of allies are developed by Kṣatrya in the section on alliances.

These seven elements form the basis of the diplomacy of Kṣatrya, and these he has emphasized at the end of this section.

The king who is a master of himself develops the elements which were little prosperous. On the contrary a king who is not a master of himself destroys his elements, even though they were prosperous and loyal.

Thus the king who has at his disposal only bad elements and who is not a master of himself, though he is the master of the four corners of the world, is exposed to assassination by his subjects or falling into the hand of his enemies.

Such a king, stupid, and devoid of character, is considered as easy to conquer. The diagnosis is formulated under the title:

*Desirable qualities in an enemy.*

II

The Sphere of Action

(Arv. Śr., vii. 87; cp. Ekā., viii; Śāstra, iv. 1; Agni Purāṇa, ch. 232; Yajñī, i. 344, Comm.; Manus, vii. 154-155, Comm.)

Having thus established the basis of diplomacy, Kṣatrya defines its jurisdiction which he calls the sevastis, the circle of states. It is almost a commonplace of Hindu political literature to describe diplomatic relations in term of the number of states which play the role of allies or enemies, conformably to their mutual relations in space. It leads us to consider cases of friendship or enmity of different grades and

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3. Arv. Śr., vii. 114.
shades. The centre of the circle is composed of the conquering king (Vȳghra'a), and his immediate enemy (Ari), and, on the circumference, the different enemies of other states follow their orbits described in accordance with the laws of attraction and repulsion that are primordial and fatalistic. This is probably the reduction of the ancient astronomical theories on the movements of stars and planets. The conception of Mâlapa is essentially dynamical.

The states are as follows:

1. the central conquering state (Vȳghra'a);
2. the central enemy (Ari);
3. the primary ally of No. 1 (Ahrīna);
4. the primary ally of No. 3 (Ahrīna);
5. the ally of the ally of No. 1 (Ahrīna);
6. the ally of the ally of No. 3 (Ahrīna);
7. the enemies in the rear (Parvīra, those who catch the hue);
8. the friends in the rear (Ahrīna);
9. the friends of the enemies in the rear (Parvīra);
10. the friends of the friends in the rear (Ahrīna).

Thus the first two are surrounded by the eight others and form with them the ten diplomatic zones. Kântalya adds to these two more exterior zones.

11. the intermediate power (Ahrīna);
12. the neutral king (Udīna).

In this way are formed the dozen royal elements (Ayavanashiti).

Every one of them possesses five out of the seven fundamental elements (Ayavanashiti), without counting the king and the ally; this gives us sixty elements, plus twelve kings, making a total of seventy-two.

Klomshika discusses this question of mālapa in chapter xviii by giving different definitions, in accordance with several schools which Kântalya has not mentioned; for example, the school of Manu; Gûra (Bhīmapati); Kâri (Gâky); Vīśvamitra, etc.

Here are some definitions of the essential elements given by Kântalya.

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3. Cp. the commentaries of Kântalya and Bhrāma on Ayavanashita, ii. 3, 43.
The conqueror is a king who is master of himself, who is possessed of the fundamental elements and who understands diplomacy.¹

The enemy is a king who is possessed of hostile qualities and resources.² The intermediary is a king who possesses the territories adjoining to those of the conqueror, and to those of the enemy, and who is capable of assisting, or injuring by joining the one or the other. The neutral king is one who is outside the territories of the three preceding kings, and who being very powerful is capable of assisting the three kings either by joining them or of injuring them by fighting.

These are the four great circles (Cakravartiprakāśa). Each of them finds its power and success according to its wealth of elements. Power signifies force; and success signifies prosperity.³

The power (śakti) is of three sorts.⁴

1. Power of counsel (Mātrasakti; cf. मन्त्रगुणे विकार); intellectual force.⁵

2. Power of lordship (Pratikṣāsakti); force of treasury and of army.

3. Power of action (Vibhakti); force of non-reliability.

Success (Siddhi) is defined likewise. For all the masters of the (Cakravarta) there are three fundamental considerations.

1. The decline (Kṣaya).

2. The equilibrium (Māsa).

3. The prosperity (Vṛddhi).

In that respect what concerns good conduct and its opposite (Māsa and Kṣaya) belongs to human action (Māsa). That which concerns good luck and bad luck (Ayama) belongs to divine action (Dīsa).

The world is governed by divine and human actions ⁷

The divine action cannot be foreseen. In consequence, to obtain a result which we did not expect is good luck (Ayama). The human action can be foreseen. Consequently good success depends on the acquisition and consolidation of habits (Māsa).⁸

Success is due to good conduct and failure due to its absence. Both

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¹ Cp. Māru, vii, 12-16.
² Cp. Gāeśa, vi, 1.
³ Dhru. Mahā, iv, 27.
⁴ Cp. Māsa, vii, 100; Vajisa, i, 286.
⁵ Cp. Māru, vii, 326.
⁶ Cp. Sānija, vii, 13; Coreus
⁷ Cp. Māru, vi, 308.
⁸ Cp. Gāeśa, vi, 1.
depend on human reason; but the divine action suspends them. The tranquillity (Sama) and the activity (Kriya) are the principles of acquisition (Yoga), and of consolidation (Kama). Activity attains the acquisition of the desired object. Tranquillity secures the consolidation of the fruits of action. Activity and the tranquillity have as a principle of operation the sixfold method (Sagayana).

At the end of this section, Kautilya explains the conception of the magnate and of the conquering king who is in his centre.

In the magnate, the master of the circle constitutes the outer ring with those who are beyond, the radii with his neighbours, and the wave by himself.

The sixfold method to which Kautilya has first alluded is explained in the succeeding chapter of Kautilya which we propose to give in full.

The Sixfold Method (Sagayana)

Ar. Sat., vi 98-99; cp. Arth. Par., ch. 233, 239; Manu, vi. 189-190, Comm., xiv. 18, 23, 19, 7 (223).

Enunciation of the sixfold political methods, determination of decline, of equilibrium and of progress.

The source of the sixfold policy is the circle of elements.

The entente, the war, the equilibrium, the expedition, the alliance and the double relations, form the sixfold policy; thus speak the masters. There are only two methods," says Vindavyadhi. The war and the entente form the basis of the sixfold policy.

"Rather six methods," says Kautilya, "because of their different characteristics." These are: in case of entente (Suyasa) reciprocal stipulation (Papahada); in case of war (Pryaaka) the attack, the balance of power (Aasa) which signifies indifference (Upastha); the expedition (Yasa) which shows expansion, the support (Sutahaya) which consists in resting on another, the double relation (Daudhahaya) which is to make peace with the one and war with the other; such are the six methods.

He who is humiliated by the enemy ought to come to terms, and he who is powerful ought to make the war.

2. Cp. Raja, i. 405.
'My enemy cannot ruin me and I cannot ruin him.' In that case we must apply the method of equilibrium.

When one is possessed of superior resources, one ought to undertake an expedition.

When one is deprived of force, he must look for support. In an action where success depends on support, one must practise the method of double relations. Such are the circumstances that determine these methods.

Among these methods, one shall stick to that which permits of development of one's fortresses, the embankments (for irrigation), the commercial routes, the colonisation of deserted regions, the production of minerals, the reserves for elephants, etc., and at the same time ruin all these things of the enemy. This signifies progress.¹

One may see without smiting the progress of the enemy by saying that: 'my progress will be more rapid and greater than his, whilst it will be contrary with the enemy.'

One must have recourse to the entente (Samaja) when progress produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one witnesses the failure of his own affairs and not those of the enemy, he must not remain idle for he is on the decline.

In course of time my decline will be less and will lead to prosperity, while it would be contrary to the enemy.

When one knows that one may disdain his own (temporary) decline, one shall have recourse to entente when the decline produces simultaneously equal results to both.

When one perceives in his own efforts neither progress nor decline, it is the state of equilibrium (stagnation).

One may scorn his own equilibrium (stagnation) when one knows that his will be shorter and it will produce greater results while it will be contrary with the enemy.

One ought to have recourse to entente when the policy of equilibrium produces simultaneously equal results to both,' say the masters.

'This is not unreasonable,' says Kantaya.

One must stick to the entente in time of prosperity under the following conditions:—

'By employing the policy of entente (Samaja), I may ruin the works of the enemy by my great activity, I shall enjoy the profits of my

activity or those of the enemy; profiting by the trust of the enemy in the entente, I shall ruin his works, by intrigue, magic and espionage in order to win the people who supply my adversary with the means of action; I shall offer favours (Asyrgas), immunities (Puritas) and facilities (Sarkes) to profit by the prosperity of my works. Or my enemy being allied with a greater power will find himself ruined by his own enterprises, or fighting against another enemy, he will endeavour to obtain my alliance so that I would prolong his campaigns, or the enemy will harass the kingdom which, though allied with me, is hostile; or that the oppressed subjects of my enemy will come to me and thus I shall succeed in my enterprises. Entangled in his affairs and dragged down by a crisis, my enemy will be incapable of thwarting my affairs. Being allied with two of the adversaries of my enemy, I shall augment my resources; or if harassed by the enemy, I shall conclude an agreement, and then I shall break up the circle of the states and shall win them over to my side when they are divided; or, mastering the enemy by favours or punishments, I shall make him hateful for his ambition to dominate the circle of states and when he will be hated by all I shall destroy him.

One shall hold by war to attain prosperity, in the following conditions: ‘My country is full of warriors and of corporations, it is defended by the rocks, forests, rivers, fortresses, ways of unique access, thus it will be capable of resisting the efforts of the enemy on the frontiers while I screen myself behind impregnable fortresses; losing his energy in calamities and troubles, my enemy will be ruined during the calculated period, or whilst he would attack me in another direction, I may seduce his subjects (or induce them to come and settle in my country).’

One shall hold to the policy of equilibrium for prosperity in consideration of what follows: ‘The enemy cannot injure my affairs nor I, his. It is as it were, a combat between a dog and a wild beast which would terminate only in fruitless efforts. Concentrating therefore in my own enterprises, I should try to prosper.’

One should undertake the expedition for prosperity after considering what follows: ‘The destruction of the works of the enemy depends on the expedition, and it is in my power to safeguard my own enterprises.’

If one notices that one is neither capable of ruining the affairs of
the enemy not safeguarding his own affairs from ruin, then one shall rely on a stronger power with a view to pass from decline to equilibrium and from that to prosperity.

One should hold to the double policy for prosperity in the following conditions. 1 On the one hand in observing the actions I shall promote my affairs and on the other hand by declaring war, I shall ruin the affairs of the enemy.

In this way, in the diplomatic circle, one should endeavour to push his own enterprises from decline to equilibrium, and from equilibrium to prosperity 1 by means of these six methods 2

Method of Alliance (Śatārāśraya)

Ar. Śūr., vol. 100; ap. Klam., xi. 24-27

Among these six methods, Kaṇṭalāya discusses most the method of alliance. As befits a practical politician he views the problem from the utilitarian point of view. 1 One must make alliance with a power stronger than the neighbour. 3 If there is none one must ally himself with the neighbours, and one must endeavour to furnish them in secret with money, army or a part of the territory. It is dangerous for the king is to ally himself with a strong power except in case of a sudden attack on the part of the enemy.

When a king, in a moment of distress, is obliged to accept a humiliating alliance he is advised to break this alliance at the first opportunity, when his ally is in a disadvantageous situation.

When a king is placed between two powerful kings, he should lean on him who can defend him or on him who, notwithstanding his weakness, can serve as an intermediary.

He may also ally with both at the same time with a view to divide and then to destroy them by secret blows. A king placed between two powers (śivāhata) shall attempt to draw each of them to form a samāj and after having seduced the one, he must destroy the other or both.

In spite of his utilitarian attitude, Kaṇṭalāya is not indifferent to the moral value of an alliance.

1 If one is about to be uprooted by two kings, one shall lean on the power whose conduct is more upright (Avirācī), 4 a mediator king; a neutral king or one of their partisans. 5

1 Arā. xi, ch. 39 (41).
2 ap. Govindaśīla on K ā i r., vi. 151. Arā. xii, ch. 65, 71-74.
3 ap. Govindaśīla on K ā i r., vi. 166. ap. Heintz, iv. 7, sqq,
In conclusion Kauśalya indicates as the solid basis of alliance, reciprocal sympathy.

"Those who like each other go together. That is the best way of making an alliance."

**METHOD OF ENTENTE (Saudāh)**

*Ar Śār.*, vii. 101–102

Though war seems inevitable to Kauśalya, we notice that he seeks always to avoid or arrest war by every kind of entente. We also see that the entente occupies the most important place in his system. He classifies with care in several chapters the ententes which result either from war or from peaceful combinations.

Since the quality of ententes varies according to the power of the parties concerned, Kauśalya classifies them as follows:

1. equal;
2. inferior (of less strength);
3. superior (of more strength).

On this point, Kauśalya makes a few observations: "One should conclude an entente with an equal or with a greater power, but should make war with the inferior powers." "If the stronger power does not accept the entente one should accept the position of the conquered." If a king of equal power is not amenable to an entente, one must return to him all the harm he has done. The glow (Thār) of fire and of glory makes union possible. A piece of iron which has not been heated in fire cannot be soldered with another piece of iron. If a king of inferior force remains always submissive, one must maintain the entente; otherwise the strength growing out of suffering and resentment breaks out as fire in the forest and such a king brings round the circle of states to him. If while fighting one finds:

"The subjects of the enemy are greedy, impoverished, and oppressed, and yet do not come to me even when they are bidden by fear of war,"—one must make the entente even if he is the stronger party. He must seek to pacify the troubles due to the war.

Even the stronger king should make the entente in case he is equally in danger with his adversary; or if he accepts them: "I am greatly embarrassed; the enemy is less so and he can easily repair the troubles arising from his entente."

1 *Cp. Mābh, xii, ch. 56 (§1);*
2 *Cp. Mānṣāhika on Rājaśī, xvi, 38.*
Afterwards Kautilya gives a classification of extantes which can be concluded by inferior kings when they are greatly humiliated.\(^1\)

A weak king attacked by a strong one who is supported by his circle, must yield immediately and make the extantes by delivering the treasury, army, his person or a portion of his territory.

When one offers himself with an army specified beforehand, or with the best part of his army, it is called the extanta in which one is the victim furnishing its own flesh (\textit{Atrasama}). When one offers his general or the heir-apparent, it is called the extanta of a third person, (\textit{Parrasama}); in that case one guarantees without delivering himself.

If one has the choice of withdrawing alone with one's army, that extanta is said to be of 'invisible person' (\textit{Adrasama}) where one saves his own life and also that of the general.

The notables\(^2\) and the high class ladies (\textit{Adhikyastri})\(^3\) of the court in the two first species of the extanta, must be delivered as hostages. In the latter forms of the extanta the settlement with the enemy is in secret. Such are the forms of the extanta founded on the surrender of an army (\textit{Desyata}).

When the treasury only is delivered and one is allowed to preserve the rest of his elements, this is an extanta of money (\textit{Paralaya}), which depends on chance.

When one is to submit to heavy and varied charges it is called the extanta of confiscation (\textit{Uggraha}). this is harmful in space and in time and exposes the state to bankruptcy (\textit{Ayasta}).

The extanta of gold (\textit{Svarasama}) is that which can be easily borne, in point of view of indemnity, which is beneficial for the future and which does not require women hostages, which is founded on complete accord (\textit{Usahas}) and which results from mutual confidence.

The opposite kind of extanta is called the extanta of overturned caps (\textit{Kausala)}, owing to the excessive indemnities (\textit{Abhidasena}) which are exacted.

In the two first cases, one shall have to give up the forest products, elephants and horses with their harnesses. In the third case one should offer one half only by pretending bankruptcy. In the fourth case one should stop payment. Such are the extantias based on the

\(^1\) Cp. Ki. 32, 9a. 2-30.  
\(^2\) Cp. Ar. Str. p. 31.  
\(^3\) Cp. Masa, vi. 221; Abh., xi, 11, 16 (41).
surrender of the treasury (Kāhā). The surrender of a part of the territory to save the other parts is called the extant by cession or by order (Adhāvā). This is advantageous for him who desires the extermination of thieves and secret criminals in the surrendered parts of his territories. The private extant of profit (Urukkṣa) is that which demands the cession of all the territory and its total exploitation, the capital only being excepted. This is advantageous for him who desires to create troubles in the enemy's country.

The liberation of the territory by the payment of revenues is called the extant of imposts (Adhāvāsya). The liberation of revenue by the cession of territory is called the extant by homage (Parākṣstūpa). One must prefer the first form. The two last extants based on the revenue of the land must be concluded only when one is powerless. Such are the extants based on the surrender of territories (Dēha):

These are the three different classes of extants for the inferior powers.

The extants between superior and inferior powers, following a war, is not the only one comprised in the system of Kanayya. There is also the extant between equals for peaceful purposes.

We could see it easily if we were to read the sections 101 and 102 and also 111, 112, and 113. The form and conditions of the extants change according to circumstances, but it is not necessary to change the definition of the extants, as Mr. Law has done in his *Intercaste Relations in Ancient India*, pp. 39-40. The complication of his exposition is due to the fact that he translates Sāmsā as 'an agreement of peace.' Thus he is obliged to change the definition in each case. But if we define Sāmsā as extant, in the general sense of the word, everything becomes simple. Without attributing our interpretation to Kanayya, a risky method, we shall explain his system according to his own statements:

(a) Extant for obtaining the allies and money (Adhāvā-Sṛppya Sāmsā, Ar. Śis., vii. 115).
(b) Extant for obtaining the territory (Adhāvā Sāmsā, Ar. Śis., vii. 116).
(c) Extant for colonising the uninhabited territories (Adhāvā Sāmsā, Ar. Śis., vii. 116).
(d) Extant for common enterprises (Kuṃsā Sāmsā, Ar. Śis., vii. 116).
(c) Intentions of definite or indefinite periods and extents for betrayal (Paripāñcakaparipāñcaśeṣasya Sandhi, Ar. Sen., viii. 111-112).

The common traits of the different ententes are:

(a) The existence of two parties apparently amicable but who attempt ever to take advantage of each other.

(b) The greater profit results always from superior intelligence, and the depth and extent of experience.

(c) Thus there is always a silent combat during which the ally becomes an enemy, or when the enemy becomes an ally.  

According to Kantaśya profit is always the ultimate object.

In discussing this problem, Kantaśya presents us with his observations on the diplomatic relations. All his conclusions mark him as a wise statesman. At first he admits of three different kinds of ententes: 

(a) Sātasandhi: equal entente, for example: 'you and I shall gain the allies together.'

(b) Vīpāse Sandhi: an equal entente, for example: 'youself alone will have the allies.'

(c) Adi Sandhi: deceitful entente, for example, when one has the advantage to beguile the other completely.

After this he directly expresses his opinion on this question.

(a) Entente for having allies and gold.  

'Which is preferable, immediate and small gain or deferred and important gain? The small and immediate gain is preferable inasmuch as it would serve the enterprise from the point of view of the place and time,' say the learned. 'No,' says Kantaśya, 'the gain, which is deferred without being lost, which produces good consequence and which is ultimately important, is preferable.' In exceptional cases only the first should be chosen. 'When one can balance the advantages of constant gain or partial gain, and can judge in advance his own interest, he should undertake an expedition with other powers combined and well-organized.'

The reasons which determine the preferences of Kantaśya are very remarkable, and these are expressed with the ancient connotation of an experienced politician.

'Which of the two is preferable (an ally rich in men or rich in gold)?'

3 Cp. Vaikṣe, ii. 3-5, Ar. Sen. vii. vii, 142 (112).  
4 Cp. Yâsas, i. 311; Bham. vii. 342-44.
An ally rich in men is preferable, for he shall be the source of military glory and when he enters into action, he secures success. Such is the opinion of the learned.

'No,' says Kentalya, 'it is preferable to have an ally rich in wealth, for the possession of wealth ensures a constant use whilst the possession of an army is only for temporary employment. Moreover, with wealth, one could procure an army as well as other things which are desired.'

'Which of the two is preferable, an ally who possesses wealth or one who possesses territories?'

'An ally who possesses wealth is preferable. Being conscientious, he will be brought round to meet the expenses,' say the learned.

'No,' says Kentalya, 'the allies and wealth are the results of the acquisition of territory, and consequently an ally who possesses territory is preferable.'

(E) Routes for gaining territories:

'Which is better, a rich territory adjoining that of a permanent enemy or a small fertile territory adjoining a temporary enemy?'

'A rich territory contiguous to that of a permanent enemy is preferable, for it is prosperous it enriches the army and the treasury which are the two means of defence against the enemy; such is the opinion of the master.'

'No,' says Kentalya, 'to have a permanent enemy means to have an ever-increasing enemy. For a permanent enemy, whether well or badly treated remains always an enemy, whilst the temporary enemy can be appeased by active good treatment or cessation of bad treatment.'

'Which is to be preferred, an isolated territory or non-isolated one; or a territory, which is protected by an external army (Devaśāhama) or one which protects itself (Āhmasāhama)?'

'That which protects itself is preferable, because it is supplied by gold and the army, collected by itself. On the contrary that which is defended by an external army is under military occupation (Devaśāhama).

'What is to be preferred, the acquisition of a territory belonging to a stupid king or a wise king?'

'We must prefer the acquisition made from a stupid king because
that territory is easy to acquire and to maintain, for it cannot be retained."

"It is the reverse that results when the king is wise and possessed of loyal subjects."

(C) Extents for colonising uninhabited countries (op. Ragha, xv. 28, Comm.).

"Of the two colonizers, he who colonizes a land of recognized fertility and ever ready to produce better fruits, is the better. "Of two lands—one with mines and another with rice, that which contains mines fills the treasury. The rice land fills the treasury and the granary at the same time. The fortifications and other works are dependent on the production of rice. On the other hand, a mining country contains largely valuable substances is superior."

Of two powers one possessing a park rich in forest products and another of a park for elephant, the first has the source of all sorts of enterprises which serve for investment of large capital. (PramabhakshaManasa). The reverse is the case with forests rich in elephants, say the masters.

"No," says Kautilya, "it is easy to plant an ordinary forest, in many parts of the country, but it is not so for forests of elephants; and the destruction of the enemy depends above all on elephants."

"Which is better, a country peopled in groups, or a country having a scattered population?"

"The country of scattered people is better, for it facilitates administration and is not susceptible for intrigues with the enemy. It would be the contrary in a country where the population is in groups. The latter does not share the difficulties and if it is discontented, it becomes very dangerous.

"Which is better, the country which is defended by fortresses or that which is defended by the people?"

"The kingdom defended by the people is better. The state depends on the people (Parastas\text{\textemdash}\textit{sa\textit{\textasciitilde}pasa}). A barren country is like a barren cow : what can it produce?"

At the end of this section Kautilya gives two new terms of extents:

The verbal extenta (\textit{ak\textasciitilde}lid\textit{\textasciitilde}la\textit{\textasciitilde}Sanda\textit{\textasciitilde}).

The open extenta (\textit{sa\textit{\textasciitilde}li\textit{\textasciitilde}la\textit{\textasciitilde}Sanda\textit{\textasciitilde}}).

(D) Duties for common enterprises (Karṣascesāh). In that form of contracts as in all others, the parties concerned endeavour to outdo each other in profit-making.

At the close of this section, Kantālya formulates some general principles. The so-called allies are really rivals from the point of view of profit. For in the system of Kantālya, the sense of the term ally or enemy changes always according to circumstances.

'The success of enterprises of the enemy loses in the decline of the rival chief. Their non-success is to his advantage.' In case of equal enterprises the conqueror suffers stagnation.'

'A small gain and a great loss, that is the decline. The contrary is the prosperity. Equality in profits and losses, that is stagnation.'

'If it is a question of mines, he who digs a mine of great yield, and of easy communications which occasion little expenses at the commencement, is superior to the other.'

'Which is better, a small mine of very valuable products or a big mine productive of little value?'

'A small mine of very precious products is preferable for the diamonds, the gems, the pearls, the coals, the gold, the silver and other similar products, inasmuch as a great quantity of things of small value, say the masters.'

'No,' says Kantālya, 'for the products of small value are immense and inexhaustible, their possessor could purchase the small mines of precious products.'

When there is a question of recruiting among two different peoples the preference of Kantālya is no less interesting.

Between a multitude of indolent persons and a band of heroic men, better to have a small number of brave men. The result of the battle depends on the heroes. A few brave men defeat many weaklings, who once beaten cease the rest of their own army, say the masters.

'No,' says Kantālya, 'a multitude of indolent persons occupied in various works, other than those in camps, form the multitude of the army in the battle and cannot be checked by the enemy; moreover
they serve to spread terror by number. These indolent persons can, by the effect of discipline, catch the infection of courage, whilst the braver are few and it is impossible to increase their number.'

(A) Entities with definite terms, entities of indefinite terms, false entities.

In the course of the combined march, the partisans attempt always to take advantage of the other through weak points in the engagement.

(a) Entities of definite terms (Parameñias).

'You march against his country, I march against that country.' It means definite place.

'You fight during that length of time and I, during this length.' It means definite time.

'You affect so many works and myself so much.' It means definite object.

Thus with place and time, with time and purpose, with place and purpose, with place, time and purpose, are brought out the seven types of entities.

(b) Entities of indefinite terms (Aparameñias).

The enemy who has vices or troubles, passions and manners, insolence and ignorance, may be surpassed if one discerns how to profit by weaknesses due to the non-fixation of the place, time and purpose. One must strike at the vulnerable points of the enemy under entities, while declaring to him 'we are allies.'

This is what is called the indefinite entities.

Next Karmalya gives an exposition of the four different stages in the evolution of the entities.²

(c) The desire to accomplish that which is not accomplished (Aparameñias) signifies the realization (Parameñias) of one entity which does not exist, by the prosecution of peace and other methods, and by the stabilization (Aparameñias) of this entity according to the relative forces of equal, inferior or superior powers.

(d) The confirmation of that which is already accomplished (Parameñias) signifies the development of the entities obtained by means of amities and benefits (Aparameñias) on both sides, by the accomplishment of the given pledges, by its execution and by its conservation, so that this entity is not dissolved through the enterprise of the enemy.

² See 'Smyr. Int. 211-212, p. 265.
(e) The destruction of that which is accomplished (Kṣayavādaṇya) after the manoeuvres of the enemy against the annexes, have been attested by the spies and the traitors, denunciation of the annexes.

(d) The revival of a ruined annex (Amaṇḍapādaṇya) signifies, the reconciliation affected by those who remove the grievances, for example, by the servants or friends. Kautilya, as a true politician, admits the value of any sort of individual in diplomatic negotiations. In this respect he appears remarkably courageous and rid of all prejudices. His predecessors advise us to forego the services of certain men, such as one who is bankrupt, who has lost his power, who misuses his talents, who is envious, who has passion for vagabondage, who is wanting in confidence and who has many enemies. But Kautilya considers this as due to fear or lack of professional spirit and lack of patience towards the man. Whoever has a positively outrageous conduct should be abandoned; whoever annoys the enemy should be accepted; he who does equal harm to both, should be politically examined. This is the right attitude.

His tolerance embraces even his very deserters. He studies them with great care and classifies them.\(^1\)

(a) He who déserts his master on account of their vices and returns on account of their virtues, he who abandons on account of the virtues of the enemies and returns on account of their vices, after due considerations should be reconciled.

(b) He who abandons or returns on account of his own faults and neglecting the virtues of both parties, abandons and returns without reason. Such an individual is too unsteady, and should not be taken back.

(c) He who abandons his master by reason of his faults and returns to him from the enemy by reason of his own faults must be examined according to the reasons of his returning.

(d) 'He who is employed by the enemy or desires to harm by reason of his vicious nature, or who knowing that he would be ruined by the destruction of the enemy, comes back to me through fear of vengeance; or he who abandons me and my enemy when we determine to ruin each other; and comes back afterwards by reason of his aversion for cruelty; such an individual having good intentions, should be welcomed.' In this way the Kautilya employs all sorts of individuals.

for strengthening his cause, and when they appear unnecessary or dangerous he destroys them without any scruple. His detachment of spirit is indeed amazing.

**Conclusion (Sandhyā Krama) and Annotation**

**Sandhyākrama of Entente**

(A. Sū., vii. 123-127)

Under this title Kaṇḍyāṇa gives towards the end a few interesting details about ententes.

"A treaty based on the integrity and the oath is unstable (Cāta) but a treaty based on hostages (Pratīkāya) and securities (Pratīkāra) is stable (Shāmartu)," say the teachers.

"No," says Kaṇḍyāṇa, "the entente based on the integrity and oath is stable is this world as well as in the other. It is only in the interest of this world that hostages and securities are admitted from the point of view of force. "We are united." It is in these terms that the ancient and virtuous sovereigns were in the habit of making allies. To avoid the non-observation of the entente, the kings allied themselves with oaths, sworn by the fire, by the water, by the plough, by the stones of chariots, by the shoulders of elephants, by the back of the horse, by the forefront of a chariot, by the arms, precious stones, grains, perfumes, poisons, gold (Śevas) and cokins (Śhrampas): "these objects," they said, "kill or abandon him who violates the oath." In anticipation of the violation of the oath the nobles, the holy men and the chief hostages (Pratīkāya) are imprisoned. In this case he who can assure as hostages those who can influence the enemy has an advantage over the other. The reverse case is disadvantageous. "The imprisonment of friends or nobles of the enemy is called the security (Pratīkāra)."

"In that case, he who gives to the enemy a dangerous minister has an advantage over the other. The contrary case is disadvantageous. The enemy strikes surely and unexpectedly at the weak points of him who depends entirely on the promise of security.

"In an entente based on the gift of children, whether sons or daughters, he who gives gifts as hostages has an advantage on the other, the
a girl can help to capture the enemy or to conquer him. The reverse
results for him who gives a son.

Then Kamsalya makes an evaluation of the different types of prin-
ces given in hostages and finally furnishes a great number of means
by which a prince in hostage can escape and break off the entente.

A king whose power is increasing, should attempt to break up
the entente. The spies who accompany the prince in hostage dis-
guised as artisans or artists (Kalas/Arveysa/ama), by working with
the enemy, shall effect the escape of the prince by digging an under-
ground passage during the night. Actresses, dancers, singers,
instrumental musicians, buffoons, ninjas, swimmers and jugglers,
established beforehand in the service of the enemy, must use their
power to free the prince given in hostage. They must also arrange so as to
be able to visit the prince's apartments at any hour, to stay there and
to go out. Then the prince can escape under one of those disguises
during the night.

For the same, he could utilise prostitutes (Kalamsand) disguised as
ladies.

One shall escape also in carrying their instruments, utensils, or
refuse, or by using the cooks, pastry-cook, swimmer, porter or massage
men, maidservant, hair-dresser, tailor, servant; one shall escape by
carrying again some unnecessary things.

If one is on the point of being captured, one shall endeavour to
escape by the politic means, as by the gift of wealth, etc., or by employ-
ing poisoned food or by substituting another corpse to the body which
the prince intends for the sacrifice of God Varuna, or finally by setting
fire.

In the diplomatic system of Kamsalya the espionage plays a sig-
nificant role. He devotes several chapters to the organisation of
espionage. In the first book, chapter vii (GatÌ£ntamati), he
gives the organisation and the classification of espionage. In chapter
viii (GatÌ£ntamati), he defines the employment of spies and
all the disguises and subterfuges, without omitting false students, false
mendicants, and false artists, employing secret modes (GatÌ£ntamati)
with symbolical signs (Samata). Thanks to the complicity with
the minister, the spies can create confidence by communicating some-

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2 Cp. Sivam, B. 89.
3 Ib. B. 125-134.
4 Ibid., v. 16-18.
information on foreign affairs. The king employs them also for testing the sincerity and honesty of all these functionaries including the ministers. They are useful not only in the internal affairs of the kingdom but also in all sorts of diplomatic intrigues in the state's neighbours, enemies, intermediaries or neutrals (Kṣṭhābhraya-nātakamānuśam).

In fact the work of Kaṇḍāla has become the greatest authority on espionage. That is why Mādhavīkīti, when treating of espionage, cites entirely one of the chapters of Kaṇḍāla, in commenting on the term (Paiśāyana). However it seems that Mādhavīkīti employs another version of the Arthasastra. This explains the divergences which are seen in certain of his quotations. In reality the king must have depended so much on the espionage for realising the diplomatic situations that he was called (Cāracayan). He who has for eyes the sphere.

1 Ar. śās., 1. 6.
2 Cp. Ar. śās., 19, Kaṇṭhābhraya 162-380; Kāma, in. 16-69.
3 Ar. śās., 1. 9-13.
6 Cp. Ar. śās., vii. ch. 98 (21), Pṛṣṇa, 51, 43-45.

(To be continued.)
Akbar's Cavalry—(1) The Zat and Sewar Ranks

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In 1573, Akbar fixed the grades of the officers of the empire, and decreed that their salaries be paid in cash. Of these office-bearers the chief were the Mauddalas or holders of places of rank and profit. 10,000 was the highest and 10 the lowest Mauddal that was granted, and commands above 5,000 were reserved to the princes of the royal blood. The Mauddal were given in accordance with the rank of men, and the soldiers they commanded. A Bisti (commander of twenty) had to be ready with his twenty soldiers at the muster before he could be promoted to the next rank, and every Dabbaasi (commander of ten) had to muster three Shahraka, four Dabbaasi, and three Yababasth troopers, that is ten troopers with twenty horses, and the other Mauddalas in the same proportion.

In 1595, a new classification was introduced by the addition of Sewars to the original Mauddal. A Mauddal whose Sewar was equal to his Mauddal was put into the first class of his rank; one whose Sewar were one-half and upwards of his Mauddal, was put into the second class; and the third class contained those whose Sewar were less than half the Mauddal, or who had no Sewar at all. Officers above 5,000 were exempt from this division. Both Smith and Irvine restrict the second class to those whose Sewar were half the Zat rank. But in this they certainly commit a mistake, for we find Mauddalas with 3,500 Zat, 3,000 Sewar, and 3,500 Zat; 8,000 Sewar mentioned in the Alberznasa, and these according to the Alis-f-Ahsani must have been in the second class.

1 Alberznasa, English Translation (Beaven), vol. II, p. 697.
A good deal of controversy has been raging about the meanings of the words Zaf and Sesar. Blochmann thinks that the Zaf indicates the nominal rank, while Sesar connotes the actual number of horsemen; "Iy vine regards both the ranks as actually existing; while Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi goes to the other extreme, and regards the Zaf as the actual rank, and the Sesar as an honour which had no actual existence in horsemen, but 'indicated the rate of allowance, which was given to an officer honoured with the additional distinction.' All the possible alternatives have been laid before us, and supported by the arguments brought forward by the writers named above. It is our business therefore to examine the main arguments advanced and come to one conclusion or the other.

Blochmann's view is hardly tenable. It is perhaps due to the fact that he has not perceived that the little Mawsat-i-Zaf is nothing more than the Mawsat of 1573. That these two words are identical in signification can be proved by means of instances from contemporary history. In 1563, that is two years before the introduction of the new classification, Mima Shaikhak was made a commander of 5,000, that is, according to the rules of 1573, as given by Badami and Abul Fazl, he was expected to keep 5,000 horsemen, and 10,000 horses. In the forty-first year of his reign, that is, one year after the introduction of the changes of 1563, the Emperor was much pleased with the Mima and made him a commander of 5,000 Zaf, 2,500 Sesar. Are we to suppose that Akbar's pleasure was signified by a decrease in the command of horsemen kept by the Mima? In 1002 Hijri, Rat Sal Darbar was a Mawsat of 2,000 and Ram Dass Kachhwaha one of 500. In the forty-seventh regnal year, Rat Sal was made a Mawsat of 2,500 Zaf, 1,250 Sesar, and in the fiftieth regnal year Ram Dass Kachhwaha was made a commander of 2,000 Zaf, 500 horse. Are we again to conclude that the real command of those men was largely decreased, while their mere dignity was raised? Blochmann's view leads to some other strange conclusions too. In his scheme of

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3. ibid., vol. 2, pp. 607.
4. Iy vine, p. 1868.
7. ibid., p. 1218.
AKBAR'S CAVALRY

Mamlukes, third class commandos, who had no Saseer at all, would either have no place, or be the enjoys of mere almsmen. Facts recorded in the Afsanevan, however, do not justify any such assertion. Qutb Khan, Zain Khan, Kox, and Sudi Khan were without Saseer, and at the same time famous generals of the Empire.

Moreover that the Zaf rank connotes the keeping of a large number of bairanes can be conclusively proved by means of examples from the Afsanevan of Abdul Hamid. In the reign of Shah Jahan, Asaf Khan was granted the masahab of 9,000 Zaf, 9,000 Saseer, Dastak Lсяgat, and his salary was fixed at sixteen annas, twelve farans, or 40½ lacs. In the reign of Alamgir, the pay of a masahab of 9,000 was Rs. 4½ lacs, and this might have been approximately the pay in the reign of Shah Jahan also. If we put the pay of a Dastak Lсяgat commander as double that of a commander of more Saseer, we have nine lacs as the pay of Asaf Khan, and the rest of the sum must be the pay of the soldiers serving under him. The pay of 9,000 Dastak Lсяgat, however, does not go above twenty-two lacs, sixty-eight thousand rupees and the rest of the sum must therefore be the pay of the soldiers under the Zaf rank. The same point can be established by a reference to the salary of Prince Dara. After deducting the pay of the Prince and his Saseer the sum of thirty lacs remains, and this must be the pay of the soldiers under the Zaf rank. Further if we take into consideration the statement of Bernier that the Mamlukes were neither paid for nor kept the number of soldiers indicated by their rank, the sum remaining for the Zaf rank would be still greater.

Mr. Tripatii goes to the other extreme, and his view is quite the reverse of that of Blochmann. For him Saseer is a mere honour and Zaf the actual rank. The theory he has formulated hangs on two slender pieces of evidence. The first is an extract from the third Afs of Book II. The passage that he quotes has been thus translated by Blochmann.

The first class contains such as furnish 100 troopers (Saseer). Their monthly salary is Rs. 700. The eleventh class contains such as have no troopers (Saseer) of their own in accordance with the statement

[Notes and references]

made above that the Dakhill troops are nowadays preferred. This class gets Rs. 500. The nine intermediate classes have monthly allowances decreasing from Rs. 700 by Rs. 20, for every ten troopers which they furnish less.2

This according to Mr. Tripathi gives a scale of Rs. 2 per additional horse or Sasser, and it was in this manner that all the Akmeelans with Sassars were paid. How hollow are the foundations of this theory will be seen if we exactly interpret the above passage, which means nothing more and nothing less than that a 100 Zai 100 Sassar or a first class commander of 100 got Rs. 700, a 100 Zai, and 50 Sassars got Rs. 600; and a 100 Zai without any Sassars or a third class commander got Rs. 500 as his Zai salary. This view is borne out by the figures in the table given on p. 248 of the Ais-i-Aibar. The only difference to be noted in this case is that instead of the three ranks to be found in other grades, we have eleven in this case.

If we take Rs. 700 as the Zai pay of the first class commander of 100, his net salary should be 890 rupees and not Rs. 700 as given in the table. If, however, it be argued that the first class commander received Rs. 200 more than his friend of the third class on account of the honour of 100 Sassars at the rate of Rs. 2 per Sassar, we are undoubtedly led to believe that the difference in the Zai pay of the commanders of the same Ais-i-Aibar but of different classes was due to their receiving or not receiving extra pay for their nominal Sassar rank. That this view is wholly untenable can be shown by means of the following examples from the Ais-i-Aibar:—*3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>25,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the Zai salary of the first and third class commanders is obviously Rs. 500 only. But the difference in their nominal Sassar rank cannot at any time be less than 2,251, and might at others go up to 4,500. Thus the difference in their pay ought to have been at least Rs. 4,652, and might have gone up to Rs. 9,000 at the rate of Rs. 2 per Sassar. Again the fact that the Zai pay of all the commanders of the second class was in spite of the difference in the number of Sassars always the same would go hard against any.

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2 Mookpaur.—Ais-i-Aibar, vol. 1, p. 248.
3 Ibid., p. 248.
such view A theory therefore that explains only one case out of
forty-six and leaves the rest unexplained can hardly be called a true
explanation of facts.

Having disposed of Mr. Tripathi’s first piece of evidence, we might
now take up the evidence that he gives from the account left by
Hawkins. “The custom is,” wrote Hawkins, “they are allowed so
much living to maintain the post, which the king hath given them,
that is, they are allowed twenty rupias by the month, and two rupees
for every horse taken, for the maintenance of their stable. As thus:
a captain of 3,000 horses that hath 5,000 horses to maintain in the war,
hath likewise of arms other 3,000 horse... allowed upon every
horse by the month two rupees and this is the pay which the greater
part of them are allowed.” According to Mr. Tripathi the words “of
fame” that occur in this passage refer to the Seawar rank for which
the officer received an allowance at the rate of Rs. 2 per Seawar
per month.

That this interpretation by Mr. Tripathi is wrong will be clear from
a reference to the passage, where the words “of fame” have been
even before this used by Hawkins. In his discourse on the govern-
ment of the Great Mogul he writes, “They that be of the fame of
12,000 horsemen belong to the king and his mother, and eldest son.
... Dukes be nine thousand horse, marquessess five thousand
fame. ... All they that have these numbers of horsemen are called
Mansabdar or men of livings or lordships.” In the next thirteen or
fourteen lines he gives the names of the Mansabdar and their ranks
and ends the passage by saying, “The rest be from 2,000 downwards
till you come to twenty horses, two thousand, nine hundred, and fifty.”
If we take into consideration one or two points, it will be obvious
that in the above passage Hawkins does not refer to the Seawars of
Mr. Tripathi’s theory. There was, in the first instance, absolutely no
rule confining the number of Seawars to be given to Mansabdars to twenty
men. According to the Ali-Lahvar a Bhai could have ten Seawars or
sometimes have no Seawars at all. Further it would be really quite
strange that a man should classify commendats not according to the
number of men they kept, but mere horses which had absolutely no
existence in real horsemen. Moreover in the above passage the rank
of Prince Khursan is put down at 9,000. This cannot be his Seawar

... Rupina, Early Tripathi, pp. 12-20.
rank for we know for certain that the number of his Seers before 1615 was not above 6,000 and Hawkins left India in 1613. Both the grounds on which Mr. Tripathi relies, thus fail to support his view.

That the view of Mr. Tripathi does not rest on any sound basis can further be proved by quoting the examples from the Payroll-records. The annual salary of Dara, a Mansabdar of 30,000 Zaf, 20,000 Seers, 10,000 Darjah Seers, was ten million rupees. That the Mansabdars under Shah Jehan neither kept the number of men indicated by the Zaf rank, nor were paid for that number is a well-established fact which few would deny. It would therefore be reasonable to suppose that Dara was expected to keep about 10,000 men and was paid for that number from the royal treasury. The total of the pays of the soldiers, the Zaf salary of the palace, and the sum given at the rate of Rs. 3 per Seer per annum does not reach above three millions per annum and thus Dara is left a surplus of about seven million rupees which can hardly be explained by the theory of Mr. Tripathi. The same difficulty comes in on the examination of the salary of Aasi Khan.

An examination of the views of Mr. Tripathi and Blohmann naturally leads one to the conclusion that both the ranks Seer and as Zaf were actual. In Akbar’s reign Mansabdars seem to have been expected to keep—whether they kept or not is a different question—as many horsemen as were indicated by their Zaf rank, and were paid for these from the imperial and local treasuries. Seers were additional soldiers given to Mansabdars specially favoured by the Emperor and were a sort of honour. From the Zaf salary the Mansabdar maintained his household, and kept the specified establishment. Higher Mansabdars must have maintained a number of horsemen for the horses assigned to them.

The view thus established tallies in most respects with that of Irvine. One difference from his theory, however, has been noted in the beginning of the article, and one more might be recorded at this place. Irvine lays it down as a general rule that from the Zaf salary the Mansabdar had to maintain some horsemen, besides their transport and household. To me it seems that only the higher Mansabdars did so, but the lower ones it was an impossible undertaking.

1 Ramsay, Journals, p. 137
I shall give an example from the Adli Akbars to substantiate the contention. The monthly salary of a Muzammal of 50 was Rs. 230 and the cost of his establishment was Rs. 160. Deducting this from his salary we get Rs. 43 ½ as his net income. He had eight horses in his charge and if for these he kept even two horses his own net income would be badly reduced. In that case even an Yakharat Farr whose monthly salary was Rs. 30 would be better off than the poor Muzammal of 50.

The next question to consider is as to the motives leading to the innovations of 1595. These are not far to seek, and can be best studied from the political situation in that year. Akbar though the lord of Northern India does not rest satisfied with what he has secured, and wants to conquer the Deccan Sultanates whose very presence as independent powers is an offence to him,¹ desires to drive out the Portugal from India, and guard the frontiers against the Persians from whom Kandhar has just been captured. Salim is a further element of danger, and he cannot but feel that if Salim's military power were greater than his own, he would at once capture the throne. Akbar seems to feel the need of a greater army, and probably therefore introduces a new scheme which is at once economical and efficient.

That the addition of the Sasan rank to the original Muzammal was a wise measure can hardly be doubted. To his placing the newly raised additional forces under the old Muzammals without increasing their Muzamals there were two alternatives; first the creation of new Muzammals, and second, an increase in the Muzammal of the old commanders. Both of these were inferior on account of the greater expenditure they involved, to the scheme that Akbar devised. An example would make the matter clear —

(a) In the case of a first class commander of 4,500 the total monthly cost to the State would be Rs. 28,000 (the salary of the Muzammal) + (4,500 X Rs. 16-10-8) 2 — Rs. 1,76,000.

If the State would have created a new Muzammal the total cost would have been Rs. 28,700 X 2 (the salary of 2 third class Muzammals) + Rs. 4,800 X 2 X Rs. 16-10-8 (the salary of 2,000 troops) = Rs. 2,01,400.

The monthly cost for a new commander would thus be Rs. 25,400

¹ Father Xavier's Letter, Facett Antiquary, February 1524.
monthly, and 3,04,800 annually in excess to that in case of a commander with Sama.

(6) If the Macee-i-Zaf of an old commander would have been increased the cost to the State would have been Rs. 55,000 (the salary of a commander of 9,000) + Rs. 10-10-8 X 9,000 = Rs. 205,000.

This again would have involved the expenditure of Rs. 29,000 monthly, and 258,000 annually more than in the case of a first class commander of 4,500.

That the State gained much by the new order of things will have been made clear from the above example. On the other hand those who were given the Samae rank were materially benefited. They kept a tenth part of the pay of the soldiers put under them,¹ and this must not have been compensated the Maceeaters for the pains they took in commanding the new forces.

The addition of the Samae rank besides being a good measure from the economic point of view settled satisfactorily the question of rank and dignity. If Mira Shahrukh would have been made a Maceeater of 18,000 his position would have been officially regarded as superior to that of Prince Sama, who held the rank of 12,000. The scheme of Ameer while giving men like Shahrukh the command of 7,000 + 6,000 kept them in rank below the Prince. It reserved to the royal salon the nominal dignity that counted for much in Derbars, Kornias, Tashaan, and the grant of the Zaf salary, but gave the real power to trusted commanders, who while remaining in mere rank below such Princes as the infant Khumro, were the mainstays of the Empire and directed the operations of the army in wars.

Mir Jumla and Ram Singh in Assam

(Mainly based on Assamese Chronicles or Baniyan)

by

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The Mir Jumla Complex.—Every student of Indian history knows the complete about Warren Hastings.—

Hafi par haukoch, ghera par fie,
Jalai on, jatki on, Saha Hastings.

Mir Jumla, who invaded Assam in 1662, had previously played a very important part in the affairs of the Deccan and of the Mogul capital. His memory rises to affluence and power from the position of a mere fortune-hunter from Pata, his chief at Golconda, his prime-minister in the Court of Emperor Shah Jahan, his strategic acts in the war of succession, his assistance to Aurangzeb with his 'twenty mounds of diamond' ultimately placing the latter on the throne, made Mir Jumla the most conspicuous figure in Mogul India, and created round him a very magnetic and influential personality. When such a man appeared on the plains of the Brahmaputra Valley, and carried his arms to the farthest limits of Assam, he naturally left a very deep impression upon the minds of the people, and the result is a couplet which we have found in two separate manuscripts Assamese darsis of chronicles,¹

Khade-dheke Ajhimbhens, wakden chep doori,
Babarina banga jode gaahati tari.

which, when translated into English will be approximately as follows:—

Short and strong Majum Khand,²
With rounded beard in his face,
First will vanquish Cossah Bafia,
To Gauhati then he'll pass.

¹ Memura, Nos. 1 and 2, referred to in the list of authorities, post.

² Mir Jumla appears under various designations in Assamese chronicles,— Mirum Khaza, Auri Jumla, Miria Baha, or simply Khan-i-Khanan. Mir Munshimutu Ahi Aitikuri, vanquished Mir Jumla, and afterwards Munshimutu Khan, Khan Khaza Singhalbar, was born in Assam near Jorhat, and came to India as the personal attendant of a Persian princess; “Barma,” p. 10, footnote,
A Prediction.—This is how the couplet originated. Mir Jumla stood at the borders of Cooch Behar and Assam with 60,000 horse, and despatched two messengers to the Bahshunam at Guwahati, demanding the evacuation of that place. According to the custom of the Ahom Court the messengers were served daily with provisions and necessaries. One day, a deer was added to the articles of food. The Mogul ambassador retained the other provisions and let loose the deer, and told our man as follows:

"Now, listen to me. I will tell you a story. Two flocks of peacocks were engaged in fighting, flying from one branch to another. From there they flew upon a hill. As they were engaged in a long and continuous flight commencing from midday, they were all exhausted with fatigue. A herd of elephants witnessed this fight, and their leader said,—"It will be disastrous, if we remain here; let us move from hence." Another elephant retorted,—"Why should we leave this place? If the birds fly upon our bodies, do you think we shall not be able to kill them?" Then the birds, engaged in squabbling together dropped upon the herd, and wounded and pierced the eyes of several of the elephants, which being seized with fright at this sudden and unexpected attack, dispersed in confusion to all possible quarters. They fell on pins, on beds of thorns or got themselves bogged in morasses. Most of them perished in the scare, and only a few could depart with their lives. The elephants met this calamity because they ignored the sage counsel of their leader. But mirrored and agitated by our elephants, horses and foot-soldiers the waters will be converted to blood, the forests to sands, and the deer will come out in herds; for, Mir Jumla, who is short and stout and has a rounded beard in his face, will proceed to Guwahati after the conquest of Cooch Behar."  

The story with slight textual variations appears also in Aweez, No. 3, with the following concluding verses:

प्राणी पोशाक भव्यदेवता कस्म एवंखायः
भवत्त्वोपी वालो भवानां भवानां
पुत्रं भवेत् द्वारके पशुं नाल;
रक्तम्रक भवेत् द्वारके भव स्वयं।
भवतः वैषार भवेत् विद्याहिनी भवानी॥
And its fulfillment.—The Burmese, discovering from the trend of the table that Mr Jumla meant mischief, and accordingly sent messages to the Ahom King Jayadibhoja Singh (1678-1687) at Garama. The prediction made by the Mogul diplomat and story-teller was fulfilled—

'Mr Jumla made his way into Cooch Behar by an unseemly and neglected high way.' 1 On the 27th of Rubby-at-Aval (December 1683) Mr Jumla took possession of the capital of Cooch Behar, and in compliment to the reigning Emperor, changed its name to Atungir Nagar. 2 The Nawab then invaded Assam, entered Garama on the 17th of March, 1683. The Ahom king fled to the 'Penitential hills of Narinjup,' and earned for all ages the unpatriotic epithet of the 'Bhupanitiya Rajah' or the Deserting King. A treaty was concluded, which was favourable to the invaders. But the great Khan-Khanan Mir Jumla died in March 1683 on his way back to Dacca, and Aurangzeb wrote to the valorous commander's son: Muhammad Amin Khan,—' You mourn the death of an affectionate parent, and I the loss of the most powerful and the most dangerous of my friends.' 3

Dead Bears alarm!—We shall give an instance of the accuracy of details noticeable in Assamese chronicles, as seen from the manner in which facts narrated there are confirmed by the accounts of Mogul historians. During Mr Jumla's residence in or about the Ahom capital he excavated several tombs or mausoleums of Ahom nobles and princes, in which were deposited their personal belongings, their garments and their jewels. We reproduce the following passage from the Rathiya-thitya, the official Persian account of the invasion given by Shalabuddin Talesh. 4—

'The common people bury their dead with some of the property of the deceased, placing the head towards the east, and feet towards the west. The chiefs build vaults for their dead, and place therein the

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2 Sivaka's History of Bengal, p. 393.
wives and servants of the deceased, after killing them, together with necessary articles for a few years, including various kinds of gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes and food-stuffs. . . . From the vaults which were dug open by the Moguls nearly ninety thousand rupees on all accounts were realized.

The first part of the above passage describing the contents of the tomb of an Ahom noble is thus supported in an Ahom chronicle. — We read in Lt-Col. P. R. T. Gordon's *Short Note on the Ahoms* (p 10), —

"A Buranji (Ahom Chronicle) describes how at the funeral of Raja Gadadhar Singha who died in A. D. 1668, a number of living persons, who had been the deceased's attendants were interred with the corpse, together with many articles of food, ornaments and ornaments." Though Shahabuddin wrote of Assam thirty years prior to Gadadhar Singha's death he only speaks of a custom obtaining in both these periods.

The second part of the passage quoted from the *Rudhirajya-sakhyya* describing the exhumation of the remains of Ahom tombs by the Moguls, is confirmed in an Assamese chronicle 1.

"During Mr Jumla's stay in upper Assam he came to learn from some Assamese people who became friends with the Moguls that the tombs of several of the kings had vast wealth, and he accordingly employed his men to dig open the graves. Our men pointed out the mouths of the tombs, after which Mr Jumla carried on his excavations. The tombs of Narayan Gohain, Lachit Gohain yielded huge treasures; and their bones were also extracted and removed. During the months of Sambat, Asinaka and Assar, the grave of Burha Raja (Pratap Singha, 1593-1611) was unsealed, and untold wealth was recovered from there; his bones were also removed. On the seventh of Sambat, 1594, the tombs of the Narya Raja (Bhutyangpha, 1644-49), Bhoja Raja (Buraunga, 1621-46) and Khaza Raja (Satyamung, 1592-1603) and Gargayya Rajah (Bhutesung, 1539-1635) were excavated and their treasures and bones were removed. The king Jayadwaja Singha heard this, and expressed his sorrow, saying, "I have not been able even to protect the bones of my forefathers.""

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1 *Burinji, No. 1*, cited by Col. A. A. A. For further particulars regarding Ahom royalties see Benjamin C. Clayton's "Description of the Tomb of an Ahom Noble" in *J.A.S.C.,* June 1916, where we read, — "Kutia Singha (1659-1744) is said to have prohibited the burying alive of the queen, guards, attendants, slaves, etc., at his decease."
The 'Valour of Assamese Soldiers.'—The terms of the treaty concluded between Mr Jumla and the representatives of the Ahom king were certainly favourable to the invaders. From the humiliating nature of the treaty it is evident that Assam did not play her part so well in the game. The Assamese were not lacking in vigilance or courage or military craft. They dealt occasionally heavy blows on the invaders, and Maha Darwip of Harat, a great warrior of Assam, who accompanied Mr Jumla during the expedition has thus celebrated the bravery of the Assamese people in an elegant poem or ode. 2

"The Rajah of Assam brought to the field an army, whose large number became a cage to earth.

[They were] formidably and saddled (as steeds) like the eyes of the fair sex,

Hating arrows and (other) missiles, and making a (firm) stand in the battle-field,

Their bodies full of life, they rushed from plain to plain and hill
All of them were terrific, like the demons Viet in the river
If one of them made a charge on the battle-field,
Their bodies would be severed from their heads, and their heads from the bodies (before they left it)
They seem to be Assamese came out of hell,
On some horse that has escaped from the chains of captivity
They are strong-laced to such a degree that if they are turned to dust
Their tails do not become the least slack
All of them are without light like the eyes-balls of the blind,
All of them are like poisonous plants in beauty and effect.

Jyotindra Singha’s Delinquency.—Then, why could not the Assamese do justice to the valour and martial ardour attributed to them by successive generations of visitors? There were men and money, and all the requisite materials for a victory; but the Assamese army were at that time a body without a head. There was no military commander of supreme genius who could marshall and co-ordinate the materials, to bring out and organise the unexpected energies of the

1 Galt’s History of Assam, p. 222; Prof. Hartlet’s History of Assam, vol. II, p. 222. An Assamese soldier giving an account of the tribute to be paid by Assam to Delhi goes to the extent of saying.—The Mewah Mr. Jumla invaded the country and captured it, and the king Jyotindra Singha had to prostrate himself in Messur; 2 see Galt’s Progress of Historical Research in Assam, p. 17. See also Mr. Jumla’s letter to Assamgarh on the terms of the treaty, etc., published by the present writer in Assam, vol. II. p. 127.

2 J.R.C.R.S., December 1901, Prof. Sekera’s Assam and Abors in 1669, p. 124.
people rendering them efficient for the issues of the war, to rouse national consciousness to a point when all subordinate considerations would be relegated to the background. The absence of such a leader and commander was felt even then, and the king's insufficiency in facing manfully and tactfully the critical question in the history of his country was recognized by his contemporaries. The king Jayadewaj Singh was too unambitious to attend to the serious duties of a king. A manuscript chronicle specifically puts the blame on the king where it says,— The father woman and Aeswar said to the king at Dosavur Road during his flight to Narurup,— 'O lord, you have paid your attention only to pleasure and dalliance. If you had only put during these fifteen years of your reign fifteen pails of earth at proper places, your fate would not have been like this. Where are you seeing leaving us in the lurch?' The king was extremely aggrieved to hear this admonition from the lips of the female hawker. The same unknown chronicler refers to the absence of able generalship at the time of Jayadewaj Singh when he describes the proceedings of the war-council convened by King Rudra Singh (1665-1714) at North Guhati, to discuss the proposal to invade Bengal with a view to restore to Assam the territories extending up to the river Karatoya, long held in fee by the sovereigns of Narurup.—

'The Barpara Gohain in support of the king's proposal said,—

'The territories bordering on the Karatoya are ours.' The enemies

1. Saratj, No 2
2. One living in the Brahmaputra Valley would see on the banks of towns and villages female hawkers or Aeswar with baskets on their heads, loaded with fish, rice, bananas, pineapples, ginger, rice, paddy and other garden and agricultural produce for sale or barter.

3. This pathetic assertion of territorial rights by Ruda Singh and his ministers is not without any historic foundation. In the Jagati-Tandra Kamrup is said to include the towns lying between the Karatoya on the west and Dhubri on the east... that is to say, it included roughly the Brahmaputra Valley, Brahmaputra, Brahmaputra, Kochch-Baktar' (Gul, p. 16). According to Haim-Temenga against Kamrup extended on the west as far as the Kamrapur (p. 84). Western Kamrup or Kamara had its western boundary at the Karatoya, pp. 42-43). Barbora Singh, king of Kochch-Baktar about the year 1658 established his rule as far as the Kamatoya (p. 57). During the reign of the Abura King Bubongungle (1689-1699) in the war with Turka, the invaders were completely defeated. 'Turka was surprised by a spear... The Aburas followed hard on the flightmen as far as the Kamatoya River.' (p. 61). The Abura general Bubongungle Barpara Gohain washed his sword, consecrated with the blood of the enemies in the waters of the Karatoya where he consecrated a temple in commemoration of his victory. Haim-Temenga.
have got possession of them only on account of our indifference and inaction. The duty of a king is to destroy the enemy, and to recover lost possessions with a view to preserve the ancient boundaries of his kingdom. We have a large fleet and naval soldiers, and abundance of war-materials. If the king orders, the enemy will be crushed and destroyed.” The Baw Bora then added,—“The king’s proposal is reasonable, and what the Baw Bora Gohain says is equally reasonable.” The ancestors of our king, had, by virtue of their prowess and courage crossed the boundaries of Rangamati, and washed their swords at the Karasuy-Gango. They found it inconvenient (to fix the boundaries of Assam at the Karasuy), so they made the river Mena the western limit of Assam, and established a garrison at Gambati. In the reign of Jayadhwaja Singha there was an abundance of provisions and men, will be acquired the title of the “Deserting King”; arms and ammunitions, materials and supplies are torpid and impotent, the followers and subordinates of the king are symbols of life and animation, they alone can infuse into the formable war-provisions a dynamic force.”

Rajah Ram Singha in Assam.—On the death of Jayadhwaja Singha, Chakradhwa Singha (1663-70) ascended the Ahom throne. Being highly sensitive to his prestige and dignity, the new king resolved to free the country from the burdens of the heavy indemnities payable annually to the Mogul Court. A new army was raised, and trained on new lines and principles. The king personally supervised the military manoeuvres and practices. Laskar Harimukhan was placed at the head of this newly mobilised force. Gambati was wrested back from the Moguls. The Mogul forces under Raja Ram Singha, the heroic son of Aurangzeb’s firm and resolute Rajput adherent Mira Jay Singha of Amber, were after a series of engagements defeated at the naval battle of Barudhat, near Gambati in 1670.1 The chivalrous Rajput commander Raja Ram Singha was deeply impressed by the dash of the Assamese soldiers, their test, courage and tenacity in the battle-field, and the invincible leadership of the Assamese general, and he said,—“Glory to the king! Glory to the counsellors! Glory to

Kasniang Baw Bora, the western boundary of Assam. During the reign of Assam Singha the Mena River was the western limit of Assam.

1 For a complete and authoritative account of the battle of Barudhat, see R. M. Ghose’s account of that scene in. (Jula, vol.)

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the commander! Glory to the country! One single individual leads all the forces! Even I, Ram Singha, being personally on the spot, do not find any loophole and opportunity.

A Patriotic Bluff.—During the earlier stages of the war, Ram Singha and Laxit Phukan fixed the boundary of Assam, by retaining the limits arrived at between Karmat Tamuli Borphukan (Laxit’s father) and Ahileyar Khan in the reign of Pratap Singha. They both regarded the ancient boundaries as pillars of gold and silver; and Ram Singha delivered the following oration,—‘As long as the sun and the moon remain in the sky, no one will be able to alter the boundary. But, may I ask, where was this valiant general (Laxit Phukan) when Mir Jumla over-ran the country? The Assamese ambassador Kaputiyaa Madhavacharman thundered forth a Himalayan bluff,—‘In the eastern region there is a kingdom named Nara, which was bound by a treaty to pay annually to the Ahom monarch a stipulated tribute of horses, clothes, elephants and money. The king of Nara disregarded the terms of the treaty, and Laxit Phukan was despatched by the Ahom monarch to extort the tribute from the refractory king. The Ahom general devastated the country of Nara, and exacted from its unwilling lord the tribute. On hearing of the arrival of Mir Jumla in Assam, the Assamese commander hurried back from Nara, pursued the Nawab, but on reaching Kaliabar, he learnt that Mir Jumla had been gathered to his fore-fathers.” But though there is a tribe, known as the Nara, in the neighborhood of Assam, with which the Ahoms came occasionally into conflict, we have not heard of any Nara expedition during the reign of Jayashraya Singha, and Laxit was then only a junior officer of the Ahom Court, and history is mute regarding his alleged association with any frontier warfare! It should be remembered that subsequent misunderstandings between the Ahom and the Mogul camps developed fresh hostilities on both sides, which were set at rest only by the decisive battle of Saragtakh.

Why was Mir Jumla sent to Assam?—Both Mir Jumla and Ram

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5 At the conclusion of the hostilities with the Muhammadans in the reign of Pratap Singha, a treaty was negotiated (in 1656) under which the Assam in the north bank of the Brahmaputra and the Assom Ali on the south were fixed as the boundary between the Ahom and the Muhammadan territories. 6 Ghil, pp. 118-16. 7 Saragtakh, No. 1.
Sinha was a great figure in the Nogul administration. But why did not Aurangzeb despatch inferior commanders to invade Assam, and retain these able soldiers and counsellors for more urgent imperial purposes? There is a suspicion in some quarters that the Emperor, after sitting on the throne long upon Mir Jumla with fear, thinking that the man who had naturally helped him to wade through slaughter to a throne might also remove him from that giddy eminence. Bernard explicitly states (p. 171) in this connection that 'Aurangzeb mostly apprehended that an ambitious soldier (like Mir Jumla) would not long remain in a state of repose and that, if disengaged from foreign war, he would seek occasion to meddle with internal commotions' do off to Assam and Aracan and the peninsular ari and floods and mosquitoes and unbelievable of the eastern regions of India! Various motives and reasons are ascribed for the invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla. Bernard seems to think (p. 171) that the invasion of Assam had already figured in the imagination of Mir Jumla, who intended to carry his victorious arms to the magnificent steppes of China and thereby earn immortal fame, so the Emperor's orders to invade Assam gave him the official sanction to pursue his own ambitious project. Prof. Jacobsthal Bernard, cit., states with authority in his History of Aurangzeb that 'Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal with orders to punish the lawless Zemindars of the province, specially those of Assam and Magh (Aracan) who had caused injury and molestation to the Musulmans.' The king of Aracan had already exasperated the great Mogul by harbouring his only surviving brother and rival Sultan Shuja, and 'Aurangzeb desired that Mir Jumla, the new Viceroy of Bengal, should after conquering Assam lead an army into Aracan to recover Shuja's family if possible.' Charles Stewart is of opinion that the provocation for this

*Vol. III (p. 170).*

*Prof. Sicker quotes as his authority for this passage Amals of Bengal, pp. 465 and 512 and Urso's Envoy, p. 59. During the earlier part of Jafarjasha Sinha's engagements with the Mahommedans, referred to by Stewart, and the king of India, which has been translated by G. W. A. Makari, The king Jafarjasha Sinha, having vanquished the Mahommedans at Chapmeh, obtained his weapon in arms. p. 69. He destroys the same man to the mult. 245, or 1709.*
invasion of Assam was given by Jayadhwaja Singha himself. He says in his *History of Bengal*, p. 324. — The prince of this country (Assam) Jayadhwaja Singha (Jayadhwaja Singha) had during the civil wars (wars of succession to the throne of Delhi) sent an army down the Brahmaputra, which had plundered and laid waste the country as far as Dacca, and carried away with them a number of the inhabitants as slaves. To avenge these insults, and to re-establish the fame of the Mogul Government, was an object of great solicitude to Mr Jumna; who as soon as he was satisfied with regard to the prince Shuja, in the year 1071 (a.m.) collected, in the neighbourhood of Dacca, a numerous army, well equipped with artillery and warlike stores, and accompanied by a strong fleet of war-boats.

The Object of Ram Singh's.—We have got some idea of the complicated motives of Mr Jumna's invasion of Assam. But why was Ram Singh selected to lead the expedition provoked by King Chakradwaja Singha's bold and chivalrous attitude against the indignities he had received in the hands of Mogul ambassadors? It was Ram Singh who under the orders of the Emperor, had looked after Shivaji when that great empire-builder was a 'guest' in Aurangzeb's palace at Agra. Jay Singha invaded Bihar, and at his instance Aurangzeb wrote to Shivaji inviting him to the imperial court. We read in the *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, by Madura Taksahav and Kotnur: — Jay Singha advised Shivaji to proceed to Agra without any anxiety, promising that his son Ram Singh would look after his comforts and safety. Upon these assurances Shivaji resolved to visit Agra. Shivaji's restless and undaunted spirit pining in the bondage of the Mogul Court resembled the grains of dynasties crushed and confined in a German bowknot, ever ready to burst and explode, producing a terrific breach and commotion, and blowing to smithereens all surrounding objects. Shivaji by a bold and original stratagem threw dust into the eyes of the wily Emperor and escaped from the surveillance and
humility to which he was subjected, and the 'shame' naturally fell
upon his Hindu minister Ram Singh as having loosed the strings
of the caged bird. The Maharatta historians continue,—Ram Singh
did not quite escape a certain measure of punishment. Chitam asserts
that Ram Singh was convicted at Khairpur and some Maharatta Brahmins
who were caught admittid under torture that Shivalal had escaped with
the connivance of Ram Singh. But when Jay Singha heard that he
protested his son was innocent of such faithlessness to the Emperor. But
Aurangzeb would not listen to all that, and Ram Singh was forbidden
to appear at court. Jay Singha who had served the Emperor so well
in his struggle for the throne, and in his campaign in the Deccan took
to heart his son's humiliation. He hurried to the defense of his
territories, attempting to recover his independence. But the valiant
Nizam uddin, an offspring of the renowned Kutchwahas of Ambar,
died on his arrival at Balkhun, on the tenth of July, 1687. And
the exiled Ram Singh was placed at the head of an expedition against
the Raja of Assam as a punishment for his alleged connivance at
Shivalal's flight from Agra.

Warning to Amur Singh,—But Ram Singh's mother and his
wife, with the malevolent sagacity of Mogul women foresew the
diminished consequences of the expulsion to Assam. The malevolent
Assamese women, ever eager to record the slightest grudge
about great Mogul personages connected with Assam, thus
writes:—

"When Ram Singh was in Assam he heard the story that the
Emperor Aurangzeb in a fit of anger asked his son Kriana Singh to
entertain him (the Emperor) by playing with tigers. Kriana Singh
agreed and two tigers were released within a net. Kriana Singh,

3 We take these details of Jay Singh's end from Burnier's Agra, p. 355 and 356-357.
4 Being in Assam was extremely unpopular, and no soldier would go there unless compelled. Instead, there is reason to believe that Ram Singh was sent to
Assam as a punishment for his having secretly helped Shivalal to escape from
exertions at Agra. Prof. Howitt's History of Aurangzeb, vol 1, pp. 315-316, and
Maxwell, W. 12, 132.
5 From Savage, No 1. Two Assamese chronicles of the Mogul Court have
been recently discovered, one by Mr. Samuel Barmah in the India Office, London,
and the other by the present writer in the American Baptist Mission at Guwahati.
They relate to the pre-Assam activities of Ram Singh, Mr. Jumla and Jay
Singha."
armed with his shield and sword, saluted the Emperor, and leaped into the arena. The brutes rushed at him, but the Rajput "gladiator" escaped being mated and torn to pieces by a deft manoeuvre of his shield. When he was next attacked, he with his sword, cut one tiger into two pieces, dashed off at its fellow, and killed it as well. Then the surrounding people rent the sky with acclamations, shouting, ---"Glory to thee, O Krishna Singh, son of Ram Singh, thou art a true Kshatria's son." Ram Singh's widowed mother and his wife sent a letter to him in which they wrote,—"The Emperor contrived the death of Krishna Singh, by making him wrestle with tigers. Such a friend is the Emperor! We have received enough tokens of gratitude for the conquest of contries for the Emperor (by Jay Singh and Ram Singh)!. Never think that by your invasion of the eastern country (Assam), we will gain more. We are told that there is universal amazement (religious music and recital) in that country. By invading it, oh, how long could Me Jumla thrive? So take heed, and do as you think proper." Shishra Khan said to the messenger,—"Well, tell Ram Singh that for the fear of Assam, the honour and prestige of the Nawab and Rajas have remained intact. If that country be invaded and subjected then we shall be disdained as well." On the receipt of this message Ram Singh became disheartened. It should be remembered that the letter was received by Ram Singh as the eve of the battle of Saraiqhat in which the Mogul forces were completely defeated and routed by Liquit Khan and Hadir, opposite Goalpara, now become the Ahom frontier out-post on the west.

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1 I would like to give the original mention of the Assam ---

भारतवर्षीय कोते, नमरियाँको दोि, आसुंग शेखोंदो सबैय गजय रेखा तुरान्त

मान नूँवा बोट रहिे। तथा सारि केकारिखो भाग छलाबुरेन जाग नये।

Shishera Khan, much of Assam, became Governor of Bengal after the death of Mr. Jumla. His famous escape from Bhojpur at the Poona Fort has made him a well-known figure in Indian History. The meaning of his message to Ram Singh is probably as follows:—

The existence of the powerful independent kingdom of Assam has made the Emperor careful in his dealings with his vassals and feudatories, as he has to count upon their help in times of emergency, when he projects an invasion of Assam. The position of the Governor of Bengal is of supreme importance under, the

the Kingdom.
AUTHORITIES

1. Assam Duragti.—No. 1. From Khumulg to Gudalbor Singh, Assamese manuscript Pathi, recovered by Shri Hemchandra Goswami from the late Sahumur Mahanta of North Guwahati, for the Assam Government collection of pathi now preserved in the library of the Kamrupa Assamesan Sarthi, Guwahati

2. Assam Duragti.—No. 2. From Dhenga Rajas to Prananta Singha, Assamese MS. Pathi recovered by Shri Hem Chandra Goswami from the Baganpur Ali Hama for the Assam Government, preserved in the K.A.S.

3. Assam Duragti.—No. 3. Generally known as the Kamrupa Duragti depicting the history of Western Assam and the conflicts with the Muhammadan, recovered by the present writer from the American Baptist Mission at Guwahati. It was published in the Samadhi of 1853.

4. Burder’s Travels in the Mogul Empire.—Edited by Archibald Constable, 1891.


1 an empire in consequence
2 went farther and annexed to it
The Rise of Daud Khan Rohilla

OR

AN EARLY HISTORY OF THE ROHILLAS IN INDIA TILL THE DEATH OF DAUD KHAN

BY

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Condition of India after the Death of Aurangzeb.—The Mughal Empire had a glorious history from the reign of Akbar, who may be regarded as its real founder, to that of Aurangzeb. The royal treasury was replete with money and jewels, which dazzled the eyes of the various foreign visitors. The people were prosperous, and there was universal toleration. A great advance of culture, marked by the erection of magnificent structures and the production of the finest works of art, was made. But this prosperity had already begun to decline in the reign of the last of the Great Mughals, Aurangzeb. A series of rebellions broke out in different parts of his Empire, as a result of his religious policy, and the Mahrattas in particular became enemies of the empire. The death of the old orthodox warrior aggravated the situation. As usual the sons of the Emperor contended for the throne, and by coaxing and lavish distribution of presents, bounties and preferments, enlisted the nobles and soldiers under their standards. Bahadur Shah emerged successful from the struggle. His reign was short, but was crowded with revolts and rebellions in all quarters. The Mahrattas withdrew their support and as Banda Khan writes in his memoirs, 'Now openly showed their designs to struggle for independence, in close alliance with each other to blind which Jay singh had espoused the daughter of Ajit Singh.'

In the north there was another tale to tell. Seeing the utter weakness of the Empire, the Sikhs formed designs to avenge the...
human miseries they had suffered at the hands of their Mughal rulers. Finding themselves strong in the hilly regions of the Punjab, they raised the standard of revolt under the leadership of Bansi, and swept the neighbourhood of Delhi, committing excesses, ravaging all villages, as mosques, colleges, mausoleums and palaces, killing or taking prisoners the faithful of every age and sex, and plundering with the most cruel severity. The degenerate nobility, pampered in luxury, could not find courage to meet the rebels, and so fled away from the capital with their families and goods. The Emperor left the Rajputs and proceeded against the northern enemy, whom, however, he could not thoroughly suppress.

In the south the Malautas, though disconcerted by the death of their leader, Shujaul, assailed Alamgir with success and had been able to free their prisoners from the Mughal control. Their aggressions were daily increasing, and 'the Malautas' as Prof. Sarkar says, were an open sore which drained the life-blood of the Empire and steadily reduced its size.

At the same time, the 'weakness of the central government emboldened the provincial governors to defy imperial prohibitions,' and they made themselves rich by heavy exactions from the merchants and the peasants. Guardians of peace became its disturbers; and when they had made themselves rich and strong, gradually shook off the imperial authority and established their independence. The court was the hot-bed of intrigue, profligacy and luxury. High offices of state were given to the eunuchs, mistresses and favourites of the mistress. Career was not open to talent. The public service was a means of gratifying syphilis, kinsmen, and comrades in revelry. Vice and sloth under the later Mughals drove out efficiency and fidelity. Merit was eclipsed by immorality; and so the capable and efficient nobles had to look somewhere outside the court for appreciation and recompense. Finding themselves insecure against capricious dismissal and degradation, their property and family honour unsafe, they resorted to their last hope of 'asserting their independence and establishing provincial dynasties of their own.'

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1 Scotti, Memoirs of Arabic Affairs, pp. 20-2.
3 Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, vol. v, p. 444
4 Scott, Memoirs of Arabic Affairs, pp. 20-2.
The army, once the boast of the Mughals and the dread of their enemies, was disorganized, degenerate and ill-equipped. Long wars in the Deccan had consumed the flower of the fighting class and now the residue was left in misery. Its spirit was utterly broken. In discipline, mutiny and a constant desire for bounty were its chief features. Laziness had crept into its ranks, so it was quite useless for sustained action. Owing to the civil wars it had grown in numbers, so much that in the reign of Bahadur Shah, writes Khusru Khan, the Persian writer, "the army was now increased to one hundred thousand horse, and soldiers of every cast (caste) and sect flocked in crowds to the imperial standard, where they were received with proper encouragement and amply paid." But the old solidarity was gone, and deprived of the support of the Rajputs, it could not stand against the Hindu and Muslim rebels.

The economic impoverishment of India had already begun. Owing to the unequal drain of wealth from Northern India to finance the southern wars, the peasantry was left destitute. Coupled with this, the exactions of the local chiefs and provincial governors sucked the blood of the poor farmers. Many new cesses and taxes were imposed upon the agricultural and the industrial classes which killed village industries and ruined the people who lived by them. Mechanical skill found no patrons, and peace which is the first requisite for its healthy growth was absent from the land. There was no security for the wages earned by any labour, and without this the incentive for work was lost. Trade could not be peacefully carried on as the roads were not safe. Caravans were looted by bands of raiders who inhabited the villages on the high roads. Agriculture could not flourish, and writes Bhishen the chronicler, 'the ryots have given up cultivation.' When their hereditary occupation was gone, they became robbers and highwaymen and made the situation all the worse.

Lastly, there was a great deterioration in the character and capacity of the rulers who came to occupy the throne of Akbar and Shahjahan. 'The native genius of Akbar, the genial moderation of Jahangir, the sagacity, energy and refined taste of Shahjahan', and the punctilious continence of Aurangzeb, had changed into weakness, irresolution and capriciousness of the later Mughals. 'They had no taste for the drill..."
THE RISE OF DAUD KHAN ROHILLA

routinue of state business, and passed his time in the harem in the company of bawoos, mistresses, and eunuchs. Jahangir Shah was notorious for his debauchery and drunkenness. He was foolish enough to go about publicly in the harem with his mistress Lakhaniwari, whose hushhandedness had offended all the nobles of the court. With such rulers at the head, the court and the public could not long remain unsmirched with immorality. Public corruption, immorality of the rulers, inefficiency of the state officials, weakness of the army, and the growing disorder in the provinces, all combined to bring about the downfall of the Mughal Empire.

When such was the state of the court and the army, when economic poverty was eating into the vitals of the tonantry, all classes of lawless men began to raise their heads in the north and south. Their suppression was a task almost impossible for the local officials. The emperors, if they could get release from the harassments of the harem, were not free from the pressing demands of the Sikhs and the Marathas. In such times, the centralizing forces, ever so conspicuous in Indian history, began their action. The proud Zomislers, whose grandfathers had been ruling princes before the coming of the Mughals, the Afghan families settled in various districts and still dreaming of their lost empire in India, claimants to princely titles dispossessed by order of Aurangzeb, predatory tribes, and the turbulent Rajput peasantry... all rose in defiance of the government and began to lay hands on their weaker neighbours.

It was in such disturbed times that Daud Khan, the progenitor and founder of the Rohilla power in India, migrated from his mountaintop home in Roh to fall in the troubled waters of India. We will now trace his history in the subsequent pages.

The Rohillas.—But before proceeding with the history of Daud Khan, it is proper that we should understand the term 'Rohilla'. The Rohillas, it has been accepted by almost all the writers, were inhabitants of the mountainous region called Roh which extends from the Indus to the Hindukush, and includes Bajaur, Kebul, Kandahar and

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1 Beest, Memoirs of Auribis Khan, pp. 88-89
3 The origin and descent of the Afghans have been thoroughly discussed by Belcher, Taip, Farder and Ephraimston, and so the readers are referred to their works for further information.
Ghazni. From remote antiquity they have occupied this land, and tradition ascribes them a descent from the Israelites of Syria and Palestine, from where they were driven out by Bakht Naqwa. Those dispossessed tribes migrated to the east and settled in the provinces of Ghur and Ghazni. This tradition has been accepted by almost all the Afghan chroniclers, and Hafez Rahmat Khan, in his book *Alalem-al-hasa,* has given a general genealogy of all the tribes, tracing their descent direct from Abraham, the Patriarch of Palestine.

In India, the inhabitants of these regions are generally called by three different names, Rohillas, Afghans and Pathans, the first of which is usually applied to the people settled in Rohilkhand, Dholpur and the Deccan.

The Afghans generally use their tribal names to denote their families and dynasties, and it seems strange that the successors and followers of Daul Khan and Ali Muhammad Khan should be called Rohillas. Possibly, as Mr. Tate suggests,* the low origin of Daul Khan, a slave or the freedman of Shah Alam Khan, about whose parentage and family nothing certain was known, might have compelled him to call himself a Rohilla in the absence of any distinguishing eponym. His followers also went by the appellation of their commander, and so eventually Kizakar came to be called Rohilkhand, the land of the Rohillas.

The Afghans of Roh are hardy men, fierce and enterprising. They are agriculturists, traders, soldiers and robbers, *whose hands can wield indifferently a cloth measure, a spade, a sword or riwa.* India has always been a field for the enterprise of these Afghans, who at times looked in large numbers to serve in the army of the rulers here. After the battle of Panipat in 1556, they scattered all over the country and some of them settled in Kizakar also. But during the confusion consequent upon the death of Aurangzeb, and the rise of Nadir Shah in Persia, many Afghan adventurers of Roh migrated into India to seek employment or a safe refuge from the persecutions of Nadir Shah. One such early emigrant was Daul Khan, then a dependent in the family of Shishaboddin Khan at Tur Shahamat in Rohi.

Shishaboddin Khan.—Excepting a few faint glimpses in the works of
his descendants, very little is known about the life of Sikhabuddin Khan, the ancestor of Hake Rahmat Khan. He was a God-learned pious Afghan Sheikh of Roh, an inhabitant of Posheen Shorang in the Kandahar District, which was the original home of the tribe of Bahadur to which he belonged. He was a Bradford, one of the sub-ethnic of the sub-sections of Bahadur. It is recorded that in his youth he visited the districts of Attock and Lungar Kot, where he married several members of the families of his tribe, and from among them he selected his bride. Usually he lived in the hilly land of Choa Khawan. Though often kept in meditation, he moved from place to place and paid occasional visits to the plains. With growing age unfurrowed also his solitary rambling in the woods and valleys, where he passed months in prayer and meditation without paying even a chance visit to his family. By hard meditation, he came to possess the power of working miracles, and was reputed all round as a great saint, and after death came to be venerated as a Fakir. At a good old age he died and was buried on the main road from Peshawar to Kabul, near the village Shandar. On account of his sanctity he obtained the appellation of Sheikh Moti Baba, because he called himself 'kuto' or dog of the Almighty.

He had three sons, Pat, Adam, and Mahmud, the last of whom took the appellation of Sheikh Moti Baba, and migrated from Peshawar Shorang to reside at Tor Shanghot, of which place he became the

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*The main authorities for this account are Ahsan-ul-Jamal, Gulistan-i-Husain, Mulla-i-Rahmat and Asadab Husain, all written by the descendants of Sikhabuddin Khan. The MBA consulted were those of the Rampur states.*

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1. No.--The account in the subsequent pages has been derived from the original authorities as far as it was discussed by any English writer, Mr. John Burnaby relying mainly upon Haddura but brushed it off in a few paragraphs of his book. I have consulted an Urdu work Ahsan-ul-Jamal by Mulla Mohammad of Rampur rather freely, but conclusions are my own and differ generally from those of Ghazi who is at places very exciliated.

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5. Tahir-ul-Jamal, p. 46.

Sajjadaanshah. He had five sons, the youngest of whom was Shah Alam Khan, the father of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. Moti Baba also followed the example of his father and passed his days in devotional exercises. "His character was held in high veneration" by the fierce Afghans, who respected him for his piety, generosity and sympathy.

Shah Alam Khan.—Shah Alam Khan was the youngest son of Moti Baba. He got a fairly handsome property in the partition of the patrimony. It is stated in Fara'id Bakht, which Hamilton copies, that Shah Alam Khan and his elder brother Husain Khan came to Katihar in the reign of Shah Jahan and settled there as petty tradesmen but having had indifferent success returned to their paternal land. But this account remains unsupported by Hafiz Rahmat Khan or his descendants. Nothing can with certainty be said on this point, but reliance on the part of those who were in a position to know better means something. It is not improbable that he came to India on occasional commercial trips as a horse-dealer, in which capacity we find him later on coming to see Dam Khan. But a settlement in Katihar seems to be a fancy of the writer of Fara'id Bakht who has often uncritically given such other unauthourised and unsupported statements. Certain it is nevertheless, that Shah Alam Khan was in Roh when Dam Khan, the Rohilla adventurer, came to Katihar and began his military career which ultimately led to the foundation of Rohilla power in the vicinity of the Muqbil capital.

Early Life of Dam Khan.—A shroud of mystery envelopes the origin of Dam Khan. Chronologists with diverse motives have given various conflicting statements, but leaving aside one or two all agree in ascribing him no direct descent from Shihabuddin Khan. Some

1 Five sons: 1 Asad, 2 Shabed, 3 Hakim, 4 Haseen and 5 Shah Alam. — Khusajat-ul-Mas, MS. p 41.

2 Hamilton ‘Khusajat Alifas,’ p 32. He writes, “In the 10th year of the Hijra (A.D. 1689) two brothers Shah Alam Khan and Husain Khan, having finished their native transactions, settled in Katihar, where they procured some employment under the officers of the Moghal Government, but nothing further is related of them worthy of mention.” Also Khusajat-ul-Mas, p 32 (Lodhia’s ed.). In Fara'id Bakht, Kusumpur MS. 2, it is slightly different. He writes, “Shah Alam Khan came in the reign of Shah Jahan and engaged in trade.” Fara'id Bakht, p 32. Kusumpur MS.

The differences are due possibly to the different MSS used.

3 Shihbuddin, son of Fara'id Bakht, and Hamilton will mix the son of Shah Alam Khan. Also Khusajat-ul-Mas, MS. p. 182.
hold that he was a slave of Shah Alum Khan, while others describe him as an adopted son. The authors of Girdar-i-Rahmat and Gul-i-Rahmat say that he fell to the share of Shah Alum Khan in the division of his patrimony, "who, having no issue, treated him with care and affection and left the whole management to him." The author of Allah-Haum gives a different story. He writes:

"Shah Alum Khan had no issue for a long time, and as the desire of a child immensely ruffled in his heart, he brought up a boy handsome, good-natured and intelligent, as his own son and named him Daud Khan."

There are some others who erroneously call him either a soldier or an adopted son of Shihabuddin Khan. Anyway, he was well educated by Shah Alum Khan, and being intelligent and ambitious, he could not reconcile himself to the peaceful surroundings of rural life, and hence turned his eyes to the martial career of an Afghan, the profession of arms, for which India, when civil wars were convulsing the whole land from north to south, offered a wide field. He came to India in the first year of the reign of Bahadar Shah, which was, as has been shown before, a favourable moment for such an adventurer. With or without the permission of his patron, he left the comfortable home in Roh, and proceeded to Hindustan to enlist under any one who would give him fair terms. The Insh-e-Seelat, has an interesting story relating to this period of Daud's life. It says that he tried hard but could get no employment for sometime, and then wrote to Shihabuddin that he would go to the Deccan in search of service. On this Shihabuddin Khan sent him a harsat of one thousand rupees asking him to keep two hundred rupees for his own expenses and with the remainder to purchase some mares at the Hardwar fair and send them home. Daud Khan went to Hardwar and purchased mares worth seven hundred rupees, but sent home only two of them, and kept the rest with him. Some more Mohallas gathered round him, among whom he

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1. *Jami's Awan Names, Ramgarh MSS., p. 966.
4. Adapted from Shishabuddin-Jamilah Jassul (Lacknow ed.); p. 46.
6. The unreliability of the story is evident from the fact that it makes Shihabuddin live at the time, though he was dead long ago, as is shown by Khaknasul-Davat and other works. The book was written early in the nineteenth century and no information is given by it as original.
distributed these mares, and began the career of a highwayman. A rich Hindu had come to bathe in the Ganges and had with him only a small retinue of foot-soldiers. While going back on his chariot, accompanied by a cart and the retainers, he was followed by Daud Khan and his companions. For two days they could not dare to reveal their real purpose, but after the third stage, finding him with only six or seven retainers, the rest having been left behind with the luggage cart, they rushed upon him and put to the sword the unsuspecting weak and ruined followers of the Hindu. The master too could not escape the fate of his poor servants, and was soon cut to pieces. He got some gold ornaments on the person of the Hindu, and gold sehra and many other valuable articles in his luggage. The Major bullocks too formed part of the booty. Then leaving the main road leading to Barodly, he entered the thick forest with the booty acquired in his first enterprise, and there wandered from place to place like a robber. Gradually he collected a following of 80 horsemen and 300 foot-soldiers, and built a mud fortress therein.1

This romantic account invites attention. Many a man, who founded a dynasty in mediaval history, began his career in a similar way. His Afghan character sought gratification in robbery and plunder. But this story can hardly be accepted as the whole truth. The information of the writer from whom it comes cannot be relied upon as genuine and first-hand. But it is the most plausible account of his early career and in the case of silence on the part of the other circumstances and authorities, we might accept it as a possible occupation of the adventurer before he entered the service of Mader Shah. To India he may have come with the purpose of buying horses at Hardwar, but his aim seems to have been to settle in this country. Fortune favoured him and he adopted Kastbar, the province nearest to Hardwar as the field for his adventures.

The Situation of Kastbar.—Situated on the left bank of the Ganges and stretching to the foot of the Himalayas, where it suddenly merges into the mountain tracts called Terai, the usual abode of fierce tigers, Kastbar had been from remote antiquity the home of independent

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1 *Amir’in Sardar* (Lahore ed.), p. 42.


The story in both the books is the same. Perhaps one has copied from the other. There is similarity in other points also.
turbulent Rajput chiefs. Its geographical situation favoured rebels
flate from invasions by the Imperial forces for more than six
months in the year owing to the mood states of the Ganges, they
would with impunity withhold the Imperial revenues. The royal
representative at Muradabad was too weak by himself to maintain
without help from the capital. This security had turned the hands
of the seindars, and defence of the royal authority became an
established practice with them. Muhammadan rulers, ever since
their advent into the country, had to face the constant revolts of the
intractable Kashmriya Rajputs.  
Mughal authority had been felt
under the Great Mughals, and then we hear of very few insurrections
But in the last days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, rebellion raised its
head again. In 1679 Muhammad Nadir was appointed to the
government of Kashmar, and during his rule the Kashmriyas and
Jangahars rose in revolt, with the result that when Aurangzeb
died ... all Rohilkhand was in a state of complete anarchy." Civil
wars between the sons of the late Emperor for the throne relaxed the
hold of the Central Government, and there began an interminable war
for lands and boundaries among the various seindars, and a revolt
against the authority of the Funtur.

The province was divided into two Sarkars, with a Funtur
stationed at Muradabad, who was always a grandee of the Empire, and
was usually a soldier of reputation. At this time, Muhammad
Khan Chinh Babdur, nephew to Chinh Kulik Khan (afterwards the
famous Nhuam-ul-mulk) was appointed to the Funtur of Muradabad by
Babdur Shah when he emerged successful from the Atrakidhel war.
He was not feared by the many seindars who were in possession of
big estates all over the province. Nurpur Singh was the seindar of
Pipli; Kinra Singh of Akbarabad; Kunjaan Singh of Najwar; Khum
Karan of Karangah, Manoj Singh and Lachman Singh of Mudka in

* After the death of Muhammad Tajudeen the seindars (then called
Mughaldarn of Keshar rose in revolt against his weak and degenerate successors.
The Turkish-Mughal Slid does not give information about many such revolts and the
invasions of the Imperial armies (Office, vol 17, pp 14, 69-89). This continued
the establishment of the Mughal rule when the strength and activity of the
Empire gave them no opportunity to raise their head. But with the degeneracy of
the late Mughals, their rebellions became constant, until they were driven out by
the Rohilkhand.

* Government of Mughals, p 443
* Evans, Later Mughals, vol 1, p 131.

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Pargana Bursa is; and Arjun Singh that of Aonla. Badras was the
seat of the governorship till the reign of Shahjahan, when it was
transferred to Bareilly, and Badras sank into insignificance. Bareilly
was the seat of a Feudar whose authority was supreme in the vicinity
of the head-quarters. Shahjahanpur was in the possession of the
successors of Bahadurkhan Daulat, the founder of the city, and was
the chief stronghold of the Pathan power in the south, but it was still
under the nominal authority of the governor of Bareilly. The Tarai lands
were administered by the Raja of Kunysu, who had not yet sunk low in degeneration. It was the safe resort of the Kaminduras and Rais when pressed hard by the royal army. Owing to its distance the Tarai could not be well controlled from the seat of Burhna in Delhi.

A desire to extend their limited possessions led the Rajput chiefs
of Bursa to fight amongst themselves. Quite unmindful of the
bloodshed and the loss and inconvenience to their subjects, they fought
against their neighbours for a small strip of land, with characteristic
partisanship. Little regard, in such times, was paid to the welfare of
the poor peasants, who were compelled to fight for their chieftain, in
whose quarrels they had little interest. When villages and hamlets
were burnt to ashes, the life and property of the farmers was sure to
be in jeopardy. Night raids on hostile camps disturbed the calm
repose of the peace-loving hardy agriculturists. Their savings earned
by hard labour in sun and rain were plundered in the night; their sons
and wives were captured to work as slaves in the household of the
victorious enemy. All this was done not for their betterment certainly,
but for the gratification of the hearty greed of their chiefs. Under
such circumstances, that incentive to work which comes with security
and the prospect of an undisturbed possession was stifled; and the
province, richly endowed by nature, was turned into a desert.

Politically, the constant civil strife of the Rajput chiefs weakened
their resources for combating an external foe; and combined attacks,
either defensive or offensive, was unknown to them. Thus, they were
secure in their mud forts in the heart of impregnable forests, existen-
tial gorges and valleys, but a powerful invader was sure to crush them one
by one; as ultimately happened when the Bahsas took possession of

* This description cannot apply to the vigorous periods of Musulmanid rule, particularly under the Great Mughals.
the province. In the time of the Tughluqs and Sayyids, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the whole of the province was almost always in the possession of one sole Mughal. But now that small tract was divided among a dozen vassals and more, who could not individually muster even a few thousand soldiers. Their revenues were meagre, and they could not sustain a long siege. When such was their state, it is easy to imagine the rise of an adventurer, bold, persevering and ruthless who appropriated the whole country to himself and 'drove the Rajputs across the Dungars'.

Their interminable warfare led them to employ foreigners and adventurers with their small followings. These soldiers of fortune hired themselves out now to one and then to another. Money was their chief motive. Their treachery and defection at the most critical moment very often decided the issue of a battle. Their income was always increased by the vast booty falling to their share in the plunder of villages near the battlefield. Their employers gave them villages and mahals in Jagh for their maintenance. The leaders of these mercenaries acquired the status of samniders themselves, and by waging wars on their own account, added considerably to their original holdings. In this way Dadu Khan began his career in Katchar and got a large jagir in the vicinity of Amla.

Dadu Khan's Service with Musar Sher.—As has been previously shown, Dadu Khan began a predatory career and collected a large following of similarly placed Afghans, who swarmed the plains of Northern India like ravenous vultures in search of prey. A strong, daring and capable leader in the person of Dadu Khan led these on to bold enterprises, and in a very short time became the terror of the whole land. From his nest between the bushy forests, he rushed out frequently like a falcon with his followers, and preyed on the petty samniders of the neighbourhood. But his predatory activity could not last long, for his name was very soon famous for bravery all over the province, and hence he was taken into service by one Rajput chief or another. His services were always welcome to the upstanding chiefs who settled their private quarrels by force of arms. In this way Dadu Khan passed a few years, till he was engaged, about the time that Farrukhsray came to the throne, by the samnider

Galagrap-Rahmat, 1. 65, Gol-Rahmat, p. 7. Addar Rana, p. 16, Jumnapur MSS.
of Mudkur, whose name was Madar Shah, a Rajput brave and courageous in battle. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood, for his help was sought in settling the disputes between other overlords. He kept a large force of Rajputs and Musalmans, and was feared by the other Rais. To add further to his strength, he employed David Khan and his followers, and assigned some villages for their maintenance.

There he was constantly engaged in fighting the wars of his master and his confederates. Very soon after, Khan Karam, the overlord of Raigarh, attacked Kancha Singh of Rajpur, and plundered the town. Kancha Singh complained to Madar Shah and wanted his help against the offender. The latter dispatched a large force composed of Rajputs and Pathans, under his two sons, Chattra Singh and Parbat Singh, and deputed David Khan as well for their assistance. The allied armies were successful over the hosts of Khan Karam. The vanquished fled from the field of battle, and the victors plundered the baggage of the retiring army, and the villages in the enemy's territory. Bakhshi was looted by David Khan and his comrades, and it is mentioned by some chroniclers, that he captured there a boy of about eight or nine years, whom he adopted and named Ali Muhammad Khan, and who ultimately became the Nawab of Rohilkhand and the founder of the Rohilkhand nawabship in Khatber. Much booty, besides, fell to the share of the mercenary band of the Pathans. This was one of the many engagements he fought in the service of this powerful chief. This Afghan force under David Khan added more to the lustre of Madar Shah; but David's fame, too, could not long remain concealed. He was reputed for his courage and bravery all over the province, and was held in esteem by the chiefs of the neighbourhood. He came

1 The author of *Ahdar-al-Hamadani*, the Urdu work referred to above, calls him 'Madar Shah,' saying that 'Madar Shah' is an erroneous name for the ruler. But in *Tirtha Chanan Ahdar-al-Hamadani*, an Urdu history of Farsandkhor written in the later eighteenth century, 'Madar Shah' is given as the name of the Raja of Laher and Sigri. I conclude that this was a common name and so have kept it as it is in the chronicles.

2 *Gulzar-i-Rahbar*, Peshawar 1895, 79.
3 *Gulzar-i-Rahbar*, 78; *Gul-i-Rahbar*, p. 7; *Haripur MS*
4 *Gul-i-Rahbar*, p. 7, Haripur MS
5 David Khan was a brave man and in the eyes of the Pathans had earned a great name.
according to the statement in Gul-i-Rahmat, with 200 men in the service of Mazar Shah, but having of his bravery and capacity for leadership bands of Pathan adventurers, prompted by the ambitions of a military career, swelling the ranks of his followers. Brothers in adversity, co-adventurers in prosperity, all stood shoulder to shoulder, and by treachery, deceit or faithful service made themselves rich and powerful. It is not certain how long he lived at Madour, for the chronicles most indefinitely write, 'served under many big zamindars and Raja.' However, he had in a very short time acquired a considerable estate in the rewards given to him by his employers, both in land and money, and fixed his headquarters at Bennu. He had at this time commanded a force of about five hundred men, both horse and foot, for whom upkeep he required a large income.

Hamilton, perhaps wrongly, reverses the sequence of events, noted above and writes, 'Dacod collecting together some followers, offered himself and was admitted as a volunteer into an army sent by the visitor to oppose the main forces of the Mahrattas, who were laying waste the country between Narnax and Gwalior, and extending their depredations towards the banks of the Jumna. —On this expedition Dacod distinguished himself by his bravery; and being on a particular occasion, detached from the main army, had the address to surprise and cut off a party of the enemy, bringing in with him some elephants and other spoils.'

'As a reward for this service, Dacod, on the return of the royal forces, obtained a grant of a little district in the territory of Bidaroo, which forms part of Rohilla land, but a retired life in building (with) his active and enterprising spirit, he presently recruited his little force, consisting of the first followers of his countrymen, and with these rendered many services to the neighbouring Rajas and Zimbands. . . . This seems to be a mistake arising from the identification of Daud Khan Rohilla with Daud Khan Pamul, who was also an Afghan, and who had distinguished himself in the Deccan campaigns against the Mahrattas. The contemporary chronicles would certainly have mentioned him as deserving of royal favours, if he had taken an active part in the Deccan

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1 Gul-i-Rahmat, p. 7; Ramgar Miss.
2 Abidur Rahim, p. 11; Ramgar Miss.
3 Ibid.
4 Hamilton, Rohilla Afghans, pp. 23-24.
were. There is no reference met with regarding this in the succinct but continuous account of his career in the Rohilla chronicles. In view of the above, it seems clear that Hamilton has mistaken him for Daud Khan Poonal. There is no evidence that Daud Khan the Rohilla, had any concern whatsoever with the royal authority in his life, and a Jangir from the emperor would, therefore, be out of the question. As will be seen later, he associated himself closely with Asmatullah Khan, the Faujdar of Muradabad, and through him formed the revenue of some villages. But at this time, when he was hiring himself out to different chiefs, he could not have got anything from the state.

Death of Sher Alam Khan.—When he was thus securely established in the service of Muzafir Shah, and had fixed his residence at Buniya Bachi, many ambitious Afghans, and his neighbours and kinmen of Rob flocked to him. At this time came also Malik Sher Ali Khan, Fakir Khan, Dost Ali Khan, Adam Khan, and Sadr Khan Kamaizai, all Afghans of Rob, who became famous generals in the service of his successors. There came to him about 500 Afghans from Rob, who settled in Katcha under his leadership, thereby increasing his strength considerably.

Hearing the story of his greatness, his old patron Sher Alam Khan also left his peaceful home, and bravely the risks of a journey to the distant Katcha. Whether emotion or self-interest was his motive, it is difficult to say. Perhaps a kind regard for his old ward, now in affluence, might have prompted him to leave his home in such old age. After a toilsome journey he came to Buniya Bachi, and was received by Daud Khan with the respect due to his age and position. He remained there for a short time, and at his departure for home, Daud Khan gave him a large sum of money. Sher Alam Khan went back, but a few years after came again and was received warmly. This time he had come with the intention of taking Daud

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'In Sandeepnavard and Farid Barmashaf of Waliudiah the tale of Shah Alam Khan's arrival is placed in the days of Ali Muhammad Khan after the death of Daud Khan. They blame Ali Muhammad for his murder writing that Shah Alam Khan called him the son of his slave which provocation led him to order his assassination. This is improbable in the latter authorities are explicit about the time saying that Badr Bahadur Khan was only four years old. In the case of Shah Alam's murder in the time of Ali Muhammad Khan five years after the death of Daud Khan, we will have to put some other age of Babu. The mistake is due to their wrong information. - Amadnavard, p. 40; Waliudiah; Farid Barmashaf Waliudiah, p. 78.'
Khan back to Roh, for his affairs there were suffering for want of an efficient supervisor. But Daud could not leave his hard-won acquisitions and for even separate himself from a career of fame and ambition. He persuaded Shah Alam Khan to leave him alone, and giving him a large amount at the time of departure, promised a sum of rupees 2,000 a year regularly, which would compensate him for the loss of his personal services.

On this promise Shah Alam Khan left him and returned to Roh, but on his way he was detained by certain horse dealers, to whom Daud Khan owed some money. This plan proved quite successful, for the conscientious old man left all his goods with the merchants at Delhi and returned to Katihar to expiate his guilt with Daud. Money was duly sent to the merchants and the goods were released, but Shah Alam Khan could not now leave his old ward to oppress the poor and deceive the rich. The God-fearing conscience within him was touched and he could not bear the idea of the important curse of the oppressed poor against Daud Khan. All excuses and permissions of Daud were of no avail. In the end Daud Khan resorted to violence and ordered a few of his men to assassinate the old planter, good intentioned men in the gloomy silence of a dark night in the forest near Budusa.

Daud Khan was invited by the Amil of Budusa, a representative of Muhammad Khan, Bengali, Nawab of Farukhabad, to assist him in a contest with certain zamindars of the vicinity. Daud Khan was quite glad to assist his co-religionist and compatriot against the Hindu zamindars. He set out to join him with Shah Alam Khan in his company, whom the four zamindars, who had been hired by Daud Khan, attacked in the darkness of the night when he was quite alone and severed the head from the body. The darkness of the night could not conceal this hideous crime, and when news reached Daud Khan, he fainted sorrow at the event; but tears could not wipe off the stain on his character. Orders were issued to find out the culprits, and his body, in the meantime, was buried in the jungle outside Budusa, on which a memorial was raised afterwards by Haji Khairat Khan, the son of the deceased.  

A different version is met with in the pages of Abuker Musa,  which absolves Daud Khan entirely from the guilt. It mentions that

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1. Gulkhan-i-Rahmat, II and III; Gulkhan-i-Rahmat, p. 91, Kathua MBS.
2. Abuker Husain, p. 13, Kathua MBS.
Shah Alum Khan was attacked by a party of thieves while going from Badshah, whither he had come with Daud Khan, with his goods and money to his native land, and was killed with two or three men more in the encounter. Daud Khan tried hard to trace out the culprits, but they could not be found. The authors of Gaddar-e-Rahmat and Gaddar-e-Rehmat represent that the perpetrators of the crime met with divine vengeance, for three of them were killed the next evening, and one became a leper who survived to tell the tale of his guilt.

On such intricate questions nothing can be said with certainty, but we cannot acquit Daud Khan of complicity in this crime. He was provoked by the insistent demand of Shah Alum Khan to go back to Roh, and fearing lest the old man should call him a slave before his followers, in which case his honour and prestige were in danger, he might have adopted the secret means to clear his path from similar obstructions in future. There is always a conflict between power and principle, and ambition waits not to consider the softer emotions of a weak man. His whole career was one of adventure, treachery and rapine. He was bound by no filial gratitude to the old man whose house he had left to try his luck in Hindustan. To get rid of him and to escape being constantly reminded of his late dependence on an old man’s generosity, he may have resorted to secret assassination, so that it might pass as an accident and give no offence to the other Afghans who were closely related to Shah Alum Khan. The Abbé Houtey perhaps adopted the version given by Daud Khan and his associates. His treachery against the Rajah of Kurnool later on, and his early career strengthen the suspicions against him.

This event happened some time about the last days of the reign of Fattukhsyah, on Friday 9th Zilhija,1 of an unknown year. Shah Alum Khan left behind a son, Rahmat Khan (Hafiz), then a child a few years old. His goods were sent to Tor Shahamat by the merchants at Delhi when they had got their money.

Service with Rule of Kurnool and death of Daud Khan.—Daud Khan lived for a short time longer in the service of Maker, Shah, and then joined Amanullah Khan at Munnebad in expectation of royal favour, and more lucrative employment under the Moghul Emperor. He framed the revenues of some villages from the government and passed his days in prosperity with his followers.
Then a few years after, he entered the service of Raja Debi Chand of Kumara, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1790. He was made commander of the forces stationed on the plains at Kashipur. The acquisition of Debi Chand with his followers increased the strength of the Raja, who was 'led to believe that the Raja of Kumara was one of the greatest princes in the world.' Naturally his ambition turned towards the occupation of the Tama lands lying south of his dominions, which had once formed part of the kingdom of Kumara. He was seeking reasonable cause both to invade the unwary lands and snatch them from the hands of the degenerate Mughal emperors. At this time one Sabir Shah who preferred to belong to the royal family raised the standard of revolt against the legitimate authority in the Tama lands and collecting a large number of Afghans, invaded Kashipur, but he was repulsed by Asmatullah Khan. He went to Kumara and sought help from Raja Debi Chand, promising that he would give Kumara to the Raja when he was seated on the throne of Delhi. The Raja thought himself strong enough to raise the pretender to the throne to place of Muhammad Shah, and so proclaimed him Emperor of India. Debi Chand was ordered to combine with Sabir Shah and the Adilkhel of Kashipur against the imperial army. Asmatullah Khan was deputed by the imperial Government to quell the disturbance, and he came to the field with 19,000 men and 12 elephants. Besides, he had secretly bribed Debi Chand to desert the Raja when the engagement had begun.

Amity and sanguine proved stronger than fidelity. The persuasion was effective, and when the two armies met at Nagina, Debi Chand treacherously left the field and stood aside to watch the events of the day.

The forces of Kumara were routed and the Adilkhel represented the treachery of Debi Chand to Raja Debi Chand. The Raja called the Pathan general to his court, and pretending ignorance of his late action, increased his pay and accorded him a hearty reception. After thus securing him in his power, he ordered his legs to be cut off and the sisters to be drawn out, which caused his death. He was buried near Thakurwara by the officers of Debi Chand, and his family was

1. *Abdur Kusum NUK*, p. 11.
2. "He played treachery to Raja Debi Chand either for fear of Emperor or love of Asmatullah Khan."
allowed to retreat unmolested to Muradabad. The treachery was
justly punished and thus ended the life of Daud Khan after a stormy
career of about sixteen years in India in the year A. D. 1724 or 1725. 1

He left behind him his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan and his
own son Mahmud Khan, the former of whom was raised to the command
of the small army by Daud Khan and others, and was taken into the
service of Asmatullah Khan in consideration of the sacrifice of his
adoptive father. 2

Daud Khan’s Character.—Daud Khan was a brave and adventurous
Afghan, unscrupulous in adjusting means to ends. He was a natural
leader of men who rose from a humble trooper to the independent
command of a large number of Afghan soldiers and officers. In his
wars he was almost always successful, and his fortitude, courage and
military skill were amply rewarded by his employers. His life was one
of constant struggles and engagements. Beginning life as a robber he
ended it as a treacherous general guilty of serious defection and deri-
vation of duty. The greatest stain on his character is the murder of
his patron Shah Alon Khan, who was entitled to gratitude from him.
But with all his defects, he was a great soldier and general who laid
the foundations of the Rohilla power in Katsar.

1 Gulistan-i-Razavi, MS. f. 12 b., Gul-i-Shahamat, p. 10.
2 Gul-i-Shahamat, pp. 38-41, Gulistan-i-Razavi, f. 11 r., Rampur MSS., Ahmar-
Dr. Aiyangar on the Vakatakas

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[We publish with pleasure the following critical note of Mr. Y. R. Gupta on our papers on the Vakatakas. We have taken the liberty to add a few notes which
it is hoped will meet with his approval.—Ed.]

Dr. V. V. S. RamaRao had contributed an interesting article to the J.R.A.S. for 1914 in which he dealt with many doubtful points in the
history of the Vakatakas in a most capable manner. Dr. A. Krishnaswami Aiyangar later on published two articles, one on "The Vakatakas
and their place in the History of India," one in the Indian Historical Journal and the other on "The Vakatakas in Gupta History" in the
Journal of the Mythic Society, in which he brought forward a wealth of evidence from the Puranas and a work written by Khastagiri, to
bear out the facts that the two dynasties, the Gupta and the Vakatakas, were fighting for sovereignty and that though the latter could boast
of a succession of rulers as proved by the expression "transfert par la," in the legend on their seals, the former in the end succeeded in the bid
for paramount power. Somehow or other a reconciliation was brought about between the two dynasties, the result of which was
that the political relations passed on smoothly. Even the greatest of the Gupta emperors did not, in the Doctor's opinion, invade
the territories of the Vakatakas, though he swept past to the south. This shows that friendly relations between these two
dynasties existed. To crown all the renowned daughter of Chandragupta II was espoused by Rudrasimha II. The marriage alliance had
also a political object, viz. that of securing Chandragupta's flank against the Śaka enemies of the west, who were later on uprooted.
Dr. Aiyangar's article might be drawn to Dr. Smith's remarks in

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2. Vol. xxv, No. 1, 1927. I am indebted with an allusion to it, of which pages are quoted in this paper.
3. The Vakatakas in Gupta History, p. 3.
4. J.M.S.
the J.R.A.S. for 1914 and to my foot-note 3 on page 88, J.A.S.B., vol. xiv, 1894, No. 1. One is inclined to think that the credit is due mostly to the early Imperial Guptas for their enlightened policy of consolidating an earlier great power and to cement that friendship. Had they pursued too far, probably they would not have succeeded. But even if their efforts would have been crowned with success, their military power would have been much weakened and their throne would have been tottering to the detriment of the dynasty and of Northern and Central India by their domestic fight.

The duty of training the offspring of Rudrasena II and Prabhavati-gupta fortunately devolved upon Kiliidana, the greatest court-poet of Chandragupta II, who, to commemorate his friendship with his eminent pupil began one of his poems of extraordinary merit, viz., Meghaduta by the mention in the very first stanza of Rūmagiri, which in Dr. Aiyangar’s opinion was his capital but which being a very sacred place probably was only much frequented by the Vālkīpikas rulers. Curiously enough a fresh grant edited by me in the J.A.S.B. as was issued from the feet of the God of this very Rūmagiri (Rūmāgiri-varṇī-pradana). Dr. Aiyangar will do well to elucidate this point.

The short account of the Poona plates of Prabhavati-gupta, given by Prof. Pathak in the Indian Antiquary (and we may now say the article on them by the Professor and Mr. K. N. Dikshit in the Bā. Ād.) proved beyond dispute that Dīvagupta was only a nickname of Chandra-gupta II. This was a great point gained in regard to the history and relations of the two formerly rival dynasties.

A great service to the history of the dynasty of the Vālkīpikas has been done by Dr. Aiyangar by identifying the Vindhyasakta of the Ayurves with the Vindhyasakti, the ancestor of the Vālkīpika rulers. Much confusion reigns regarding the belief that Vindhyasakti was a Yavana in contradiction to the Ajanta record where he is described as a śiva or ‘twice-born.’ The Doctor has on the whole succeeded in establishing the identification through some details may not carry conviction. The readings of the Ajanta inscriptions.

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* The Vālkīpikas and their place in the History of India, p. 66.
* Vol. xiv, New Series, 1894, No. 1, pp. 20-44.
  Vol. xx, pp. 26-44.
proposed on p. 37 of the 'Anvita of the Madanachar Janinale' are ingenious enough. For 'ṣvetākrṣya (śrṣya) samvedhaḥ,' it is proposed that we should read 'ṣvetā-ṛṇya-saṁvedha.' The epigraphical difficulties, however, in support of the supposition are insuperable. As and p and v and s in the period under discussion can hardly be rationalized for the other. The words before—śrṣya, vy Ṛṣita Hāmbilaka te Ṛṣita Vindhyā have been supplied. But it is too much to take it for granted that there are traces of so many letters. The Doctor's general conclusion, however, that Vindhyāditya come of the family of the Vindhyakas, or Vākṣikas is reasonable and remains unchallenged.  

Another interesting point which is illuminated by him is the identification of the 'king of the Bhājya' with the Vākṣikas. The country over which the Vākṣikas ruled is evidently Vīharī or Bebar, the people of which province from the time of the 'śrīvālaś ḥālas' are known as the Ḫhāla.  

This explains the fact why in literature the name Vākṣika nowhere occurs. Further Ramanāth in his commentary Kāmasūtra-ālpa on Pravṛttasāna's 'Stīlamālaha Kīva' says that according to some Pravṛttasāna was Bhūjadeva. It should be noted (I would point out) that the tradition in the Dacean, viz. Kālīkīna Sourishad in the reign of King Bhāja is extremely well explained by the supposition that Pravṛttasāna was a Bhūjadeva that is 'a king of the Bhāja.' For Bhūjadeva in this sense, though utter ignorance, Bhūjadeva (properly speaking King Bhāja and not the king of the Bhājan) of Dhar Ward substituted. The name 'Vākṣika,' in short was a clan name or a family name.

From the study of the Kāsirāja code, it is evident that the period extending from A.D. 405 to A.D. 918 is marked by the absence of the office of a Mahākālanapā. A collateral dynasty set itself up with the inferior rank of a Kāsirāja. There is a cessation even of this inferior position from A.D. 932 to A.D. 949. According to the Prasād Pravṛttasāna I, extended his authority into the territory of the Vīdhāyakas, at the expense clearly more or less of the Kāsirājas.

The material points in the two representations are really not affected. If the readings are correct in regard to the first the suggested reading in superfluous, but are they? In so the second what is wanted is 'Vindya' before Śāmś. The suggested reading is on the basis of equivalent length for the first half of the verse. (Bid.)

The Vīḍāyakas in Gupta History, p. 7.
There is another break between the years A.D. 351 and 364 during the reign of Pratihāra I, who perhaps extended the Vakālikas' territory. Pratihāra's titles were Bhīma Mahā-Kahatrapa and Mahārāja Kahatrapa. The latter transformation might be due to the Vakālikas' title Mahārāja ¹

Dr. Aiyangar remarks: "Chandra-gupta was responsible for the foundation of the empire. The Vakālikas made it possible for him to do so by desisting from hostility and even actually countenancing the effort. Was there a larger motive in the foundation of the empire, and did contemporaries see any general advantage in the gradual rise of Chandra-gupta I to this position?"² If we read between the lines, in the Doctor's opinion here was an attempt to found an Indian or rather a Northern and Central Indian empire or a 'federation of states' of these provinces against outsiders or at least against Scythians. His further elucidation of the problem before us is welcome.

Thus it will be seen that Dr. Aiyangar has thrown a flood of light on the history of the Vakālikas and the Guptas.

Now I must do the unpleasant duty of drawing the readers' attention to small mistakes, which have crept into his articles, omissions and inaccuracies of opinion, and shortcomings of his article. On 'The Vakālikas and their place in the history of India,' and other places he writes the name of the Dowager queen as Prabhavati-gupta.³ In her Forders and Vālīkapura plates the spelling is Prabhavati-gupta. Prof. Patanjali and Mr. E. N. Dikshit have shown that it is quite in accordance with the rules of grammar.

Dr. Aiyangar believes that Samudra-gupta's conquests do not include any part of the Deccan proper. He observes that 'Bhīmidespalli' and 'Devarshaita', two places located by Dr. Fleet in Western Deccan indefinitely, have since been satisfactorily identified with places on the east coast region of Kathāga.⁴ My acquaintance with the Kathāga country is not thick and I do not propose to discuss the identifications. But I am inclined to agree with Dr. Fleet in believing that 'Bhīmidespalli' and 'Devarshaita' or rather 'Dīvarshaita' lay in the Deccan. 'Bhīmidespalli' is apparently 'Bhīmedol' in the East Mandesh District.

¹ The Vakālikas and their place in the History of India, pp. 48-49
² The Vakālikas in Gupta History, p. II.
³ This is a minor slip due to over sight in proof. (Add)
⁴ The Vakālikas in Gupta History, p. II.
which I am informed abounds in ruins of the Gupta period. The
form *Vršagāvahitpur* (a corruption of *Brāhavāhitr̥pur*), occurs in a
work written more than 250 years ago.¹ In Dvaravishāra or more correctly
Devāravishāra apparently part of the modern Khandwa and Kabirdā
Talukas of the Satna District of the Bombay Presidency were included.
There is still a village called Dvaravishāra in the Khandpur Taluka six
miles from the Kujjāla station on the 911 K. I. line. Curiously enough, the
holiest object there, a diya of Śiva, is called Samudrēśvara in the grants
made. What grounds are there for disbelieving that the god was not
named after *Samudra-Gupta*? At any rate the names Dvaravishāra and
Samudrēśvara are sufficiently tempting for identifying the region round
Dvaravishāra with *Daharāshāra* or *Dvarāvīśāra* of *Samudra-Gupta*
'time, and the god enshrined there (though he may not occupy perhaps
the very site) as suggesting a reminiscence of the great conqueror.'
If the above identification be correct, Dr. Aiyangar's statement, viz.
it is certain that *Samudra-Gupta*'s southern invasion kept clearly and
deliberately outside the frontiers of the territory of the *Vikrātikas*
will have to be modified. For *Kantala* he has used the word 'the
Mahāraja country.' A more accurate term would be 'the Southern
Marathā country.' The River Kṛishna nearly formed the boundary of
*Kantala*.' Probably Kujjāla itself is a reminiscence of *Kantala*.
It will thus be seen that the country called 'Dvaravishāra' was not out
of the list of conquests of *Samudra-Gupta*.

¹ Account of the sixth Conference of the *Bharata-Vidhiya Sanskritika-
Mandāla, Mysore,* p. 203.
² The identification suggested is quite possible, but what about the name of the
ruins given in the Allahabad pillar inscription? Till that could be identified with a
contemporary Vikrātaka or a known feudatory of his, the identification suggested
will remain open to question.
³ *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Congress, Poona, Assisted
History,* p. 224.
⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India, vol. xvi,* p. 491, and *Gupta Inscriptions,*
p. 380E.
by Dr. Bühler. Another record in practically identical terms was discovered near Gajja¹ in the Ajaygarh State in Bundelkhand. The writing is distinct and we are enabled to correct minor inaccuracies in Dr. Fleet's transcript. Dr. Suhithakar who has edited the record observes:—'We do not possess exact dates for any of the kings of this (Vikramāja) family, nor can we form any clear idea of the extent of the country ruled over by them.' But the Riddapur plates of Prabhavatigupta now enable us to point out definitely a portion anyhow included in their territory. The Chhannak plates too come from the same taluka. Valapura mentioned in them corresponds to Vedagoda, Kinhathicka to Kinh, Kinokhája or Kingisham, Kollapur to Kolípur and Karatga to Karati.² The date too can be approximately ascertained as it is proved that Prabhavatigupta was the daughter of Dvivyagupta, who was some sixty years younger than Chandra-gupta III. Dr. Suhithakar assigned the Gajja inscription to the seventh century A.D. In the light of recent discoveries, however, referred to above, the date must be corrected.³

Dr. Aiyangar on p. 59 of his article on 'The Vikramas and their place in the History of India' refers to the Pushyamitrás among the ancestors of the Gupta emperors (in particular of Bhakta-gupta), who made common cause with the Vikramas to overthrow the power of the former. Prof. E. B. Driphu, a student of the late Dr. Arthur Venos of Benares, has shown in the Sarasvatí in Hindi that Dr. Fleet's reading 'Pushyamitrás' is clearly wrong. The actual reading of the text is 'Yudhyamitrás,' 'yudhi-amitrás,' meaning enemies in a battle. I had the pleasure of listening at Benares to Dr. Venos's arguments in favour of his student's suggestion. This happened shortly after the images bearing the Gupta inscriptions had been unearthed. If Dr. Aiyangar has based his arguments regarding the 'Pushyamitrás' on the Purnatko references, the point should have been emphasised and authorities quoted.

On p. 51, vol. v, part 1, of the Annales of the Bhandarkar Institute, Dr. Aiyangar has arrived at certain conclusions on the assumption that the Malarraut pillar inscription is of Chandra-gupta III. In his

¹ See the note on Vedagoda in the Roman Academy for Dec. 1896. (Líli.)
² See Bhakta-gupta Madhava, Late's History of India, p. 46.
³ See the note on Vithagama in the Roman Academy for Dec. 1896.
opinion the wars between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas began almost with the emperor and the Pahlavas across the seven months of the Saka could be regarded as the Saka and the Purtiins of that region. This may account for the revival of the powers of the Saka after An 340 which the assumption of the title Mahakshatrapa would seem to bear witness to. The Mahasen pillar is certainly in the Gupta character but it does not necessarily follow that it must be of a Chandragupta, much less of Chandragupta I. I would like to invite the Doctor's attention to Mahimahopakhyana Harisraoal Antri's article on the Mandsor inscription of Naravarmanas. He remarks — 'The Mahasen pillar inscription mentions a king named Chandar, who had conquered the Vakhatas after crossing the seven months of the Indus and the Vngas. Nowhere in a Gupta inscription do we find any mention of any conquest of the Punjab or of Afghanistan by Chandragupta II or any other successor of Samudra-gupta. The Sambala inscription supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varmanas, who belonged to Pushkarana in Western India, but had dedicated a wheel of Vishnu close to the Vngas country. The Mahasen pillar itself is the very Vakhatas, another ensign of Vishnu, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandar of the Mahasen pillar inscription and Chandravarman son of Shhavarman of Sambal inscription are one and the same person. In the former record the family name was omitted in order to satisfy the needs of the metre.' If the Mahimahopakhyana's identification is correct, Dr Aiyangar's arguments are untenable.

Pushkarana-gupta lived to a good old age. In the Pushkarana plates the expression agnemrada-bhate-pravara (s) occurs which as I have already pointed out, should not be understood too literally. But there can be little doubt that the queen saw sons and grandchildren and that she was regent for her sons. The names of her sons occurring in the grants are these — Divikrasa, Pravarasina and Durmadesa. Divikrasa is assumed by Dr. Aiyangar on page 6 of his article 'The Vishvakarmas in Gupta History' as the principal name of Pravarasina II. But on the same page he observes: — 'This obviously refers to Pravarasina II, who in this grant (a short notice of which I

* These was much of this but the matter is too long for discussion here. (Dr )
published) as given the name Dāmodaraśīna-Pravaraśīna which means that his proper name was Dāmodaraśīna while he assumed the title Pravaraśīna when he ascended the throne. Prabhavatī-guptī had two sons, Divikaraśīna and Dāmodaraśīna and she was the regent for the first and in all probability for the second as well. On page 42 of his article on "The Vīlīkaraśīna and their place in the history of India," he says "Divikaraśīna is probably an elder brother of Pravaraśīna II." On page 3 of his former article Pravaraśīna II is made the son or at any rate the successor of Divikaraśīna, while on pages 32 and 35 of his latter Dāmodaraśīna is given as the name of Pravaraśīna II. How can all these statements be reconciled? I have in my article in the J.A.S. rather left the question open. I may be allowed to reassert my statement:—It (the present inscription) notes the fact that Prabhavatī-guptī was the mother of Dāmodaraśīna Pravaraśīna, (Dāmodaraśīna-Pravaraśīna-jamati). The question arises whether Divikaraśīna was the same person as Dāmodaraśīna. In Dr. Vincent A. Smith's opinion "Divikaraśīna may possibly have succeeded (Rudrasīna II) under the title of Pravaraśīna (II), but it is more likely that he died young and that Pravaraśīna was his brother." (J.R.A.S., 1884, pages 397–399). He may either have been dead by this time so that the queen avoided his remembrance and omitted his unhappy name from permanent records after he departed from this world or he may be the same person as Dāmodaraśīna. The possibility that she had three sons, viz. Divikaraśīna, Dāmodaraśīna and Pravaraśīna in the name of all of whom she ruled is not altogether precluded. 8 Dr. Ayyangar should reconsider the question of his identifications in the light of Dr. Smith's remarks and the assertions made above. 9

The Doctor has tried to show that Chandrā-gupta's influence diminished in the reign of Rudrasīna II, the regency of Prabhavatī-guptī and a considerable part of the reign of Pravaraśīna II on the strength of the Brahmi Etyma. Bhāskaraśīna, which had been begun by Pravaraśīna and which received a critical revision at the hands of

9 Vol. xx, xii, p. 34.
10 With the greatest pleasure. I had no knowledge of the Rādhārāṇī Pratima when the first identification was suggested. (Ed.)
Kalidasa at the instance of Viswasamudra (Chandra-gupta II). This
was perhaps be better inferred from the wording of the queen in her
own grants, which entail in the words the grace of the Gupta, the
maternal ancestors while the only facts noted about the Vakasakas
was that she was wedded to Rudra-sena (II) of the family and was the
mother of her sons (by him) on to use the very expressions 'she was
the chief queen of Rudra-sena II, and the mother of Dammadarsha-
Pravarantha.'

In the foot-note on page 91 of his article on 'The Vakasakas and
their place in the History of India,' Dr. Aiyangar says:—'It is not
possible to assume that Rudrasena II (I) did not rule.' But his very
next sentence contradicts this assertion. It runs:—'But this assumption
will be in direct opposition to the explicit statement of those records
that Prahladvati was the unrecorded queen of Rudrasena II.' We have
to rely on the statements in those historical documents and we are
justified in drawing conclusions only in their absence. It is beyond
the shadow of a doubt that Rudrasena II did rule. The omission of
his name from the record is a question must be accounted for on a
different ground.

On page 9 of his article on 'The Vakasakas in Gupta History,' the
Doctor remarks:—'The fact that the home territory of the Vakasakas
was intimately associated with Bhōjakatu, the city built in the vicinity
of the Pandu park capital Kusumapura by Krishna's brother-in-law
Kumardesu only to confirm the identification that the Vakasakas were
Bhajias, Vakasakas and even Krathakejareis as well.' Rao Bhatdhar
Y. M. Kale has been fortunate to identify the localities definitively and
thus his placed scholars under a new obligation. He has shown that
the village of Kusumapura, inhabited by 400 to 500 persons marks the
site of the ancient capital of the same name, the ruler extending to
Ummatli. Bhōjakatu can be identified with Bhatarkul, 8 miles from
Ummatli. Mandak near Chandavati is also believed by some to
have been the capital of the Vakasakas.

Dr. Aiyangar remarks:—Harsharāja's is the last reign of which we
have any knowledge, and the reign which is peculiarly the domain
of the Vakasakas passes into the hands of the new dynasty of the
Chiti-kates. The Vakasakas thus provide as it were a bridge that lies

1 History of Barer, pp. 467 and 468.
2 Ibid.
the gap between the Andhras and the Chalukyas in the history of the Deccan. These statements will have to be considerably modified in view of the references to the Nala in the records of Kirtivarman of the Chalukya dynasty and especially on the strength of a more substantial discovery of a copperplate grant in the possession of the Bhatra-Ithilas-Sastikidhsa-Mandala of Poona, which is being edited in the *Ajanta* by me. It was found along with the one of Prabhavati-gupta. It is engraved in the same box-headed characters. They are not much removed in date from those employed in the earlier grant of the queen. The grantor is Kharatikarvarman of the Nala race whose banner was distinguished by 'Trisulika.' It was issued from Kadambagiri apparently Kalambo in the Yoctana taluka, Barw. It is evident, therefore, on *a priori* facts grounds, that the Nala exercised authority over the territory which was under the sway of the Vikris, long before the Chalukyas were masters of the situation. The Nala apparently appropriated a part of the Vikris dominions. It is clear then that the Nala too played a part in the drama. To study critically the later history of the two dynasties, the Guptas and the Vikris, it is necessary to clear up some of the obscurities which still surround the whole problem. We must know more about the Nala, who rose on the horizon and with whom the Guptas and the Vikris, or at any rate the latter, must have come into contact.

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3. *Vide pp. 118-118 of the Quarterly of the Madjali*.
Napoleonic Wars in the East

By

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A study of the Great European War (1914-1918) naturally produces a desire to look for a parallel incident in History with as varied interest and as far-reaching results as the late war furnished. Even to a casual reader, one such parallel may be found in the great French Revolution and the consequent cataclysm which involved the whole civilized world of the day. Making allowances for the long space of time intervening between the two great episodes of human history as also for the rapid progress, constructive as well as destructive, that human skill and power of imagination have brought to bear upon the present day civilization, the Revolutionary era produced results as complex and as difficult of solution as the late war. It seems that the social eruption of 1789 has more justification in its origin than the whirlpool of 1914 stirred up by national greed for territorial and colonial expansion, commercial and maritime rivalry, and military despotism. But the later developments of the Revolution of 1789 were as much destructive of peace and order, life and property, and productive of as much international chaos. Both the episodes called forth the utmost sacrifice, patriotism, and determination of the several combatant parties engaged against one another. It is well known that in the Napoleonic Wars, England alone remained undefeated and unconquered, and in the end overthrew the grasping despotism of Napoleon. The heroism and sacrifice that England manifested on this occasion, the great national debt she incurred for keeping her head aloft more than 125 years ago, will ever remain bright in the pages of History and will not be dimmed by the brilliant achievements of 1914-18 effected in the full bloom of civilization and prosperity. The difficulty arising from the imperfect nature of communication in those days, though common to all parties, was more felt by the English people who had already established living interests in the different parts of the globe. Nor were those whom the call of Empire building
kept at a distance from the principal scenes of operation less mindful of the supreme need of their country, and they did their bit by preserving their country's interest at distant places under conditions more trying than they are to-day.

The part that India has played in the late war, the actual number of combatants that she furnished for the different theatres of the war, the equipment in gold and ammunition that she sent to help England, evoked praise and recognition even from the severest critics of India. But the almost unnoticed, yet successful, effort that the low servants of the East India Company and their Indian Sepoys made to maintain the British interest in India and in the East amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulties and complexities though but feebly recognised by History at this distance of time, is yet a fact the weight of which a grateful English posterity ought always to admit. During the years 1914-18 India spoke with one voice and 'hid herself white'. The enmity of the Native States and of the Indian people together with their resources flowed into one channel and made for the achievement of one common object. To it may be compared the situation in 1759. Though Indian gold was undoubtedly a common factor a century and a quarter back as well, and though the loyalty and even the eager moral and material support of some section of the Indian people could always be counted upon, the British power in the country was as much threatened by a dreaded French invasion as it was by the hostile interests of the Native States of the country. The British power was yet to be established as the paramount authority in the country and it was indeed at the time in the throes of a perilous crisis, political and economical. In the south the son of Tipu Sultan was open and avowed. The power of the Nizam was hopelessly weak and a considerable body of French troops first under M. Raymond and later on under M. Perron had established French influence at the Court of Hyderabad. This body numbering 14,000 people seem to have consolidated under its control all the different French interests in the country for the benefit of France. Thus writes Lord Wellesley to the Rt. Hon'ble John Dundas on the matter:—'The corps of Raymond in the Nizam's State consist of 14,000 men and though discipline is not of a very high order the numerical strength of the body is noticeable.'

—The letter of the Earl of Minto to the Right Hon'ble Henry Dundas, dated February 20, 1808—Wellesley Dispatches, vol. i., p. 324, l.
The chief officers are French men of the most virulent and notorious principles of Jacobinism, and the whole corps constitutes an armed French party of great zeal, diligence and activity. No positive proof has yet appeared of a direct correspondence of this corps with the French Government, but it seems to be unquestionably certain that they communicate with Tipu Sultan and with the French troops in his service. The dangers to be apprehended from the existence of this corps are not to be estimated by a consideration of its actual state of discipline or even of its actual number, or degree of its present influence over the councils of the Nizam. I consider it as the base of a French party in India, on which, according to the opportunities of fortune and variation of events, the activity of the enemy may found a strength of the most formidable kind either in peace or war. If the war is to continue in Europe without extending to the continent of India in the first instance, the danger of French intrigue acting with such instruments as I have described would be greatly aggravated. But if the war should extend to the continent of India and if we should be under the necessity of calling forth the strength of our allies to assist us in any contest with Tipu, what assistance could we expect from the Nizam, the main body of whose army would be officered by French men or by agents of France? However despicable the corps of Raymond may now be in point of discipline or effect in the field, would it be wise to leave such a large body of men in readiness to receive whatever improvement the ability, stability and zeal of French officers sent from Europe for that express purpose, might produce into the constitution of the corps as prepared by correspondent principles and objects to meet the most sanguine expectations of their new leaders? Under these circumstances, the corps which perhaps has now little efficiency other than that of a political party might soon become in the hands of our enemy an efficient military force as it is now in that view wholly useless either to the Nizam or to us. Thus the weakness of the good-natured Nizam and want of organisation in his State made him an ally not only useless but for the time being a source of anxiety.

Equally perplexing was the state of affairs at Poona. The power of the Peshwa was reduced to a most deplorable condition owing to intrigues of all kinds being rampant at his Court. The Peshwa was smarting under the dominion of Durulat Rao Scindia. The
Martatia affairs slowly drifted into that condition which ultimately brought about the second Maratha War and which taxed the company's resources simultaneously with the Napoleonic wars. There was also present a body of French soldiers at Poona apart from a considerable force under the Scindia who had been pursuing an independent and ambitious course of policy in Central India. In the Court of the Scindia the French had more than influence, they had a real power. Indeed this systematic introduction of French officers into the service of all native powers has been described by Mr. Wlikom as the fixed policy of France, adopted with the view of establishing the most certain means for subverting the foundation of English power in India. Though the attitude of the Scindia was shrouded in uncertainty, the company's Government could not count upon his support, rather his enmity might be expected. Anyhow he was to be humourd and flattered, for on him depended some hope of withstanding the other great difficulty of the English at the time viz. the invasion of Northern India especially of Oudh by Zamzam Shah and his eventual co-operation with Tipu. For the moment this difficulty seemed impending, and if the support of the Scindia could not be obtained, the English could only be on the defensive in the north for danger in the south was more pressing. It was thus the G. G. instructed Sir H. H. Craig the English officer stationed in Central India :—'The progress of the French arms in Egypt, our actual situation with Tipu and the doubtful posture of affairs at Poona must contrain the means of our reinforcing the army under your command. We must therefore be satisfied in the event of Zamzam Shah's approach, with a system of operations strictly defensive. I have, however, no reason to doubt that your army will very soon be augmented to the number of nearly 20,000.' Again Lord Wellesley writes in his dispatch, 'The reports of Zamzam Shah's progress which hitherto have been vague and contradictory, have now become more uniform and consistent. Zamzam Shah is now advanced to Lahore and appears determined to prosecute his design of proceeding at least as far as Delhi.'

1 Zamzam Shah—King of Cutch, son of Thameer Shah. He was the governor of Cutch during the lifetime of his father. Later on he together with Asaf Muhammad made a stand to stem the pagrass of the Russian forces in Central Asia.
2 Wellesley Despatches, vol. 1, unpag. date October 27, 1795, p. 315.
Nor did the complexities of the situation end there. The possession of the adjacent islands like Ceylon, Java, etc., by foreign powers, pointed to the necessity of keeping a strict watch on them, and their occupation by the English may be considered as purely defensive steps for the preservation of the Company's interests in India. It is for this reason that the Governor-General puts the following in his message: I am persuaded that the possession of Ceylon either in the hands of France or of her lord slave Holland would enable the French interests to rise in India, within a very short period, to a degree of formidable strength never before possessed by them. The possession of Ceylon is universally held to be indispensable to the preservation of our power on the continent and of our commerce on the seas of India. The Governor-General also dwells at length on the value of the Cape of Good Hope as an English possession, as a frontier English depot against any foreign power. His value, writes Wellesley, as a naval outpost is still much important. Its possession by the enemy would furnish him with means of pouring in troops upon the coast of Coromandel or Malabar. An enemy's squadron stationed at the Cape could not fail to intercept the greater part of our trade to and from the East without being under the necessity of making any very distant cruises. The army stationed at the Cape might always be looked upon as a part of the Indian force. The Indian trade and the Empire would be jeopardized with the Cape in possession of the enemy unless England would have another corresponding station on the southern continent of Africa. Moreover, Ceylon without the Cape could not be long maintained in the English hand. Equally great was the anxiety of the Company about the weak hold of the Portuguese on Goa, which might furnish a foothold to an intending French army of invasion.

It was, however, the strained relation with Tipu which required immediate solution. The Prince's conduct may appear justifiable from a view-point of his own notion of independence, but it could not but produce misgivings in the minds of the British Empire-builders in India, and they could not consider Tipu's movements in various

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directions as anything different from French ambition in the country. James Mill regards the story of the growth of Tipu's power since the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) as an exaggeration and a myth. He argues by saying that between 1792 and 1799 the English power in the country had grown beyond any doubt and that Tipu's negotiations with the French, if at all, and the ultimate results thereof were matters too insignificant to engage the serious attention of the Company's statesmen, and moreover the difficulties they had overcome in 1791 they would do, if necessary, with greater success in 1799. The force of these arguments lie very much in their humanitarian and charitable principles, but Empire-building depends more upon a cautious and far-sighted policy than on an enlightened policy of forbearance and toleration. The need of the time could not possibly make the English charitable.

Again Tipu had entered into an alliance with the English and hence his open overtures to the French, though attended with little success, was an overt act of hostility. The landing of his emissaries in the Isle of France and the subsequent foolish proclamation of the Governor-General Malartic to the citizens of the Isle of France leave no doubt in the matter. Mill refuses to believe in the authenticity of the proclamation, for all interests pointed to the necessity of Tipu's negotiations with the French being kept strictly confidential. But it must not be forgotten that the French were determined to injure the English at any cost, and the parade of such a proclamation meant that the French intended to place before the world at large that they had secured the sympathy and co-operation of a great native power of India. Perusal of a part of the proclamation very much clears the situation. "Having for several years, thus runs the proclamation, 'known your zeal and your attachment to the glory of the Republic, we are very anxious, and we feel it a duty to make you acquainted with all the propositions which have been made to us by Tipu Sahib through his ambassador whom he has despatched to us. This prince has written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to all the generals employed under this Government and has addressed us a present for the Minister of..."

Directory in France. He desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French and proposes to maintain at his charge as long as the war shall last in India, the troops which may be sent to him. In a word he only wants the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English whom he ardently desires to expel from India. Somewhere after Tipu's power had been overthrown, the Governor of Bombay, the Hon. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, received a letter dated November 12, 1799, from Mr. Alexander Davidson to the following effect: "I have the honor to agreeably to my instructions from the Captain of His Majesty's ship the Brave to inform you of my arrival here in charge of the French Republican Convicts La Surprise, prior to the Brave. This corvette was proceeding from the Isle of France to Europe with General De Brac and two Mamlukian Ambassadors from the late Tipu Sultan to the French Republic. There is no reason to believe that there was and perhaps still may be presents to a considerable amount in charge of these Ambassadors for the French Directory."

The Governor of Bombay wrote to His Excellency the Governor-General that the names of the Ambassadors were Benvindulah and Akchin Rahim, and that they had been with them the following presents according to their own declaration for the Directory: 4 Surpouches, 3 Jewels, 3 Necklaces and 3 Rings, but they said that they had destroyed them. On November 16, 1799, the Bombay Courier issued the following: "The presents and Nuzzar to the Directory and their wives and the Khalees were delivered up by Tipu's Ambassadors on Thursday the fourteenth instant and they landed on the same day."

The above phrase beyond doubt Tipu's active propaganda for obtaining French co-operation and assistance, and though the help he derived from the Mauritian falsified all his calculations, he could not forego till the last the hopes of considerable help from France. He received from the Isle of France a contingent of nearly 150 men, the very acme of the population of the place, Negroes, maroons, old jallada,” etc., who on their arrival at Serangapatna planted the tree of liberty there adorned by a tri-colour flag and fraternized with Tipu as cedars Tipu. Even the Wellesley dispatch makes a very poor

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estimate of the contingent thus raised. * The Ambassadors aided and assisted in a levy of 100 officers and 50 privates for the service of Tipu. Few of the officers are of any experience or skill, and the privates are the refuse of the lowest class of the democratic rabble of the Island. Whatsoever the strength of the force might have been, Tipu Sultan's overt act of hostility, according to the known law of nations, remains unquestioned. Moreover the fact of his having sent Ambassadors to the Porto, to Cabul, to Persia, Egypt, and France for enlisting support in every possible direction to oust the Nizam from India was never seriously challenged.

The Company's interest in India became still more precarious owing to dramatic and almost electric developments in Egypt. A letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors despatched on June 18, 1798, to the Governor-General in Council apprised the latter of the selling of the French armament from Toulon. * Although the ultimate object of this armament,' reads a part of the letter, 'has not been ascertained, it is not improbable, from many circumstances that have transpired, and from the spirit of the daring adventure by which the French have been animated during the present war, that its destination may be for India either by way of Red Sea or by Baboora, Egypt being taken possession of on the way. His Majesty's Government have therefore ordered immediate reinforcement to be sent to East India and His Majesty's fleet, in case the French be not defeated in the Mediterranean, has been ordered to the Straits of Babolmandeb to intercept the French.' The letter also refers to Tipu's negotiations with the Governor of the Isle of France and warns the Company's servants to take note that the publication of the proclamation might have been a feint on the part of the French with a view to embroil the Company with Tipu. 'For,' proceeds the letter, 'our Empire in the East has ever been the object of jealousy to the French and the present French Government is likely to make an attempt of reducing our power in the Indian world. Such a venture without the assistance of one or other of the Indian powers seems almost impossible. Therefore Tipu appears to be the fittest instrument to be employed in the

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* Waghorne, Despatches, vol. i, p. 311.
* Extract of a Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of Bengal, dated June 23, 1798, received in Bengal in September, 1798, Despatches, vol. i, pp. 68 and 69.
furtherance of such ambitious projects. It would, therefore, be
rather prudent not pupils to wait for actual hostilities on his part.
We, therefore, recommended if steps have not already been taken, to
adopt the necessary measures to bring Tippu to a satisfactory explana-
tion. If his compliance with the said proclamation be considered
conclusive, to take the most immediate and decisive measures to
early arms into the enemy's country. If it shall appear necessary
military organizations among our civil servants and others in this
country may be prepared to act on any emergency. Whether India
was the direct and immediate object of this enterprise it is difficult to
conclude. Napoleon himself is almost silent on it. He cared for
great names which, as he, could only be made in the East. Egypt
itself was a portion of great strategic importance. The country, as
Napoleon always held, was the real point of correspondence between
Europe and India—the place where France ought to establish her
wealth to run England. From thence, as M. Thiers says, "would a command
of the Mediterranea be centred which was to be made into a French
lake. Once established in Egypt, Napoleon would have in his power
to do two things—either create a navy in the Red Sea and proceed to
destroy the settlements of the English in the Great Indian Peninsula
or make Egypt a colony and a magazine." In any case the Indian
trade could not fail soon to transfer itself to Egypt and desert the
Cape of Good Hope. All the caravans of Syria, Arabia and Africa
already crossed each other at Cairo, thus whether Egypt were made
a point of departure for the purpose of attacking the English settle-
ments or whether it were made a mere magazine, it was certain to
bring an enormous trade into its true channels and to make those
channels lead to France. It was this bright picture which fascinated
the imagination of the Directory. Sorel in his History of the French
Revolution lays special emphasis on the commercial aspect of the
enterprise and on the fact how it would create a diversion which would
decoy the English fleet from the European waters for the defence of
their Eastern possessions. England would thus be left more or less
defenceless to fall an easy prey into the French hands. The following
is the order of the Directory in the matter: "The army of the East
shall take possession of Egypt. The Commander-in-Chief shall chase

* Sorel 'L'Europe et La Revolution Francaise,' part v, p. 393.
the English from all their possessions in the East which he could easily reach. He shall have the Isthmus of Suez cut through, and he shall take all the steps necessary to secure the free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea to the French Republic."

The Governor-General himself did not put much faith on the immediate approach of the French by way of Egypt. He writes on August 19, 1798 to Rear-Admiral Rainer, "I wish to call your particular attention to the preparations the French were making in the Mediterranean for fitting out a considerable naval force for the disembarkation of troops. Various accounts are given of its destination; the strange report of its being destined for the conquest of Egypt, and after the success of that wild adventure, for the more extravagant project of conveying aid by Suez to Tipu Sultan; and this is not likely of producing much impression upon a person of your Excellency's experience. But some of my letters state an opinion to which I am much inclined to give credit, that at least a part of this force is probably destined for an expedition to India by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope. A variety of circumstances combine to render it probable that the French army may attempt to send a force for the joint objects of reducing the Mauritius and of aiding Tipu Sultan. With these sentiments I take the liberty of requesting your Excellency to direct your most serious attention to the coast of Malabar and as soon as you shall deem it expedient to detach any part of your squadron to that quarter." The Calcutta Gazette, dated August 23, laid before the public a translated extract from the Journal de France relating to the extraordinary project of the French proceeding to India through Egypt. The Gazette commented on it in the following words:

"It may be narrowly necessary to say that we place no faith in the account, or that we may give it the same credit that we allowed to the reports a mile long, yet upon so singular an enterprise it is satisfactory to collect all the information that has appeared. A further article on the subject from Courier Des Bus Rhins of April 14, the

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latest continental Gazette that reached India runs as follows: 

"It is only in the absolute sense of the absolute power that we can crush this superfluous rival; as long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal what foreign power can be insensible to the reducing influence of wealth? What means is there to prevent the export of Orient purchased the products of Europe and Asiatic countries? It is by making our efforts more certain and striking at the very root of the sources of their riches, Europe and Asia must respond in the same blow; India must be subdued by crossing the waves of the Red Sea and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repaying in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe."

Like the German races during the Two Wars which spread among the English in India to discredit the English in the country and to move discontent, if possible, among the Indians themselves, the French also during the Napoleonic Wars did not hesitate to describe at length the misfortunes of India under British rule. There is unmistakable proof of the fact that the French in their designs in India had built some of their hopes on the great side which they might have expected from British subjects. It was with the express object that general No Cam with a military staff was sent to Pondicherry. In this connection an extract from the proceedings of the Council of Five Hundred may be read here with interest. "In oppressed India not a step can be taken without discovering the train of English guilt. In that fair country favoured of Heaven, but desolated by man, the English gave a few years ago a dreadful example how for despotism may go whom joined with inhumanity and overpra. Holiness of courage for the furtherance of the English trade was only one of the indirect blows which killed the native enterprises of the time... A short time afterwards, Bengal was visited by a horrid drought: Rice grew only in some parts and then in a small quantity; of this the English took possession. They monopolised with avidity whatever provision was to be found and held it in reserve for themselves and their sepoys. Thus assured they declined to attend to a numerous people who were threatened with the approach of famine. It came accompanied by despair, and followed by the most fearful of deaths. For many days the Indians, consumed by hunger, but still meek and supplicant, were seen wandering like plaintive ghosts around these fortresses where..."
their tyrants revelled in abundance. A vast silence soon reigned throughout, and public ways and places were covered with dead bodies, and the rivers rolled them by thousands to the astonished seas. Three millions of men perished; and their wretched remains, abandoned without interest, so corrupted the atmosphere as to create a pestilence which had nearly destroyed the unfortunate nation. 4—

(Extract from the writings of the Abbe Raynal) With the above may also be read an extract from the Berlin Telegraph which described the Earl of Moira as being descended from the House of Plantagenet, and that he, having had blood of royalty in his veins, would assert independence in India and countenance a new race of English kings. Lavish praises are bestowed on him and 'the lofty merits he possesses,' concludes the letter, 'entitles him to independence and royalty.'

Thus it will be seen that the company's attention was not only directed towards the preservation of their trade and power in the country, but mainly towards the growing power of Tipu, the French intrigue in the country and the menacing nature of the French enterprise in Egypt. However, visionary the Egyptian expedition might have been regarded in this country at the outset, its real significance could not have long remained unseen. Not only in Europe but in India as well vast preparations were being set on foot to battle the enemy.

The energy and the courage of the company were taxed to their utmost limit to meet the magnitude of the danger. The French contingent in the Nisam State must be disarmed and made absolutely harmless. The Governor-General's tactics in completely disarming them without any bloodshed and bringing the entire military organization of the Nisam State under the company's supervision has been recognized by historians as statesmanship of a very high order. Complete and elaborate arrangements were to be effected to take the offensive against Tipu who is said to have received at this time a letter from Napoleon written from Cairo. The letter reads thus:—'You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea with an immeasurable and invincible army full of the desire of relieving and relieving you from the iron yoke of England. I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muscat and Moona, as to your

political situation. I could wish you would send some intelligent 
person to Sana or Cairo possessing your confidence with whom I may 
consult. May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your 
enemies, etc.—Ed. Bonaparte

Tipu was no longer to be allowed to go unpunished for 
his intrigues with the French. The difficulties which had 
thickened round Lord Cornwallis in 1791 demanded his 
same time the 
special attention of the Governor-General. We need not enter 
here into a study of the last Mysore War which called forth 
on both sides generalship, sacrifice, and patriotism of a very 
high order. The company was not to remain content with the 
res那么多 of the power of Tipu alone; it must exert itself to render 
every possible relief to the Home Government and make all prepara-
tion for the eventuality of a French invasion of India. The Calcutta 
Gazette dated November 21, 1796, noticed the general approbation 
of the Governor-General on the raising of volunteer corps from amongst 
the European, Portuguese and Armenian residents of Calcutta. It 
was so honorable to the character of the settlement and so con-
formable to that spirit which secured the British Empire in Europe 
against the combined efforts of all its enemies. The Rt. Honble 
Henry Dundas had sent instructions to the Governor-General for the 
working out of such organisations in India.4 ‘If it be true,’ thus wrote 
the President of the Secret Committee, ‘that a successful invasion of 
England would prove fatal to us, it is still more peculiarly true to 
His Majesty’s subjects settled in India. A successful attack upon our 
possessions in India and the overthrow of the British interests there 
would be a death’s wound to every prospect which the Company can 
entertain. Why then are not they, so far as is consistent with their 
avocations and duties, learning to devote some leisure hours in each 
week, in order to learn the use of arms and to form themselves into 
corps, under the authority of the Government, for the purpose of your 
adding to your European strength in India and preparing themselves, 
in case of the last extremity to sacrifice their lives in defence of those 
interests upon which everything essential to life must depend? This 
is an advantage which, in the day of difficulty, no other nation but 
ourselves have the means of resorting to.’

Thus 125 years back volunteer corps and defence of the realm forces were raised in the same way as during the eventful years of 1914-1918. An expeditionary force was as well sent to Egypt to co-operate with the Turkish and English interests in that country against the French. The Turks were infinitely surprised at the appearance of the Egyptians in Egypt, more particularly when they saw them lay aside their shoes and enter their Mosques, in performance of the same religion. When they found an army of the Mohammedans descending the Nile they thought their Prophet was working a miracle in their favour. The Daily Courier, May 1, 1909, makes mention of the return of the officers who had left to join the army in Egypt. It remarks that their reception by the Arabs in general and the chief in particular was in the highest degree hospitable and the latter professed himself warmly and sincerely attached to the English character. In the same way the Calcutta Gazette reports the arrival in the Hugli of a commerce transport, having on board a detachment of the Bengal Artillery lately serving in Egypt. His Excellency the Governor-General entertained at breakfast General Balfour and the officers of the army returned from Egypt. It is thus significant that the spirit which fired the imagination of the Canadian, the Australian and the South African in the late war was also present among the servants of the company more than a century back, although the expedition to Egypt may be regarded as only a defensive measure. The part that the Indians played in the drama must not also be lost sight of, for apart from the guidance of a few serving in the army, their general loyalty and solicitude for British success much facilitated the Company's work at the crisis.

The voluntary subscriptions that the European residents of the country raised to help their mother country speak again of the same healthy spirit. A public meeting of the British residents in Calcutta was held on July 10, 1909, under the Chairmanship of the Sheriff.
and passed two resolutions, viz. "We shall be at all times ready with our lives and fortunes to support His Majesty’s Government against all his enemies and further, to assure His Majesty of our utter abhorrence of those principles which the tyrannical rulers of France have so falsely laboured to introduce in their own unhappy country. Further resolved that books be opened for the purpose of receiving subscriptions of all such persons as shall be desirous of entering into voluntary contributions for the support of His Majesty’s Government in Europe and that the amount thereof be remitted to Europe." A total sum of £130,765 was raised from Calcutta alone. The principal contributors were Sir R. Chambers, Mr. J. Hurst, Mr. W. A. Brooke, Sir J. Craig, Major G. R. Smart, each subscribed £1,000, Sir Charles Cockerell, Mr. G. Speake, Mr. W. Cowper, Mr. Stephen Bayard, £1,000 each annually during the war. Corps of Engineers, £4,660 annually, Lt.-General Sir A. Clark and the Governor-General £2,000 and £3,000 respectively annually during the war. Subscriptions of £500 and upwards were very numerous from Indians as well as Europeans. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay exhibited a similar spirit of noble and patriotic feeling. It is worthy of note that even the poorly paid soldiers stationed in India contributed their quota. Thus His Majesty’s Seventy-sixth Regiment stationed at Droopar donated one month’s pay ‘non-commissioned officers and privates two weeks’ pay: the officers of the Twenty-seventh Regiment of Dragoons stationed at Cawnpur offered one month’s pay the Seventy-fourth Regiment at Wallajabad voted one month’s pay for the defence of Great Britain.

It is highly interesting to note that the leading Indian citizens of Calcutta headed by Gour Churn Mullick, Namoy Churn Mullick, Roy Kissen Mullick, Gopy Mohun Tagore, Kaly Churn Haller, Rukhsul Datta, Gokul Churn Datta, and others convened a meeting in imitation of the English citizens of Calcutta and resolved. ‘As we take a sincere interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the British Empire, and as we can in no other manner show our attachment to that nation under whose protection we live than by contributing and to the public service, that books of subscription be opened to receive the voluntary contributions of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and that the sum subscribed be applied in the same manner and under the same

1 Selections from Calcutta Gazette, vol. 31, pp. 150-155 also p. 21.
restrictions as the subscription of the Europeans are appropriated.2 The Governor-General was pleased to write Home that the plan for the raising of subscription from Indian gentlemen originated in their own spontaneous solicitude for the safety of the British Empire and was not suggested by any interference of the Company's servants.

All possible measures for maintaining the internal security of the Company's possession in India were duly undertaken. Though there was no 'Defence of the Realm Act' all precautions were adopted to segregate and intern enemy subjects and suspected aliens. A police notification of the time may here be read with interest:

'All Frenchmen and other natives of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in Calcutta or its vicinity, who have not already reported, are hereby directed to attend in person and deliver in their names, etc., at the Police office without delay. Persons entertaining foreigners of this description in their service are required to report the same and to give notice when such persons quit or are dismissed from their service. No Frenchman or other native of countries at war with Great Britain or in alliance with France and now residing in the town, will be allowed on any account to leave or to pass the limits of Calcutta without the permission of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council for which application is to be made through the Magistrates at the Police office. All Frenchmen and other foreigners of the above description coming from any of the foreign settlement to Calcutta are required to produce at this office a written permission of their being absent from such settlement; and are hereby informed that, in the event of their entering the town without such permission, they will be immediately taken to custody.1

The defeat and death of Tipu, the subsequent occupation of Mysore by the British troops, the Battle of the Nile and the subsequent dissolution of Napoleon's power in the West relieved the Company of much of its anxiety, and as well reduced the pressure upon her trade and on her resources in men and money. With the storming of Seringapatam a garrison order, Fort St. George, dated June 3, 1799, informed the public of the reception of the standard of

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2 Selections from Calcutta Gazette, vol. iv., p. 282. 'A sea of blood and fifty thousand reapers was bloodshed.'

Tipu Sultan on May 4, 1799. The colours of the French Republic were also taken on the same day from the French corps in the service of that prince. A breath of relief pervaded all throughout the Company's possessions in the East on the destruction of the dangerous power of Tipu. 'The glorious victory of the Nile,' however, produced a greater sense of security. It seemed as if a horrible nightmare which was choking the very breath of the English in the East was gone. In just gratitude the Company's servants in Bengal subscribed a sum of £1,074-10-0 to the fund raised for the benefit of the sufferers in Lord Nelson's victory. At a court of the Directors held on Wednesday, April 24, 1799, the following was unanimously passed: 'Resolved that the thanks of the court be given to Sir Horatio Rear Admiral Lord Nelson for the very great important services he has rendered to the East India Company by the ever memorable victory obtained over the French fleet, near the mouth of the Nile on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd August, 1798. Further resolved that in testimony of the high sense this court entertain of the very great and important benefic arising to the East India Company from his Lordship's magnanimous conduct on that glorious occasion, that this court request his Lordship's acceptance of a sum of £10,000.' Lord Nelson's reply to the above flattered the just vanity of the Directors. 'I was this day honoured with your letter of May 3rd conveying to me the resolutions of the Hon'ble East India Company. It is true, Sir, that I am incapable of finding words to convey my feeling for the unprecedented honour done me by the Company. Having in my younger days served in the East Indies, I am no stranger to the munificence of the Hon'ble Company, but this generous act of theirs to me so much surpasses all calculation of gratitude, that I have only the power of saying that I receive it with all respect. Give me leave, Sir, to thank you for your elegant and flattering letter, and that I am with the greatest respect your most obliged and obedient servant, (Ed.) Nelson,' addressed to Sir Stephen Lushington, B.a., Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Directors further entertained Lord Nelson at the London Tavern in a great banquet on the occasion of his victory. In return for the toast proposed, Lord Nelson referred

among other things to the death of an inestimable foe and the establishment of peace in India and the consequent frustration of the object of the arch enemy, the French. In India, a proclamation was issued by the Governor-General fixing February 6, 1800, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the happy deliverance of His Majesty's dominions in Europe from the destructive designs of the enemy . . . as well as for the prosperous issue of the late 'just and necessary war' in Mysore.

Hereafter the Company entered into a period of comparative peace and security. Their undivided attention could now be devoted to the success of their trade and to the taking up of those offensive measures in the important strategic stations in the Indian Ocean so that they might not be turned into profitable bases of operation by the French. In 1797 expeditions were planned to be sent to Ceylon, Malacca, the French settlement of the Mauritius and the Spanish possessions of Manila. Though the latter undertakings had to be given up for the time being, the first expedition ended in the eventual occupation of Ceylon. It is a mistake to think that the French were so pre-occupied in the continent of Europe that they had neither time nor enough resources to turn their serious attention to the East, and that the British interest in general and the Company's trade in particular went on unhindered after the destruction of Tipu's power and the collapse of the French fleet in the battle of the Nile. A casual notice may here be taken of the enormous losses on the Eastern seas sustained by the English at the hands of the French naval power stationed in Asiatic waters. A Colombo Gazette extraordinary dated October 27, 1799, announced that the undermentioned persons were made prisoners of war by the French and that they had been exchanged: Robert Ferguson, officer of the Mediator taken off the Isle of France, Benjamin Brown, Commander of the Gronswild taken off Batavia, J. H. Lawrance, Commander of the Briel taken off Batavia; Robert Halder, officer, the Princess of Wales. The captivity of the officers also signified the loss of a good percentage of the staple they spread. The Mediator Gazette, September 13, 1800, notified the seizure of the Company's ship Arendss by the French privateer Clarissa off Madras.
NAPOLEONIC WARS IN THE EAST

Council, December 20, 1803, reads as follows: 'The Governor in Council sincerely regret the loss of so valuable an officer as Captain Hall who fell in the late action of the Cresson armed with an enemy's privateer in the Gulf of Persia.' On October 16, 1800, news were received in Calcutta of the capture of the Honourable Company's ship Kinta by La Couronne, French privateer. In March 1802 the ship Highland Chief was captured by the French brig Sublime. Late in 1803 the Company's freighting ship Aitken was captured by two French frigates in the Bay of Bengal. The Bengal Hurree, December 3, 1804, notified the capture of the ship by the French privateer Caroline. On January 31, 1805, Captain Barbour late of the Pigeon, writes to say that his ship was taken off Vizagapatam by the French frigate Le Psyche. On February 7, 1805, Captain Waters notified the capture of his ship by Le Psyche. Six days after the Psyche captured the Thetis. On December 12, 1805, the Calcutta Council made an estimate of the losses in shipping sustained within a short period of a little above a week preceding that date as amounting to eleven lacs of rupees. The principal ships of merchant-line lost were the Malvino, the Weidhaver, the Caisereau and the Plicata, and the Council remarked that the total loss to the mercantile community was of a very serious nature. On July 3, 1809, the Company's ship Captain, Windermere and Aitken maintained an unequal and losing fight with a superior enemy force and effected a clever escape. The Calcutta Gazette dated October 19, 1810, announced a decisive naval engagement in the harbour of Port South East, Mauritius. The enemy's frigates Barracoo, Acaste, Victory, Venus, Le Mance and La Aurore were engaged by His Majesty's ships Serapis, Bellerophon, Nereid and Magicienne. The Serapis and Bellerophon being round bound were ordered to be destroyed. The Nereid was left a perfect wreck and later on taken possession of by the French. It was an unqualified English defeat. On July 9, 1814, news reached Calcutta through the Dolphin arriving from Penang of the capture by the French of the ships Barkley, Mary and of the Brig Favourite, all from Bengal. Even to an indifferent reader this partial list would give an idea of the enormous shipping losses sustained in the Hurree waters, as also of the great insecurity prevailing all around.

It must not, however, be concluded from the above list that the
Company and the English were alone the sufferers on land and sea. The French undoubtedly suffered heavier losses. Their possessions in India, Pondicherry and Chandernagore were early captured and the French inhabitants of the places taken as prisoners of war. Reference has already been made to the capture of the French Republican Corvette *Le Surpris* which intended to despatch Tipu's ambassadors to France. On April 2, 1800, the public curiosity in Calcutta was gratified by the appearance in the Hugli of the long-expected *Le Fort*, prize to His Majesty's ship *Sybella*. A Fort William notification dated November 26, 1800, announced the capture of the French privateer *L'Aigle* by His Majesty's *Brig Allerion*. On December 4, 1800, His Majesty's ship defeated and captured the French ship *Melusine* which had previously captured two English vessels the *Armoree* and the *Rescue*. With the renewal of the War of the Third Coalition and almost contemporaneously with the battle of Trafalgar, notification of the capture of the French ships *L'Épervier* and *L'Affranchi* in the Eastern Seas was served. The *Calcutta Gazette*, January 8 and February 14, 1804, notified the capture of the French Privateer *L'Épervier* off Cockles and of the Privateers *Le Prince*, *Unica* and *DuCasse* in the Bay of Bengal. The *Basshey Courier* extraordinary, dated November 11, 1804, announced the remarkable achievement of His Majesty's ship *Camerone* which made a simultaneous capture of *Le Fort*, *Le Heros* and *Le Masson*. A proceeding of the Directors of the East India Company dated August 16, 1805, expressed gratitude and voted liberal rewards to the members of His Majesty's ships, stationed in the Chinese Sea for beating off the French squadron under Admiral *Le Nois* in that sea. A message from the Cape of Good Hope dated January 28, 1806, signed Major-General D. Baird, announced the conquest of the Cape by the joint effort of an expeditionary force from India and the British naval squadron in the Indian Ocean.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, Thursday, 1808, notified that in consequence of intelligence having been received by the Company's Government of a rupture between Great Britain and Denmark, a detachment of troops from the garrison of Fort William under Lt.-Col. Carey took possession of the Danish settlement of Serampore at six o'clock, January 28. The Danish ships in the river, Hugli were also on the same day taken possession of. A letter
dated Ambon, March 6, 1810, conveyed the intelligence of the surrender of Ambon to a garrison of 1300 Javanese and several guns to a detachment of the Madras artillery and European regiment in conjunction with 300 seamen and marines from His Majesty’s ships. On August 26, 1810, His Majesty’s forces aided by a regiment sent by Lord Minto commenced a brilliant and successful operation in Java. The enemy’s camp was easily stormed and captured by the irresistible gallantry of the British forces. The whole of Java submitted to the English. An order in Council dated January 1811 reads as follows: ‘The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has the satisfaction to announce to the public the intelligence of the surrender of the Isle of France to the arms of His Majesty and the Company on December 3, 1810. Ordered that a royal salute be immediately fired from the ramparts of the Fort William.’

The next place to fall in order of time into the hands of the English was the island of Bourbon. On August 23, 1810, the Calcutta Mirror had the following in its issue of that date: ‘It is with much satisfaction that we are enabled to gratify the curiosity of our readers with many interesting particulars of the operation terminating in the surrender of Bourbon to the British arms. . . . At the end a flag of truce was sent by the enemy from St. Denis to treat for the surrender of the island.’ Officers, mostly from Calcutta, were then appointed for the Government of the island. A Barlow's Castle extraordinary, 1811, reports of a naval action off the coast of Mauritius in which the English ships Asina, Phoenix, Galleon and the Brig Race Horse engaged the French Reunions, the Nervos and the Chalveres. The latter were worsted with considerable losses and the British scored a great victory. Again, here, it will be seen what a considerable strength the French commanded in the Eastern seas, what strategic maritime stations they came to possess in their eventful career and what tremendous excursions His Majesty’s forces and the Company had to resort to in thoroughly subduing them and in making them absolutely powerless.

In the midst of these constant engagements and pre-occupations, the English in the East did not lose sight of the jovial side of human nature and neglect the ordinary and formal amenities of life especially those connected with war. The Truce of Amiens was a matter of universal rejoicing throughout India and Ceylon. It was
also the occasion of a most splendid entertainment given to about 600 ladies and gentlemen at the New Government House, Calcutta. Several distinguished Indian gentlemen were also present as guests. The ramparts of the Fort William, the shipping in the river and all the principal buildings facing the Esplanade were brilliantly illuminated. An extensive illumination was exhibited in the environs of the New Government House whereas the maiden was all resplendent with a magnificent show of fire-works. On February 3, 1809, the Governor-General in Council was pleased to order the firing of a Royal Salute from the ramparts of the Fort William and also from the sea by the troops in garrison in honour of the great victories of the allies in Spain. On July 30, 1814, a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry were ordered in honour of the splendid success of the allies. A public thanksgiving was arranged for April 12, 1815, in honour of the great victory and for the peace so necessary for the good of mankind. In the Government House a most magnificent entertainment was given to about 700 ladies and gentlemen in honour of the general peace. The most attractive illumination and display of fireworks on this occasion were exhibited at the mansion house of His Highness—Nawab Dalwar Jung at Calipore. Peace and contentment soon prevailed all around and in the midst of the general prosperity and uniform success that marked the progress of the English in the East, henceforth, the losses sustained in the great undertaking against Napoleon were forgotten. At the same time a just feeling of pride surged in the bosoms of those who had so earnestly responded to the call of patriotism and sacrifice. The brunt of the whole affair undoubtedly fell on the East India Company, and the true answer may be closed here with a quotation from M. P. Robinson (The Trade of the East India Company from 1769-1815) whose thorough appreciation of the Company's work for the British Empire deserves mention. Throughout the century there are repeated offers of men and ships fully equipped at the Company's expense. Not content with fighting unaided its country's battles in India, the Company wished to have a share in the victories which England

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3 Robinson, the trade of the East India Company, p. 167.
secured in all parts of the world. If ever British troops landed in India to fight the battle not of the Company but of the nation, the Company always paid and supported them from the time of debarkation. The Company voluntarily provided 10,000 tons of shipping to the Government for six months in 1809 and considered that its interests were so closely connected with the growth of British influence that it presented Lord Nelson with a large sum of money as an expression of gratitude for the victory of the Nile. The bitter attacks with which its actions are frequently assailed, the accusations of corruption and of selfish motive, lose much of their force when it is remembered how great a proportion of England's triumph in the eighteenth century should be attributed to the self-denying patriotism of this mighty corporation.
Reviews

THE KAUVERI, THE MAUKHARIS, AND THE SANGAM AGE

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

[Published by the University of Madras, 1936.]

thorough study of South Indian History are aware that the question of the age of the Tamil Sangam has been for some years engaging the attention of scholars and that though no final solution could be said to have been reached, dates ranging from second to eighth century A.C. have been proposed by them from several standpoints. Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan's main object in the above monograph is to approach this problem from a new point of view, namely, the invasions of North India by South Indian monarchs. He takes his stand primarily on Kalkilanis's and Sangamian's invasions of the trans-Gangathic regions detailed in Shikyamuniya and enquires when they would have been possible. He thinks that these incursions could not have taken place during the heyday of North Indian supremacy such as the age of the Great Mauryas (a.c. 225 to 230) or during the time of Pushyamitra Sunga (a.c. 184-145) or again of the imperial Gupta in the fourth and fifth centuries A.C., and so eliminates them. He concludes after a careful review of North Indian History that the invasions would have been possible only in one of the three weak periods of Northern India. (1) a.c. 209-184 during the time of the successors of Asoka, (3) a.c. 142 to A.C. 1, i.e., after the death of Pushyamitra, and (3) the third century A.C.

In the first place, the dates above suggested are themselves spread over so many centuries that we can hardly consider them very 'helpful in a search for the valid solution of the Sangam Age,' secondly, though he has proposed these dates, he has not investigated them in detail, he writes in several places as though he himself does not seriously believe in them. Regarding the first period, a.c. 209 to 184, he says, 'The history of the period is so unsettled that we do not know if the invasions were possible.' (p. 56). As regards the second
period, A.C. 148 to A.C. 1, he says, 'A dynasty so powerful as this one (the Śāivērinas) was, would not easily have consented to allow a Tamil king to go north on a mission of conquest' (p. 59). As the third century A.C., he himself admits that 'it is so obscure that no valid conclusions can be drawn' (p. 57), and 'to place the Śāangam here is simply to thwart an inconvenient problem out of the way without finding a solution for it' (p. 53).

The fact is that though the author started with a new and fruitful line of enquiry he has simply played with it instead of pursuing it in right earnest. The real attempt must have been to investigate all these periods in detail from the standpoint of the political condition of Northern India and examine the history of the Andhras or Śāivērinas in their relation to northern and southern powers as well. But instead of doing this he runs after the Will O’ the Wisp of a Makhari.

In one of the annals of the Kālappayyapparins relating to Karikalan a certain Makhari is said to have been punished with the loss of an eye when he did not follow the example of other landowners in personally working at the embankment of the Kaveri. Mr. T. G. Annavudayan says that 'no king of the name of Makhari being known to have ruled in South India, we are forced to cast our eyes farther afield who that Makhari could have been' (p. 4). He therefore identifies this Makhari with an imaginary North Indian Makhari king of Magadha during this period. But on page 72, he himself draws our attention to the existence, on the banks of the River Poomal, Nash, of a chief of Makhari (Kapakkañkhiram) and a certain Makhari-Ekkivin mentioned in a Tamil inscription of Ceylon. It is thus more natural and appropriate to take it that the Makhari referred to in the Kālappayyapparins to be a southerner—preferably a dweller on the banks of the Poomal or the Kaveri. After all, as he says, the identification of Makhari with Makhari 'is not an integral part of the age of the Śāangam' and it is therefore all the more surprising that he should have dealt with the question at such inordinate length. Much more irrelevant, however interesting, is his excursion into the early history of the Kaveri.

On the whole, there is a large amount of clever writing, curious learning and ingenuity; reasoning which however cannot compensate for the fundamentally weak investigation of the central theme.
HISTORY OF BURMA

G. B. HARVEY

[From the earliest times to March 30, 1884, the beginning of the English Conquest
by Governor, Ooze & Co.]

All those who have worked at the history of Burma would easily
realize the great difficulty in bringing out a scientific history of this
country. There are many gaps to be filled which involves the
patient researching, not only of a great deal of Burmese material but
also the thorough examination of large numbers of Chinese, Portu-
guese and Dutch records as well as several English state papers and
documents. It is, therefore, hardly an exaggeration to state that
Mr. Harvey's book on Burma is a great achievement.

Hitherto the chief authority on Burmese History based on original
sources has been the work of Sir Arthur Pheyre published nearly half a
century ago which was accurate and to a considerable degree impartial.
The chief defects of this work are that it is based on much more scanty material and that it is uncorrected. Again Pheyre's work is not
up to date and a great deal of material not available to him such as
those of inscriptions and Chinese sources, have been brought to light in
recent times thanks to the labours of the Archaeological Survey. Mr.
Scott in his 'Burma from the Earliest times to the Present Day' has
attempted a popular account of Burmese history from the earliest
times. This cannot compare with Mr. Harvey's work being more or
less a light work. Harvey's book is that of a mature scholar endowed
with much industry and necessary sympathy for the Burmese people.
The long notes in the appendices show wide research and the text
itself is thoroughly referenced and documented.

In a little more than three hundred pages, Mr. Harvey has attempted
the difficult task of writing the history of Burma tracing it from its
beginning through the dynasty of the temple-builders (1044-1287), the
Nan dominion, the Taungoo dynasty and the Aungpane dynasty.
It has been usually supposed that there is very little of historical
material in Burma itself. Mr. Harvey's book, however, shows that the
native material is fairly abundant. The inscriptions, although scarce
between the fifth and the tenth centuries, are available for the following
period. The Glass Palace Chronicle, for instance, which has been largely drawn upon by Mr. Harvey provides delightful reading and shows what remarkable capacity the Burmese have for making their historical records readable. As Sir R. C. Temple has observed in the detailed preface to this book, the capacity of the Burmese "for relating a story well is remarkable and makes their historical records striking reading."

It is perhaps unnecessary to enter into the details of the work. It is true that some portions of the work such as the account of Arakan and the Shan States is rather meagre. The discovery of fresh Epigraphical records such as those noticed in the latest report of Burmese Archaeology may lead to the writing of a larger account of this part of the book. As Mr. Harvey himself says perhaps some better equipped writer will tell this story and portray the life of which only glimpses are obtainable now.

The get up of the book is excellent and the illustrations add considerably to the value of the work. In addition to the genealogical tables of the dynasties (pp. 368-67) a very comprehensive bibliography is furnished which should be of immense use to all interested in the study of the subject.

R. G.

A History of India, Part II—The Muhammadan Period

BY

H. L. C. Garrett and Vinayak Kohli

[A History of India, Part III, L. F. Rushbrook Williams, Messrs Longmans; Green & Co., Price 2s. 6d.]

It would be remembered that this series was projected more than twelve years ago with the object of setting out the main outlines of Indian History in a manner suited to the requirements of the students of the Intermediate Examination. The first part comprising the history of the Pre-Musulman period was written by Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar as early as 1914 and for some reason which are unknown, the subsequent parts had been locked up until their publication early this year by Messrs. Garrett & Kohli and Rushbrook...
Williams respectively. During this interval several attempts have been made to bring out short accounts of the whole period so as to meet the requirements of the College Students, the most important of those being the work of the late Mr. Smith entitled *College History of India*. Another attempt was made by Mr. B. B. Havell to cover the same ground in his *A Short History of India*.

The writers of the second part Messrs. Garrot and Kahl follow the plan of Mr. Smith, and have carried the period from the rise of the Muslim power to its downfall in 1761 when even the semblance of Moghul control terminated. They divide the subject into four books of rather unequal length which deal respectively with the period of Muhammadan invasions, the Sultanate at Delhi, the Bahmani kingdom, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and the Moghul Empire. The subject is treated in a masterly manner and the results of the latest researches of scholars are incorporated. The references to the authorities are given at the foot-notes and include the results of recent research. The only defect of this portion seems to be the inadequate space given to treatment of the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and its significance in South Indian culture. A prominent omission among the authorities of this period is Dr. S. Krishmanwaral Aiyangar's *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. The chronological chart and the illustrations are thoroughly good and inviting. The only error that we have detected in the work so far, occurs on page 316 (line 15).

In Part III, Prof. Rushbrook Williams, till recently Director of Information to the Government of India, continues the narrative of the British period in three books entitled respectively (1) Sea-Power, (2) British Supremacy in India, (3) The Growth of Modern India. Prof. Rushbrook Williams writes in a fascinating style and presents the subject matter in an orderly manner with copious quotations from contemporary records. The subject is treated with considerable sympathy and insight which are not usually to be met with in ordinary text-books. The final book which narrates the Growth of Modern India and especially the concluding chapter entitled, 'India in the Twentieth Century' are particularly interesting. Another feature of this work is that the authorities are given at the end of each chapter instead of at the end of the work as in the case of Part I. One of these authorities is, viz. Mrs. Beaman's Book, *How India Won Back for Freedom Figures as How India Fought for Freedom*. The portion on nation
builders (p. 301) should have been more elaborately treated. In other respects, the get up of the book and the illustrations are very good. The work is eminently suitable for use in the college classes and the general public. In the light of recent researches, however, we may suggest the first part of the series by K.V. Rangaswamy Aiyangar has to be rewritten incorporating the latest views and discoveries such as those for example of the Punjab and Sind valley.

R. G.

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

BY

B. K. Thakore, I.M.S. (Retired)


This revised edition of Professor Thakore's book is welcome, since it gives an account of the working of Dyarchy in what is called its first phase. The second 'lesser' of Dyarchy has also something to its credit, according to our author, if it should have really taught the country once and for all, 'the utter of ideologue intransigency' and shown that not root-and-branch non-co-operation but responsive co-operation is the right policy to pursue in working the Reforms. The Muddiman Reforms Inquiry Committee has very fully illustrated the features of the Dyarchical system so far as it had then gone. Of course we cannot agree that there has been a complete failure, both of the Central and Provincial Legislatures in organising themselves into stable political parties, certainly there has been some work done even by our parties. The Central Legislature is still a subordinate partner along with the irresponsible executive; while in the provinces the ministers are more like Government officials and administrators and not yet tribunes of the people.

Mr. Thakore treats of special problems, like the Native States, communalism which has put forth two very ugly manifestations, communal riots and communal greed for jobs, and the Indisposition of the Army which will be the prime requisite of a self-governing
India. As regards the final shape that the developed Indian Constitution may take, whether the type will be unitary or federal, he would deplore the flamboyant tendencies growing and diminishing the strength of the central institutions, and likewise would be be for the retention of the larger Native States as separate governments under hereditary constitutional monarchy, in perpetual subordinate alliance with British India, rather than they should be included in a federal system. In this edition each chapter is enriched with a bibliography and fairly elaborate notes, though the use of smaller type has not been an unkind advantage.

C. H. B.

STUDIES IN THE LAND REVENUE HISTORY
OF BENGAL, 1763-1797

BY

R. B. RAMBHOYAM, I.E.S.

[The Oxford University Press, 1923. pp. v and 464.]

This period 1763-1773 marked in the matter of revenue collection by the substitution of an untrained and foreign (English) agency for a skilled, though corrupt, native agency, was followed by an attempt at centralisation in a Controlling Committee of Revenue at Calcutta with six Provincial Committees and a body of native assessors; but the result proved financially to be no better, the fault being not so much with the administrative machinery as with the method and degree of assessment. Mr Asoke calls the next epoch 1781-1786 one of completion of centralisation, when the Committee of Revenue was placed in full control and Collectors, though reviewed, were denied any interference. The reforms of 1786 laid the foundations on which the Permanent Settlement came to rest subsequently.

Mr Rambhowam has embodied in this book, the Ansini Report and the Report on the Estates, both being documents of first-class importance for the revenue history of the period. The Ansini Report was issued in 1778 to Warren-Hastings and was 'the first technical
and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal, that was placed before the Company.' It classifies and explains the various branches of the public revenue, analyses the different kinds of landholders and the different forms of land revenue as well as the various hereditary and temporary agencies for the collection work. It further goes into the details of the accounts of district administration and pleads for 'expert and continual supervision by responsible officers of the revenue collections.'

The other report on the Kamungos submitted in 1782 by Mr. J. D. Paterson, Registrar of the Kamungo's office is here published for the first time along with a previous shorter report on the same subject made by the same officer, six years previously. In the explanatory note on the Kamungo, Mr. Ramesbotham traces with great clarity the office and its growth and shows how the officer, by the time that the company became Diwan, held in his hand all the vital information necessary for the efficient collection of land revenue. After the conclusion of the Perpetual Settlement, the office both Sad and Madhansal was abolished, to save the actual expense, though it was still considered necessary to continue it in Banaras and the Upper Provinces where, in 1808, elaborate regulations were prescribed for their appointment and service.

The author to whom Mr. Ascott was indebted for many valuable suggestions in the arrangement of his book Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report (1917), is a high authority on the administrative and revenue history of Bengal during the eighteenth century. The two reports that he has now edited are valuable links in the chain of the complex revenue history of Bengal, culminating in the Permanent Settlement; and he has enriched his work with a great quantity of information culled from the voluminous records of the various Committees of Revenues that worked between 1773 and 1780 preserved in the Bengal Record office. We wish it very much that the learned author should bring out a companion book publishing the valuable records bearing on the famous Grant-Shore and Shore—Carnwallis controversy, thus illuminating the complex revenue history of the next stage.

C. S. A.
REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF H. R. H. THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

BY

MR. VARDANI

A.D. 1931-34 (1331-33 F.)

Calcutta, 1926

This Report, presented by Mr. Vardani, who during this period was partly away in Europe on a deputation to study the diverse phases of Moslem architecture in Islamic countries, points out the marked influence of Turkish engineers in the growth of a vigorous style of military architecture in the Deccan from about the latter half of the fourteenth century, and the consequent similarity that the Deccan fortresses bear in their arrangement to mediaeval European fortresses. Three forts—Nigamal, Gundhar and Parenda—were surveyed; and an extensive programme of conservation was carried out, the most important measure being, as usual, the protection of the Ajanta Frescoes carried out under the direction of Prof. L. Cavoson and Count Prinzul; and it is estimated that deterioration in the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come. The tombs of Amargad and Malik Amber in the Amargabad district, have also been cared for, while in the Warrangal District, the thousand-pillared Mandapa at Hanambodas has been preserved. Two monographs in epigraphy have been published, which will be noticed in due course, one, a Cenotaph record of Bodhis, and the other an inscription of the Kaladiya Quesa, Rudrama. The coin-cabinet of the department has been enriched, especially with some choice issues of the later Yadava Kings of Devagiri. The appendices contain an account of the Parenda Fort with the inscriptions in it, and also a note by Mr. T. Srinivas on the coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum. The Illustrations of views from the Ajanta Frescoes and the Parenda Fort and the coins acquired are, as usual, good.

C. S. S.
REVIEWS

'A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC PHILOSOPHY'

BY

R. D. RAMADH [Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy, vol II]

This is the first fruit of a projected Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophy in sixteen volumes, and is by Professor R. D. Ramade of Poona. Professor Ramade has issued a pamphlet descriptive of the project containing information regarding the scope of the work and the names of contributors to the different volumes and sections. Of the sixteen volumes the last is, of course, the index, and the three preceding ones are intended to contain sources of information for the other volumes. The work actually would comprise twelve volumes. It is a great project, and all available Indian talent is enlisted for the accomplishment of this great work. It is intended to begin from the beginnings of Indian philosophy in the early Veda period, and brings it through all the gamut of the scale down to the most modern developments. The project deserves the sympathy of all who can assist in one way or another, so that the scheme may reach its completion without a hitch. Each volume would be on an average of about 700 to 800 pages, and will, as far as may be, self-contained both in respect of the division of the subject and of treatment. This vast project is one of a variety of enterprises in this branch undertaken by the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, constituted as an All-India body for the purpose of promoting the study of philosophy and religion. This would include publications both in Indian and European thought. There is to be a research branch attached to it for doing the necessary preliminary work with a number of branches all over the country with members, fellows and all the paraphernalia of a learned organisation with schemes of finance for carrying the objects into effect. Ambitious as the project may seem, it is quite capable of fulfilment if there should be the co-operation that is possible. If all the resources of India could be called into requisition for the purpose effectively, it would be comparatively easy to accomplish the task and realise all the other ambitions of an academy of this character. We wish the enterprise all success. Mr. Ramade's work, 'A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy,' is the first fruit of this project, and we publish the following review of the work by a sympathetic and well-informed friend of ours with pleasure.

EDITOR.
1. We congratulate the Indian Public and the author of the book under review on the publication of this excellent volume. Several eminent scholars have worked at the Upanishads for a long time and Max Müller's translation of the Upanisads in the Sacred Books of the East Series and his introductions to several other works mark an epoch. But there have not been many books on the Philosophy of the Upanishads, taking them as a whole and adopting the historical method, except perhaps Paul Deussen's brilliant treatise. Many of the books on the Upanishads' Philosophy by Western scholars have not dealt with the subject from a sympathetic point of view—the point of true Mystic Realization. The author is already well known as a Sanskrit scholar in the department of philosophy and the treatise under review is worthy of his scholarship and scholarship. He has brought to bear upon the subject his vast knowledge, the historical method of comparative religion and the evolution of spiritual ideas and methods of realization. He claims, we think rightly, that the blissful static mystic self-realization taught in the Upanishads is simply justified by truths of modern science and modern historical research in comparative religion and philosophy. He approaches the subject from a universal and not from any sectarian or narrow point of view without at the same time losing sight of the interpretations of the main texts adopted by the orthodox in India. English educated classes, if religiously inclined, will find the book most useful and illuminating. Whether we agree with the ultimate final views of the author on mystic realization or not, it should be stated that the subject is handled in a most impartial way.

2. The author has prominently brought out the view that all the three great Schools of Vedanta find ample justification for their being based on the Upanishads, and he has collated all the important Sacred Texts relied upon by the three great founders and given both the originals and their translations in Chapter IV (Roots of Later Philosophy). This is a very great step in the right direction and the chapter is most valuable.

3. It has been thought in some quarters that the Upanishads have not brought out clearly the moral and ethical Ideal. We hope with the author that hereafter the charge would not be sustainable. Readers may refer to Chapter VI. He has demonstrated that the Sanyasi Sids, Jains based clearly on the Kasa, Mahakagha and Sarvastivada...
Upanishads, brings out the spiritual activism and the theistic mysticism as the ultimate goal which is so much talked of by Western thinkers. The Vedas Upanishad has laid the basis for disinterested performance of work without attachment to worldly selfish fruits, and that such disinterested work, as worship of God, leads to God realisation.

4. Readers of Galloway on religious experience and the Gifford Lectures volumes by Ward, Pringle, Pattison and the treatises of Bouquet, Royce, Bradley, Macgregor and Bergson are well aware that the ultimate in religious experience is a controversial matter, and we need not be surprised if the absolute monists, qualified monists and dualists are not agreed as to the nature of the ultimate final realisation in Hindu religion. When it is once established that the Upanishads themselves give the common basis of true religious experience, the quotations given in the last chapter on the salvation of the eternal infinite, blissful mystic realisation, preceded by moral and ethical grandeur, fully justify the different interpretations. They will amply repay perusal.

5. We would simply give a few examples here:

(i) Brahman which is the light of all lights, which the seer sees after Atman experience;

(ii) After having crossed the bund of phenomenal experience, even though a man may be blind, he ceases to be blind. Night becomes day ... the spiritual world is suddenly and once for all illumined.

(iii) There is neither sunset nor sunrise.

(iv) The Atman cannot be realised except by one within the Atman chooses; before such a one the Atman reveals his proper form.

(v) Just as a mirror which is cleared of its impurities becomes luminous and capable of reflecting a luminous image, even thus the mystic sees Himself at the height of his spiritual experience and reaches the goal.

(vi) Great and luminous is that incomprehensible being, yet He is subtler than the subtle, farther than the farthest and yet quite near to us, being shut up in the cave of our heart.

(vii) The knots of the heart are broken, all his doubts are solved and the effects of his actions annihilated when once he has seen God who is higher than the highest.

(viii) When the individual self is embraced by the Universal Self he knows nothing outside nor anything inside. He has attained an end
which involves the fulfillment of all other ends, being verily the attainment of Ateer which leaves no other end to be fulfilled.

(ix) The Brahman was before him, behind him, to his right and left, above and below.

(xi) It was verily the All.

(xii) Brahman is truth, knowledge, infinite bliss and infinity.

(xiii) ‘Infinite alone is bliss—when one sees, hears, understands nothing else, that is the infinite. The infinite is above, below, behind, before, to the right, to the left,—I am above, below—The Self is above—He who knows this truly attains this.’

(xiv) He enjoys Brahman and His auspicious attributes. He attains equality with Brahman. He attains and becomes Brahman. He attains. I am (His) food. I am the享受er (of Him) I see the Brahman as all.

v. The author has most lucidly explained the several methods adopted in the Upanishads for expounding philosophic religious truths and mystic realizations under several headings with copious illustrations.

(v) The enigmatical method.—(a) Pointing to a synthesis of opposites underlying the apparent contradictions, adopting a cryptic method, using a single (Vachanam) word explaining that God is the origin, end and His of all.

(vi) God is knowledge and non-knowledge, and so on.

(vii) Adverbistic method. Compressing all the materials of thought in short sentences (Br.) OM is all that exists.

(viii) Etymological method. (Br.) Purusha is really Purusya that is inhabiting the citadel of heart.

(ix) Mythical. Purushas are introduced to teach a moral, or philosophic or religious truth.

(x) Analogy. (Br.) The analogy of drums of the huts, in order to explain the process of apprehension of the soul.

(xi) Dialectic. (Br.) Disquisitions in Janaka’s Court with Yajnavalkya.

(xii) Synthetic. (Br.) In Chalukya, six philosophers giving six explanations all afterwards uniting in Vedasana Viṣāya.

(xiii) Mosaetic. (Br.) Some say, says, in dialectics, regarding spiritual realizations. (Br.) The Anuvaya is Brahman. The agnitis impersonation—immanence of the Eternal All-seeing God.
(16) 'Ad beit or Kama Rasa, i.e. the teacher gives only what the pupil needs for the moment.

(17) Regressive. Successive questions being put. Every new question carrying us behind the answer to the previous question. It is also shown that sometimes the teaching is given in the spurt of poetry and poetical culture.

7. Regarding the theory of Maya, the author has stated everything impartially and nothing more is desired. He has most clearly brought out the germ of the Maya theory in the Upapittha, and has stated, 'Let no man stand up and say that we do not find the traces of the Doctrine of Maya in the Upapittha,' though we may be permitted to say that when once it is admitted that the word Maya is used in many of the Upapitthas in the sense of power, wonderful power, and in the sense of Prakriti or matter, and further that it is not clear whether Maya is said to inher in the Supreme or individual soul, the theory of Maya developed by the later absolute monistic school is altogether different from the one found in the Upapittha.

One feature of the book is that the author has not dealt with the interpretations adopted by the Vaishnava Sā stavs on many of the texts and subjects of the Upapitthas. Even granting that the Sā stavs perhaps teach a system different from the Upapitthas, it would have been better if a chapter had been written on the subject as, after all, that would be the interpretation adopted by orthodox Hindus taking into consideration the theistic mysticism and work without attachment taught by the Gita.

9. The author seems to hold views directly contrary to the Hindu orthodox on the Mātrīya Sā stav, and we would be content with the remark that Sir John Woodroffe seems to be much more sympathetic and that his attitude is probably more correct from a religious point of view.

10. We may close this review with the observations of Prof. L. R. Farnell in his latest volume of Griffith Lectures on the 'Attributes of God,' which is probably the best of all the books covering the same ground. With reference to the predominant school of Hindu thought, monistic idealism, according to which a permanent unchanging God could have no relation to the movement and activity of life, for according to its narrower view permanence is separated from activity. But the Greek mind achieved the deeper theory, that
the power which caused change and movement might itself remain unchanged and unmoved and therefore such a power might be interpreted as a divine creator and the source of life activity. May we insert instead of the words 'Great soul' the words 'the Upanishads as interpreted chiefly by the theistic mysticism of the Gita and the Vedanta Sutras.' The book supplies a decided want and it is the best book on the philosophy of Upanishads that has so far appeared. We hope that a cheap edition will be printed to place it well within the reach of the college students and the English educated community as also students of Hindu religion and comparative systems of thought.

S.G.

'HISTORY AND HISTORICAL PROBLEMS'

BY

ERNEST SCOTT

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(Oxford University Press)

This work is based upon a course of lectures delivered by the author to the teachers of history in Melbourne with a view to creating an interest in the method and processes of history, as well as in the matter of which it is composed. The work falls into ten chapters, of which two have reference to the purpose of History and Historical Method; the next five chapters have to do with the relation of history with other subjects, such as Geography, Biography, Physical Science, Education and Patriotism. There is one chapter devoted to varieties of History, another to Historical Problems, and the last to what is entitled, the Living Force of History. Each one of these subjects is handled with ability and presented in a way to interest even an audience of laymen. It is full of instruction to students of history and must be stimulating of thought to those engaged in the work of history itself.

The author starts with an attempt at defining the purpose of history, and gives the definition in general terms that history is (1) 'the sum of human experience clarified by criticism,' and (2) 'that it is a great school of human character.' History, as everybody knows, clarifies, criticizes, compares and co-ordinates experience and then presents it to those who care for it. In order to make this experience useful, it
The gift of historical thinking is better than historical learning' In other words, the utility of this experience is in the capacity to form correct judgment, which consists in an 'orderly marshalling and presentation of materials, the settling of evidence, the discrimination of truth from falsehood and error, the selection of salient and relevant things from the mass of irrelevant and unimportant details, the estimation of character, the art of narrative, the comprehension of motives and principles, these processes are rarely developed more effectually through the study of history than by any other means.' If that is so, it becomes clear that the methods of history are not the exclusive property of the historian.

As has been clearly pointed out by F. J. Teggart in his work *Prussas of History*, 'historical method is the same whatever the history investigated—whether that of the stellar universe, of the earth, of the forms of life upon earth, or of men. It comes to be seen that in each case the problem is the same, namely, to show how things have come to be as they are; that in each case the investigation presupposes the antecedence of innumerable series of historical events; that in each case the enquiry is based upon the assumption or axiom that things have come to be as they are through the continued operation of natural processes, and that these processes are to be discovered only through examination of what has happened in the past.' A historian has got two things to do. He has to find the truth, and then expound it in a way to be interesting and attractive. Neither of these operations is easy. Paradoxical as it may seem, the whole truth about the things with which history has to deal is, rarely if ever, contained in written form. 'History has its overtones, like music, which are caught only by the practiced ear.' A historian must live in the period about which he chooses to write, as otherwise he will lapse into a mere compiler, between whom one of the radical differences is that a historian has absorbed the material about his chosen subject to an extent that enables him to write with that intimacy of acquaintance which cannot be derived merely from rapid and cursory reading.' The method is somewhat like the method of the successful advocate who elicits evidence from witnesses, but more difficult as the
witnesses are not present to the historian. Some even of the best historians have not escaped the influence of their times in writing the history of an earlier period. The danger is so real that according to Professor Pollard 'The best historian is one who can forget the present. A historian ought to exhibit that peculiar quality of Gibbon as a historian which consists in the thoroughness with which he absorbed his material and the art with which he moulded his work into a masterpiece of English prose.' According to Mr. Scott, then, historical work involves 'the investigation of the truth about the past by (1) the establishment of fact and probability, (2) the criticism of authorities whose testimony enables the facts and probabilities to be established, the comparison of their evidence; (3) the estimation of character and motive; (4) strict chronology and regard to the sequence of events; (5) the analysis of causes; (6) the avoidance of the fallacy of seeing the past as a mirror of the present; (7) the endeavours to see things which occurred in the past from the point of view of those who saw them, which means that we should not judge them exclusively from our point of view, since that may be one which would have been impossible for them; (8) the understanding of the philosophical basis of the action of historical personages, that is, of the ideas by which they were actuated; (9) the construction of narrative; (10) the practice of the virtuous habit of verification.'

While there are many bad ways of writing history, there are two good ones, and both of them have this feature in common that they demand thorough absorption of the material by the mind before writing. Their difference consists in the method of writing. One of them consists in the historian producing the result of his study of the historical material in an artistic work of his own entirely, such as that of Gibbon. The other form of it consists in writing history in such a form that the historian incorporates in his writing the real essence of his sources by judicious selection of passages to be woven in his narrative. The result in both cases is the production of bright pictures without lack of movement. But neither of this kind of writing would be possible unless the writer has complete command of his material, so that the evidence has been absorbed and fused into his own consciousness. He then sets about to produce an artistic work, the art of the historian being different from that of the creative genius. A historian
merely employs the methods of the artist: ‘He should give shape, but only to that which is already there, not to that which his fancy may create.’ Philosophical history is a desert, fanciful history an idiot asylum. We must therefore demand that the artistic designer should have a positive tendency of mind and a strictly scientific conscience. Before he reasons he must know; before he gives shape to a thing he must test it.’ Such work can be turned out only after very great labour and by one possessed of a capacious memory whatever may be the mechanical aids to it otherwise available.

He then considers the relation between history and geography, and after an examination of the various views, arrives at the conclusion that while ‘race, education, religion, language, occupation, the subtle influences of tradition and history, all exert their weight, and any attempt at isolation of the geographical element is far more likely to generate fallacies than to yield dependable results.’ Then he takes up the question of history and biography and combats the Carlylean dictum that history is a series of biographies. History is nowadays regarded as an ‘intelligent interpretation of a vanished age, so that we may understand not only the leading motives of the leading actors on the stage, but the general tendencies of the time, the essential springs of change, the element of strength and weakness, of progress, recuperation or decay which may be inferred from the records of political transactions or from the analysis of social and economic fabric, and above all, so that we may form a just view of the political and social problems of the age.’

In his chapter on history and science, the author points out that the advance of scientific studies has affected historical studies in two ways, namely: (1) it has imparted a scientific spirit to historical investigations; and (2) it has influenced the work of historians by certain lines of scientific thought. It is a result of this that we have come to view the events of history as ‘phenomena of social development and history itself as an aspect of sociology.’ ‘The essence of the scientific spirit,’ wrote Huxley, ‘is criticism,’ and the more the spirit of criticism pervades historical study, the more will it assert its value as a study essential to human welfare. The question whether history is a science is an oft-discussed question, and is not likely to be answered definitely one way or the other. The intermediate view that it is both a science and an art is perhaps nearer correct in the sense
that it has in view action which touches the earth, and the idea which touches the skies. Another definite view is that history is a science like the moral sciences, but not like the physical. These views turn round upon different notions of the word 'science.' History may be regarded as a science inasmuch as it has to present evidence, criticize that evidence, and as a result of that criticism arrive at conclusions, and to this extent it may be regarded as unified knowledge, and as such a science; History has also at the same time to present pictures of the past, analyze character, probe motives, and requires skill in the narration. So far as these are done successfully, it may be regarded as an art. After all it is only a question of points of view towards historical material. In the words of the author 'there is historical writing by modern authors which is as precisely accurate and as carefully wrought in its arrangement of evidence as the most fastidious scientific mind could desire, and is at the same time touched with the magic of style, and aglow with imagination. The high accomplishment of the historian who excels in both the scientific and the artistic attributes is, however, not frequently attained. Perfect achievement in this vocation is not to be expected to be more common than in poetry, mathematics, philosophy, or any other study in which soundness of matter combined with imagination is desirable.'

He then passes on to the place of history in education. What is to be history teaching in educational institutions and universities, and what sort of it, and how much of it, is to be taught is a question which has been exercising the minds of educators, and one demand more than others is to make history teaching interesting. In regard to this, it is pointed out that 'you can make history teaching so interesting that no history is left, but only a soothing syrup compounded of romance, imagination, poetry, coloured pictures, legends, fairy stories, anecdotcs, Harris's or Alcott's novels, plasticine models and notes of exclamation. The intellectual discipline that should be imparted by the study of it may be smothered by frills and frivolities.' The outstanding merit of history teaching is that it provides one of the most efficient methods of forming the mind. Good teaching in the subject needs to keep a course between the desert where no flowers bloom and the swamps of romanticism where amphibious creatures wriggle about. Good history teaching should include some constructive
work. The art of narrative can be taught through the study of history more effectively than by any other means. This narrative must be constructed from evidence acquired from a variety of sources, and historical skill consists in selecting what is relevant and interesting and from this disjunct evidence constructing a narrative. This "brings out the originality of the student, taxes his ingenuity, imparts a sense of relevancy, sharpens his discernment." History is of use as providing the means of studying character. The really valuable thing in the study of character is to get to understand why men and women acted as they did, how they were bent by storms, diverted from the path of intention by stress of events, how they were deflected by the influence of expediency, how inherent weakness, with subversive force or subtle insinuation, determined them. Understanding is the main aim of this branch of historical study, and to "view a historical situation as it presented itself to those who had to face it and to do something in regard to it is a valuable effort of imagination conducing to sound and tolerant judgment." Apart from the mere instruction imparted, the weighing of evidence has a valuable educative discipline. While it may be admitted that historical knowledge is good, history teaching ought to inculcate certain intellectual virtues and habits. This involves discipline of mind as well as learning. In the words of J. W. Allen, "We want to make it easy and even habitual to suspend judgment. We want to make it absolutely impossible to hold opinions based upon grossly insufficient knowledge of the facts. We want a habit of thinking of conclusions as more or less probable rather than as true or untrue. We want to develop a realistic imagination of the number of different views that may be held on almost any really complex question." History teaching must further awaken curiosity in the student. "Teaching that does not evoke curiosity is a failure, and that which endeavors to suppress it is an offense." Connected with this is the teaching of the subject as a humanizing power, which in the words of Mr. Trevelyan shows how the "study of the past controversies of which the final outcome is known, destroys the spirit of prejudice, and brings home to the mind the evils that are likely to spring from violent policy, based on want of understanding of opponents." This humanistic view of history is closely associated with the moral efficacy of a study of history which consists in the view that the only real moral history is true history, and the
search for truth is itself a moral act. Incidentally reference is made here to national and international history, and it is pointed out that either of them could be made as good as the other from this point of view, the crux of the problem being in the serious search for truth and nothing but truth.

Passing on to the subject of history and patriotism, it is admitted that the correct teaching of history will have the effect of stimulating patriotism. At the same time pointed attention is drawn to the fact that the 'pressing of it into a patriotic mould has been one of the most fruitful causes of the manufacture of much pestilential bad history.' The principal object of history is to ascertain truth, and when this is done no good cause is likely to be damaged nor a bad cause ameliorated. Truth-telling is its business first and foremost. Attention is drawn here to a remark of the historian Bancks whose admirable historian represses the 'poet, patriot, the religious or political partisan, to sustain no cause and write nothing that would gratify his own feelings or disclose his private convictions.' When a German divine who wrote about Luther met him in Berlin and greeted him with warmth as a conferee, 'Ferdon me, Sir,' said Bancks, 'there is great difference between us; you are in the first place a Christian, I am in the first place a historian.' This means that detachment is absolutely necessary for the historian as to be detached is hardly the same as to be remote. At the same time history requires to be studied sympathetically to be understood, and without that sympathy, it would be rather difficult to make others understand. While therefore sympathy must be regarded as an essential element in the study and teaching of history, the treatment of it with sufficient detachment none the less is essential. The discussion concludes with the remark 'History should be wholly patriotic in its uplift; but it is bad history that sets patriotism before truth, and bad patriotism that deserves such disservice.' Dismissing the varieties of history in the next chapter, he discusses the various problems connected therewith. The general position is summed up in the following paragraph:

'The historian is compelled to put into a page or a paragraph materials which he has gathered from a wide range of sources, and this involves the simultaneous exercise of several mental processes. His statements must be true to fact, they must convey the essential purport of his evidence, and they must be related in good narrative
form. He must seize the salient things, disregard the details which seem to him to be unimportant, and blend the whole in a piece of writing which carries forward his story. To find a form of words which shall be true, loaded with information, essential, and at the same time readable, requires a command of art more complex than that involved in any other form of literature. Frequently there are gaps in the evidence, and the historian has to wrestle with probability, or he may be confronted with discrepancies which he has to resolve, or he may find a piece of testimony concerning a point which, if true, is important, but he may doubt its truth, and be unable to find corroboration of it. There is hardly a subject on which a historian can write, as to which he will not be compelled to make up his mind on some points of extreme necessity. Discussing the qualities that ought to be prominent in a historian's equipment, Macaulay is quoted with approval in regard to the possession of a disciplined imagination, as it is in the use of that that history calls for the gifts of the artist as well as for the orderly and analytical qualities of the scientific mind, the keenness and industry of the investigator, and the reflective insight of the philosopher. Imagination is the highest of historical endowments because it enables the breath of his to animate the dry bones, but it is a peril and a delusion without the discipline of scientific training.

The next two chapters are concerned with the two topics, — the Problems of History and its Living Force. In summarising the various problems that confront the historian and the various pitfalls to be avoided, the author says: — 'Historians, then, are liable to the same failings, the same disposition towards fondness for their own ideas, as are other people; and even those who have a bias against bias do not escape errors of other kinds. The test of dependability, indeed, is not absence of bias, but the presence of good faith. The writer of honest intent will take care that no piece of evidence known to him or accessible to him, is neglected. He will be prompt to rectify a conclusion in the light of freshly discovered facts. He will state points of view even when he does not approve of the conduct which they explain. He will endeavour to present a case as it was seen by those who were concerned in it, so that their motives, so far as discernible, shall be fairly disclosed. He will base his judgment upon verified facts, and will not prejudice an issue by exaggerations, by
twisting truth in the manner of unfair controversialists, by failing to
give the "other side" when there is another side which ought to be
heard. It is this good faith which makes sound history, not the
demonising of the historian by making him decide in respect to
opinions, feelings, sympathies and aversions." He then points out
that to the historian the subject presents itself as an infinite range of
problems in the solution of which he has to exercise his mind upon
arriving at generalisations. This process of generalisation "calls for
a very rare kind of intellectual effort." Great knowledge and imagi-
nation in combination are requisite to draw from the multitude of facts
those conclusions which show the coherency of them, their verifiable
meaning, and their moral import." He further points out to the very
general question of the value of history, and gives the only possible
answer, the moral grandeur of finding the truth because it is truth.
In discussing the living forces of history, he quotes Blumenau with
approval that "Mistakes committed in statesmanship are not always
punished at once, but they always do harm in the end. The logic of
history is a more exact and a more exacting accountant than is the
strictest national auditing department." The encouraging feature of
history is that a knowledge of the past has this exceptionally beneficent
and fruitful advantage that you see, set in, the clear light of historical
truth, examples of every possible type. From these you may select
for yourself and your country what to imitate, and also what, as being
mischievous in its inception and disastrous in its issue, you are to
avoid." With the study of history in all its forms," writes Mr. Marvin,"our interest in the future has been immeasurably
enhanced." The living force of history consists not only in the forms
of Government which have been developed, the institutions which have
been established, and even continually adopted to the service of
society, but in the way it works in the psychology of people, and in
the innumerable utilities which have been placed at our service by the
discoveries and the labours of our forebears! The work concludes with
the following remark that history has an influence upon living genera-
tions—educationally as a discipline with its own value for the
formation of intellectual habits; scientifically as a field of knowledge of
inevitable changes, and a method for the investigation of truth.'
We say amen, and apologise for the length of the review. The
subject is of such considerable importance and the misimpressions
regarding the subject so prevalent that we thought it worth-
while exhibiting the ideas of one that has apparently bestowed
considerable thought to the subject with sufficient elaboration to
do him just in the first instance, and to the subject itself next.
It is to be hoped that the subject will receive the attention that it
richly deserves.

'THE LIFE OF ŚRĪ VYĀŚARĀJĀ BY SOMANĀTHA'

R. Venkoba Rao, M.A.

Mysore Civil Service

This is a Sanskrit work in the form of a Chāntā, that is, a prose
work with poetical pieces thrown in so as to constitute one continuous
narrative. It is a style of Rāya which Sanskrit poets affect very
much.

The work has for its subject the Madhvā ascetic Vyāśarājā, the
founder of the Vyāśarāja Matha, which continues to flourish as one of
the well-known religious houses of the Madhvas, who regard him
among them as recognised ones. The author Somanātha was a
student of Āchārya Vyāśarājā, and was therefore a younger contem-
porary. He lived in the days of Āchārya Vyāśarājā, and the work was
written almost about the same time as the chronicle of Maha. It is,
however, much more valuable than the Portuguese chronicle in that it
deals with matter with which either the hero or the author was directly
connected. Naturally a contemporary work of this character would
labour from defects peculiar to itself. Notwithstanding this defect,
the work is of great value, and as, at the present time, we have the
means for checking it satisfactorily, it may be used as a source of
history for the comparatively dark period of the latter half of the
fifteenth century and the more or less well-known period of the first
third of the sixteenth. Unfortunately, however, the work is published
from a single manuscript which being in the possession of a private
owner, required considerable effort and tact to secure. The credit of
making this available to the public is due to two officers of the Mysore
Service, both of them members of the family of the late Dewan Sir P. N. Krishnamurti. It is matter for great regret however that Mr. Krishnamurti who secured the manuscript died before he could make arrangements for its publication, and Mr. Venkoba Rao who actually published it died within a few weeks of its publication.

The period of history covered by the life of Vyasatitika corresponds to the period of the rise of the Saktu chieftain, Narasimha, to power. For many years during his reign Ashotttaka Vyasatitika stayed under his auspices in Tirupati, and sometimes even at his court. He enjoyed the confidence of his successor as ruler of Vijayanagar, Narase, and of his son, the great Krishnapati. The Ashottaka's active life then corresponds to the best period of Saktu Narasimha's life, and those of Narase and Krishnapati. During the latter period in particular, he was intimately associated with Vijayanagar itself.

For this period, the only satisfactory accounts so far available are our own Little Kannu, Chapter of Vijayanagar History and the Sources of Vijayanagar History published by the Madras University. The authorities have been in great bulk, the literature of the period, while a large number of inscriptions have been from time to time made public throwing welcome light on various points. The work under review being the life of an important person who played an influential part in the court itself, provides information on many points on which it was wanted, and thus fills a very important gap in our sources of knowledge for the period.

Vyasatitika was born about A.D. 1445 and died about the year A.D. 1530, so that his life covered the best part of a century, while his active life was one of almost about seventy years extending from the period of the death of Mallikaputra, the Emperor, down to almost the end of the reign of Ashotttaka. Vyasatitika was born of parents in the village of Bavali on the bank of the Kaveri not far from Brahmanapattanam. He is said to have been taken in charge of for purposes of education by the saintly Brahmanya Tirtha, and in due course, and at the command of the teacher, he goes out on a pilgrimage first to Kashi, and then stays with the Madhyam Ashottaka Brihpadaritika at Malbaral. At the segregation of the teacher, he proceeded to the court of Saktu Narasimha at Chandragiri. Owing to certain untoward occurrences at the temple of Tirupati, this Ashottaka had to remain there for a number of
years, noted down actually as twelve years. This prolonged stay near the court, his great learning and disinterested character made him a person often looked upon as guide and philosopher by successive rulers of Vijayanagar, so much so that under Narasimha, he became the regular adviser to the Court. He lived in Vijayanagar afterwards in one of its suburbs, and his muft became a sort of university to which all seekers of the light of learning went. In the days of that great patron of learning, Krishnadevaraya, himself an author and a man of learning, Vijayanagar became a centre of learning and people flocked to the court for exhibiting their learning and receiving their rewards from the great patron. It is here that great disputations were held, among them being one in which Vyasa had to meet the great Vallabha Acharya, the founder of the Dvaita school of Advaita. Later on, Vyasa seems to have lived for a little while at Bihir, the old capital of the Hoyasala. It was in this period that Somasvami, the author who completed his education, the latter part under Vyasa himself, was advised by some friends to take upon himself the work of composing the life of Srinivasa, which he did. When he submitted it to the assembly of learned men at the muft of Vyasa himself, the work received the approval of the Acharya.

Mr. Venkoba Rao, the editor, has spared no pains to collect together all the historical matter scattered through the work and exhibit it in a critical introduction, in which he has made ample use, for purposes of comparison, of the two works already referred to, and the Sivasayana, another Sanskrit classic bearing upon the rise of the Srikuta, that is, Srikuta Narasimha to power. The present work throws considerable light upon obscure points on which light was wanted. To give but one instance, we are let into the secret of what actually took place during the last five years of Krishnadevaraya's rule, for which we had hitherto no satisfactory material. Similar instances, where the work gives new but welcome light, could be mentioned in some number. We conclude the review, however, with the expression of our sincere appreciation of the efforts of the two lamented officers of the Mysore Service, to whose efforts we are indebted for this welcome source of historical information, not being in a position to offer them our congratulations on the happy completion of their labour of love.
MADHURĀVLIJAYAM OR VIRAKAMPARĀYĀ CHARITA

BY

GANGADEVĪ

This Sanskrit work, of which there is only a single manuscript available to us, was published some time back, and had remained for about a couple of years already out of print. The present publication is a new edition by Pandit Haribara Sastri of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Publications Department. It is matter for regret that the Pandit was not able to secure another manuscript, and hence the edition is almost a reprint of the previous edition except for comparatively minor emendations and corrections here and there. The work is an important one in many ways, and it is matter for satisfaction that the Pandit thought it worth his while issuing a new edition, imperfect as it is.

This is one of a class of historical poems of which a few have come to notice recently. The work is of a class with Billhana's Viśvanavasirī Charita and Vasa's Harsha Charita. The late Dr. Bālīkar accepted these two works as specimens of the historical literature of the Hindus, and controverted the position that the Hindus had no historical sense. A number more have been discovered of that character, of which is the Rājanātha-pravāsa of Mahādeva Rāma and Aśvattha-pravāsa of Tituśakāraka, both poetics of acknowledged merit. There is also a classic Shāhmat-Mahasāya, another poem of a historical character. Of these it is only Aśvattha-pravāsa that has been published in part. Madhurāvlija is one of them. The author, Gangādevi, was not a woman like the other authors, devoting themselves to learning almost with a professional interest. She was the wife of prince Kampān, who is the hero of the poem. It is a unique example of a poem by a princess attempting to celebrate the exploits of her own husband.

The poem is cast in the form of heroic poems of the kind. It provides a considerable amount of historical material of value relating to a period for which reliable information was hitherto scanty. This poem gives the first glimpse from an Indian source, except, of course, the coins of the Sultan, relating to the dynasty of Muhammadan
of Madura, and of the occupation of various other centres in the Tamil country by the Muhammadans. The story begins with Kumara Kampana's birth, and the charge laid by Kumara's father to him to go forth and conquer the south of India from the Muhammadans. Kumara Kampana seems to have been the prince entrusted with the charge of the great province with the capital at Mubagal in the Mysore State now. Therefrom he proceeded, first overpowering the Kambojikas rulers of Manipuram (Virinchipuram) not far from Vellore, and then took possession of the whole of Tondamandalam. Therefrom he marched southwards, defeated the Muhammadans, at Srirangam, and then again at Madura thus succeeding in the effort in which the last great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III fell. The poem is incomplete, and does not give us the whole of the story, which we know from other sources. It is as a successful result of this campaign of prince Kampana that Madura, Srirangam and other holy places of the south were restored to their ancient state of glory and holiness, thereby symbolising the victory of the Hindus over the conquering Muhammadans who had established encroachments in various parts. The work is of considerable historical value and even of great literary merit, and Pandit Harihara Sastri deserves the gratitude of those interested for having given a new edition of it to the public, though only a reprint.
Select Contents from Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

September 1926—

A. S. RAMAWATHA AINAR: 'A Note on Bhashkara Ravivarman's Date.' Examines K. N. Daniel's conclusions on the date of this king and holds the view that the Chera Bhashkara Ravivarman flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. His date of accession is determined to be A.D. 976.

Y. R. GURU: 'The Kshaharatas, were they exterminated? or have they left any traces in the population of Dekhan?,' questions the truth of the claim that the Kshaharatas were exterminated by Gomutamputra as claimed in his inscriptions. The Kshaharatas are identified with Kharatas, now a shepherd community in Dekhan, the term Kharata being a shortened form of Kshaharata.

October 1926—

H. SIEULD. 'The Relative Chronology of Panini and the Prakrits.' This paper attempts at establishing the precise age of Panini by examining present position.

A. S. RAMAWATHA AINAR. 'A Note on Queen Minakshi of Madura.' Examines a recently discovered copper plate grant of Minakshi of Madura. The importance of this record consists in as much as it carries the rule of Minakshi to February 1739. The hitherto known date in 1736 or 1737. The grant confirms the date given by Maduraswamipaduka.

November 1926—

A. VENKATASUKHA: 'Vedic Studies.'

B. M. EDWARDS. 'The Population of Bombay, Remarks concerning the Origin and Growth.'

December 1926—

B. HEMCHANDRA ARYAN: 'Vyaghra, the Peasantry of Vakataka: Pritivasana.' Sets forth different lines of evidence to prove the identity Vyaghradasa of the Madura and Gaur inscriptions with
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Vyaghacarti of Malankura of Suandragupta pillar inscription, questions the identity of this chief emphasized by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil.

T. K. Joseph: 'St. Thomas of South India' sets forth reasons to conclude that St. Thomas never visited South India, questions the truth of tradition that he went to South India and died at Mylapore. It is held that St. Thomas died at Arachosia.

Indian Historical Quarterly

September 1926—

N. G. Majumdar: 'A New Brahmi Inscription from Mathura.' This inscription in Brahmi in one line testifies to the existence of a king called Vishnudatta in the first century B.C. It is suggested that he is identical with the Vishnudatta of the colae. (Cunningham, C. A. I, part vii, No. 71, page 94)

E. G. Sankara: 'The Early Pallavaes of Kanchi.' Attempts to rearrange the genealogy of the early Pallavaes of Kanchi of the copper-plate charters. Holds that present arrangements are incorrect. His theories include one that the Pallavaes of Holadavijayagota who ruled at Kanci including the donors of Prakrit plates should have ruled after Karivarman whom he is inclined to identify with Vishnugopa, the adversary of Suanragupta. It is also held that Simhayashan and his descendants belong to a collateral Pallava dynasty ruling at Anuradhapura as feudatories of B. Gangas of Kalinga. Trilochana is identified with Namdivarman and Karikala is assigned the period immediately preceding Simhayashan.

N. J. Thomas: 'Buddhist Education in Pall and Sanskrit Schools.'

N. M. Law: 'The Jinasadhaka and the Pauravas.' Examines the evidence bearing on the political functions of these bodies.

Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society

June 1926—

Dr. Srav Kornow: 'The Inscription of the so-called Bodhgaya Plaque.' The inscription has been read as Ny (Thomas) Sanghadeva (as) as Av, 'the work of Sanghadeva the Kandmaan.

N. Ganguly: 'The Indian Architecture from the Vedic Period.'
H. Husain: 'Notes on the Historical Carvings at Šrījeyanagara.'
Draws the attention of scholars to some carvings of historical
importance at Šrījeyanagara. Three of the panels are reproduced.
Identifies one with Friar Louis, the first ambassador of
Albuquerque.

G. K. Venkataramana Aiyer: 'Kalidasa and Bhasa in the Light of
some Western Criticisms.'

Annals of Bhandarkar Research Institute
VOLUME VII, PART II

P. C. Divakar: 'Madhavachal Samravathi, his Life and Works.'

R. C. Law: 'Rajastha in Pali Literature.'

C. Chakravarty: 'The Original Site of Mahavirji Pillar.' This is
regarded as being situated at Hardwere and that Sultan Piros
Shah removed it to its present position in Delhi.

D. M. Barua: 'Åṣtraksa, What it Means?'

B. L. Bashu: 'Gateways of Bharat Stupa'

D. K. Bhamburkar: 'Can we fix the date of Kalidasa more accu-
marately?' Concludes that Kalidasa flourished in the second and
third quarters of the sixth century.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
VOLUME I, No. 1 AND 2

G. Ramdas: 'Trikalings.' Questions the interpretation of the term
as meaning three Kalings. According to Ramdas Trikalings
means high Kalings and conveys the same idea as Mal Kalings
or Mainal, the same of the region lying west of Kalina.

R. S. Banda: 'Pedavari Plates of Nandivarmān II.'

M. Ramakrishnakavi: 'King Nanyadova on Music.'

Indian Art and Letters
VOLUME II, No. 1

F. Praillot: 'Indian Influences in the Early Chinese Art in Tung-
Hsiang.' Report of a lecture by Professor Paul Praillot at the
India Society in November 1826 followed by discussion.
The Journal of the A. R. Carmo Oriental Institute, 1926

HOMIVALA  ‘Five Lectures on the Parsi History’ Dealing with various aspects of Parsi History and the dates of Hormasdyar and Rama and Dervanag Dhuval

Islamic Review

Volume I, No 1

KEVADA BURSE  ‘The Arab Academicians and their Professors.’ Translated from ‘Die Academici der Araber und ihre Lehrer,’ by F. Wustenfeld

J. SARKAR  ‘A Forgotten Aspect of the Mughal Empire.’ Draws attention to the constant communication in the days of the Mughal rule between India and the Islamic lands of the Middle East and Central Asia especially to the return current from India and the part played by the Rupat and the Indian Mussalmen, Munsing, Jaising and Jaswant Sing in trans-Indian military outposts.

D. R. BHATNAGAR  ‘Ancient Monuments on Mount Abu.’ Discusses the importance and the styles of the monuments of this Mount in Rajputana.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI  ‘Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Diuca.’

B. KREVADA BURSE  ‘Islam and Toleration.’ Emphasises the view that Islam was tolerant and gives a list of cultural achievements in Mathematics, Philosophy and Medical science which could not be possible without toleration and sympathy.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI  ‘Notes on the life and times of Ramji Singh.’

The Vishwakanthi Quarterly

October 1926—

C. FERNACHY:  ‘The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development.’
K. A. Nilakantha Basker: 'The Later Satavahanas and Sakas.'

F. G. Petriksen: 'Note on Kālikā.' It is held that the poet was born in Vikharā, about A.D. 370, wrote his three plays and Kālikā in the time of Chandragupta II between A.D. 380 and 400 and the Milindas and Raghuvamsa at Bhojapala between A.D. 410 and 420.

G. Jouymau-Durban: 'La Thole Aryanu du Malabar.' He suggests the discoveries of monuments in the Bhumian style datable about 1500 B.C. in Malabar. Illustrative photographs of the monuments are given.

Bengal, Past and Present

July to September 1926—


B. K. Basu: 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Reformation.'

American Oriental Journal

September 1926—

W. H. Clark: 'Some misunderstandings about India.' The popular view that the Indian Civilization is essentially spiritual and dominated by mysticism and asceticism is here examined in detail and it is held inaccurate, as Indian energy throughout her history has been equally devoted to political organisation, economic life and every kind of secular enterprise and achievement.

W. H. Hodgson: 'The Original Ramayana.'

W. F. Albright: 'Notes on the Topography of Ancient Mesopotamia.'
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Modern Review

October and December 1946—

M. Winternitz: 'The Poet Acvaghoša and his School' (translated by B. Ghosh from the original German work of Dr Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur)

B. K. Ghosh: 'Origin of Indian Drama.'

H. K. Barak: 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law.'
OUR EXCHANGES

1. The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. Bharat Itihasa Sanshodaka Mandal, Poona City.
8. Indian Historical Quarterly, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
15. Nager Pracharini Sabha, Benares.
18. Quarterly Journal of the Mythos Society, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

शुरूर-पश्चिम परिपथ

Dr. KALIDAS NAC, the Honorary Secretary of the Greater India Society, has written to me to issue an appeal on behalf of the society, and as one in full sympathy with its aims and objects I have pleasure in publishing the following note for the information of the readers of this valuable journal.

Aims and Object of the Upaniṣadās is the motto of this Association, the aims and objects of which are:

1. To organize the study of Indian Culture in Greater India, i.e., (a) Sarmās or Central Asia, (b) India Minor (Afghanistan, etc.), (c) Indo-China, or Burma, Siam, Laos, Cambodia, Champa, etc., (d) Jawa Island, or Sumatra, Java, Bali, Madura and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, (e) China, Corea and Japan, and (f) other countries of Asia, such as Iran and Western Asia.

2. To arrange for the publication of the results of the researches into the history of India's spiritual and cultural relations with the outside world, and gradually to arrange for the issuing of a regular organ of the society.

3. To create an interest in the history of Greater India and connected problems among the students in the schools, colleges, and Universities of India by instituting systematic study of these subjects and to take proper steps to stimulate the same.

4. To popularize the knowledge of Greater India by organizing meetings, lantern lectures, exhibitions and conferences.

5. To form branch centres in different parts of India and to encourage systematic collection of books, pictures, models, lantern-slides, periodicals, monographs, statistics, etc., forming the nucleus of a Greater India Library and Museum.

6. To institute endowments and prizes to encourage research into the history of Indian cultural expansion.

With these and other objects the society has been inaugurated on October 10, 1928, at Calcutta. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C.R.M., is the President of the Society. Among the Patrons are Pandit
M. M. Malaviya, Vice-chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, Mahamahopadhyaya Harigopal Bhatt, a.i.s., and Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherjee, M.C. There is besides an influential body of the Academic council consisting, among others, distinguished scholars like Dr. B. Krishnaswami Aiyyar of the Madras University, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Dr. R. C. Majumdar of Benares University and Dr. N. N. Law, editor of the Indian Historical Quarterly. The first general meeting of the society will be held sometime about April 1937, when the final list of the office-bearers and members would be presented.

Membership of the Greater India Society is free to all lovers of India, to all serious students of the Indian cultural expansion and to all sympathisers of such studies and activities. The privileges of membership are the following:

1) Donors, honorary members and associate members will get all publications of the society free. Other members will get them at half-price.

2) Members and associates, making inquiries relating to Greater India and connected problems would get replies, hints, suggestions of studies, bibliographies and other information, provided that stamped and self-addressed envelopes reach the Secretary.

3) Members and associates may submit any manuscript showing original and useful study, before the Academic Council, and in case of approval, such studies, etc., would be published either directly by the society or under the supervision of the society.

Note.—The Minimum subscription of donors and honorary members is Rs 100, of an associate Rs 15 annually, corresponding member Rs 5 annually and student member Rs 3.

V. R., DIESSEITAR.
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Notice to Contributors

Contributors are requested to be so good as to address papers and correspondence to the Editor, Journal of Indian History, 'Mrignayani', East Malabar Street, Mylapore, Madras.

Contributors of articles to this Journal will greatly oblige the editor if they will leave the upper half of the first sheet of manuscript blank, for the convenience of the editor, in entering instructions to the press regarding tiling, style of printing, illustration of proofs, etc. Such instructions, when sent separately, are liable to result in confusion and delay.

Contributors will also greatly lighten the task of the editor, as well as lessen the cost of composition and correction, by observing the following suggestions—

1. In preparing copy, please leave a margin of at least three inches on one side. The revision of a crowded manuscript is excessively troublesome and laborious. When the last sheet of the article has been finished, the last footnote or other interpolation added, and the last subtraction made, please number the folios consecutively with the actual numbers from one to the end.

2. Write plainly, especially proper names and foreign words. If roman characters are to be employed, let them resemble as closely as possible the type in our fonts. If roman or stencil characters with diagonal points are used, see that the points are distinct and rightly placed. Words to be printed in italics should be once underscored. Words to be printed in CAMELICONS Type may be once underscored with blue pencil. Typewritten copy always needs to be carefully revised, with especial attention to mechanical faults and to the punctuation.

3. Indicate paragraphs clearly by a wide indentation at the beginning, or, if the break is an after-thought, by the usual sign (P). Begin all larger divisions of an article on a fresh sheet of paper. It is hardly necessary to say that the proper construction of paragraphs is far more than a matter of external appearance.

4. Punctuate the copy precisely as you wish it to appear in print. Double marks of quotation (""") should be used for included quotations, definitions and the like, and single marks of quotation (""') for actual quotations.

5. In citing the titles of books, give the title in full where
NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

first occurs In subsequent citations the work may be referred to by the significant words of the title; but abbreviations which may not be at once understood are to be avoided, and, above all, ensure uniformity should be observed throughout the article. Where some conventional system of citation is in general use, as in the case of the Vedas and the Brahmanic literature, the established custom of scholars should be followed. Titles of books will be printed in italics, titles of articles in parentheses, in quotation marks, with the name of the periodical in italics. But the well-established method of abbreviating the titles of the journals of the five principal oriental societies (JAC, JAGS, JASB, JRAS, LDMG) should be adhered to.

6. It is desirable, for reasons of economy as well as good typography, that footnotes be kept within moderate limits. References to footnotes should be made by brief series of natural numbers (say from 1 to 10), not by stars, daggers, etc. As to the method of inserting footnotes in the copy, good usage differs. A way convenient for author, editor and printer is to insert the note, with a wider left-hand margin than that used for the text, beginning the note on the line next after the line of text to which it refers, the text itself being resumed on the line next after the ending of the note. But if the note is an after-thought, or if it is long, it is well to interpolate it on a fresh sheet as a rider.

7. Contributors are requested to kindly remember that additions and alterations in type after an article is printed in pages, are, in many cases, technically difficult and proportionately costly, the bill for corrections sometimes amounting to as much as the first cost of composition, and that such alterations entail a most trying kind of labour, not only on editors and compositors, but on the authors themselves as well, and they are accordingly advised that a careful preparation of their manuscript in the manner above indicated will save both the editor and themselves much unnecessary trouble.

Henceforth, correspondence relative to subscriptions, and notices of change of address should be addressed to—

THE MANAGER,

Journal of Indian History,
'Orjavitabam',
East Minto Street, Mysore,
MADRAS, 5.
The Gurjara Empire in North India

by

Professor S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., M.O.My, PhD

INTRODUCTORY

Among the ancient kingdoms of India, Kashmir has the unique distinction of having a recorded history of its own. This history however is a comparatively late production, and, having been written in the twelfth century from such material as came into the possession or knowledge of the writer, labours from the disadvantages of a secondary work. Its value as a historical composition is in a great measure discounted, in regard to the earlier periods particularly, as Kathana the author compiles his information from sources which are generally not indicated, and perhaps even of doubtful historical value. Such as it is, therefore, while we are in a much better position in respect of this kingdom than in regard to very many others, the possession of this history does not advance our knowledge of the history of India very far. When we come to the age of Harsha, however, we get on to some firm ground of history in regard to Kashmir. A dynastic change took place about that time, it may be somewhat earlier, and a new dynasty called the Kiratupalas dynasty came to power. With the beginning of this dynasty the Kashmir account gains in value as history, and we have the means of shedding it in the coinage of the country, which is available in some quantity, and from references in dated Chinese annals. With the aid of these we may arrive at a chronological order for Kashmir which is not perhaps very far from the actual. In this particular period an error of twenty to twenty-five
years seems possible, and Kalhana perhaps antedates the reigns by
about that period.

The first ruler of this dynasty, according to Kalhana, was a man of
bomther origin from the point of a view of Kashmir royalty and it is to
remove this bar sinister, that a descent from Niiga Kukkotaka had been
invented, this fictitious descent actually giving the name to the dynasty.
He made himself a very useful official, and gradually rose into favour
with the last ruler of the Gonanda dynasty, Balladitya by name, and
rose to the rank of becoming a son-in-law of the monarch. Durshabha,
as a result of this marriage, was able ultimately to succeed to the
throne either because of the natural extinction of the previous dynasty
or by usurpation. Durshabha apparently was the ruler of Kashmir when
Hsuen Tsang visited the kingdom in about the years A.D. 637-643.
These are numbers of coins of rude make bearing the inscription
Durshabha. This comage may be ascribed to this ruler; even here
we cannot be certain as his son bore a name somewhat similar, but as
he had a different title, the probabilities are that the first Durshabha
issued these coins. We have, however, more certain reference in the
Chinese annals, which mention a Tsu-lo-pa as the king of India, at some
date within the period A.D. 637-643, and controlled the route from
China to Kspu, that is, the Kambul Valley. From the somewhat full
account that Hsuen Tsang gives of Kashmir during the period of his
visit we can draw the inference that the country was peaceful and
prosperous, and the authority of the ruler actually extended to include
all the adjacent territories, the frontier reaching down to the plains.
All the hilly portions of the Punjab seem to have been under Kashum,
and even the kingdom of Tukhastila seems to have been brought
under control recently. Hsuen Tsang also notes that in religion
Kashmir was not Buddhist, but much rather Hindu. According to
Kalhana he had a long reign of thirty-six years, and was succeeded by
his son, Durshabha, who had the title of Pratipidhya.

Durshabha Pratipidhya II succeeded his father Durshabhaardhana.
The Kukkotaka copper coins with the legend Sik Pratipa are ascribed to
him. They are of two varieties, and are found in some number, thus
justifying to some extent the long period of rule ascribed to him; but
of the actual events of the reign, Kalhana records nothing of importance.
He married Narakesaraprabha, the wife of a foreign merchant under
somewhat romantic circumstances, and had by her three sons, Cham-
drēpīḍa, Turepiḍa, Muktiśīla, who ruled in succession after him Barring the construction of certain buildings of minor importance, Kalhana records nothing more of value. He had a long reign of fifty years and was succeeded by his eldest son, Chandrīpīḍa.

Chandrīpīḍa finds reference in Chinese records as King Tehan t‘u-lo pi-il mentioned in the Chinese annals as ruling over Kashmir in A.D. 713 and again in A.D. 729. He applied in A.D. 719 to the Chinese Emperor for assistance against the Arabs. The second reference is that, in the year A.D. 720, the Chinese Emperor granted to this ruler the title of King. This second reference implies that Chandrīpīḍa must have been alive at least up to the previous year A.D. 719. According to Kalhana's dating his reign of nine years would fall between A.D. 698 and 709. This makes a difference of twenty-five years, Kalhana omitting Chandrīpīḍa, according to Kalhana, had a noble character, and had been apparently remembered in Kashmir as an eminent humane administrator of justice. His name is associated with the founding of a number of temples to Visnū. His death is stated to have been brought about by the use of witchcraft on the part of a wicked brother of his, Tīrūpiḍa, who succeeded to the throne. Tīrūpiḍa who ascended the throne in this manner, succumbed to magic again used against him by the Brahman whom he had oppressed. This intervention of magic in regard to the two rulers indicates that at the time belief in magic must have been current, and it must have been believed in largely. Thus, almost about a century after the founding of this dynasty, the Kashmir throne was occupied by a ruler, Lalīśīla Muktiśīla, the last of the three sons of Dura-bhara. Muktiśīla's reign is of some importance in Indian History, and, allowing for the twenty-five years' correction already noted, would begin somewhere about A.D. 725 at the latest.

According to Kalhana, Muktiśīla ruled for a little over thirty-six years, from A.D. 689 to 736. Notwithstanding this long reign no coins of Lalīśīla have come to light. But fortunately we have foreign notices with which we can check Kalhana's chronology in this particular. The annals of the T’ang dynasty refer to the name of Mu-to-pi, a king of Kashmir, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor, Hsin Tsung, A.D. 715-35. This embassy is said to have arrived after the first Chinese expedition to Po-hu (Balistana) which took place sometime between A.D. 726 and
747. It is unfortunate that the precise date of this invasion should not have been recorded, as then it would have provided us with a valuable confirmation of a correction in Kalhana's chronology. Adopting the correction already made on the basis of the reference to Chandravaktra, Muktippa's reign must have commenced in A.D. 734, and, if we accept the thirty-six years' length of reign, would have terminated in A.D. 760. Whatever be the value of this precise dating we may accept the period as roughly correct. Muktippa is referred to as Mu-to-pi in the Chinese annals. But Allerman calls him Mutna which may have been formed from some Prakrit or Apabhramsa form of the name, Mukta, and seems to conceal the Prakrit or Apabhramsa form Mutnapat. We get another variant of the name in the Itinerary of Ou-k'ong who speaks of him as the founder of the Mungin Pilars where he stayed for some time. From the geographical details that he gives of this Pilars, it seems to refer to a monastery built by Muktippa. Since his name appears in the contracted form in connection with his buildings, such as Muktaevora and Muktau-vrksini, it seems probable that the Pilars built by him was called Mukta, which, in the Chinese transcription, has become Mungin. Muktippa's appeal to China shows him as in imminent danger of an invasion of Kashmir from Tibet. He sought the assistance of the Celestial Empire for an auxiliary force of two hundred thousand men for which he agreed to provide provisions and encampment on the shores of the Mulagpadma Lake (Pilars Lake). Incidentally it is also recorded that he was in alliance with the ruler of Central India, and together they blocked 'the five passes' leading from Tibet. This puts a different complexion on the character of his reign from that which the Kashmir account implies. Notwithstanding this difference, there is little room for doubt that the ruler referred to in these records is Muktippa and no other.

Who was this ruler of Central India who at the period of the threatened invasion from Tibet could have blocked the five passes along with the ruler of Kashmir against Tibet? A ruler who could block all the five passes leading from Tibet into India except on the Kashmir side must have been one whose authority extended over the central block of territory which constituted the Gupta Empire, and would include three separate geographical and political divisions. In other words, he must have been the one ruler over the whole terri-
tory comprised in the kingdom of Kamaraj under Harsha, the kingdom of Magadha, and the province of Tarabhuuki, leaving Pundra further east. This leaves out the passes to Assam which go too far east for the purpose. Hence this statement implies the existence of a powerful Central Indian ruler who might, without any violence to the words, be described as an imperial ruler. The same Tsang annals mention under date A.D. 731 an embassy from Central India from a ruler Isha-fan-mo, who is said to have sent his minister Tsang-po-tu on the mission. Parkhurst has identified Isha-fan-mo with Yasovarman, and the suggestion seems quite acceptable from the point of view of Phoucien. This mission from Yasovarman probably has had the same object as that from Muktipika, and hence the date given for Muktipika's mission, by El. Corbier from Chinese sources, of A.D. 733, may be accepted as correct. Then it becomes clear that during the years A.D. 731-733 Yasovarman was the acknowledged ruler of Central India, and was in alliance with Muktipika of Kashmir, and both together had arranged to take common action against the powerful neighbouring state of Tibet to prevent its aggression across the mountain frontiers. The war between Muktipika and Yasovarman, therefore, must have taken place later than the year A.D. 733 and we might even say later than the year A.D. 733. The year A.D. 733 therefore gives the lower limit of the war.

2 Having regard to all that Muktipika is credited with having done in the Reśitaravīṇas, a further reign of about twenty years does not seem impossible, and therefore the period actually ascribed above to the reign of Muktipika, say A.D. 724-760, does not appear to be far from correct. Yasovarman himself must have begun to rule earlier than Muktipika, and must have gradually built up an empire for himself in Mid-India. He could have done that only by succeeding to the position of the Later Guptas of Magadha, starting from his own ancestral estates, very much circumscribed at the time, the territory of the Mankhara. Although Mankhara greatness had vanished with the death of Grhavarman, there had been Mankhara chieftains of sufficient dignity to enter into marriage alliances even with Ādityasena. In fact Ādityasena's daughter was married to the Mankhara Bhogavarman, and the latter's daughter Vatadēvi married Śrīvīlōka II of Nepal, whose son Jayadeva

2 For the chronological and other details, see Stain's translation of Reśitaravīṇa, Bk. IV.
was a ruler of great influence and importance at the time. And this Jayadeva had in his turn married the daughter of the ruler of the East, Harsha by name, who came of the race of Bhagadatta, which means that he came of the royal family of Assam, and exercised authority over the kingdoms of Kamarupa, Pundra, Odra, and Kalinga; in other words, all the east and south including within it Assam, Bengal, Orlana, and Kalinga. What was left between the eastern ruler, and the extended Kashmir of the days of Durabha, must have been included in the territory of Yasovarman. That this was so is borne out to some extent by the Prakrit poem Gangaśvasta by one of the court poets of Yasovarman, Vakpatiraja. The poem has for its subject matter the killing of a King of Bengal. The hero was no other than Yasovarman. In the course of this narrative it makes much of the conquest of a Magadha ruler by Yasovarman. So the two cardinal achievements of Yasovarman are the conquest of Magadha, and the defeat which ended in the death of the ruler of Bengal. The latest date that we have for Yasovarman is a reference in the Thanagaha-pattammali, which gives the date A.D. 700 to 883 (A.D. 743-838) for Jaina, Ashkrya Bapakbarati who came in contact with Yasovarman, and Vakpatiraja. The Jain account describes Yasovarman as of Muntiya descent, and describes Vakpatiraja as a Paramatra. It is not impossible that Yasovarman continued to be ruler till about A.D. 744, possibly some years later. The war, therefore, between Muktiśāda and Yasovarman might have actually taken place after this date. We may, therefore, tentatively take it that the war did take place in A.D. 743 and as a result of the war, the Central Indian power went out of existence, involving as a consequence the non-existence of anything like a central government claiming suzerain authority, and guaranteeing, to some extent, internal peace and providing the only efficient means of defence against external dangers.

The middle of the eighth century, it must be remembered, was a period when the security of the Indian frontiers was very much shaken by the advance of the Arabs on the one side, and by the aggressive conquests of the Tibetans on the other. The Tibetan danger seems to have passed off without harm to India, probably

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[1] Austrian Archivary, in. 1552
[2] For fuller information, see J. Bone, Research of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1887; my article on Muktisahasamagiris and the Gurjara Empire.
because of the rising power of China under the great rulers of the T'ang line. But the danger of the north-west frontier from the Arabs proved to be far more real, and after the fall of the Persian Empire, the Arab expansion seems to have taken the form of advance on two lines. The landward expansion took the time-honoured route towards Kabul and the north-west, against the Turkish tribes of the borders of the steppes. The southward expansion seems to have advanced through Kandahar and Baluchistan to the frontiers of Sindh by land, and from the ports of the Indus Delta from the sea. The Arabs had already effected a foothold in Sindh as early as A.D. 713 and thus, together with their activities in the region round Kabul, must have been the direct causes of the embassy that Chandra Ipi of Kushan sent to the T'ang monarch of China, Hsin Tsung, his contemporary. The period, therefore, was one that called for the active vigilance of the Indian states and it is on emergencies like these that occasion is found for the formation of empires. Four powers stood forth to essay this, after Yashovarman was put out of the way, and all the four of them happened to be, from the point of view of Hindustan and north-western frontier, frontier powers more or less. The chance of an imperial central position lay before that one among the four which could make itself master of the central region, the Madhyadesa of the Buddhists or the Magadha Empire under the Guptas. The first effort was made by Kashmir to exercise this authority over the central region, and it was only when Kashmir failed for reasons peculiar to her own history that the triangular equilibrium rose among the rising powers, of the Gürjars of Bahman, the Makrakhtis of Malkhad, and the Pindis of Bengal. The century therefore from A.D. 750 to 850 is a century of this transformation, and we shall take up that tale.

Kashmir, the paradise of the Mahbuban emperors of India, lay to a very great extent outside the current of Indian History, because of its geographical isolation for one reason. But notwithstanding this geographical fact, she did not remain in that isolation in all probability which, absence of really historical information, makes us ascribe to her history. Even so it has been brought into touch with the main current of Indian History in certain periods whenever the centre of gravity of the empire was near enough to her borders. Kashmir seems to have formed an integral portion of the Kushtan Empire, and of the Ascan, if Buddhist tradition is to be believed.
It is not clear that she formed any part of the empire of the Guptas. But it had been brought into the main stream of Indian History with the invasion of the Huns, and the doings of Mihiragula. She does not appear to have played much of a part in the imperial organisation of the age of Harsha proper, although it was in the reign of Harsha that she first extended her authority over the borders to take in subordination as far as Ummada three or four of the kingdoms of the plains according to the account of Hsuan Tsang. It has already been pointed out that the Kashmir contemporary of Hsuan Tsang, and therefore, of the Emperor Harsha, was no other than Durlabha, the grandfather of Multisipala. It was probably in his reign the expansion actually took place, and the two reigns following do not seem to be of much importance in the career of expansion of Kashmir. It was with the accession to the throne of Kashmir of Multisipala that the foreign relations of Kashmir took form. It was already pointed out that Chandragupta, his elder brother, had to send an embassy to China, soliciting imperial assistance against the Arabs. That could mean no more than that the pressure of the Arabs was real on one side of the frontier. That an embassy should have gone to China in A.D. 713, the year in which the Arabs first affected a foothold in Sindh makes the connection between the one and the other indubitable. The short reign of Tissipala could do nothing, if Tissipala was hardly worthy of his position. But with the accession of Multisipala the call upon Kashmir became clear. Multisipala seems to have realised clearly the dangers surrounding him. The Arab trouble had passed owing to changing circumstances at the Arab head-quarters. But the real danger was from Tibet. Multisipala attempted an alliance with the central power, and the alliance apparently served well as against Tibet. For one reason or another which is not clear to us, this alliance could not hold together, and we see the alliance going actually to war, resulting in the overthrow of the central Indian power. Multisipala, therefore, has to stand as champion not only for Kashmir, but for the whole of India—India north of the Vindhyas. If, as Kalhana says, he went to war against Bengal, it was not probably as a knight-errant seeking adventure, but as almost a necessary consequence of the conquest of Mid-India, which called for a settlement of the relations with the eastern frontier. That necessarily would also have involved a war against Kalapa, as at this time what
was known to the Hindu historians as Kalinga went as an appanage of the ruler of Bengal. These two, the invasion of Bengal and the invasion of Kalinga, may be regarded as historical incidents in the conventional sense that Kalkana ascribed to Lakkshitva Multapada. Having settled these frontiers of his new responsibility on the east and south of his new conquests, he could return home as monarch of Kashmir and Emperor of India. He could turn his attention to the state of things across the mountains both on the side of Tibet and across the north-west in the territories still held by the Turkish tribes. That he undertook an invasion of these tribes, and, having gone too far into the desert regions, lost his life like a very hero of romance according to Kalkana, could only mean that he lost his life in an effort to subdue some of the troublesome tribes across the frontier, which took him to an unknown region and made him succumb to his thirst for war necessary though this war was. With his death Kashmir received a set-back in her imperial career. Multapada could not have been the knight-errant that one would take him to be on a superficial reading of Kalkana. Though among his works of public utility, it is only temples, tanks and things of that kind that are ascribed to him, he must have been a capable monarch interested in the administration, and possessing the requisite amount of knowledge to transform that interest into channels of beneficent activity. He apparently undertook the reorganisation of the administration, perhaps to meet the extensive needs of an enlarged kingdom. The administration of a larger empire, and the carrying on of war which a career of aggression must have necessitated would have involved the reorganisation of the finances of the state. His financial administration must have been rigorous and even grasping, as Kalkana ascribes to him principles and maxims worthy of Alam-din, although it is put in a form much more in keeping with the character of a Hindu monarchy rather than in the gross form in which Alam-din is reported to have put it. The cultivator must be left enough to meet his needs adequately, but should not be left anything more to make his position attractive to the marauders from across the frontier. Lakkshitva Multapada's was indeed a glorious reign from the point of view of Kashmir, but his efforts at realising an imperial ambition were too much for the role of Kashmir to play.

The period occupied by the new Magnificent Empire of Lakkshitva and his successors down to the end of the reign of Yasovarman of
Kashmir was occupied in Kashmir by the reigns of the first five rulers of themailotika dynasty. Applying the correction of twenty-five years of undating in Kahana, which, on Chinese evidence, is proved very probable, the end of Laktadiya Multilpia's reign comes to somewhere about A.D. 780. It was already pointed out that Vikraman's reign perhaps came to an end somewhat earlier possibly about the year A.D. 750. But he seems to have survived his defeat by Multilpia and continued substantially in power for some years longer. The end of his reign may be placed somewhere about A.D. 755, so that the two great rulers may have passed out of Indian politics almost about the same time, and that is the middle of the eighth century. Laktadiya's rule was followed by four reigns, namely, those of Kovalyltya and Vajraditya, his two sons, with a reign of one year and of seven years respectively; and again by those of Pratihvityla and Sangramlyla I with periods of four years and a month, and seven days respectively. This brings us to the period A.D. 770, or possibly A.D. 771, when the other great ruler Jayaplka came to the throne. Jayaplka's reign, according to Kahana, covered thirty-one years, which would mean that he ruled through the rest of the century. Jayaplka's reign is of importance for our purposes, as it brings him into touch with the rulers of Kashmir, Central India and Nepal. Whatever be the truth regarding the kings actually mentioned by name, the details given by Kahana regarding Jayaplka's history, give us an idea of the condition of affairs in Northern India, and to that extent, at any rate, Kahana's account of Jayaplka is of very great value to the historian.

Jayaplka came to the throne after a decade of weak rule of four successive rulers, the successors of Laktadiya Multilpia. After some years devoted to introducing order in the administration of Kashmir and otherwise putting his own affairs in order, he felt called upon to imitate the exploits of his predecessor, the great Multilpia, and started on a dig-vijaya, as the chronicle has called it. The first expedition took him to the kingdom of Guada and to an attack on Fundravardhana, 'a city at that time under the rule of the kings of Guada and protected by a king called Jayanta.' We are told that in that city, he had a love adventure with one of the courtresses, by name.

Kamaladevi, with whom he happened to be living for some time. He had occasion to perform a feat of killing a lion single-handed which attracted the attention of the king, who found means to discover the real character of Jayaplakah. As a result he gave his daughter Kalyna-devi to Jayaplakah in marriage.

Soon after he had an opportunity of rendering service to his father-in-law by killing the two Gauria chiefs and making his father-in-law sole sovereign of Gauria. That perhaps means that Bengal was distracted by anarchy at the time and was divided among five separate rulers, and Jayaplakah assisted to bring them back to union and loyalty to a single ruler in the person of Jayanta. Having done this, he set out on the advice of his minister Devabharman, the son of Mitradharma, who was the foreign minister under Muktikpacha, to return to his own country. On the way he defeated the Raja of Kanyakubja (Kamraj) in battle and carried off the throne of the monarch with him. During his absence his throne in Kanyakubja was occupied by a usurper, his own brother-in-law, Jajugna by name. After putting down the usurper by a victory on the field of battle, Jayaplakah settled down to introducing order in the administration after the usurpation, and found time to construct temples for religion and extend his patronage for learning. One great act of his in regard to the latter particular was that seeing that the study of the Mahabharata had been interrupted in the state, he imported a number of pandits expert in the subject and reconstituted the learning of the great work, thus promoting the study of the science of grammar. He himself underwent a course in grammatical science under a teacher by name Kalpana, who may be the same as Kalparamukhin, the commentator of Asvatthastha. He was known among the learned as Pandit Jayaplakah. He looked for promoting learning and learned men, and in his court flourished such great men of learning as Bhatta Udbhata, who was his abheeshta, and Damodararajupi, the author of Kusumakara. Visvesa was another great name, now identified with the author of the work Kausalyakastra Saha. There were besides the poets, Mandiratha, Sanbhpadanta, Chataka and Silabhistha.

Having done these and other necessary acts to ensure sound administration, he started on another great expedition of conquest. He advanced at the head of a large army on an expedition eastwards

1 Taken to be Vajjiyamitha, ruler of Kamraj, mentioned by Rajadhana in his Streftrausatari. V. A. Smith, Early History, p. 333, and l. a. d (6th edn.)
till he reached the eastern ocean, where his design was to attack the king of that region called Bhitnasena. We have to take Bhitnasena to have been the ruler of Assam and Bengal extending down to the sea. Here again the knight-errant got the better of him, and instead of taking the enemy at the head of his army, he assumed the disguise of an ascetic, and entered the fortress with a few friends, and was betrayed by a Kashmir fugitive, a brother of the emperor Jaha, who happened to be there. He was thrown into prison. Feigning attack of a very contagious disease he was taken out of the kingdom and set free there, and thus he escaped. After some time apparently he found that the ruler of Nepal, Arunwaj by name, was making efforts to get the better of him by diplomacy. Jayipada replied by actually invading his territory. The Nepal ruler retired before him till he encamped himself on the bank of a stream near its junction with the sea, which could only mean one of the innumerable mouths of the Ganges. Seeing the enemy's army arrayed on the other bank of the river, Jayipada thoughtlessly ordered the crossing of the river, at the time of the tide. When the whole of the army was thus entangled in the flood-tide, the enemy managed to take Jayipada prisoner. He was immured in a stone-built castle on the banks of the River Kollagandika, in all probability the Kali-Ganges, the two names of the Sarasvati combined. It looked as though there was no chance of effecting his escape when the Brahman minister Mitrasarman came to his rescue. Collecting the remnant of Jayipada's forces and placing them on the other side of the river, Mitrasarman went to the king of Nepal and, pretending to be anxious to betray his master, obtained his permission to interview his own sovereign to find out where he had hidden the treasure. In the course of the interview, he devised means of escape for the king by suggesting that he might drop from the high-walled battlements of the castle into the stream and cross it by means of a float, which was to be his own dead body, as it would not burst like an inflated skin. Without telling the king about this latter part of the device, he wrote it on a slip of paper and committed suicide with the letter between his teeth. When the king saw it, he understood what was meant and used the dead body of his minister as directed therein. Thus escaping from this difficulty, he returned to his own territory of Kashmir. He undertook an invasion of the land of the Amasaus (Svatasa) and returned victorious.
After this he did not go upon any more wars, but conducted the administration with great severity and cruelty, as the chronicler reports. Notwithstanding his learning and previous good administration, he degenerated into a cruel tyrant and met with an unworthy end for a monarch of his character. His oppression of the Brahmans produced a reaction. Jayaspida is said to have died as a result of the anger of a Brahman, Lulla by name.

From this account of Jayaspida's reign as given by Kalhana, we can draw the following inferences in regard to the general condition of India. Kashmir was separated from the territory of Nepal by the River Kith-Ganjali. Even now the Kish River is the western boundary of Nepal. In the earlier part of his reign, his Bengal contemporary seems to have been his father-in-law Jayanta, preceded by anarchy, which showed Bengal divided among the five chiefs. The kingdom of Kansuj still retained some of its power and perhaps Jayaspida's defeat gave the last blow to the tottering kingdom. The farther east was perhaps in possession of Bhumasa, who probably was a successor of Harsha, the ruler of Assam. Bengal, Orissa, and Kalasa about ten years before. Stripped of all romance therefore, we find the eastern kingdom still retaining some power, while the kingdom of Ganga or Bengal seems to have been overwhelmed in the course of his reign by the Nepal ruler. It is probably this Nepalese invasion which brought about anarchy in Bengal which was the occasion for the people to elect a new sovereign. What exactly brought about the retreat of Nepal within its own borders, we are not enabled to understand. Jayaspida was perhaps responsible for ultimately bringing about the end of the kingdom of Kansuj. Thus Bengal reduced to anarchy, Kansuj becoming a ready prey to whoever was able to take possession of it, the theatre was ready for the struggling powers on the more distant borders to fight for the imperial position.

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

A.D. 712  Chandrakipada, Taksu-to-lo-pi-li of Kashmir applied for aid against the Arabs, to the Chinese Emperor (Hsuan Tsang, A.D. 15-748).
A.D. 726.  The Emperor granted Taksu-to-lo-pi-li the title of king. Kleophrath
              Memschen's reliefs s to Asia, vol. ii. 276, etc., A. Renouf, Mem.
              105  H. von Dolnitzer's Reliefs, Grapheeske, and Basset's Memor.
              (to-pi, king of Kashmir, sent an embassy in the reign of Hsuan Tsang,
              (A.D. 712-748) and after the first Chinese expedition to Balishman.
(Faith) between the years 726-67, requesting a Chinese auxiliary force of 200,000 men against the Tibetans. He promised to find provision for this army and provide encampment for the army on the banks of the Yarlung Lake (Makhar Chö). The embassy also reported that, in alliance with the king of Central India, he had blocked the five routes of Tibet.—Levi and Chavanes, J. Asiat., 1886, p. 241, in addition to references under item 1.

The embassy is dated in A.D. 768, for the additional information that the emperor received the embassy and recognized the king, but declined to enter into the alliance, see H. Cordier, *Histoire Générale De La Chine*, vol. 1, p. 483.

Albamais's society is obviously in reference to this and Our King's Messengers probably has reference to him.

A.D. 791 Began the period of identity by Pumkhein of Lhasa as 200 of Central India with Yasovarman, who sent his minister Banpo-ta to the Chinese Court in 781.

A.D. 810 (Sax. 100). Jain *Thagamakaṭaśaṅgi* mentions Yasovarman and his court poet Vīpuktiśa.
The Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the 'Arthasastra'

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CHAPTER IV—(concluded)

Double Politics (Dvandbhikāvya)
(Ap. Śr. viii 313, Kaus. xii. 23-31)

Let us now examine the third of the six methods, i.e. the double politics. The various schools do not agree on the significance of the term (Dvandbhikāvya). One sees in it simply the attitude of 'duplicity,' the other understands thereby a condition implying peace with one party and war with the other. The second interpretation is that of Kanṭālaya. Here are the principles which Kanṭālaya gives at the end of the chapter:

'The party with which one bargains and the party bargaining should determine at the very beginning the object of bargain and not about bargaining afterwards. That is the method which conduces to prosperity.' Thus it is pure bargaining. War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of profit. The greater or lesser profit depends on the relative importance of the diplomatic situation.

If one seeks to preserve under his control a superior or inferior power under the pretext that the enemy should be attacked, or if one seeks to root out the ally after destroying the other enemy, or to win over a party of the army of the enemy by allowing it to cross over to the other party; in that case one should bargain for an exceptional profit. After bargaining, if one is capable of doing harm to the enemy, one should attack. Otherwise one should conclude an entente or stop
and form alliance with the enemy who is to be attacked. Or finally one should offer an army full of traitors, malcontents and savage tribes.

This forms a good example of the very complicated recommendations of Kautilya.

Several of the hypothetical cases mentioned by Kautilya, giving certain directions, are obscure. The anomalies in the published text are no less formidable. We have to guess through most of the things. The following passages however furnish some consistent ideas on the double politics:

"If one finds his (the neighbour) will not attack me from behind, so he will not pursue the enemy, in case of famine he will organize my supplies of grains and provisions, he will extinguish the burning thorns in my way, he will hasten the construction of my fortifications, forests and passages with his army, he will arrest the enemy by creating insurmountable embarrassments or by an extent; receiving his part of the booty, he will inspire confidence to the other enemies, in that case one shall have recourse to double politics, and endeavor to have from, one of these neighbouring kings, an army in exchange for a treasury or a treasury in exchange for an army.

Thus war or peace is only a question of bargaining.

**The War (Vikrama) in its Different Aspects**

*(Ar Sw. vii. 105-12; cp Kasa. x. 27-31; xi. 1-10;*  
  *Asans, vii. 104-229)*

After having examined three of the six methods separately Kautilya treats of others as simple modalities of the war. But this struggle is diplomatic and not an armed conflict.

To the war proper, Kautilya devotes a separate section. This section which would merit a special study should complete the researches of Oppert and Hopkins on the military art of the ancient Hindus. But we limit ourselves to aspects of diplomacy. In this respect, the peace (Asans) and the march (Yasa) are indeed aspects of the war. That is why Kautilya treats them simultaneously. We shall pursue the same method.

Kautilya thinks that the object of the diplomatic war is to avoid war. On this point he is completely in accordance with the masters of
the schools of law, who ordain that the war must be the last diplomatie
means to be employed when all others have failed.

Thus Kautalya is led to define various diplomatie situations such as
the pause after the declaration of the war, etc. He has three forms of
the pause—not to stir (śālānā), to suspend hostilities (dama), and to
remain indifferent (Utpāka).

According to Kautalya ‘if the conqueror and his enemy are
incapable of mutual destruction and desire the extension, they must adopt
the policy of equilibrium or pause after the declaration of war or after
the conclusion of an extension.’ Or if he finds—

‘My ally and the friend of my ally have brave and loyal subjects,
hostile to the enemy, the enemy behind and the ally of this enemy
behind, I shall be capable of advancing by making the friend of my
ally fight the ally of the enemy in the rear—then one should undertake
an expedition by declaring war against the enemy in front.’

If he would again find—

‘I am not capable of leading an expedition alone, nevertheless I
am obliged to make one, one shall take to it after having concluded
an alliance with the equal, inferior and superior powers, in certain
cases bargaining with the definite portions of the spoils and in other
cases with indefinite portions. If one cannot combine them all, he
must demand of one of the powers, provisions for his army in
exchange for a definite portion or better one must impress the advan-
tages of a combined action.

‘If the profit appears certain then the parts will be fixed before-
hand. Otherwise the portions will depend on the actual profit.’

Considerations on surprise attacks on the enemy: causes of decline:
greed, and dissatisfaction: combination and good management of
the elements.

In this chapter Kautalya is occupied with this question: ‘Which of
the two enemies should be attacked first, the weaker power immersed

2Cp. Manu vii. 159-9 and 158-9
3Cp. Ar. Śāk. vii. 156; Ar. vii, ch. 3; viii. 28; ch. x. 1; ch. xii (21)
 tampā: तमपा वेदो दयाण्याचैः

| 1 | y. 4, 345.

6Ar. Śū. vii. 103-7, op. Manu vii. 167 with Waghäusl, Kaut. etc.
7Ar. Śū. vii. 108-10.
in great misery or the stronger enemy which is a prey to lesser misery?"

"He must attack the force which is known to be in great misery, for this is facile," say the masters. "No," says Kastalya, "one must attack the stronger enemy who suffers least misery; even that light misery becomes great in case of attack."

"It is true that misery augments in proportion to its greatness. But if one does not attack the enemy who is in less misery, he shall ally himself with the enemy attacked to provide against the misery, and then attack from behind."

If one should have to attack at a time two attackable powers which of the two shall one attack first?

"He who is in great distress but upright or he who is in less distress but dishonest and whose subjects are discontented?"

"One must attack the enemy whose subjects are discontented. If one attacks him who is in great difficulties but straightforward, his subjects would uphold him, whereas if one attacks him who is in less misery but whose conduct is less upright, his subjects will remain indifferent. The discontented subjects will overthrow a powerful king, consequently one must attack him whose subjects are discontented." 1

Here Kastalya emphasizes forcibly the effects of the moral weakness of a sovereign, and on that question he is of the same opinion as the masters of other schools. Likewise even in war it is the moral force which decides the final victory.

Towards the end he makes some profound observations on one's allies in conducting an expedition.

The allies who are not honest but who profess to be honest men, should be watched, from time to time until their dismissal from their suspected position, or their women should be kept as hostages.

"There is reason to fear the Equals who attain their goal, for the equals who attain their aim change their attitude even towards the superiors.

"The prosperous allies are unworthy of confidence, for prosperity deforms the spirit. If they get a small portion of the booty of the superior, the allies seem to be satisfied. If they have no share in the booty, they sit on the knees of their allies and plunder the spoils doubly."

When he has achieved his purpose, the chief (Artha) should dismiss all his allies in groups (Sāvānyāhāra). He should rather live himself than seek to conquer others. That would be best for the circle of states.

Conduct of an Attackable Power (Vānaprapāta)

(A) Śat. vii 114-5

In this section, Kautilya describes diplomatic strategies between attacking powers and attackable powers, every one of them trying to obtain an advantage over the other.

If a power runs the risk of being assailed by two enemies at a time, and that it desires to accept or reject the conditions of an entente, in the first case, it must bargain with one of the two powers by offering it double profits. While thus bargaining it must insist on his losses, his expenses, and inconveniences due to changes of place. Once the treaty is concluded it must bend that power by self-interest. In the second case he must have it attacked by others and create dissensions.

In case of urgency it must bargain with very little of profit, if it finds good deal of advantages for the future, it should bargain by sacrificing even a great profit for the present. In the same manner Kautilya indicates always his preference for the permanent gain, and he is eager to always prove the advantage one has in possessing a good ally.

Then he classifies the allies according to their qualities:—

Those who commence feasible work (Sāhārapāchte)
Those who commence work without blunder (Sāhārapāchte).
Those who commence benefaction works (Sāhārapāchte).
Those who commence work to finish it faithfully (Sāhārapāchte).
And those who possess loyal subjects (Aśrayāpāchte)

In case of rivalry, the acquisition of a strong and faithful ally decides the victory, for that reason the conqueror is always counselled to convert the intermediary and neutral powers into real allies.

Same as the ally, the army is also a decisive factor for victory.

The armies are classified according to their qualities:—

(1) The permanent army (Maṇḍa).
(2) The mercenary army (Śītra).
(3) The army of corporations (Śāvā).
(4) The army of the ally (Aṣīvā).

(5) The army of savage tribes (Aśvaś); well-informed of time and places.

(6) The army of hostile savage tribes inexperienced both in time and places.

In an entente whose one condition is the release of soldiers, one should attempt always to keep for himself the best soldiers and give to his rival the inferior ones. Also when following the diplomatic policy one is obliged to give away the best men of his army he is counselled to take it back on the earliest occasion under pretext of military manoeuvres (Drew's passage).

Thus we see that attack was a mere sham. Generally war was diplomatic and very frequently, it terminated in an entente obtained by ceding soldiers, money, or an ally. One calculates the profit before all. And one is fully aware that a war of total devastation becomes very rarely profitable.

**Considerations on the Enemy Behind**

(op. Maha vili. 310). Parapraksisamrita,

Ar. Siva. vili. 117.

Leaving aside the attacking power and the attacked powers Kautilya devotes his attention to the enemies in the rear, who play a sufficiently great role in diplomatic combinations. He weighs the advantages of kings who attack in the rear and compares them with the two kings who are before them. Here the moral considerations play a great part for bringing about success.

Of the two kings who attempt respectively to ruin a friend and an enemy, he who attacks the rear of the king, seeking to uproot a friend surpasses the other, inasmuch as he serves his friend. He who wishes to ruin his enemy must rid himself of those who threaten him in the rear. Otherwise he ruins his own party."

The advantage resulting from the attack of the rear changes according to the moral quality of the attacked enemies. Kautilya gives these different names.

(5) 'The enemy cutting his own roots' (Aśvaśāśa).

(6) 'The temporary enemy, the demoralised enemy,' etc.

The enemies in the rear are divided into three classes ---

(1) He who is effectively opposing is called Varga.

(2) Those who are of both sides are Prak_servers.
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(iii) He who is placed between the conquering king and his enemy and who is weak is called Ashurdi.

The conquering king and the enemy try always to win over each to his own side the intermediary or the neutral king, even though the latter behaves like an enemy. Kantalya gives out the reason:

1. Even an enemy when he can render service is worth satisfying but not an ally who has no more amiable intentions.

When war becomes inevitable Kantalya advises the combatants to keep their presence of mind.

They must see the reality such as it is —

1. More than the attack in the rear and in the front, the battle of Intrigues (Jātrayaśdhe) is advantageous.

Still, in cases of necessity Kantalya prescribes the destruction of the enemy at any cost —

1. In an exhausting battle there is no success for both on account of losses and expenses.

1. The conqueror himself appears conquered, he has no more armies nor treasures, say the learned. ‘No,’ says Kantalya, ‘even in case of very great loss and equally great expenses, one must endeavour to destroy the enemy.’

He concludes the chapter with a few maxims in verse:

1. In this manner the conqueror must organise his circle for his advantage by enriching his friends and his enemies both in front and behind. In all his circle, he must always appoint messengers (dunia) (Dānapurṣikil) and also spies (gānḍa). He must strike having kept his plan hidden.

1. He who does not hide his plan, even if occasionally successful, is sure to perish as a ship springing a leak on sea.

RECOVERING DEMENTED POWER (Ātipatihājyayu).

Ar. Śr. vii. p. 112.

In this section Kantalya discusses the conduct of a power which is in a critical situation. First of all this power must employ the means of consolidation and of division.

2. Ar. Śr. 112.
Sometimes it must pretend to be innocent and sometimes outraged to win over one of the enemies leagued against it.

'Just as I, poor and innocent, have been attacked by that coalition of powers, so you will be attacked by them whether in good or in dangerous conditions. For force always corrupts the spirit and becomes the cause of ruin.'

'When one can divide the allies, one must attack the weak after having won the chief or attack the chiefs after having consolidated the petty ones. Everywhere if one shall see an advantage, he must get them attacked by others and create a split, otherwise he should win over the chief by offering him prospects of great profits, and conclude an entente.'

But if one knows that the contractors of this entente are dishonest, one must break it up as soon as possible. In all these circumstances, the intermediaries who receive money from both sides (Uttaraśāstra) are very appreciated as much for the conclusion as for the rupture of an entente.

The method of conciliation is afterwards explained in detail. One should win him who gives energy to all his group by sacrificing himself; him, who is resolute in action by showing humility and submission; him who has loyal subjects, by offering him a daughter in marriage or a subsidy; him who is greedy by offering him double profits; him who is afraid by giving him hostages; him who is bound by constancy to the king, by offering him an agreement; him who is allied to both parties, by acting in such a way as to please him and benefiting him by surrendering to him some profits, and finally him whose hostility is not durable, by rendering friendly and profitable service to him.

Besides these defensive tactics, the weak power must labour to rebuild its own elements. At first it must be reinforced by the concourse of experienced men and by the utilisation of sciences and experts.

It must keep watch over the improvement of the works of irrigation (Sastikāśāstra), which are the sources of agricultural wealth, of commercial ports (Pedbhāṣaṅka), of economic prosperity, of mines, of materials of war, of forests, of parks for elephants and grounds for pasturages, etc.

*Cp. Sahita, iv, 1131-9*
If some of these advantages are lacking, it must attempt to secure them from an ally. If it has a weak army, it must strengthen it by recruiting on the one hand soldiers from the corporations, from the bravest clans, from the bands of robbers and savage tribes, and on the other hand appease dangerous cities for the enemy.

In this way with partisans (Pāśas), policy (Mānira), materials (Niṛṣya) and an army (Bala) one must free himself from the dependence on the enemy (Pāparagaha).

Meaner of deceiving the powerful enemy when one is attacked conduct of him who is defeated in battle (Dasaśreenavrata).

Ar. Sū. vi 119-20; Sāstras. sub. 295, Kauśa. xxv 8.

A power placed in a dangerous situation must endeavour to ally with another, more strong or equal or even with one inferior but honest and enthusiastic. If allies are lacking one must support on a fortress of which even a powerful army, and the enemy would be unable to intercept the provisions, fodder, the combustibles and water, and be forced on the contrary to incur losses and expenses in attempting to reduce the fortress.

Thus protected, one must win a power intermediary or neutral, or a relation of the enemy or one of the chiefs imprisoned by himself, or an ally capable of attacking the enemy in the rear, or even among the enemies themselves, those who can be reduced so as to raise a revolt in his kingdom, and finally to destroy by arms, fire, poison or other secret means.

But if these means appear impossible, one must, according to some, attempt to come out by abandoning the fortresses and fling oneself on the enemy as an insect on the flame, for, according to the savants, he who is prepared to sacrifice even his life, can attain success.

But Kauṭalya pronounces against this desperate solution. He counsels rather the acceptance of a humiliating peace. The fitting attitude for him who is completely conquered in the war is to say: 'That kingdom and myself are at your disposition.'

After one has obtained an extent, one must maintain the attitude of one who respects the conventions. The works of fortifications, the import of products, the marriage, the commercial enterprises, the capture of elephants, the visits to the places of sacrifice (Sāivas), to places of

1 Cp. Sāstras. sū. 6 (11), A śā. sū. 7 (4-5), Kauśa. vi. 131
pilgrimage and amusements (Vidhyānas) should be accomplished only after the authorization has been solicited.

'In the same manner, one must demand the authorization when one negotiates with an independent person or when amending or evading an entente. Even if a good territory is offered he must not accept without permission.'

But under this mask of loyalty, one must always attempt to deceive the superior.

'In the absence of the master, he should visit secretly the minister, the high priest, the commander of the army or the heir-apparent, and one must endeavor to ask them as much as it lies in one's power. However while worshipping the gods or offering prayers, one must implore benedictions on his master and ever make a display of one's virtues of self-effacement.'

The Circles of Mediating Powers (Mālāyana) and Neutrals (Ukṣaṇa)


The diplomatic world of Kaṭṭālyu has for its centre the conqueror and his enemy. Bound them gravitate the circles of friends or foes and they form a sort of a political solar system. But that system is ever influenced by two other systems, that of the intermediary and that of the neutral who are studied at the end of the section.

Here again we find the same intrigue, the same efforts for winning over important allies, for raising the elements of the enemy and for developing his own elements appearing as fundamental parts of diplomacy.

There is no difference between the case of the intermediary and that of the neutral. For a mediating king the third and fifth elements of states are the friendly elements while the fourth are enemies.

If these two series of elements are aided by the mediating power the conqueror must come to agreement with him.

If the mediator helps nobody, then the conqueror must ally with the two elements. If the mediator seeks to win over an ally of the conqueror, the latter must defend his ally by provoking the allies of his ally, and dividing the allies of that mediator. Or he must excite the circles against him by saying:
"...This mediator is become too powerful, and has grown only for our ruin. Let us ruin him by some combination."

If this proposition is agreeable to the circle, he should reinforce himself by raising the mediator. If not, he must seek to seduce the ally by soldiers and money and to win his cause by means of conciliation (Sama), division (Bhaka), imprisonment (Dveya), gifts (Dasa), and thus win over the chief or the neighbouring chiefs who are hostile to mediator or those who live by mutual support or prosper in a common success or who being afraid of one another, dare not declare war. In the same manner, by gaining a second chief he must double his strength, and by gaining the third chief he must triple his strength. Once reinforced in this way he should turn against the mediator.

If the mediator seeks to gain the neutral, the conqueror must separate them and must ally with one who is in better terms with the circle. The same method must be practiced if the neutral seeks to gain the mediator.

The possible friends of the conqueror are:—

He who marches with him towards a different object.
He who marches with him towards a common object.
He who approaches with the intention of allying with him.
He who desires to march as ally.
He who marches, stimulated by his own interest.
Those who rise together in rebellion.
He who desires to buy or sell soldiers (arms?) or treasury.
He who adopts a double policy.

Among all these the conqueror must help, with all his forces him who has a common aim to destroy the enemy.

If an ally attains great prosperity and becomes too independent, after having vanquished the enemy, he should be made to engage in a war with the elements of neighbouring states or to lose his territory, captured by one of the members of his family or by an imprisoned prince. Lastly he should set in such a way that he would remain submissively relying on his powers.

A politician must maintain his allies in a condition which is neither too high nor too low.

When an inconstant ally concludes a treaty for profit, the conqueror

must seek to remove the causes of abandoning the same and prevent him from withdrawing from the alliance.

If an ally who is at the same time an ally of the enemy, is inclined decidedly on the side of the enemy, one must separate and destroy him and then destroy the enemy himself.

Kantala concludes thus the chapter on diplomacy by two stanzas full of experience:

'He who is an expert in politics must have recourse to one of the several diplomatic means,—advance, ruin, repose, harassing and destruction. In this way he who realizes fully the interpretation of the sixfold method, plays as it were with kings who are caught in the net of diplomacy.'

CONDUCT OF HIM WHO IS VANQUISHED BY ARMS

(Dr. Sw. vii, p. 121, Videshi vii. 47-8 and 83)

Whoever, be a king or a commander of the army, desires to conquer must possess all the diplomatic means.1

By means of conciliation and presents, one must flatter the weak; by employing dissipation and punishment, one must reduce the strong.2

The compulsory (Māyag) the optional (Vidhis) or the combined (Samśakya) use of the same process leads to the consolidation of the elements.3

One should practise conciliation by promising protection of the villagers, of forests, pasturages, and commercial routes, as well as by promising to re-establish those who have been expelled, who have run away, and who have done wrongs once to the conqueror.

One must practise the method of presents by offering territories, materials, young girls and a general amnesty (Māyag). One must take to the method of dissipation by reducing the neighbouring chiefs, the chiefs of forests, the relatives of the enemy, imprisoned chief and by urging them to force the delivery of treasures, army and territories.

One must practise the method of punishment by means of an open-

1 Cpr. Dr. vii. 141, 1-2. 2 Cpr. Sw. vii. 1, 33, 38-42. 3 Cpr. Har. vii. 214-5, also Aṅgāra, viii. 160 Colm.
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Lattio, a treacherous or secret battle and by the assault of fortresses and then capture the enemy.

The allies and the supporters are classed with men according to the advantages they offer:

He who procures various advantages (Citrabha),
He who procures a great advantage (Madabhoga),
He who procures all the advantages (Saraswabha),
He who procures only one advantage (Abhela),
He who procures the advantages on both sides, at the same time (Abhela),
He who procures advantage on all sides (Saraswabha),

The conqueror must treat the different parties according to their intentions and their various capacities. He must be faithful to the faithful and offer protection to those who seek for it.

"During troubles, one must deal more kindly to those who return voluntarily. One must give audience on demand and one must repair the abuses.

"One must not pronounce words of humiliation, of menace, and of defamation. In promoting the sense of security one must conduct himself as a father. He who outrages the people must be executed publicly. For avoiding the suspicions of the enemy one must punish in secret. One must never covet the territories, property, children and women of an enemy killed. One must even restore his kinmen in their respective places and one must maintain on the throne the sons of the dead king. Thereby the conqueror would be obeyed from generation to generation.

Thus we see that conquest is not the last word in Kshatryayana diplomacy. Loyal to the principles formulated at the commencement of his treaties, he discusses the problem of pacification of territories after conquest.

Thus Lekhā (the acquisition) is followed by Pīvā (the protection). Here he is in complete accord with the masters of schools of diplomacy as we know, from all the commentators on Manusmriti. 58.

नै: सुर्व चिताक्षर निःशर्य सामान्य हृदिकिष्कपुः ।
एवरं शोभुः षुचिं ज्ञापक्ष्यतामिति ॥

Medhatithi, the more eminent of all commentators on Manusmriti, cites ॥

Towards the end of his treatise Ketujiya devotes a special chapter entitled "Pacification of conquered territories" (Lakshadweepamane). This is a valuable document on the ethics of Hindu diplomacy. Ketujiya evaluates and classifies the conquerors after the ideal of the acquisition of territories.

The just conqueror (Dharmavijay)
The greedy conqueror (Lakshadweepamane)
The demotic conqueror (Acharavijay)

The conqueror who is satisfied with simple obedience is called the just. The weak kings should seek his protection. The conqueror who is satisfied with the gain of territories and money is called the greedy. The weak kings should send him off by the gifts of riches.

The conqueror who is satisfied neither by the capture of lands and treasures, nor by that of sons and females of the conquered king is called the demotic. The weak kings should keep him at a distance by offering territories and money.

In this ethical conception, Ketujiya is very far from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial fashion. It is enough to cite his own words:

"Having acquired a new territory, the just conqueror must cover the vices of the enemy with his own virtues and the virtues of the enemy by doubling his own. He must take care to satisfy his elements and do good to them by observance of his religious and secular duties, by recompenses, concessions, presents and by honours. He must keep words given to the partisans whom he has drawn from the enemy. He must give more to those who have already worked for him."

"He must adopt the same manner of living, the same costumes, the same language and the same customs as those of the conquered people."

"In the celebration of the special cult of that country in judaing..."
the congregations (Sammha) and the festivities (Ujyana) and amusements (Pkhna), he must follow the inclinations of the people. The spies should ever turn the attention of the chieftain of the village, of clans and of corporations to the misfortunes of the vanquished enemy and on the contrary, to the advantages and the blessings due to the new master and to his good graces ever present.

The conqueror must render his elements happy, by festivities (Svva), concessions (Persas), protection and just volubility. He must respect the gods and religious orders (Adawa). He must make gifts of lands and goods exempt from charges, to men of letters, orators, the saints and the heroes. He must show favour by releasing prisoners (Bahskias) by helping the unfortunate, the orphans and the sick. He must forbid the slaughter (Agahat) of animals for the half-month during which are celebrated the ceremonies of Naharwa, for four nights during the full moon and for the night during which appears the star of the anniversary of the king or the star of the country. He must prohibit the killing of little girls and new-born babies (Pusuktah), as well as castration (Pavatakaytah). In this manner he must establish the righteous customs (Dharmasvamah) by abolishing customs which are unjust (Adhawas) and destructive of the financial and the military power.

Towards the end of the chapter Krntlya promulgates very liberal principles which elevate his diplomacy far above the level of cruel and sordid intrigues.

The just conduct (Dharmas) practised or non-practised by others must be encouraged, the unjust conduct (Adharmas) must not be encouraged, even if it is practised.

CHAPTER V
Conclusion
The diplomatic section of the Arthasastra presents a consistency which offers to its study a particular guarantee. We do not find the historical anomalies which disconcert us in the second book. Above all the exposition is more homogeneous than anywhere else. The order is perfectly logical, at least it becomes so if by a method justifiable in the case of a text known by a single manuscript of very ancient time,

1 Aa. Sii., pp. 482-90.
2 Cp. Madhava on Manu vii, 31,
we invert the order of some chapters. First come the organs of the state and their sphere of action and next the six-fold method of action. The following chapters from 117 to 181 treat of special cases (urgent measures, conduct of the vanquished, etc.) The rest is devoted to the expansion of diplomatic relations from narrow circles of immediate enemies to the more extended circles of intermediaries and neutrals.

For elucidating the intentions of Kautilya we have added to that account some paragraphs which do not form part of the diplomatic section proper (viz., ch. III). The so-called Hindu Machiavelli, though very independent in thought, is not non-moral. It is evident from passages as the following: 'When the advantages procured by peace and war are equal one should prefer peace. Because in war are found exhaustion and expenditure, exile and sin (apasthapya). The war is considered here as by the masters of the schools of Dharma, as the last resource. And when employed the conquest must immediately be followed by conciliation (Labha-prasavata). The victor who by a just use of conquest reconciles the generally conflicting demands of Dharma, Artha and Kama, is considered as having attained complete success Sarvapratibhiti.'

To whom should this doctrine, so coherent as a whole be attributed? Are we to follow tradition and recognise therein the hand of the minister of Chandragupta? In the enthusiasm of the discovery Mr Shamsa Sastri believed the work in its entirety as having been written by Vishnugupta Chulakya, the chief minister of Chandragupta, towards 325 B.C. The opinion of Mr Shamsa Sastri is sustained ardently by the great scholar of Mr. Jacobi who is carried away by the idea that we have in the treatise a capital monument of the state of civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era. Following their steps many indologists have accepted without reserve that the treatise belongs entirely to the Mauryan epoch.

We owe a great debt to the two scholars who have thrown considerable light on several remarkable facts pertaining to the epoch and to the personality of Chulakya Kautilya. But on carefully examining the different parts of the text we are obliged to declare their hypothesis untenable. In the section dealing with diplomacy which we have

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1 v., p. 61.
2 Ch. 65, 126, 128, 130.
3 Ch. 124-2.
4 v., p. 262, 263.
5 Ch. 34, 142-9, p. 363.
analysed, the diplomacy is not that of a centralized empire but rather that of a divided feudality, in which each chief is in perpetual conflict with his equals for a hegemony which in its turn crumbles down by causing a new series of wars. This is the normal process of an age of political anarchy. It is just the contrary of the politics of a large empire. The diplomacy of Kāntaka may be anterior or posterior to that of the Mauryas and does not contain any unerring traces of the centralized imperialism of Chandragupta.

The second book which appears to reflect an alluring picture of such an empire contains unmistakable traces of later interpolation. Unfortunately the name of Chāmpaka-Kaṭalīya has so powerfully hypnotised the scholars that although some had studied this section in detail (see Mr. N. Law in the Studies in Ancient Hindu Policy, 1914) one is ever ready to discover new data of the civilization of the fourth century before the Christian era in that Impartial Gazetteer (as it has been called) of the Maurya Empire. Mr. Hillebrandt for the first time pointed out the existence of a definite treatise and of a continuous tradition of a school of Aśīka and he affirms that the Aśīkaśastra is the work of a school and not at all a manual written by an individual. To Mr. Hillebrandt go the honour and credit of having distinguished the personality of Chāmpaka-Kaṭalīya such as it appears in the drama of Mahābhārata where he plays the chief rôle of the school of profit (Aśīka) Kāntaka is not the only representative. Since then Hillebrandt has brought forward new arguments in favour of his theory in reply to Mr. Jacobi.

The science of Aśīka is very ancient. Certain of its parts as the science of Law are pre-Buddhist. But the book of this school discovered by Mr. Shamsu Bāndri is not a homogenous work, all entirely of one age. It contains in its different parts unmistakable marks of different epochs. As is the case in India, the manuals of this species do not represent the work of one person but a product of successive generations. For example, the original treatises composed by Agnivāla and Aṣṭi are modified and augmented by Āraśka and Dṛdayāla. The names of those who modified the texts are very rarely preserved. But even without having the names

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1 Vidyasagar: Kāntaka and Varanasi, Benares, 1842
2 As Kāntaka, J. D. M., vol. 28, 235
of these authors the traces of modifications are clear in the principal works of every school. Moreover, in a land like India, the climate necessitates the frequent recopying of manuscripts and it is well known that these transcriptions are the occasion not only of alterations in the text, but of considerable additions sometimes. Such was the case in particular when later compilers intended to secure for their work the confidence and respect of the posterity under the cover of a great name. Time even admitting that a greater part of the Arthashastra belongs to the genius of Kautilya-Chinchyekya, it is not improbable that the work has been retouched from time to time.

Dr. J. Jolly, who has studied our text carefully and expressed himself against the view that ascribes the whole of the Arthashastra to the reign of Chandragupta. Dr. Jolly with the authority of a scholar versed in the literature of the two technical sciences, law and medicine, shows the existence of indisputable later additions relating to law and metallurgy considered as a branch of the science of medicine. The three successive chapters of the work of the Arthashastra relating to the exploitation of the mines and the manufacturers (ch. xvi), the superintendent of gold and the bureau of goldsmith (ch. xvii) and the duties of the king's goldsmith (ch. xiv) indicate the addition of later experiences to more ancient ones. Here the conclusion of Dr. Jolly is corroborated by the studies by Prof. P. C. Roy on the history of Hindu chemistry (1914-1920). The more ancient works of Metallurgy (Lalitaikut) are attributed to Ptolemy and to Nagarjuna. Now both are surely posterior to Kautilya. But this science as it appears in the Arthashastra seems to be more recent, especially because of the frequent use of mercury (Kapala, Kausalya).

In examining the legal portion of the Arthashastra Dr. Jolly speaks with greater force still that if the work is considered as having been written three centuries before Christ with all its legal parts (Dharma-śīkṣṣa) all the accepted chronology of the school of Hindu Law collapses as a house of cards. This idea is supported by the conclusions of Mr. Hopkins towards the end of his study on the ‘Growth of Law and Legal Institutions’. Finally very recently Mr. Otto Stahn...
discovered\(^1\) that the pieces of evidence furnished by Megasthenes contradict those of the \(b. A r i b a l s h a\), so in reading the chapters relating to the horses and the royal elephants we shall see that to a solid fund of facts and ancient experiences have been added several later data. The \(A r i b a l s h a\) describes not only of the houses of Ind but all those of Cambodia and of Arabia (\(V a n a m a\)) but the most definite argument against the theory of Mr. Julo ly furnished to us by the examination of the geographical data. All serious historians will hesitate to regard it as written in the fourth century B.C., a work containing names as Haranima and Kamaa, Kambhpa and Aratta, Bahkha and Vanlyu, Tamae and Pataha, Kavita, Savarnakya, China and Nepals.

Most of these names appear in the chapters on the treasury and jewels of the king. Mr. Pinot\(^2\) denies the antiquity of these chapters, but Dr. Jacoby has striven to prove that the Hindus had already colonized Indo-China almost three centuries before our era. Finally, according to Mr. Peiss\(^3\) it is almost impossible to establish the existence of the name 'China' before the foundation of the dynasty of T'Sin (250 B.C.).

Consequently we must give up the idea that the \(A r i b a l s h a\) came entirely out of the head of Kanthla as Minerv from the head of Jupiter and that it had been written only for Chandragopya. On the other hand, we may consider our treatise as an inestimable encyclopedia of royal science and as a static symbol of the evolution of the Hindu spirit applied to the essence of Government and of Wealth of which the \(A r i b a l s h a\) is the most ancient and the most interesting document known till now.

It remains to explain why it is the only book and above all why it remained unknown until the period when Mr. Sharma Sastry discovered it in a private library. How is it that despite the richness of the observation and experience and its practical utility for government, that the \(A r i b a l s h a\) had completely disappeared? The explanation lies probably in the attitude of the Hindu mind towards \(A r i b a l s h a\). The \(A r i b a l s h a\) is a positive science, comparable to medicine or alchemy. But it also touches the moral life of man. Now here the Hindu spirit is

\(^1\) *Megasthen, and Kanthla, Varma.* 1909.
\(^2\) See App.
\(^3\) J. E. F. E. O., 1917
\(^4\) J. F. E. O., iv, pp. 168-9, T. Oung Peo, 1913-14
prone to deviate from the Real and to launch into the Ideal. On the one hand brutality and cruelty of the Kshatriyas which we have seen to be systematised by the schools have been strongly combated by Jainism and Buddhism, both opposed to violence. It is striking that so far as those schools preserve clear notions of political sciences they give them a new meaning.\(^1\) It is thus that *Sāvaitaka*\(^2\) according to the Buddhist tradition is applied to Buddha himself by his father foretelling his future of glory. Even the term *Chaitanyak śásiti* which rarely occurs in the treatise of Kautilya recalling notions of circles, signifies among the Buddhists and the Jains, the religious conqueror. In practice also such inter-relations are met with. Mr Jayarwal has indicated that the spiritual organisation of the Buddhist community derived partly from lay organisations.\(^3\) In Brahmanical schools again the moral and abstract elements become stronger and stronger and reacted fatally on the *Arthasastra*. The transformation in this case was the prelude of its disappearance. While the positive scientific part shrinks the moral element gets the preponderance. And *Arthasastra* becoming devoid of originality thus came to be absorbed by other schools, e.g. Law and became finally merged into the Great Sūtras.

Towards the fourth century a.d. Khyamsdaka gives an excellent poetical version of *Kautilya-Śatapatha* but he passes over many characteristic elements. A century later Khālidīna, who was a true genius not only in poetic sense but also for his knowledge of Hindu sciences,\(^4\) knows the original treatise and reproduces even the expressions of the *Arthasastra*. But it would accentuate the moral note in giving a poetical outline of a good and bad king.\(^5\) His post-successors like Bhalavā in his *Kśatryāśastra* (1. 11), and Megha in his *Śīkṣapāta Veda* (iv) and Hitind in his *Āryaśāstra* (xii), transform the *Arthasastra* into moral treatises which are no more science or art. Finally the famous author Bana who was at the court of King Harṣa in the seventh century, condemns the *Śāstras* of Kautilya as being unauthorised to the core (*Māryupaśasaka*) and rejects it. Also the *Artha*

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\(^1\) *Vide Rig-Devī, Poli. Eng., 1892, 9 Y. Addis.


\(^3\) Introduction to Hindu Polity, Modern Review, July 1918.


which Thanjavur presents in the Tamil poetic anthology of Arjuna is a moral text which has nothing common with the Arthasastra properly called; though it coincides with the hundred stanzas which are attributed to Chana (Chandi-jamseti). Some commentators of the middle age as Medhinitha and Turlanitha continue to study the original text of the Arthasastra. But the Hindu spirit in general rejects that philosophy which it finds cruel. What is remarkable is that the first official and effective protest against the Kshatriya mind came from Emperor Ashoka (273-232 B.C.) the grandson of Chandragupta.

1. In conquering the territory which was not subject to me (Arthasastra) the murders, the deaths, the kidnapping of men which have taken place have been keenly and painfully felt by me, the king dear to the Devas.

2. In effect the king dear to the Devas longs for the security of all creatures, the respect to life, peace and gentleness. Now it is these that the king dear to Devas contemplates as the conquest of religion (Arthasastra). It is in these conquests of religion that the king dear to the Devas finds his pleasure in his empire and on all his frontiers to an extent of many hundreds of Yojanas.1

3. All men are my children (Samanvayam vijaya). As I wish for my children that they may enjoy all sorts of prosperity and happiness in this world and in the other, I also desire the same for all men.2

The empire inherited by Ashoka was naturally an empire based on the Hindu science of the Arthasastra, as Mr. Buhler shows.3 But the transformation of Hindu politics by Ashoka is equally indispensable. Even when he employs technical terms relating to political science, he is careful to make a new application by the addition of the word Dharma. For example, Vijaya, Yodha, Sastra, Sandhika, Mahakala, Mahamutra, become with him as Dharma-yodha, Dharma-vijaya, Dharma-sandhika, Dharma-mahakala, Dharma-mahamutra, and Dharma-mahamutra.

History will make clear if India had lost or gained in making this choice. But the fact is that it rejected mainly the path chalked out by Kshatriya-Chaukya to enter into that of Dharma-kshatriya.
Vindhyavasini

by

Dr. B. Bhattacharjya, M.A., Ph.D.

One Vindhyavasini is referred to and criticized by Vasubandhu (A.D. 410-470) in his now lost work Paramakṣamālāpati. Paramārtha (480-561) in his Life of Vasubandhu, Kumāra (630-690) in his Śāṅkaraśāstra, Śantarakṣita (705-780) in his Tattvavādīya, Kamalabhadra (c. 760) in his commentary of the Tattvavādīya, Hari-bhadrastra II (c. 770) in his Śāṅkaraśāstraśāstra, Vīṇaśastra Mīra (c. 841) in his Śāṅkaraśāstra, Bhāsa (9th century) in his Reśmanīyā, Ācārya (10th century) in his Reśmanīyā, Gomarāstra (c. 1060) in his Śāṅkaraśāstraśāstraśāstra, and probably by many others.

We come across the name of Vindhyavasini but we know but little about him. The Jains mention him as one of the authorities on Śāṅkhya; Kamāra respectfully refers to his views, showing at once that Vindhyavasini was no ordinary scholar. Śantarakṣita, the famous Buddhist philosopher, in the beginning of the eighth century, refers to and criticizes his views in several instances in his Tattvavādīya. Paramārtha, the Buddhist scholar, who went to China in the beginning of the sixth century, describes in his Life of Vasubandhu that Vindhyavasini defeated Buddhamitra, the Guru of Vasubandhu in argument and obtained as reward of three lacs of gold Vasubandhu at this

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3 Read before the fourth Oriental Conference at Allahabad.
4 Paramārtha’s account was probably based on an earlier work namely the Life of Vasubandhu of Kamāra which was translated by him in about A.D. 480.
5 Śāṅkaraśāstra, p. 223.
6 Tattvavādīya, p. 423. This work is to be published in about a month’s time as Mem. xxxi and used in the Gυταnīy’s Oriental Series (Since published 1920).
7 Tattvavādīyaśāstrāśāstra, p. 281.
8 Śāṅkaraśāstraśāstra, p. 218.
9 Reśmanīyā, iv. 13, 114. Here one Vīṇācgaya is mentioned. If he does not represent Vīṇāga the Guru of Vindhyavasini, Vīṇācgaya will represent a disciple of Vīṇāga who may very conceivably be Vindhyavasini. But for the present this point is controversial.
10 Śāṅkaraśāstraśāstraśāstra, 4th fasc., sect. 12. Dr. Das Gupta is justified to place the authors in the same period.
11 Śāṅkaraśāstraśāstraśāstraśāstra, p. 194.
12 Dr. J. Takakusu, A Study of Paramārtha’s Life of Vasubandhu in J.E.S.S., 1910, p. 47 E.
disconfirmation of his Guru composed the *Parameśvara-tattvikāla* in opposition to the new Sāṃkhya doctrines taught by Vindhyavāsin, and criticized him mercilessly. From these facts we can easily conclude that Vindhyavāsin was one of the earliest authorities on Sāṃkhya, and an outstanding literary figure in his own days, and many centuries afterwards.

**Vindhyavāsin and Iśvarakṛṣṇa**

Like many other ancient authors Vindhyavāsin also passed through many changes of fortune, at the hands of scientific research workers. Some Japanese scholar acting on Chinese authority identified Vindhyavāsin with Iśvarakṛṣṇa, and he was congratulated on this sensational identification by many eminent scholars, and a large section of students still believe in this identification. But from what we will show later on scholars will be able to judge whether this identification is a myth or a solid fact. The certainty or uncertainty of this identification could not have been determined in the absence of any work of Iśvarakṛṣṇa, but we are fortunate enough to find that the latter's views are recorded in his well-known *Śāndhya-vivāda*. Now, if the views of Vindhyavāsin which we have so far been able to obtain concur with the views expressed in the *Śāndhya-vivāda* of Iśvarakṛṣṇa, then we have not a word of objection against the identification proposed by the said Japanese scholar. Indeed it is quite true that we have not been able to ascertain all the texts of Vindhyavāsin because no work of his is unfortunately extant. But from whatever we have been able to glean from stray references we can easily ascertain that they are all antagonistic to the views expressed by Iśvarakṛṣṇa. For instance let us take the passage in Kunsūla’s *Śāndhya-vivāda*.4

Here we find that between death and the next birth no intermediate existence was admitted by Vindhyavāsin. This being the words of Kunsūla we need not doubt that Vindhyavāsin was the pioneer propounder of this view. That being settled let us turn to the view of

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1 J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 69.
3 None of the Indian scholars however shared in this opinion. Dr. Bālavikar and Dāgupta challenged this identification. See Bālavikar’s *Comprehensive Vājasaneyas* vol. 1, p. 178 and History of Indian Philosophy, vol. 1, p. 216, note 3.
4 p. 704
Līvārakṛṣṇa on this point Līvārakṛṣṇa devotes three full Kārikās to establishing the existence of a subtle body between death and the next birth. Now this is a point of vital difference between the respective views of Līvārakṛṣṇa and Vindhyāvalīn. Can we say even now that these two authors were identical? And why in a book of seventy-two stanzas giving the outline of the whole system of Śāṅkhyā philosophy does Līvārakṛṣṇa devote three stanzas on this a rather minor point? Is he indirectly refuting the views of Vindhyāvalīn? Of course Līvārakṛṣṇa cannot mention his name in his book nor bring in much discussion as he is professedly a work devoid of controversial matters, but probably he did put in a refutation because he had to represent the orthodox Śāṅkhyā views of the Śaṅkaraśāstra, and Vindhyāvalīn being an outstanding Śāṅkhyā authority he could not but take some pains in establishing his point.

If this is not sufficient to explode the favourite identification of Vindhyāvalīn with Līvārakṛṣṇa, let us take another example where both these authors had expressed different views. We find in Kumālica's Śāṅkaraśāstra 8 that in the Jñānānubhābānātha 'Vindhyāvalīn has written that this is an example of inference of the variety of “particularly seen.”’

This shows that Vindhyāvalīn only admitted two kinds of inference विन्यासकार और सामान्यानुमय. But when we refer to Śāṅkaraśāstra we find तत्त्वविद्यानुमय which is explained by Māthān 9 (cir. 500) as पर्याप्त, तत्त्वविद्यानुमय और सामान्यानुमय। Now here also we find the views of Vindhyāvalīn and Līvārakṛṣṇa do not concur.

8. Śāṅkaraśāstra, Nos. 20–41.
9. Cf. ibid., No. 78.

कर्मोः स्थिरः सेवनोऽपेक्षाः समस्या परिषेठतार।
मात्रायिनिनित्यतिः पत्तार्थविनिर्माणायि ।

p. 493, also in the Jñānānubhābānātha, p. 432. The commentary entitled Madhavacarika on the Śāṅkaraśāstra on this point is:

विन्यासकारानुमय ध्वेक्यज्ञानोऽपेक्षानुमयान्तरिती तत्त्वविद्यानुमयः
मात्रायिनिः समस्याः।

Śāṅkaraśāstra, No. 4.

Māthān (Chakravartī Māthān), p. 15.
Let us take a third example. Śāntarakṣita says: 

with reference to sound. According to Vīdhyaśālīka, then the sound has the sameness of form. But what is the opinion of Īśvarakṛṣṇa on this point? It does not take much time to discover that because 

Praṇāth is endowed with the three qualities Sattra, Rasā, and Tāvāsa, the sound also has all other manifestations of Praṇāth is also endowed with the three qualities, and this is exactly what Śāntarakṣita says. In the orthodox Śāṅkhyā view, so here also there is no correspondence between the views of Vīdhyaśālīka and Īśvarakṛṣṇa.

Fortunately for us another opinion of Vīdhyaśālīka is recorded in Jain literature, on the interesting question of the Bhaga or the enjoyment of Purusa. In Harbhadrāstraṇi’s Śivavāraṇīūcāsanāsya, two quotations appear, one from Āṣaṇa and the other from Vīdhyaśālīka. The same idea is echoed in Gom.</p>

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The opinion of Āṣaṇa is that the enjoyment of Purusa is nothing but the reflection of Purusa in the Buddhi, like the reflection of the moon in clear water. This is of course the view of the orthodox Śāṅkhyā school. Let us now see what Vīdhyaśālīka’s view is. He says that in the Buddhi’s own reflection, in the Purusa consists his enjoyment just as a crystal changes colour when it comes in contact with the red Jata flower. Īśvarakṛṣṇa undoubtedly belongs to the orthodox Śāṅkhyā school, and because Vīdhyaśālīka’s opinions are diametrically

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the Śāṅkhyā view. 

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In the Bhagavān the same idea is expressed in another form, e.g.

Śāṅkhyā truth. 

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p. 124
opposed to orthodox views the identification of Vindhyavasini with Lāvaraṇyā is certainly untenable. Some more known facts as well as Indian tradition preclude us from subscribing to this identification. For instance Kamalālaśī, quoting probably from the Paramartha’s Life of Vasubandhu gives us the valuable information that Vindhyavasini was known by the name of Rudrī. Further Kamalālaśī has always differentiated between Vindhyavasini and Lāvaraṇyā by mentioning their names and views separately. Similarly, Guṇarāja also while enumerating the Śāṅkara’s representatives mentions the two names separately. So also probably all other Indian scholars who had occasion to refer to the views of both Vindhyavasini and Lāvaraṇyā. Had the two names been identical the Indian scholars would not have failed to mention the fact. This is in fact an additional argument against the identification referred to above.

Probably it will not be fair to return to our subject before replying to the arguments offered by the said Japanese scholar, in favour of this identification. In the Life of Vasubandhu by Paramartha it is mentioned that Vindhyavasini, a Śāṅkara teacher and a contemporary of the Gupta king Buhīditiya defeated Vasubandhu’s Guru Buddhānanda in a discussion, and obtained from the king a reward of three talents of gold. One hundred and fifty years later another more reliable Chinese account makes a pupil of Viśnugāna, the author of a work called Viśnugānaprīti. Now at this time the Goldener Schatz des Chinesischen is a by-name for the Saṃskṛtakāla of Lāvaraṇyā. Because two authors are found for one work the conclusion is inevitable that the two names represent one and the same person.

The argument looks very probable and possibly convincing, but now we can detect a number of flaws in the argument. Let us not dispute the fact that Vindhyavasini obtained from Buhīditiya or Viśnugānaprīti a reward of three talents of gold. Nor need we dispute the statement of the later Chinese authority that a pupil of Viśnugāna

\[\text{Patañjali}, \text{p. 112.} \]

\[\text{P. cit., pp. 17, 29, 326.} \]

\[\text{P. cit., pp. 112, 114.} \]

\[\text{Dr. J. Takamura: Paramartha’s Life of Vasubandhu, in J.R.A.S., 1886, p. 47. See also Dr. Behra, Alādhāvāh and the Date of Lāvaraṇyā in the Alādhāvāh Chāitya-Prabhā in Patala, p. 125.}\]
(Vindhyavasini) wrote a work entitled the Hiravasistha. It is quite likely that Vindhyavasini wrote some such work, as stray quotations are found therefrom in very reliable and authoritative compositions of later times. Kumãra also lends support to this view. One of the works of Vindhyavasini on Śankhayogas may quite conceivably be called Hiravasistha because the author obtained gold probably by its composition. But when this work is identified with the work of Īværaṅga or the Golden Scenery, then the difficulty arises. The Śāktyyogasistha of Īværaṅga is called Golden Scenery in Chinese, and Golden Scenery may stand for Hiravasistha. The Golden Scenery in Chinese is published, and on comparison we came to know that it represents nothing but the Śāktyyogasistha of Īværaṅga. But where is the work of Vindhyavasini? This connecting link seems to have been lost, which fact gives rise to a number of difficulties. First of all, why should Īværaṅga's work be called Hiravasistha or Golden Scenery and on what authority? Īværaṅga did not get a reward of gold but still his work is known as Golden Scenery in Chinese. Does this show that the Chinese tradition on this point at least is unreliable? The two titles Hiravasistha and Śāktyyogasistha though they seem to have been altogether distinct works were confused by the Chinese tradition and the theory identifying Īværaṅga with Vindhyavasini being based on a traditional error completely loses its value. That the Chinese tradition is also capable of committing such errors becomes evident when it ascribes the authorship of the Āryasamuccaya of Vasubandhu to Paramīrtha, thus confusing the title of a book and name of an author. It should also be pointed out here that all Indian authors who have referred to these two scholars by name have done so separately, and were unaware of this identification. The Japanese scholar who proposed this identification should do well to investigate into the cause which gave rise to the confusion of the two titles above referred, and discover the source of the mistake before trying to give a rude shock to the chronology of the Śāktyyogasistha System, which is fairly established by Indian Orientalists.

a See above.
b Cf. Siddhântakumâra, p. 326 and the Thibetan grantha, p. 425 where Kumara is quoted.

c J.C.R.S., 1886, pp. 47 ff.
VINDHYAVASIN = VYADI

Attempts have also been made to identify Vyadi with Vindhyavasini as several Sanskrit lexicographers have done. Hermann,

Hesavara, and others have distinctly identified the two, and the editor of the Acharyasuri in the Chowkhamba Series admits this as the most probable theory. But the idea can hardly stand. As Paramittra tells us Vindhyavasini was a contemporary of the great Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu and his words being very probably based on the Life of Vasubandhu of Kumarajiva who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century have got greater authority than Hemacandra who belonged to a much later age, or Hesavara who was still later. Vyadi was certainly earlier than Patanjali (second century a.c.) who was indebted to the Sesvara composed by Vyadi; hence the identification of Vindhyavasini with Vyadi seems to be altogether absurd.

VINDHYAVASIN-VASAGANA

Paramittra supplies very important information about another Siddhakya teacher by name Vasagana and designates Vindhyavasini as one of his direct disciples. Vasubandhu criticizes a view which is said to be that of the followers of Vasagana by which he probably means Vindhyavasini and several of his contemporaries. Vasagana or Vasagana was held in great reverence, as Vasagana Bhatta in the

* Alaccharya (Chowkhamba edition), Introduction, p. 2.
* See for instance Translations, 2, 3, 24-5.---

�प अथारित्यवसी

�प अथारीन्यकारी

�प अथारित्यवसी

�क्षादेश (being published in the Cambridge Oriental Series), p. 83.---

तेनाश्रयितमेव अलाक्षित्यवसीच्याप्रवरतः

* Alakshyana 1, 2, 3, and Comm.agy on p. 34, 48.
* Mr. Harum Black in a recent article pointed out that the lexicographers have wrongly applied the epithet of Vindhyasini or Vindhyavasini in Vyadi, but really speaking it should be applied to the grammarian Alakhshyana. Atlantic Quarterly, 1901, p. 121.
* J. E. A., 1903, pp. 678.
* Black's article, The Central Composition of Siddhanta, pp. 87.
VINDHYAVASIN

The date of Vindhyavasini will appear from the foregoing is necessarily dependent on the date of Vashishtivada. To discuss his date is to discuss the date of Vashishtivada, and this has been done by a number of excellent scholars. A complete review of all the theories may be obtained from V. A. Smith’s masterly survey in his *E.E.

third edition, pages 389 ff.* Dr. J. Takakusu, writing in 1905, attempted to prove that Vashishtivada flourished in a period between a.d. 420 and 500, and said that this date is not only probable but may be taken as certain. But the French scholar M. Peri challenged it, and proved that he must belong to a.d. 380-390. Vincent Smith showed a leaning towards this view. M. Stacherl, the famous Russian scholar of Buddhism, writing in 1933, opined that the date of the Chinese translation of Asanga and Vashishtivada which alone, if correct, would be sufficient evidence to assign them to the fourth century. Thus see that there are only two definite theories about the date of Vashishtivada, one placing him between a.d. 380-390 and another between 620-500. We shall here endeavour to show that the theory placing him between 420-500 is absurd; we are thus led more or less to accept the other theory, placing Vashishtivada in a period between a.d. 380-390. This stands the test of all arguments and does not run counter to any of the known facts about Vashishtivada and his contemporaries not create a discrepancy in any other way.

The most important argument in favour of placing Vashishtivada between a.d. 420-500 seems to be that a contemporary of his Sanghabhadra by name translated two works into Chinese in the year a.d. 426 and 436. These are the *Svamajalakakatha of Buddhaghosa* and the *Vibhootivamsya.* Sanghabhadra was living in the

Shankar, tr. 15.

63. आदिकाल मात्र सब राजसा धर्मरक्षित:।

*C.* p. 31.

*J.R.A.S.,* 1866, p. 81 and footnote 2.
year A.D. 485 his contemporary Vasubandhu cannot be placed in the fourth century. This looks like a very formidable argument, but let us go into details and consult our available authorities.

Paramārtha (499-568) informs us that Sanghabhadra was invited by Vasurita from Tien chu in order to defeat Vasubandhu in a discussion. When he came to Ayodhya he composed a treatise to explain the principles of the Vibhāṣa and another work to refute the Abhidharmakosa of Vasubandhu. After the compilation of these two works Sanghabhadra challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion which the latter refused to accept. This is the abridged information about Sanghabhadra and Vasubandhu given by Dr. Takakusu from Paramārtha’s work.

Next to Paramārtha we get detailed information from Hsen Thasung (600-664) about the intellectual duel between Sanghabhadra and Vasubandhu, which appears to be more to the point and quite natural. He says in his Preces that Sanghabhadra, after perusing the Abhidharmas, of Vasubandhu, was so much enraged that he devoted himself for twelve years to the most profound researches subsequently composing an elaborate refutation of Vasubandhu’s views in his Abhidharmas. When it was ready he challenged Vasubandhu to a discussion. Vasubandhu tried to draw him to Magadha so that the discussion might take place before a company of learned men qualified to judge the respective merits of the two opponents. Sanghabhadra was too old by that time and before this discussion took place died in a monastery at Matipura. Immediately before his death he sent all the MSS of his great work, accompanied with a letter to Vasubandhu requesting him not to destroy his composition.

This is all that we obtain of any value from H. Thasung about Sanghabhadra. In this connection one fact should be remembered that this challenge was issued to Vasubandhu before Vasubandhu was converted to Asanga’s Yogacara, which event took place, according to Takakusu, ten years before Vasubandhu’s death: this appears also very reasonable because he composed a large number of Mahayana works, all written obviously after his conversion to Yogacara.

According to the theory we are now examining, Vasubandhu was converted to Yogacara in A.D. 480. Before this Sanghabhadra

1 J.R.A.S., 1895, p. 46.  
2 Preal., S2-pa-b6, vol. 1, pp. 149 2.  
3 Takakusu in J.M.A.S., 1092, 5. 41.
gave a challenge to Vasubandhu for a discussion. But how many years before? Let us take the shortest possible limit, say one or two years. The date of this challenge may therefore be taken as A.D. 483. Now let us inquire the whereabouts of Sanghabhadra. But lo! he is not in India, he has gone to China, and is found quietly translating Sanskrit books into Chinese. There must be something wrong here: the date of the challenge must be earlier. Let it be say A.D. 480. No earlier date is however possible because Sanghabhadra must have departed to another world after the talk of the discussion is over. Can this date be pushed forward to say A.D. 500? That also does not seem to be possible. Vasubandhu will no longer be a Hinayānist, he is under this hypothesis required to live at least ten years after his conversion. Moreover Sanghabhadra has to spend twelve years in writing his *Nyāyasamgraha*, before he gives out his challenge. Does this connection of Sanghabhadra with Vasubandhu look like a myth because it does not stand the test of cold logic?

How then are we to solve this problem? That will depend on our setting another question, namely, 'Are the two Sanghabhadras identical?' We will reply in the negative. There is no evidence to show that the same Sanghabhadra who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu went to China to translate books into Chinese. Had it been so, we could reasonably expect this information from Hīnaka Tsang. But his silence on this point compels us to postulate two Sanghabhadras. From the account of Sanghabhadra in Hīnaka Tsang's *Travels* it is quite clear that this Sanghabhadra never went to China. Going to China to translate Sanskrit works into Chinese is a different line altogether. Those who went to China did not shine much in the literary activity of India and those who became very great in India by their outstanding literary achievements never cared to do translator's work in China. Moreover, accurate records of nearly all the principal translators from India were kept in Chinese, and had this Sanghabhadra the author of the *Nyāyasamgraha* been identical with the translator Sanghabhadra the Chinese records would not certainly have failed to show it.

From the above we can safely refute the theory that Vasubandhu flourished in the period between A.D. 450-500. This being refuted

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1 *J.J.E. No. 5* p. 41. "This event was while Vasubandhu was still a Hinayānist, and believed that Mahāyāna was not the Buddha's own teaching." —Pali texts.
we have no other alternative than to accept the other theory (placing him, A.D. 360-380) which we consider deserving of universal acceptance.

The date of Vasubandhu having been fixed, it is quite easy to work out the time of Vindhyavasini. Vindhyavasini died before Vasubandhu, who appears to have been in full vigor even then insomuch as he still had energy left to remark the Vindhya regions where Vindhyavasini used to live, in his rage to combat and defeat the man who brought his master Buddhāmitra to shame. Moreover, in his Aśṭādhyāyī Vasubandhu referred to the opinion of the followers of Vīrāngajñana among whom probably Vindhyavasini was also included. With these facts in hand we can fix the time of Vindhyavasini by the following computation. Let us take Buddhāmitra as twenty years senior to Vasubandhu and fix his time as A.D. 260-280 and Vindhyavasini as ten years senior to Buddhāmitra and fixed his time as A.D. 250-270 with some degree of confidence.

Vindhyavasini and Vasubandhu

The relations between Vasubandhu and Vindhyavasini, as can be gleaned from the account of Paramārtha, was not at all of a friendly nature. When Vindhyavasini obtained his triumph over Buddhāmitra the Gurs of Vasubandhu, Vasubandhu was away from Ayodhya where the discussion took place. Eventually Vasubandhu heard of this affair and came to learn that Vindhyavasini was dead. In his disappointment and rage he composed a work entitled Paramasrātasamuccaya in which he severely criticised. Vindhyavasini and the Śāṁkha doctrines taught in his work which, as has been previously indicated, probably bore the title of Hīranyasamuccaya, and Paramārtha claims that this work of Vasubandhu was instrumental in totally destroying the Śāṁkha theories. Unfortunately for us neither the Paramasrātasamuccaya nor Hīranyasamuccaya are now extant, but a striking stanzas in the Taittirīyaśastra quoted by Kapaladeva from some unknown work contains a polemic against Vindhyavasini where the latter in so many words is designated as a foester. This stana in our opinion seems to be the first and only quotation available from the seventy stanzas of the Paramasrātasamuccaya.

The stana is:

वर्णेन संभवं तत्‌ जीवे यथा विद्यानिति क ।
कदाता कान्तिकेव कपालिका निर्माणिताः ॥

1 J.R.A.S.J., 1925, p. 47.
2 Taittirīyaśastra, op. cit., p. 43.
3 J.E.A.S.J., 1925, p. 47.
This Sākara is apparently the refutation of the cherished Śāṅkhya
theory of Sātvatya or the theory of the 'existent effect in the cause' and
of course Vindhyaśālī being one of the earliest Śāṅkhya writers, even
earlier than Iśvarakṛṣṇa, certainly believed in the Sātvatyaśāda, which is
perhaps one of the chief contributions made by the Śāṅkhya system.
Moreover this stanza shows that Vindhyaśālī had another name, and
he was known as Rudrīya also. In the Paramārthasāstra Vindhyaśālī
is the object of attack, and hence this argument upholding Sātvatya
goes to him, and a refined abuse bestowed on Vindhyaśālī shows a
stronger relation and a sense of personal injury that might have been
perpetrated by the man who is made the object of the aforesaid attacks.
Later scholars would describe Sātvatya quoting Iśvarakṛṣṇa rather
than Vindhyaśālī because Iśvarakṛṣṇa professed to represent the
orthodox view of the Sātvatyaśāda, and because here it is otherwise, we
can take it for certain that the stanza above referred to really represen-
s a quotation from the now lost work entitled the Paramārthasā-
šāstra of Vasubandhu.

VINDHYAVASIN AND IŚVARAKRŚNA

From the foregoing it will be apparent that among the two Śāṅkhya
scholars Vindhyaśālī and Iśvarakṛṣṇa, we are in favour of assigning
to Vindhyaśālī an earlier period than that of Iśvarakṛṣṇa. In order
to strengthen this theory we shall here endeavour to state our reasons
after having fixed A.D. 250–310 as the date of Vindhyaśālī. Iśvar-
akṛṣṇa must have flourished before Paramārtha (A.D. 499–561) as his
Śātvatyaśāstra was translated into Chinese by him. This work was
accompanied with a commentary by an unknown author whom we can
now identify with Mithāra. I have elsewhere discussed his date and
shown that the time of Mithāra cannot be later than circa A.D. 590.
Thus Iśvarakṛṣṇa will have to be pushed back by at least one genera-
tion or thirty years. By the discovery of the Nāyavedāna of Dhumgā
de is now being edited by the famous Orientalist Principal A. B.
Dhumva for the Gachhāwa's Oriental Series, we have been able to discover

1 See the instance the Nāyavedāna, p. 119, where Kraanalīla is stating the
Śāṅkhya theory of Sātvatya quotes from Iśvarakṛṣṇa's Śātvatyaśāda.
that Dīnāgarīn criticised a view of Īvāraṅga, as expressed by him in the Saṇḍhyāvatatī.

Now Dīnāgarīn was a direct disciple of Vasubandhu whom we have placed in a period between A.D. 290-320. Dīnāgarīn was a Hīnayānaist but read both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna literature under the preceptorship of Vasubandhu. Dīnāgarīn being a disciple of Vasubandhu should be a generation later, but the latest date of his birth, that we can assign to him would be about A.D. 300 and as he lived for seventy years, the year A.D. 410 will be the year of his death.

As Īvāraṅga is criticised by Dīnāgarīn A.D. 340-410 we may reasonably expect him to be earlier than Dīnāgarīn or else his contemporary. This idea is also strengthened by the fact that Dīnāgarīn is the first scholar to refute the views of Īvāraṅga. Vasubandhu could have criticised him, but he does not do so, but criticises Hīnayānas instead, as the most formidable representative of the Śāṅkīka school. It appears therefore that Īvāraṅga flourished some time before Dīnāgarīn and some time after Vasubandhu, or in other words, he was intermediate between Vasubandhu and Dīnāgarīn.

Further, merely because Vasubandhu failed to mention Īvāraṅga it is not reasonable to place him at a later period. Now Īvāraṅga is found indebted to Viśālikāṇa, who refers to Viśālikāṇa and Śvētāmbara of the Buddhists and hence belongs to a period approximately between A.D. 290-320. Īvāraṅga therefore must be later than Viśālikāṇa (290-320) and also later than Vasubandhu (290-320) as has been shown previously, but earlier than Dīnāgarīn (340-410). That being so, we can reasonably expect to find Īvāraṅga as an older contemporary of Dīnāgarīn. A confirmation to this theory comes from an unexpected quarter, namely a late Tibetan authority, entitled the Pañcasaṃjña Zan. Therein it is related that a Brahman named Īvāraṅga played mischief with Ārya Dīnāgarīn, while he was composing his famous work, the Prasannatattvaśāsana. The Āryas being enraged

[Note: The references to pages and sections are not clear and need to be clarified.]
challenged him to a discussion, either staking his own doctrines
Śrīvācara was vanquished several times, and without fulfilling his
promise recited some unsavory incantations which burnt all the belongings
of the Āsārya.

This being established we can fix Śrīvācara’s time with some
degree of confidence. Śrīvācara, being an older contemporary of
dharmapāla, must be at least ten years senior to him. That brings us
down to A.D. 330 as the date of his birth and if we allow a sixty years’
span of life to him, in that case the year A.D. 390 would be the year of
his death.

We can thus establish that Vindhyaśāla (A.D. 250–310) was much
earlier than Śrīvācara (A.D. 330–390) and can controvert the theory
advanced by some Orientalists that Vindhyaśāla and even his guru
Vāmśāyana must be reckoned as the successors of Śrīvācara.

24 G. Vidyabhusana, *Sātras Logic*, pp 794–6, where a translation of the
Tibetan extract is given in full.
Akbar's Tomb

by

Thakur Rambhag, M.A.

Plunder, India, C. I.

(Literal translation of the last chapter of the Me'mar-i-Jahangiri, the
motive of which is this. Remarks on the mausoleum of His Majesty
Emperor Jalaluddin Mohamed Akbar of the Paradise abode, may God
ever illuminate his Reason)

In the first place there is the vestibule in which to the extent of
twenty-thousand elephants and horses could take their stand and
around this, there are roofed mansions all of which, with their arches,
are decorated. The gateway, which gives ingress, is thirty yards by
thirty yards and the height of this stage is 120 yards and over it the
six-storied building is erected, and all from the roof to the bottom is
decorated with geometrical designs which are illuminated in gold and
lepal-lam. On all four sides of the arched mansion there are four
minarets which are constructed of stone, being carried to three stories
upside. The distance between the gateway, that gives ingress and
the building where His Majesty of the Paradise abode is resting, is about
half a Parash (league). The floor of the portico is done in red
stone and on both sides of the porticoes the palms of cypress, wild-pine, plane
and crescent palms, are planted. And at the end there is constructed
an oval-like tank from which flows various canals giving rise to foun-
tains that reach the very head of the tomb of His Majesty, so much so
that twenty fountains play thereabout. The water in each fountain
rises up to one yard. The structure raised over the building, which
contains the tomb of His Majesty, is of seven stories and each story
is smaller than the story below it and the seventh story has been
constructed as the dome over all and this story is made of stone.
The entire structure of the mansion and the garden cost Rupees one
hundred and eighty latches, and high above the tomb of His Majesty
these distichs of poetry are written in bold characters:

The painter of the essence of water and earth and the embroi-
derer of the jewel of year soul created, the two worlds through his
beginning less plenty, one of them was ordained to be nonmoral and the other phenomenal.

Then He bestowed this temporary im (world) upon the kings and leaders who deserved the crown and the treasury, so that from their justice the world may become more prosperous than a garden in springtime. With those that keep the path of God before their vision, the strangers and their kinsmen are on the same footing. The king who lived like this in the world is verily the shadow of the Spirit of God.

For two and thirty years over nine hundred (963 Hijra) lived King Akbar as the shadow of the Lord of Glory. He sat on the throne of gold and (speaking relatively) the skies became abject.

He adorned the world by dispensing justice and giving relief, and, owing to this, the heart of the people of the world became glad. Great personages from all sects gathered round the foot of his throne.

When he threw his glance of kindness towards the dust, its essence became better than the pure spirit.

He conquered a country with a single charge in a battle and with a nod of his brow he gave away the same at a banquet.

His graciousness is as universal as that of God and in every undertaking he attained the aimed result.

Anybody who took refuge at his threshold was safe to move, like a thought from the fish to the moon (from the Nadir to the Zenith).

His fame could not be confined to the world like a hidden secret which cannot be confined to a heart. The face of the world became so perfect that the Creator of World Himself praised it as such. He ruled the world in such majesty for two and fifty years.

As he made this world flourishing with justice he left for the other world as an enlightened soul. Previous to him there had been other kings ruling over seven regions but now he conquered the seven heavens as well.

With the wise who possess prudent hearts this world is mud and water is like an imprisoned Do not seek any favour from the substratum of the nine spheres as it has never been kind to man. One should not expect favour from the spheres which are full of enmity, because favour cannot come in action from the miscellaneous. The world itself is grief and a wave of the mirage when one is thirsty It is not satisfied with ir
The world has made abundant covenants, but, which of them has it not broken in practice at the time?

Nobody can remain in the world for ever and nobody has saved his life from the hand of Death.

How happily has said that perfect wise and subtle analyst, who had gathered the store of the essence of wisdom (Suet Sauria) when saying that: "Brother mine, the world cannot remain constant with any one, attach your heart to the Creator of the world and that is enough." King Akbar attained success by dispensing justice and he made the world like the Paradise above.

The world became happy in his reign and the space and time became obedient to him. But the world devoid of kindness and a promise-breaker, ousted his kindness from its heart through enmity. Owing to the unkindness of this world, he took his way to the ever-lasting world.

His soul was ever happy through the truth and from him the celestial world was prosperous. Be it said in the name of the King of kings of the everlasting kingdom, whose being is free from non-existence and from whom all the kings on the face of the earth get their crowns, throne and signet, that He drew forth from non-existence His evident existence. His hand is the manifestation of kindness and beneficence. All and every, big and small, are the candidates for His kindness and His threshold is the guiding point of adoration for every body noble or plebeian.

The Daha garden, situated on the brink of the Agra City was laid out by His Majesty the Emperor Jalehuddin Mohommed Akbar of the Paradise age, in the beginning of his reign. Four tanks were constructed in this garden and each tank is about one-fourth Parshak (League) in length and breadth and on the bank of each tank a high building was completed and old tall cypress trees are in abundance in this garden. There is a circular palace situated on the bank of the River Jumna which has twenty-five pillars, all of them are illuminated in gold on the lining of ‘Tunga’ and are embellished with ruby, turquoise and pearl and the roof of the palace is wainscoted with wood covering like a dome and is illuminated with gold. The roof of the dome from the concave is decorated with geometrical designs and is unique in the world as a work of art. If occasionally His Majesty is inclined to see the sight of the magnificent elephant, neelgaw, ram or camel, etc., he takes his seat in this palace as it is next to the ground floor.
Majesty often sits in the third storey which is nearest to the River Jumna, with his high grandees and gives them wine from his own cup. The grandees have been ordered to take their seats in this building. The inspection pavilion, which is the place for the audience of the nobles and the plebeians, is a building which has been latticed in gold illumination. Beneath the palace, a large-rooted mansion has been made and in this mansion chandeliers were made of gold and in them stand princes and grandees who are commanders from one thousand to twenty-five thousand. The flooring of this mansion is of gold embroidered and woolen carpets measuring thirty and forty yards and on the walls of this mansion there are canopies of velvet and embroidered cloths of gold thread in three layers so that the heat of the sun may not have unbearable effect. The inspection pavilion which is embroidered in gold is an accomplishment alike in journey and at home. In every uninhabited spot (encampment) when the anchor is thrown down there are set in order. Three thousand mounds of the Indian gold and silver equivalent to thirty thousand mounds of Irik (Mesopotamia) has been spent in making the latticed chandeliers.

The garden at Sarhind was completed in the reign of Jahangir. The following is a quotation in the words of the Emperor Jahangir himself, wherein it is said that: 'As I reached Sarhind I ordered Khwaja Aminul Hamdani, who is one of my nobles, to lay out here the plan of a garden in the midst of which there may be a big tank. As his skill in the construction of building and planning of the garden was accurate I was much pleased. The sum total of it is this, that when I entered the garden I found myself in a serpentine pathway on the other side of which scarce roses being planted, there is constructed a big tank in the midst of the garden. There is a high building eight by eight, a square spot, on which two to twenty persons can sit together and in the circuit round about this building in every place three-storied mansions high are made of the same kind which are all decorated with geometrical designs. There are seen about two thousand water fowls in the tank and the varieties of flowers when in blossom in this garden are very pleasing to the sight.'

THE TRANSLATOR'S NOTES

The present building, containing the tomb of Emperor Akbar the Great, is not the same that existed at the death of that Emperor.
There is an inscription that sets forth that the existing building was erected in the reign of Jahangir. The *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr* has been quoted by Sir H. M. Millot in his *History of India*, vol. vi, on page 438, wherein it is said, in connection with the *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr*, that: "this is the name given to the work of Khwāja Kamār Ghairat by Gladwin, who has abstracted from it copiously in his *History of Jahangir* printed at Calcutta in the year 1789. He calls the author Kamār Humaeyn. The author of the *Critical Essay* on various manuscript works and James Fraser in his abridged *Mogul History*, prefixed to his *Life of Nadir Shah*, also calls it the *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr*, and Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan, in his Preface to the *History of Shah Jahan*, says the author calls it by that name; but the author himself gives no name to the work and native writers, as in the *Mī'ār-i-Ulama* and the *Musāhibat-al-Lahab*, usually speak of it simply under the name of *Jahangīr-Nama*. Khwāja Kamār informs us that in consequence of the incompleteness of the Emperor's Autobiography, he had long contemplated supplying its deficiencies by writing a complete life himself; when he was at last induced to undertake it at the instigation of the Emperor Shah Jahan in the third year of his reign A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630-1631). The italics are by the Translator.

* * *

"The *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr* is divided into chapters devoted to the different years of the reign, there being but few other rubrics throughout the rest of the volume. The author of the *Critical Essay* observes of it, that it resembles the *Jahangīr-Nama* in its purity of minute details. About one-sixth of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession."

Professor Beni Prasad of the Allahabad University after supporting Sir H. M. Millot as later says on page 455 of his *History of Jahangīr* that he used the manuscript of the *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr* in the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Library, Benkiarpur. He also says that the *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr* was not printed till 1912. My manuscript from which the above-mentioned article on Akbar’s tomb has been translated gives its name as the *Mī'ār-i-Jahangīr* in the body of the text in the very beginning. The work in my possession commenced from the incidents of Jahangir’s birth and ends with the installation of Jahangir by his father a couple of days before his death, and with the burial of
the Emperor Akbar in the Dahra Garden Mausoleum, situated on the brink of the then Agra City. The Mausoleum is still named as the 'Dahra Garden' by some of the living octogenarians of Agra at the present date, though European historians like Dr. James Ferguson, Dr. Havell, Mr. Vincent Smith and Mr. Keans, have quite forgotten the name of the 'Dahra Garden' and substituted 'Shikandra' in its place. My manuscript also says, with others, that the Me'am-e-Jahangir was written in the third year of Shah Jahan's reign. The central building containing the tomb of the Emperor Akbar is spoken of in my manuscript as having a dome (Gasala) on the uppermost storey (three years after the death of Jahangir), but the existing building has no dome. This shows that the dome was removed later on to make room for a roofed terraced flat as the highest storey or that the word Gasala denotes a dome as well a roofed terraced flat. It is quite conceivable that the tanks are not visible now owing to the length of time. Likewise the mansions eight by eight mentioned in my translation are not traceable. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India may institute an enquiry regarding the tanks and mansions. I wrote twice to the Librarian of the Khudabaksh Khan Library at Bhumipur, but no reply has been received, regarding the query, whether the Me'am-e-Jahangir in that Library, stops short at the installation of the Emperor Jahangir? Before closing this note I beg to acknowledge the ungrudging assistance I have got from Bahu Ramdadal Sahib, Financial Secretary to the Jassa Darbar, for the explanation of some important archaic words absent in modern Persian dictionaries.
Sir William Norris at Masulipatam

CHANGE OF PLANS

(Continued)

BY

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The patience of all was exhausted, and the only remedy seemed a radical change of plan. On June 6, it was unanimously resolved to take the first suitable Company’s ship that might touch at Masulipatam to transport the embassy to Surat. This resolution was confirmed at a later meeting held on the 21st. Later events still further justified this decision. Writing on June 12, to Sir Nicholas Waite, Sir William says, 'After many artificial delays used by the Governor of Goondoa (in whose Government only we could be provided with cows) and no proprietor of cows could be induced or durst stir a step without leave, when he was so far pressed at last as the being told if he did not immediately grant his Despatches pursuant to the King’s command it would be taken for an absolute refusal, he had the confidence then to declare plainly he would grant no orders either for cows or coolies.' In consequence of this and other refusals and because the season was so far spent the Council resolved to 'take the opportunity of the first proper ship in the Company’s service arriving at Masulipatam to transport His Excellency, retinue, presents and baggage forthwith to Surat.' Sir William therefore desired Waite to inform the Governor of Surat and also the Mogul of this decision. He leaves all arrangements for his arrival, reception and stay at Surat in Sir Nicholas’ hands. Lastly he intimates that the Consul at Masulipatam proposed that a bill for four or five thousand pounds should be drawn upon the Surat factory for expenses already incurred on behalf of the embassy.

Nothing of importance is now recorded till June 19, when the Goosbaderar had an interview with Mr. Mill concerning the intended departure of the embassy by sea to Surat. There is a characteristically oriental flavour in the record of what then took place. The Goosbaderar stated that he had to obey the Mogul’s orders to convey
the Ambassador by land and therefore the latter would not be allowed to go by sea. Op Mr. Mill restoring the intention of going by sea the Goosbhardur replied that if it were carried out both he and the Governor would be hanged by the Mogul's orders. The same afternoon Mr. Mill saw the Governor who at first adopted a pleading pose. If the Ambassador would only go by land, coasters, cows, everything necessary would be provided. He could provide 'thousand cows in four days and as many coasters, hackeries and carts as there should be occasion for.' Mr. Mill remained firm, then the Governor tried threats, he could (and would) put a stop to the affairs of the Company, and the supply of cloth and other articles. He added that everybody would inform the Mogul that the Ambassador had never intended to come to court at all and had now run away.

At a subsequent date, June 81, Mr. Mill recapitulated to the Council the reasons for sending the embassy to Surat which he had given to the Mogul authorities:—that the Hennatul-Haakam and Dascals had not arrived by May 25; the Governor of Goodore in defence of his master's orders had refused transport; the roads from Masulipatam were now impassable, which would not be the case at Surat; and that Sir William's decision was now unalterable.

Meanwhile at Surat there was great and growing anxiety. The President and Council had heard nothing from Sir William since January 18, and in a letter dated June 23, pointed out how disastrous the long delay was to the New Company's interests, affording as it did fresh opportunities for mischief to their enemies in the Old Company.

The change of plan was itself a confession of failure. Naturally the first impulse of the Council at Surat was to disclaim any share in the blame for that failure. This comes out in a letter from them dated July 1. They show painful surprise that Sir William had ever landed at Masulipatam. Obviously, they wrote, whoever gave that advice had a private interest to serve by embarrassing or retarding the embassy; or else had an insuperable ignorance of the impossibility of finding the conveniences required on that part of the Coast of Coromandel. That, they added, was also the opinion of the servants of the Old Company. They further remark: "The inhabitants and other strangers of India were and are still surprised that Your Excellency should land at Masulipatam with any prospect of attaining
the Mogul's Camp without very great hazard and loss of time, when
had Your Lordship come to this his ancient port, where have the
Emperor's express going out and returning every four days and
exceed not nine days in their journey," unless the overflowing the
rivers in the times of the rains, or some other accident impedes their
travelling, you could not have failed to reach the camp with all
necessaries suitable to your character within forty days after landing.'
They added that if Sir William could have embarked on the Reek
frigate he would have reached the camp before the rains began
thereby saving the Company much expense and avoiding reflections
on their conduct and the known prudence and integrity of His
Excellency. From these not very helpful generalities they ran
descended on some practical details intended to meet the situation as
it then was.

Further evidence of the strained relations between the Ambassador
and the Council is to be found in the record of a meeting on July
4 at Moolapatan. The Tenederuffed under Captain Newman had
arrived on June 28 and Sir William desired the President to
arrange for him to embark in her for Surat. The President replied
that His Excellency must await the arrival of the Sessurers. To this
Sir William rejoined that, if his request were not acquiesced in, he
would, at the first opportunity, return to England. At another
Council four days later it was announced that the Sessurers had arrived
but the members expressed doubt about their authority to provide a
ship for the Ambassador and requested him to make a formal demand
for one. This he did next day when the Council decided that the
Sessurers was most fitted to convey him to Surat. Eight days later
Captain Douglas of the Sessurers demurred to the proposal and
was warned that to refuse would be at his own peril.

Meanwhile things at Surat had been becoming equally unpleasant.
Walter on July 28 wrote a protest against President Stephen Colt and
his Council for their embarrassing tactics whereby the Ambassador's
negotiations had been retarded, great expense caused and his arrival
at the Mogul's camp delayed. He accused them of false and unjustifi-
able practices in opposition to the English Company at Surat, and
elsewhere, as well as threats even against his own life.

Owing to the season the passage could not now be made before
August. The various Mogul Governors had become alarmed by the
resolution to proceed by way of Surat as they feared the Mogul's anger when he should learn from Sir William how the embassy had been delayed by them. They, therefore, encourager him with promises of help to prosecute the journey by land, knowing, however, that the rivers were already too swollen to allow of his passage. These failing to change his resolution, they threatened to prevent his embarkation, but found the threats as insignificant as the promises.

Ultimately Sir William did embark on the Seasseev on August 15, although the actual sailing did not take place till the 26th. Meanwhile there was much correspondence between various officials and himself. This illustrates the Ambassador's difficulties, beset as he was with conflicting interests in India and charged with the duty of operating a policy directed from England. A short résumé will best help the reader to understand them.

Under date July 23, he writes to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal criticizing the advice received from England regarding the sale of calicoes, silks and other stuffs. If the bill prohibiting their import into England were passed it would reduce the Indian trade and might call forth retaliation on the part of the Mogul. It would stultify his own mission as well as the other bill for continuing the Old Company as a Corporation. No embassy to promote trade, or Corporation to carry it out, could affect its object if the country sending them out should legislate against trade itself.

About the same time there is a long letter from him to Sir Nicholas Wals and the Council at Surat. In it he recapitulates the events of the past few weeks and expresses his confidence that Sir Nicholas will have all in readiness for his journey to the camp and that he will arrange with the Governor for a suitable reception on the arrival of the Seasseev at Surat. In this connection he expresses the belief that 'a very handsome and distinguishing present' to the Governor would make the latter 'our best friend and assure him to our interest.' He also hopes the Old Company's factors and agents being Englishmen will be present to receive him at his landing. Commodore Littleton, with whom Wals has already had some messages at arms regarding disloyalty to the Ambassador and too great intimacy with the Old Company, is marked out in this letter for summary treatment; Sir William, to maintain his character as King
William's representative, intends 'to clap Commodore Littleton in irons' and send him home.

On August 10, Sir William receives a letter in flattering language from Assed Khan. The letter hopes he will not go to Surat by sea as the Mogul had already been informed that he intended to travel by land. He had, therefore, sent a second command to the Governor to give him all necessary assistance. The letter closes thus, 'Dear Brother, give ear to me and come by land ye King may not prove a Lyr.' Other letters of the same time show that the decision to go by sea had now alarmed the minds of the Mogul officials who feared that it would lead to disclosures of their own share in the hindrances that had caused it.

On the 12th and 14th Sir William replied to Assed Khan expressing his appreciation of the latter's friendship and kindness but explaining that he had been forced to arrange for the journey by sea owing to repeated hindrances and refusals, that the baggage and equipment had already been embarked and he himself gone on board before Assed Khan's letter arrived. The second of these letters shows that Sir William possessed all the suave courtesy needed by a diplomat accredited to an Oriental court. 'Your Highnesses will be more fully satisfied of the necessity I lay under of going to Surat, when I have the happiness to see you, which words cannot express how much I desire. The delays and disappointments I have met with here have been the more irksome because they kept me so long from the most noble, victorious and great Assed Chawn whose friendship I shall esteem dearer than my life.'

As already noted the embarkation took place on August 15. Notices had been sent to the Governor and officers, and all the English gentlemen of the place were present, save only those connected with the Old Company, these having had special orders to take no notice of the event. Tillard in his diary gives a vivid and picturesque description of what took place—'-17th did to his Bencloky . . . went aboard ye ship Sassaara, Capt. John Douglas Comdr, for Surratt, He went thro' ye town in great splendour, via: first, from ye great house, called King of Golconda's to ye consul's . . . He went under ye canopy of y a dozen Umbrellas, on black man's to each, ye
SIR WILLIAM NORIS AT MASULIPATAM

consull following him with 2 over his head, their his Excellency's brother Jno [sic] Norris, Esq., with 2 over his head, after him ye consull wch were only Mr Jno Graham and myself, ye rest being dead. After ye followed ye factors and writers, and all ye English Nation then in town, excepting ye old Compa servts, wch never would take any notice of ye Ambassad. Before his Excellency went his gentleman, Mr Mills and Mr Hales, with Mr Harlawyn, Paymaster to ye Embassy who carried ye word of Justice before his Excellency, and before ye went all my Lord's Livery servts, there going onely 4 by his side; and before ye went a comp of soldiers wch they took out of ye ship, the barge once [sic] going first of all with velvet caps and cuttild wustcoats, well armed. My Lord had ye Union and King's flag likewise before him, which he ordered to be burnt so soon as he came into ye Consull's house—I suppose because they were old and torn.¹

On August 19, Sir William addressed a long letter to the Court of Directors from on board the Semeur. In it he explains his reasons for sailing to Surat and makes various complaints about Consul Pitt's conduct. To the letter he attributes the failure of his original plan of marching from Masulipatam to the Mogul's camp. 'It is not only in this particular and many others that I have suspected the Consul hope not to act for your interest as far as the success of the embassy may be conducing to it.' He wrote in similar terms to Secretary James Vernon and caused both letters to be read to the Consul before being sealed up. These letters possess exceptional interest because of the clear and detailed account of recent events which they give.

The same day he wrote to the President and Consul at Masulipatam. This letter complains of the Consul's behavior and requests that sailing orders be given at once as he has already been aboard four days. Sir William's letter of August 18, to the Court of Directors complaining of the Consul, was read to the letter and Mr. T.Hard.²

¹ See Diary, p. 26.
² T.Hard writes in his diary 'ye 16th August ye ship Semeur departed this morn, with my Lord Ambassador on board, in order to go for Suratt: the reason why his Excellency took this method to go for ye Camp was explained by ye importance of ye governme and about this town of Masulipatam, who refused giving Demick and necessary assistance for carryng his person and additions on board; and, ye labour amounting so, thought he might be sooner to ye Mogul, by way of Suratt.' Whereas Mandeville's story about the inspection offered to Sir William by the Mogul's
It was replied to by Pitt, Tillard and Graham. The reply begins 'We have perused your letter to the Directors, so full of reflections and uncertainties on the reputation of the Company, that upon second reading we could hardly persuade ourselves it was wrote by an Ambassador,' and goes on to deny the charges made. Regarding the delay in receiving sailing orders for the Sesoarc which he had also complained they add: 'My Lord you cannot charge any delays upon us for your stay in the Road on the Sesoarc; for want of a dispatch for nothing is ready to answer our giving it to the Honourable Directors, for Your Excellency cannot but believe they will expect invoices of what is laden for account of the embassy.'

Sir William's answer to this letter shows that his tamper was still warm, for he declares that the next time he writes to the Directors he will 'inform them how rudely you have all behaved yourselves to me.'

A letter from the Camp written on August 23, by Emancoudi Beg shows that the Indian mind was still dwelling on the thought of a journey by land from Masulipatam. He states that news has been received of the arrival of guns and presents as well as the Meham-Hussain. He declares his intention of setting out to meet the Ambassadour in ten or fifteen days and states that the latter's arrival is being eagerly expected by Amed Khan. He hopes further that Sir William will travel by land to the conviction of his opponents who have privately instructed their agents to persuade him otherwise to his advantage.

A dispatch from the Court of Directors, dated September 3, 1700, expresses anxiety at not having had direct news from Sir William for some time. It refers to the disrespect shown by the Old Company to the Presidents of their various factories and points out that the Act of Parliament empowering the Old Company to continue as a Corporation had put the New Company in a serious position. It was therefore all the more necessary that there should be obtained from the Mogul confirmation of their Presidents' positions as being King's ministers and consuls, giving them exclusive power to hoist the English flag and grant passes for the English to all Governors and officers through-officers and its causes does not seem to correspond entirely with Sir William's own account of the events occurred prior to his departure from Masulipatam or Tillard's account just given. See pp. 262-63, 'Nobili des Moghur ou Memoires de L'Afrique, 1653-1763.'
out the Mogul’s dominions. Regarding the pirates it states that ten
had been recently executed in England, many more at the Barbadoes
and other plantations, while others were in prison awaiting an early
trial.

Mr Stephen Colt and others on September 5, recorded in a letter
their opinion that Sir William must have had private orders to delay
the embassy as it could not otherwise have been necessary to remain
about twelve months at Masulipatam. They suggested that perhaps a
hope had existed that the interval might have allowed of a Union
between the Companies which would have put the embassy in a more
advantageous and honourable position.

Again on September 7, the Court of Directors wrote acknowledg-
ing receipt of his letter by the Degree and expressing satisfaction
with his notions therein recorded. They wrote on the same day to
Sir Nicholas Waite acknowledging his reports of the ill usage received
by Sir William from the Old Company’s agents and asking for names,
stations and qualities of the delinquents.

The members of the Old Company at Fort St. George reported on
October 4, that Sir William had passed there in one of the New
Company’s ships bound for Surat. They seem at the same time to
have expressed the opinion that he would be unable to do anything to
the prejudice of the Old Company. It is recorded that no salutes were
fired as the Sessers passed Fort St. George. Coiton was reached on
October 22, after delays from contrary winds. The Cemetery was
met homeward bound and letters, minutes, etc., sent by her.

Leaving Sir William now to continue his voyage round to Surat we
may note a few of the happenings elsewhere. At Surat early in
October Sir Nicholas Waite and others resolved to give an undertaking
on receipt of the Pitreswane’s that two ships would be appointed to
convey the Surat merchants and protect them from pirates. Hostility
between the two Companies was still further demonstrated by a
protest on October 19 on the part of President Colt and others against
allegations made by Sir Nicholas that they were pirates. At the same
time they boasted that the Old Company would soon be able to grapple
with the New Company and that in a year’s time Sir Nicholas would
be deprived of his Consular power. 

They also courteously informed

1 See Add. MS. 31,583. British Museum.
him that they regarded him merely as Chief of the New Company and not as Consul at all. There was also a report that on November 3 the 'Rashputa' had burnt down some 'apartments' in the garden of the house prepared by Sir Nicholas for the Ambassador. Indeed mischief seems to have been at that time committed almost nightly which 'the Optimates Govr and his crew but lightly regarded.' From London the heads of the Old Company wrote in a boastful strain to President and Council at Fort St. George as follows:—

'The New Art for our continuance will very much alter the face of affairs there as it hath done here. We can tell you that the interest of the New Company does very much decline and wee think wee and our friends stand upon so good a foot that the day will come when the agents of the New Company must give an account for their irregular and unjust actions and so must the Ambassador wherein he exceeds his Majesties Commission which he hath done sufficiently and as you well observe he hath proceeded more like the Ambassador of the New Company than the Kings.'

Sir William anchored at Surat on December 10, after a voyage of nearly four months. He had a mixed reception. On the one hand the Mogul's man-of-war fired a salute which was duly returned. A resident of Surat assured him that this was 'a particular respect . . . never remembered to have been practiced before, for one of ye Mogulls men of war in their capital port to give ye first salute.' On the other hand Dutch merchantmen did not salute. Two English ships at Swally Bar saw the Union Flag, Sir John Gayer being on the Tantia, the other being the Loyal Merchant. They were ordered by Sir William to strike the flag and asked how they dared fly it in the sight of His Majesty's flag, but, as he remarked, they seemed 'resolved to act in open defiance to my character.' The Consul next day reported that the Governor and his son had been bribed by the Old Company's agents with '3 lacs of rupees' not to receive Sir William with honour.

Two days after his arrival Sir Nicholas Waits described to him the general state of affairs at Surat. Several important merchants were dismaying for 60 lacs of rupees due to them by the Old Company and claiming to have the matter laid before the Mogul. The Consul

* See Diary, vol. 2, MS. April 2, 1613, Bodleian.
told him that 'from ye highest to ye lowest all were mercenary except 2 of ye Great men, pit ye Camp who are known never to accept of a Gratuity,' and that the Mogul himself 'values nothing so much as a good sum of money paid into his Treasury.' Sir William told the Council that as King's Ambassador he expected a great reception but was informed that the Old Company had done all they could to disparage him.

It was resolved at a Council held in his cabin on December 13, that a great reception should be given him and a money present made to the Governor of Surat. A little later he records that the Governor had sent a message to him saying that 'If I came from merchants he durst not receive me as from a King without Loss of his head unless I give him a sight of ye Ke King's letter to ye Great Mogull.' It was decided that the King's letter should be read both in English and Persian.

At a Council six days later payment of 3,200 rupees to the Governor and his son was arranged for in order that the two might go down to Umbra, five miles below the city, to receive His Excellency and conduct him to his house. There the King's letter and Commission would be shown them. The Governor would then be able to assure the Emperor and Grand Vizier that the Ambassador had been truly commissioned by the King of England and could certify the same to all Governors as Sir William passes through their governments on his way to Court. All this being communicated to the Governor he replied that the Emperor's orders did not oblige him to meet His Excellency outside of the city but only to conduct him safely out of that Government, that as the Old Company asserted Sir William to be only Ambassador for the New Company he as Governor dare not receive him publicly unless he was assured that he brought the King's letter for the Emperor. Further, he demanded money if he were required to acknowledge the Ambassador. Sir Nicholas, to whom this reply was made, resolved to await His Excellency's decision. Meanwhile the presents were held in readiness lest Sir William's reception should in any way be prejudiced by delay.

Towards the end of the month several disappointments were offered the Embassy. The French Commander refused to lend him boats; the Custom-House officers inspected his presents on being sent ashore.
"most narrowly." The *Teuotick*, an English ship then in port, sailed away without saluting; this by the order of Sir John Gayer. The French Commander expected him to salute first, which would not have become the 'King's Jack.' And a house hired for him to which additions costing 1,600 rupees had been made was burnt down, as it was believed by persons inspired from the Old Factory. Was ever an Ambassador so lit and hindered as he?
The Climacteric of Talikota

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The climacteric of Talikota cannot be properly appreciated without a full knowledge of the political facts and tendencies of the half-century following that battle. It is no longer correct to say that ‘Here (after the battle of Talikota) may begin the history of Vijayanagar’ as well and, and thus began the third (fourth) dynasty, if dynasty it can be appropriately called, or to refer to the history which need only be shortly summarised. It is customary to regard Talikota as the Waterloo of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the lead of the late Mr. Robert Sewell seems to be still in the ascendant. It is therefore necessary to estimate rightly the effects of the battle of Talikota on the Empire of Vijayanagar.

Our general position may be indicated at the outset by a few short extracts from the original authorities. Periadas observes: ‘The kingdom of Bejasanggar since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour’. Ramraj, in the year 972 (A.D. 1594), opposed the kings of the Deccan, and was slain; after which period no such rebel has sat on the throne. Thus it is clear that, at the time Periadas wrote (about 1611), Vijayanagar did not follow the aggressive foreign policy of the hero of Talikota, who bestrides the narrow Muhammadan world like a colossus and made the Deccan Sultans bow to him in a bondman’s bow. Further, the extracts quoted above cannot be taken as evidence for the theory of the independence of the imperial feudatories soon after 1565, as will be shown in the sequel. William Pinch, referring to the period 1588–91, notes: ‘Along the seacoast toward the cape is the mighty king of Bejasanggara (Vijayanagar), under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thomas and Negapatam, but are not suffered to build a castle.’ A Jesuit observer wrote in 1589: ‘In spite of that

2 Ibid., p. 212.  
3 Ibid., p. 211.  
5 Ibid., vol. 3, p. 303.  
6 Ibid., p. 302.  
7 Foster, Early Travels in India (Oxford University Press, 1911), p. 193.
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(the destruction of the city of Vijayanagar) the sovereignty of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army (Quoted by the Rev. F. H. Heras).¹

Let us first analyse the evidence of Fariha and of another chronicler of his type (the unnamed author of the History of Golconda ²) and understand the effects, according to them, of Tilikota on the foreign policy of Vijayanagar. These Muhammadan authorities make us believe very strongly that the post-Tilikota history of Vijayanagar for nearly half a century was not fundamentally different from its history before 1569; parallels in pre-Tilikota history can be easily found to the happenings in the period following Tilikota. The information supplied by them may be arranged under the following heads.

A. SIEGES OF PENKHOUDA

There were three sieges of Penkhouda by the Muhammadans, all of which had to be raised. In 1577 Ali Adil Shah marched to the Hindu capital and blockaded it for three months. Though the Raja retreated to Chandragiri for the safety of his treasures, his energetic action compelled the Sultan to abandon the siege. According to Fariha, the cause of the Hindu success was that the fidelity of a chief on the opposite side was corrupted by a bribe of twenty-four lakhs of rupees and five elephants. The Adil Shah consequently retired to Benagipor and thence to Bijapur.³ In 1579 he besieged Penkhouda again, and his desire 'to wrest it out of the hands' of Sivadasa I (usually II) was not fulfilled owing, it is said, to the combination of Vijayanagar and Golconda armies.⁴ In 1589, after his capture of Gadchalika, Muhammad Khut Kutb Shah besieged Penkhouda, but the siege had to be raised, thanks to the exertions of Jagadeva Raja.⁵

B. RAID INTO VIJAYANAGAR TERRITORY

In 1583 was made a dash for Myvant, but the Muhammadan army was recalled consequent on the rebellion of Ibrahim Adil Shah II's brother.⁶ In 1589 happened the counter-raid into Udayagiri territory.

³Ibid., p 141.
⁴Ibid., pp. 424-4.
⁵Ibid., p 481, S Karayahar, Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 335-36.
⁶Ibid., vol. xii, p 139.
by Aisal Khan, the Golconda Governor of Konabarik, and the plundering expedition to Killahasti.

C. MUHAMMADAN RESISTANCE OF VIJAYANAGAR'S POWER

This is clear from the desire of the Sultans to make alliances with Vijayanagar, from their undertaking campaigns against the Inter after a combination among themselves, and from the flight of Muhammadan rebels to the Hindu capital.

In 1563 was made a joint request to Tirumala by the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda for help against Bijapur, but Ahmadnagar's demand of two lakhs of mess from Tirumala angered him and called forth the disapprobation of Golconda, which remonstrated against that astonishing requisition and emphasized the necessity of conciliating a useful ally. When that demand was, however, reiterated, Tirumala refused it and treated Ahmadnagar as his enemy. These negotiations, though abortive, threw some light on the position of Tirumala in the year following the battle of Talirola. In 1564 B BALLS Walm Shah concluded an alliance with Venkatapala against Ibrahim Adil Shah II. But it should not be forgotten that Tirumala forced the Adil Shah to retreat from Aneongul in 1566 by a successful appeal to Ahmadnagar, and that in 1573 Shriranga compelled Bijapur to raise the siege of Penukonda with the help of Golconda.

Though the capture of Adoni in 1569 substantially increased the military reputation of Adil Shah, he deemed it hazardous to extend his conquests southward without the help of allies and made an alliance with the Walm Shah. In 1572 another alliance was concluded between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, defining their respective spheres of aggression. Between 1580 and 1589 'a treaty of perpetual enmity and friendship' was made by Bijapur with Golconda which was cemented by a marriage alliance with the object of maintaining their conquests intact. Lastly, we are told that 'it had been always an understood principle with the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan not to invade the Deccanaggar territories without the general consent of the peoples.'

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2. Ibid., pp. 411-18.  
3. Ibid., pp. 156, 186 and 383.  
4. Ibid., p. 291.  
5. Ibid., p. 296.  
6. Ibid., p. 156-161.  
7. Ibid., p. 461.  
8. Ibid., p. 494.
Further, the chiefs disloyal to the Sultans hoped for and obtained help from Vijayanagar. Soon after the accession of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580) some of his nobles, who did not like his minister, thought of maturing their plot against the latter in the Hindu capital. About 1593 a plot against the Sultan of Golconda was organized at Penukonda.* The other features of the Hindu conflict with the Muhammadans, such as the aggressions of Vijayanagar and the territorial acquisitions of the latter, will be considered in another connection.

The sieges of Penukonda and their failure remind us of the attempts against the imperial city under the Sultanes. The attack on Kitzaheli is reminiscent of that on Kalkoli in 1611. The 'flights and apologies' of Venkata I. are similar to those of Sivan Narasimha and Bukka I., the 'victories' of Islam are like those of earlier times. Though such features of the Hindu-Muhammadan struggle are to be accepted provisionally, if at all, the strength of the Vijayanagar Empire emerges clearly from the aggressions of Venkata I. and the revolts of chiefs against the Sultans, some of which were instigated by him and his predecessors. Apart from the victories claimed for the Emperor of Vijayanagar in their inscriptions and in Hindu literature, the Muhammadan authorities mention the numerical superiority of the Hindus, with the result that the co-religionists of the former found it impossible to give them battle.† Moreover, the heavy losses of the Muhammadans are sometimes recorded.‡ It is too much to expect a clearer account of the strength of Vijayanagar from authorities like Farshta. But the abandonment of the city of Vijayanagar and the concentration on Penukonda pushed the sons of war southward, and the importance of the Ralcoor Dibah was transferred to the southern side of the Tungabhadra line, though not immediately after Tadkopa.

**HINDU LITERATURE**

Tirumala’s victories over the Sultans are recorded in two Telugu works, the Ramayanas of Venkayya and the Pozhavarnaman of Bhaskar Murthi; the latter authority mentions three defeats sustained by the Nizam Shah and other Sultans, one of which was at Penukonda and another near the Krishna, with the result that the enemies were expelled beyond that river.||

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†Jain, pp. 421-2.
‡Jain, p. 423.
§Adya., p. 435.
||Adya., pp. 211 and 212.
The Kavirajyasims says that Śrīrāja Rāja invaded the territories of Bījāpur, Ahmadnagar, and Golconda and 'resuscitated the glory of the Kānalī empire which had waned.' A victory over the Nisān Shīh is claimed for Rāma, his younger brother. The Laṅkavāraṇavilāsai of Ryasam Venkatapati records that Śrīrāja defeated the large armies of the Kuth Shīh and captured his royal menlīna. We find, however, the Asaṃs of Hāndi Aṃśatāravaṃs mentioning, after Śrīrāja's successful attack on Karīla and Kūlīranga, a counter-invasion by the Sultan which ended in the defeat and imprisonment of the Emperor and in their conquest and administration of the whole country north of Pemākonda. But it must be noted that the account apparently gives a defence of Hāndi Malakappa Nāyak's opportunism, and it is not easy to determine whether we have not here an instance of local patriotism falsifying history. The esteemed Muḥḥammadnāṣī historian refers to 'Kapoorī Timrā, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramrāj' becoming a prisoner of the Sultan of Golconda in 1579, but not to the imprisonment of the Emperor Śrīrāja. Moreover, Forlsnte says nothing in support of the statement of the Asaṃs. Lastly, the imprisonment of Śrīrāja is ascribed to the period between the cyclic years Manmatha and Viṅgiri (1555-56 and 1569-1600). So the reference cannot be to Śrīrāja I, the predecessor of Venkata I. The Laṅkavāraṇavilāsai mentions the conclusion of a treaty between Śrīrāja and the Kuth Shīh in consequence of the former's interview with the latter. Though that work was dedicated to a Muḥḥammadnāṣī chief in the service of Golconda, there is no reference in it to the imprisonment of Śrīrāja.

According to the Kavirajyasims, Venkata inflicted a bloody defeat on the Kuth Shīh on the banks of the Poosārī and fixed the Kralīāl as the boundary between the two kingdoms. The Rāmaśabdākhyānavilāsai of Rāmaśabhadāraṃbhāl refers to the services of the Tānjar Nāyak, Rāmaśabhadāraṃbhāl, to Venkata in defeating the Muḥḥammadnāṣis.

INSCRIPTIONS

Śrīrāja's Kralīālāmuraṇa copper plates of 1575-76 refer to his conquests of Kandāvēla, Vinākopa, Udayagiri, and other forts. His inscription of 1576 mentions him as residing at Udayagiri and

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1 S. K. Aiyangar, Sasan, p. 213
2 Ibid., pp. 221-2.
3 S. K. Aiyangar, Sasan, p. 222
4 Ibid., p. 228.
5 Ibid., p. 222.
records his conquest of 'the inaccessible' fortress of Konadaviga. Another record of the same year (Dhity, Amritale, Guntur) states the remission of taxes on merchants, weavers and others, 'on account of a plunder suffered by the people' 11. In 1577 and 1583 Çiraratya claims to have taken 'all countries' and received tribute from Ceylon. His Akobalas inscription of 1584-85 says that in Bahadur, (1578-79) he defeated the Koth Shih. 12 The Aminabad inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, dated in 1578-79, enumerates the Koth Shih's conquests from Vijayanagar in 1580 and says that he was ruling over the Konadaviga province. 13 In 1592 and 1609 Veshakta I claims to have 'levied tribute from all countries' including Ceylon. 14 The Siddhachal inscription of 1605 mentions the defeat of the Muhammadans by Veshakta at Panambula. 15

The relations of the Vijayanagar Empire with the Deccan Sultanates indicated by the evidence detailed above show that, after the battle of Tallichia, foreign policy was conducted by the Hindu Emperor vigorously, even with credit, with this difference that the deatable land was no longer the Bahadur Däch, but the region to the south of it along the Tungabhadra-Krishnā line. Two other features of the history of Vijayanagar during the half-century following Tallichia which deserve consideration are the extent and time of Vijayanagar's territorial losses in the north and the internal condition of the Empire.

Territorial Losses

Immediately after Tallichia the chief trans-Tungabhadra-Krishnā acquisitions of Ramaraja, viz., Raikimur and Mudgal, and 'all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Koth Shih in the reign of Ramraj' are said to have been seized by the Sultan. 16 In 1606 Adul was captured by Ali Adil Shih after 'several indecisive actions'. 17 In 1573 Bhāravār and Bankāpur fell after a resistance to him for six and fifteen months respectively. 18 The succeeding years to 1577-78 witnessed the capture (1575) and refortification of Chandraguptī and the subjugation of some of the chiefs of Malabar and the settlement of the new conquests in that region. 19

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1 C. F., No. 39 of 1869.
2 194 and 195 of 1869.
3 Ibid., pp. 393-40.
4 29 of 1869 and 58 of 1869.
6 Aiyangar, Vol. XX, p. 418.
7 Ibid., p. 394.
8 Ibid., p. 194.
Till 1576 Golkonda was engaged in the reduction of Râjamâhabadri and places to the north of it. It was in that year that the conquest of the de-Krishna territories of Vijayanâgar in the east began, the immediate cause of it being the attack on Kondapalli by some Hindu chiefs.1 Bahlâr-al-Mulk reduced Vinnkkoppara, Cumbân, and Bellamkonda and laid siege to Kondâyánâ, which surrendered, after a protracted siege, to Bahlâr’s successor, Shân Mur, with the result that Golkonda acquired the province of Kondâyánâ, “including two or three sea ports.”2 This was followed a decade after (in 1589) by the capture of Naâryâl, Kunool (?), and Gandikôtâ.3 Most of the petty rajâs of Beejâmâgur had now bent their necks to the Mahommedan yoke.4

Thus the whole of the Guntur district and parts of the Bellary, Kunool, Cuddapah, and Nellore districts, as well as portions of the West Coast, passed on to the Mahommedans. There is no doubt that by 1590 Vijayanâgar had lost the whole of the Guntur district; there are found in it thirteen inscriptions (Madras Collection) of Sûrânga ranging from 1572 to 1590 and none after the latter year during the period under survey, but such is not the case in the other districts where inscriptions of later years are found: in Bellary to 1592 and in Kunool, Cuddapah, and Nellore to the end of our period (1614). So the Mahommedan conquest and government of “the whole country north of Penmâkoda,” recorded in the Annals of Hândâ Anûsînâbînâr, cannot be accepted.5

But the above-mentioned conquests must be viewed in the light of the frequent revolts of Hindu and other chiefs against Mahommedan authority, sometimes instigated by Vijayanâgar, and the attempts of the latter power to recover them.

A. Revolts against Bijâpur

Gâlib Xîsh, Governor of Adûnî, revolted in 1594.6 In the same year the chiefs of Malabar refused to pay tribute, and an expedition under Balâl Xîsh was sent against them. His failure, imprisonment, and escape were followed by the refusal of the Regent of Bijâpur to direct his attention at once to that quarter.7 A second expedition under the same general was sent in 1597, but he was soon recalled.8 Another effort in 1599 fared no better owing to the rebellion of the

2 E. L. Ayerst, Gazetteer, p. 216.
3 Ibid., pp. 157-58.
5 Ayerst, pp. 447-59.
7 Ibid., pp. 160-61.
Sultan's brother at Belgaum which resulted in the attack on Banahade by the Malabar chiefs. "The semi-nomads throughout the kingdom of Bejawad were ripe for revolt." In 1593 Bijapur was about to lose Adil Shah.  

B. REbellion against Golkonda  

In 1580 Ali Khilji marched into the province of Konada, besieged Cambun, ravaged Kondepalli, and attacked Hissampetam, but was finally killed. The Aminulhadi inscription of Amin-ul-Mulk, dated in 1598-99, mentions the revolt of some Hindu and Muhammadan chiefs against the Sultan in the cyclic year Khara (1593-95) and their capture of the Kona district. The rebellion was put down by that general. The Muhammadan historian describes the revolt of three pujajiros, a Muhammadan and two Hindus, their refusal to pay tribute to the Sultan of Golkonda, and their plunder of his country near Konava, with the result that Amin-ul-Mulk conducted a successful expedition and the rebels joined Vizaynagar.  

C. VENKATA'S Activities  

In 1599 Venkata invaded Golconda, and the subsequent siege of Pemkonda by the latter had to be abandoned. He followed up his success by ravaging the province of Konada and attempting to recover Gannadi from Ranjhar Khilji. The Muhammadan historian notes Venkata's initial failure on the battle-field, but the siege of Gangadi was carried on for three months. The Hindu forces became so numerous that two Muhammadan armies 'found it impossible to give them battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies.' The Muhammadans became panic-stricken at the sight of 'a red bullock' driven into their ranks by their enemies. The Hindus took advantage of the situation and attacked the Muhammadans, who escaped total destruction by retreating, but sustained heavy losses, with the result that Rustam Khilji was 'diagnosed, on his return to Hyderabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished the kingdom,' and that the Sultan resolved to attack Wesaputra and 'to lay in ashes all the enemy's towns in his realm.' In the subsequent invasion the lords of Malava were destroyed and Muhammadan prayers were read in the
temples of that town. These edifices may well be compared in magnificence with the buildings and paintings of China, with which they vie in beauty and workmanship. Though the Muhammadan historians say that his co-religionists carried on war for 'several years' south of the Krishna, he does not record any further substantial results. These events happened in 1591 before Amio-ul-Mulk's expedition. 4

Venkatapet marched a second time to Kondivitru between 1591 and 1601, with an army of 'two hundred thousand horse and infantry and one thousand elephants,' but no battle was fought, and he submitted to the Sultan, confessing that the real object of his presence in that region was to see the lake at Camburn, according to the Muhammadan historian 12.

The only reasonable conclusion from all this evidence appears to be that South India between north latitudes fifteen and sixteen became the scene of contention between Vijayanagar and Bijapur and Golconda, and played part that the Raisch Dooab had played in earlier times. No doubt the territories on both sides of that region became the theatre of predatory warfare now and then.

Revolts of Vijayanagar Feudatories.

Forishat says: 'The country (Vijayanagar Empire) has been asked on by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district.' 4 This statement is generally taken to support the independence of the feudatories of Vijayanagar soon after the battle of Tadikota, but the reference is clearly to the time when Forishat wrote. His account of the fortunes of Vijayanagar after Tadikota does not substantiate that view as it mentions the revolt specifically of two chiefs, and they belonged to the northern frontier.

Adili came under a principal officer of Raischitja after his death, and it was that independent chief who came into conflict with Ali Adil Shik in 1593. 5 The chief of Dharwalker, originally an officer of Raischitja, paid an annual tribute to Tirumala till his own subjugation by the Adil Shik in 1573. 6 The ruler of Bankipur, another assistant of Raischitja, became independent after his master's death, but appealed to Tirumala against the Adil Shik in thousand year. According to Forishat, the Raisa gave the following reply to that appeal:

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5 Beque, pp. 486-487.  
6 Beque, p. 487.  
7 Beque, p. 151.  
8 Beque, p. 161.  
9 Beque, p. 162.
'By his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Pulkonda and Chundegra. He promised (however) to issue his orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience.'

But Farihaṭa does not mention the revolt of any of the major feudatories of the Empire, but rests content with naming two minor chiefs, without substantiating the weighty words he puts into the mouth of Tirmala. The unnamed Muhammadan historian says that 'most of the petty rajas of Benja-

nagar had now (1589) bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke.'

Moreover, Farihaṭa does not make clear whether all the chiefs con-

quered by the Sultans could be regarded as disloyal to Vijayamangla.

The Case of Madura

It is believed that the battle of Tālikōta straightway converted Madura into a potential rebel praying for imperial misfortunes. Some literary and epigraphical evidences are left in which relate to the half-

decade preceding the accession of Venāḷaḷa I. At times the period is
taken to the close of the sixteenth century or to the beginning of the next.

According to the Č怛̣hāvāṭravarāyana Venāḷaḷaḷoṭ of Tirumalārāya, Venāḷaḷa was involved in a war with Vīrappa Nīyakā, and Madura was besieged by the imperial army under Tirumalā, the nephew of the Emperor, who, however, received a tribute from the Nīyak and retired to his viscomarl of Sarigapāṭam, with the result that Rāja Uḍāyākīr decided on dispossessing him of it. Further, the Padakāṭtai plates of Ārī Vallabha and the battle of Vallapāḷiṇa they describe are taken to establish Vīrapa Nīyakā's disloyalty in 1589. Lastly, the Siddhaṇtr inscription of Māta Asaṇa, dated in 1605, which enumerates his achievements, says that he 'led the campaign against the Dvāṭiga king of Madura.'

With regard to the first piece of evidence, we are not sure whether the reference is to Vīrappa Nīyaka (1579–85) or to his great-grandson, Muttuvaḷaḷa Nīyaka I (1603–c. 1623). The latter possibility is con-

firmed by Rāja Uḍāyākīr's seizure of Sarigapāṭam from the Vīcarāy

Tirmala in 1610 and by the signs of independence which Muttuvaḷaḷa

\[\text{References:} \]

- Ibid., p. 246.
- Madras Epigraphical Society, 1902, p. 146.
cherished beyond a shadow of doubt. The much-discussed battle of Valaspricklira does not enable us to ascribe it confidently to 1568. As regards the Siddhant inscription, it is to be noted that the slumber imperialist Ananta is said to have ‘protected the flying arrows of the Madura chief from destruction’—a version different from the one given above.

The alleged disloyalty of Madura is sometimes contrasted with the conscious and admirable loyalty of Tanjore and with the less noisy but none the less substantial good will of Mysoor towards the Empire. But the literature produced by the Tanjore and Mysoor courtiers, breaching sentiments of profound loyalty, has not received the much-needed corrective of Madura literature. Moreover, the Jesuit writers of the period say that Mysoor was the first rebel against Vilayanagar; that Madura followed her example in the time of Mutthuvirappaga Niyaka L, and that in 1611 the Nayaka of Madura, Tanjore and J Huawei, all of them were unwilling in the payment of their tribute and sometimes insolently refused it. That Madura was no annex is abundantly clear. Inscriptions from 1555 to 1610 testify to the imperial hold on Madura, but these after 1610 implicitly tell a different story, which is explicitly confirmed by contemporary foreign records.

Thus there were only sporadic instances of minor feudatory revolts to 1610. There is no satisfactory evidence for the view that the battle of Telikot rendered the Empire ‘so wild and compact,’ to a number of warring states, and introduced ‘a state of anarchy.’ Further, it is necessary to avoid the fallacy of ‘After Telikot, therefore because of Telikot.’ The occasional expression of feudatory restiveness and even disloyalty may be better ascribed to the murder of Sadaniva Rilya by Tirumala’s son, noted by Casar Frederick—and there is no reason to doubt it—than to the battle of Telikot. Tirumala’s difficulties can be understood in that light. His attempt to repopulate the capital shows that he was not as demoralized as might be

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2 History of the Nayaka of Madura, pp. 11-9.
3 M. M. Aiyangar, Sources, pp. 283-3.
4 Bertuch, La Monarca de Madura, vol. III, p. 42.
5 Ibid., p. 125.
6 History of the Nayaka of Madura, pp. 73-4, 12-16, 57, 56-5 and 60.
7 Herrell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 328.
8 History’s Favourites (Everyman’s Library), vol. III, p. 110.
9 Ibid., p. 113.
supposed by the defeat near Talikōpa. This as perhaps in harmony with Caesar Frederick’s statement that Rāmaṇīja was betrayed into the hands of his enemies by his two trusted Muhammadan lieutenants. Tirumala probably thought that the effects of treachery could be undone. The Italian traveller’s references to the unwillingness of the barons and nobles to accede to the usurpation of Tirumala and to the consequent existence of many kings and great division in the Empire are descriptive of the first effects of the shock of Sadāśiva’s murder, which is put down by the same authority as the primary cause of the Empire’s troubles.

CONCLUSION

The battle of Talikōpa was undoubtedly the climax of Vijayanagar. It necessitated the abandonment of the imperial capital and resulted in the loss of the Ralobār Dōab, and the sons of Hindu Muhammadan conflicts was ultimately pushed one degree of latitude southward. The Ramanujacarya’s reference to Śrīkantā’s restoration of the waning glories of the Empire reminds us of the difficulties of Tirumala, which must have been caused in a large measure by the folly of Sadāśiva Rāya’s murder. Tirumala must have been confronted with the trouble incident to usurpers, which were perhaps intensified by their occurrence shortly after the battle of Talikōpa. The decisive success of Krishnādēva Rāya and the plenitude of the unignorable Rāmaṇīja’s dictatorial might were gone beyond recall. But for nearly half a century after Talikōpa, the imperial authority, owing to the assertions of Tirumala, Śrīkantā, and Veṅkaṭa I, the last in particular, was a living and potent force in South Indian politics, and anti-Muhammadan resistance was offered effectively and even creditably, thus the Empire continuing to render to South India the great services, political and cultural, associated with the other dynasties of Vijayanagar. But some of the results of Talikōpa could not be undone. The glorious capital was irretrievably lost, and the door was thrown open to the penetration of the Muhammadans farther south. Though the power and prestige of the Empire suffered some diminution, yet an almost equal struggle was carried on with the Muhammadan states, and provincial insubordination exhibited itself with potency only after the death of Veṅkaṭa I. Talikōpa was the climax, but not the grand climax of the Vijayanagar Empire.
Chronology of the Paramara Rulers of Malwa

By

D B Deshmukh, M.A

Rajputs

Among the several Rajput kingdoms into which India was parcelled out in the medieval times, the Parmaras of Malwa were an important one specially because the kings in the line were great patrons of learning and sometimes very learned people themselves. An attempt is made in this article to present their chronology with the help of all their inscriptions so far discovered and their dates found in several MSS.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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<th>Reign</th>
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<td>950-975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vairajmdeva</td>
<td>978-1000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skyaka (Harsha)</td>
<td>1000-1030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vilupati (Munja)</td>
<td>1030-1052</td>
</tr>
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(Soldi, a Chalukya king usurped the throne for some time during the reign of Munja.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Reign</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sindumaitra</td>
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<td>Yadovarman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayavarman</td>
<td>1186 For a few months only.</td>
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<td>Ajayavarman son Balika</td>
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<td>Arjunavarman</td>
<td>1283-1374</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devagadadeva</td>
<td>1274-1394</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayatungdeva or</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jayasimha II</td>
<td>1324-1340</td>
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</table>
All the genealogies of the Paramāras of Mālav begin with Upandra also called Kṛishna-vaiśā. After him the following kings are said to have ruled in direct succession up to Vīkapati-Mulīja, Vairāja, Sīyaka, and Vīkapati I. Vairāja, Sīyaka II, or Harsha, and Vīkapati II or Mulīja. In my article entitled "New Light on the early history of the Paramāra rulers of Mālav" published in the proceedings of the last Oriental Conference held at Madras, p. 303 ff., I have shown that in certain genealogies of the early Paramāras the three names of Vairāja, Sīyaka, and Vīkapati are wrongly repeated. I need not repeat those arguments here. I have also given in the same paper the chronology of the first three rulers of the family: I have shown that the earliest date found of the third ruler of the family, Sīyaka, which is also the earliest date of a Paramāra king so far discovered is V. S. 1005 and his latest date is V. S. 1019. The earliest date of Sīyaka's successor Vīkapati-Mulīja is V. S. 1031. Hence we can determine the period of the reign of Sīyaka from about V. S. 1000 to V. S. 1031. Now allowing approximately twenty-five years to the reign of Sīyaka's father Vairāja and similar twenty-five years to the reign of Vairāja's father Upandra-Kṛishna-vaiśā, the founder of the family, we can suppose that the family had begun to rule in about V. S. 950. Thus the chronology of the first three rulers is this: Upandra from V. S. 1000 to 1025, Vairāja from 1025 to 1040 and Sīyaka from 1040 to 1075.

Of Vīkapati-Mulīja, who, as said above, succeeded Sīyaka, we have so far found only two inscriptions, one as noted above of V. S. 1031 and the other of V. S. 1036 from Ujjain copper-plates. But we have found a date of V. S. 1050 for him from a MS. called Śrīśara-Kārṣṇi-vaiśā-
CHRONOLOGY OF PARAMARA RULERS OF MALVA

We know that Mulja was killed by Tulaasa* of the Deccan Chalukya family, who is said to have died in V. S. 1054. Hence we have to suppose that Vikrapati-Mulja was killed sometime between 1050 and 1054. Let us suppose that he was killed in 1052. The period of his reign can thus be fixed from V. S. 1030 to 1052.

In the Baveji copper plate inscription* of V. S. 1176 of Chalukyana Rataspila Shobita, son of Lakshman of the Chalukyana family of Nadjula, is styled as lord of Dharra. Shobita’s style* as shown by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is from V. S. 1079. It is possible that the Chalukyana king Shobita defeated Mulja and became for sometime lord of Dharra between 1050 and 1052. For we know it for certain that Mulja was ruling over Mulja in V. S. 1050 as stated above.

Vikrapati-Mulja was succeeded by his younger brother Siddharjia. Of this king no dated record is found. A fragment* of a stone inscription is recently found at Dharampur in Dhar State which seems to have been engraved in the time of Narsinhachakradava which, as we know, from Parimala’s Narsinhachakradava Charita* is the other name of Siddharjia. But this fragmentary inscription is of no chronological use to us. From some inscriptions and Prakritidas of the Chalukyas of Gujarat we see* that Siddharjia was killed by the Gujarati Chalukya king Chalukyanarjia. According to Gujarat chronicles Chalukyanarjia reigned from V. S. 1093 to 1088. So Siddharjia must have been killed sometime before 1088. We have reason to suppose that Siddharjia’s reign was short. Let us suppose that he reigned from V. S. 1052 to 1056.

Of Bhaja, who succeeded his father Siddharjia, six inscriptions have been found: two copper plate inscriptions both dated V. S. 1076 (one in the month of Mayga and the other in Bhadrapada) are found in Bhojpur and Bagpal respectively. A third copper plate

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1 p. 209.
2 Early History of the Chalukyas (Bhad) by R. B. Gokhale, p. 73.
3 Ep. Jast., vol x, p. 239.
4 Ibid., p. 73.
5 Uppublished
6 Jast. Jast., 1907, p. 138
9 Uppublished.
grant found in Indore is dated V.S. 1078. An inscription dated V.S. 1091 is found on the pedestal of a Saraswati image now preserved in the British Museum but which originally must have belonged to the now famous Bhoja Temple at Dhar. A copper-plate inscription, dated V.S. 1103 is found at Tikari in the Baroda State which purports to belong to the time of Bhoja. The sixth inscription from a copper plate grant found at Kajavara is unfortunately undated. From a M.S. of Kajavara also we get a date V.S. 1099 for Bhoja. We thus see that the earliest date so far discovered of Bhoja is in 1078 and the latest is 1103. The earliest date of Jayasimha who succeeded Bhoja is 1112. We thus see that the dates of Bhoja above-mentioned are of little use to determine the period of his reign. We can only say that he died sometime before 1112. Dr. Bakhier suppose that he ascended the throne in 1067, but according to tradition Bhoja ruled for 35 years 7 months and 3 days. Though such accounts are not always true we can suppose that Bhoja ruled for 35 years from V.S. 1038 to 1111.

Bhoja was succeeded by Jayasimha whose relation with him is not known. Of Jayasimha only two inscriptions have been found: one of V.S. 1112 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1116 from Paparhat in the Bina State, discovered by B. B. Gaurishankar Ojha. The earliest inscription of the next ruler Udayaditya is dated 1116. Hence it is clear that Jayasimha died in 1116 and in the same year Udayaditya succeeded him. Jayasimha therefore reigned from 1111 to 1116.

Of Udayaditya four inscriptions have been found: one as noted above is dated 1116 and is from Udayapur, the other of 1137 is

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1. Proc. Ind. Ant. 1882, p. 63
7. J. A. O. S., vol VI, p. 250
also from Udayapur, the third of 1143 is from Chittorapattinam and the fourth inscription is also found in Udayapur, but it gives us no date. Udayaditya was succeeded by his elder son Lakshmedeva, but no date of inscription is found of him. Lakshmedeva was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman, whose earliest inscription recently discovered by Mr. Garde is dated V.S. 1132. Thus between 1143 and 1151 we have to accommodate the remaining period of the reign of Udayaditya and the reign of Lakshmedeva and possibly also the earlier portion of the reign of Naravarman. We may suppose that Udayaditya died in 1144, his reign having begun in 1136 and that his son Lakshmedeva ruled from 1144 to 1150.

Of Naravarman as many as nine inscriptions have been discovered, four of which are fragmentary and give us no dates. Of the remaining five the earliest of 1151 is as said above from Udayapur, the second of 1161 from Nagpur, the third of 1154 from Mahakoreghod and the fourth of 1189 is from a copper-plate grant recently discovered by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the collection of the late Dr. De Kunka in Bombay. The fifth inscription, dated V.S. 1190, is mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer, but with all my enquiries the whereabouts of the inscription are not known. But we have found a date V.S. 1190 for Naravarman from a MS. of Mammarvanti's Rasamritasamhita. The earliest date of the next ruler Yadavarman is V.S. 1189 from his Dvara plates. We can therefore without any difficulty fix the period of Naravarman's rule from V.S. 1150 to 1190.

Of Yadavarman three inscriptions are found, one as said above of V.S. 1191, the other of 1182 from Ujain plates and the third and

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1 J. A. S. B., 1884, p. 23
2 The first half of this inscription giving the genealogy of the Panalyas up to Udayaditya was discovered long before and published in Jg. Ind., vol. 1, p. 236. The other half is this year discovered by Mr. Garde, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Gwalior.
3 Unpublished.
4 From Ujjain, Dhar, Uda and Biharis, all unpublished.
5 Jg., Ind., vol. 2, p. 105
6 Transactions of E. A. S., vol. 1, p. 454
7 Jg. Ind., vol. 2, p. 284
8 Jg., Ind., vol. 1, p. 174.
9 It is probably a mistake for a date found in a MS. noticed below.
10 Jg., Ind., vol. 3, p. 385
11 Ibid., p. 592.
the latest of 1189 from Zahiruddin.¹ Yasovarman is said to have been succeeded by Jayavarman, but no inscription is known of his. A copper-plate grant of Mahendradraja Lakshamivarman² is found of V.S. 1200. So this is clear that Yasovarman reigned to the year 1199. The period of his reign can be thus easily fixed from V.S. 1180 to 1199.

After the death of Yasovarman there was a great confusion in Māvāli and the chronology of his successors cannot be easily fixed. The records which are found lead us to believe that Yasovarman had three sons Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakshamivarman. We have reason to suppose that the eldest son Jayavarman succeeded him in due course in the year 1199 when his father died. But within a few months of his accession he was deposed by his younger brother Ajayavarman. But the third son Lakshamivarman resenting this act of Ajayavarman's, but not being able to depose him, only seized some territory and upholding the claims of Jayavarman founded a parallel line.³ In this line besides Lakshamivarman two rulers Harishchandra-varman and Udayavarman ruled as direct descendants. Of Lakshamivarman a copper-plate grant of V. S. 1200 is found, of Harishchandra-varman, a copper plate grant⁴ of V.S. 1236 and of Udayavarman, a copper-plate grant⁵ of V. S. 1258 is found. These grants are not sufficient to prepare their chronology.

To add to this confusion a king named Ballīla is said to have been the ruler of Māvāli sometime after the death of Yasovarman as is evidenced by some inscriptions and Pārhavnārīs dealing with the history of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.⁶ Ballāledeva, king of Māvāli, is said to have joined the party of the Chakravartis King Anuraga of Śimbab and the Paramārking Vikramashila of Chandrāvata which opposed the accession of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla to the Gujarāt throne. Ballīla and his party were defeated and Ballīla after a life of wandering was captured and executed by Yādovāhāla, an assassin of Kumārapāla. In none of the genealogies of the Paramārking of Māvāli the name of Ballīla is found. We do not know to which family

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¹ Unpublished; see Acta, Ant. A.S.I. N.C. 136-1, No. 2807.
³ See Presentation of Dates and Maps by Leard and Lowe.
⁵ Acta, Ant., vol. xvi, p. 244.
⁶ Presentation of Dates and Maps, p. 24.
he belonged. Under these circumstances I may suggest that Ajayavarman, who as said above, usurped the throne of Malva by removing his elder brother, might have assumed this name. Now the Vadnagarg inscription of the Chalukya Kumārapala, which is dated V.S. 1200 refers in v. 15 to a victory over Balliladeva of Malva and adds that the defeated king’s head was suspended at the gate of Kumārapala. We have, therefore, to suppose that Ballila or Ajayavarman must have been killed sometime before 1207. We may suppose that the event took place in 1203. Thus the reign of Ajayavarman or Ballila extended from V.S. 1200 to 1203.

We have now to accommodate between 1203 when Ajayavarman died, Ballila was killed and 1267 the earliest date found of Arjunavarman the reigns of Vindhyaavarman and Subhatavarman and also a portion of the reign of Arjunavarman. This has to be done by rough calculation only. We shall, therefore, suppose that Vindhyaavarman ruled from V.S. 1203 to 1235 and Subhatavarman ruled from V.S. 1226 to 1260.

Of Arjunavarman besides the Pipilnagaar plates of 1267 three more inscriptions are known. Two copper-plate inscriptions dated 1270 and 1272 are found in Bhopal and the third inscription on stone dated V.S. 1273 (Saka 1328) is found at Dharampur in Dhar State. The Bhoja Śiva inscription containing a portion of the drama Pritiśamantikā by Madhava discovered by Mr. Lal in Dhar belongs to the time of Arjunavarman but it gives us no date. Arjunavarman’s death must have taken place sometime between 1273 and 1278. For in an inscription of V.S. 1276 found at Haranadhipra in Central Provinces Paramaśicākhara Mahārājaśivārāja Paramesvara Devapalladeva is said to be the ruler of Dharanāgar. We shall therefore suppose that Arjunavarman died in V.S. 1274. His reign thus extended from V.S. 1260 to 1274.

Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapalladeva, who was the younger brother of Mahārājaśivārāja Udayavarman of the parallel line founded, as said above, by Narasimhandavaram. Thus in Devapalla both the families were combined and Malva began once more to be governed by one ruler after a period of seventy-four years.

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2 *J.A.O.S.*, vol. vi, pp. 51 and 52.  
3 *J. A. S. B.*, vol. v, p. 276.  
4 *J.A.O.S.*, vol. vi, p. 830.  
6 *J. A. S. B.*, vol. vi, p. 830.
Of Devapāla two inscriptions have been found, the earliest one, as noted above, is of V.S. 1275, the second of 1288 is from Madhabīta plate; the third, of 1296 is on a stone from Udayapur and the fourth dated V.S. 1296 (or 1298) is on a stone also found in Udayapur. Two dates are found from M.S. referring to the reign of Devapāla: one of 1286 from Āśāharā’s Jātaka/Āśāharā and the other of 1289 from Trivandrum/Nīlam by the same author. This second date found in the M.S. is important for it is as will be seen the latest date found of the king. The earliest known date of the next ruler Jayasimha II in V.S. 1295 found in a M.S. of Karasamitabājatīla. This enables us to fix the period of Devapāla’s reign from V.S. 1274 to 1294.

Of Jayasimha II, also called Jayatugideva, the earliest date is 1296 as noted above. The second date also found in a M.S. of Dharmasamudra by Āśāharā is 1300. The next known dates are 1311 from an inscription found in Udayapur, 1313 from an inscription found in Rājagiri in C.F. and [13] 14 from an unpublished inscription found in Attu in Koṭī State. This is the latest date known of Jayasimha II. He was succeeded by Jayavarman II whose earliest date known is 1314 from a stone inscription found at Mori in the Holkar State. We can therefore safely decide that Jayasimha II died in V.S. 1314 and Jayavarman II succeeded in the same year. Jayasimha’s reign, therefore, extended from V.S. 1294 to 1314.

Of Jayavarman II only two inscriptions are found, one of V.S. 1314 as noted above and the other of V.S. 1317 from Madhabīta. The earliest date of his successor Jayasimha III is 1339. We can therefore say that Jayavarman II ruled from V.S. 1314 to 1339.

Of Jayasimha III only one inscription of V.S. 1325 noticed above is found. But a M.S. of Samprathaka gives him a very useful date.

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2. *Indian Antiquities,* vol. 2, p. 129.
of V.S. 1340. The next known date of a Paramara ruler is V.S. 1356 of the time of Jayasimha III. But R. B. Gaurishankar Ople has shown that between Jayasimha III and Jayasimha IV two kings—Arjunavarman II and Bhoja II—had ruled over Malwa. He has found a stone inscription at Kuvili Bhandar in Kopili State of V.S. 1345 which states that the Chahamana king Hamira of Hanthambhor defeated the Malwa king named Arjunadeva. Secondly in the Hanthambhors (in 5-15) it is stated that Hamira defeated Bhoja, king of Dhar, who was equal in power to the great Bhoja. These statements show that sometime before 1345 the date of the Kuvili Bhandar inscription Hamira defeated Arjunavarman II and that sometime before 1356 when Hamira is said to have died he defeated Bhoja II. We shall therefore approximately prepare the chronology of these later Paramara rulers thus: Jayasimha III from V.S. 1344 to 1348; Arjunavarman II from V.S. 1343 to 1349, Bhoja II from V.S. 1348 to 1350 and lastly Jayasimha IV from V.S. 1350 to 1375.

Jayasimha IV was the last ruler of the family. By the end of the fourteenth century the Muhammadans most probably under Muhammad Tughlak completely seized Malwa and ended the Paramara family which had so gloriously ruled over Malwa for four hundred and twenty-five years.

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1 Neded in Ind. Anti., vol. xx, p. 46
The Forged Bonds of the Nabob of the Carnatic

IV

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. G. H. Pauwells, I.C.S.

In an article published in this Journal last August, an account was
given of a conspiracy against David Haldurton, a member of the
Board of Revenue at Madras, in which the prime mover was Avadhunum
Pampiah, Brahmin, the influential clasher of the Acting Governor,
John Holland, and his brother Edward John Holland. The plot led
in 1799 to Haldurton's removal from his office and banishment to a
small frontier post, but he eventually succeeded in getting reinstated;
and in 1798 Pampiah was convicted of conspiracy and sentenced to
three years' imprisonment. A Madras correspondent pointed out that
Pampiah's name was introduced by Sir Walter Scott in his novel
The Surgeon's Daughter. His career is of some interest; and I have
recently been able to gather some further information about him,
which throws further light on his intriguing activities.

In the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay there are
some ponderous tomes, containing Parliamentary Papers of 1800 to
1821 relating to the affairs of the Nabobs of the Carnatic and their
immense debts. This is a subject on which much might be written;
and any history of Madras would be incomplete without a description
of the intense interest and controversy that it engendered both in that
Presidency and in England. There had been a settlement of some
of the debts between 1786 and 1804, in which no less than five million
sterling were paid away, and whereby many of the Company's
servants acquired large fortunes. But there still remained large
claims of private creditors, and in 1805 Commissioners were appointed
to investigate them and make awards binding both on the Company
and the creditors. The Commissioners in London had under them
three Commissioners in Madras to make investigations there and
report to them. These were members of the Company's service
specially sent from Bengal, so as to be disinterested in the issue.

* Whishaw's Short History of Justice, p. 231,
of the claims. How necessary this was is clear from the extent to which the Company's servants and other British subjects in Madras had lent money to the Nabobs, or otherwise invested in their bonds, in spite of the most stringent orders against it, culminating in 1784 and 1787 in Parliamentary prohibitions on the subject. Some idea of the enormous speculation of this kind that even highly placed officers indulged in can be gained from the fact that among those who held such bonds were a Judge of the Supreme Court, the Advocate-General, the Solicitor for the Company and the Madras Commissioners' own Registrar, Mr. Brodie.

It was notorious that a large number of forged bonds in the names of various Nabobs of the Carnatic were in circulation in the Presidency. Thus Mr. Babington is stated to have collected bonds for above two crores of pagodas (\$20,000,000), which were offered for sale at prices less than the charge for brokerage on the nominal amounts of the bonds. This led to an agitation by the holders of genuine bonds, who feared a depreciation of the funds available for their repayment, if spurious claims succeeded. On their complaint, the Madras Government in 1808 appointed a Committee to inquire into these alleged forgeries. It reported that they undoubtedly existed; that the Nabob's books had been tampered with to support fabricated bonds; and that Avadhunum Pumpliah, who was a claimant to a very large amount, had instigated such fabrication. On the other hand, the Committee rejected the charges of fraud and forgery that had been brought by Pumpliah and others against one Raddy How, an officer of the Nabob, who had been appointed to aid the Commissioners in their examination of the Duffer books. The Committee refer in this report to Pumpliah as a person whose character and intrigues were well known to the Company and the Board of Directors.

Pumpliah's interest in the matter mainly arose from his having 'formed' a part of the Timevally District for some three years. In this he was associated with Thomas Perry, a Military Officer in the service of the Nabob. His formal agreement with the Nabob about

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2 Babington, p. 300.
4 C.R.P. XXXI, No. III, pp. 41, 42.
5 C.R.P. XXXI, pp. 41-42.
6 Babington, p. 39.
it was in 1780; and he became a claimant for no less than twenty-six lakhs of pagodas (£1,040,000) under alleged bonds of 1785 to 1788. He and Raddy Row were probably at first associated in manufacturing some of the forged notes, but in 1808 they had become bitter enemies. There was evidence that Purniah was anxious to secure the reinstatement of one Subba Row, a dismissed employee of the Nabob, in order to facilitate further fabrication in support of some of his forged bonds; and with that object he tried to bribe the Nabob, but was thwarted by Raddy Row. The latter was instrumental in getting the Government to enquire into the alleged forgery by Purniah and Subba Row of a bond for 46,000 pagodas. This was referred to the same Committee for report, and on July 11, 1808, they recommended a prosecution. On July 20, Government passed orders accordingly. Meanwhile the Madras Commissioners on July 11, had started their formal enquiries. The first claim that they took up for investigation was one on a bond for 38,500 pagodas put forward by Raddy Row. This was done because, it was proposed to employ him and certain other Duftar officers 'in a ministerial capacity of a very delicate and confidential nature,' and it was therefore thought desirable 'to determine, as soon as possible, the amount of their personal interest in the bonds.' Purniah on July 9, lodged an objection that this bond was a forgery, but the Commissioners rejected it as time barred and held that the charge of forgery was false and malicious. They accordingly recommended an additional prosecution against Purniah for conspiracy.

At this stage, things certainly looked very bad for Purniah, but he and his friends—he had an influential backing of Europeans, including his old associate Perry—were not easily beaten. On July 29 they forestalled the proposed prosecution by bringing a charge of conspiracy against Raddy Row and Ananda Row, the writer of the

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1 C.F.P. 1807-08, p. 770.
3 C.F.P. 1807, p. 38, last para.
4 C.F.P. 1807, No III, pp. 42, 43, 44, 45, etc.
5 Ibid., p. 42.
6 Ibid., p. 43.
7 Ibid., p. 70, para 7.
8 Ibid., p. 38.
9 Ibid., pp. 50, 58, 59.
bond for 38,500 pagodes, which was then still under the Commissioners' investigation. The two accused were committed for trial by a Bench Magistrate, Mr. Maitland. He was one of the supporters of Purniah, and was considered by Government and the Commissioners to have been swayed by bias, but he had before him the sworn evidence of two alleged eye-witnesses of the forgery, and probably acted, as he subsequently declared, in the conscientious conviction that considerable frauds had been committed by Reddy Row and others."

The trial took place before Sir Thomas Strange, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and a jury. The accused were defended by the Company's law-officers and the Judge summed up strongly against the prosecution. But on December 8, 1809, the jury brought in a verdict of "Guilty." A few days later the grand jury mentioned the indictment of Mr. Batley, a Secretary of the Naboob, for perjury in his evidence at the trial, and of Batley and Reddy Row for conspiracy and fraud. The trial of Batley for perjury took place in January 1809; and again, in spite of his being defended by the Company's law-officers and a summing up in his favour by the Chief Justice the jury brought in a verdict of "Guilty."* The Chief Justice, however, took the exceptional course of not passing any sentence upon Reddy Row and Batley, and released them on their own recognisances pending a reference of the cases to the King. A similar course was adopted by him upon the jury's conviction of Batley and Reddy Row at a third trial in March 1809. His two letters on the subject are among the papers I have mentioned.** He there states that he believed the accused to be innocent and that he therefore submitted their cases to His Majesty not as objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice.*** The Advocate-General moved for a new trial in the first case against Reddy Row on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence and the opinion of the Judge, who tried the indictment; but in view of the action taken by the Chief Justice, it was subsequently abandoned.**** The motion was stoutly opposed.

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* C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 50; C.P.P. 1814, p. 81.
* C.P.P. 1811, p. 25.
* C.P.P. 1811, No. IV, pp. 18-41.
* C.P.P. 1811, No. IV.
* * 1812.
* C.P.P. 1811, No. III, p. 378; No. IV, p. 29.
by Mr. Marsh, the counsel for the prosecution; and an address was presented to him by some twenty English inhabitants of Madras, calling him the eloquent advocate of the Rights of Juris and complimenting him upon his able argument against the motion. 2 On the other hand some other English merchants wrote to the Commissioners, expressing regret at the obstruction that had been offered to their investigations. 3

The Commissioners had undoubtedly been much troubled by the action of Pundish's supporters in obtaining the intervention of the Supreme Court, and in February and March 1809 they appealed to the Government of Madras for protection. 4 They naturally took the view that the juries' verdicts were prejudiced and against the weight of the evidence, in which they were supported by the opinion of Sir Thomas Strange. The Madras Government fully concurred and took prompt steps for the removal of some of the persons who had—themselves—been obstructing the Commissioners. The Magistrate, Mr Maltland, was removed from his office. 5 Mr Parry, who had been permitted to reside in India only so long as his conduct was objectionable, was ordered to proceed to England at the first opportunity. 6 Mr Roebuck, a partner of Mr. Maltland and Mint Master at Madras, was transferred to Vizagapatam, where he died, a broken man, shortly afterwards. 7 The proceedings were reported to the Governor-General in Council, who endorsed the action taken by the Madras Government and even proposed that an Act of Parliament should be passed to transfer from the Supreme Court at Madras to that of Bengal the cognisance of all questions connected with the claims against the Nabobs of the Carnatic under investigation by the Commissioners. 8 This proposal was not adopted by the authorities in England, but the Court of Directors otherwise fully approved of the view and action taken by the Government of Madras and Calcutta. 9

The opposing addresses to Marsh and the Commissioners that I have mentioned illustrate the factions that had arisen over this question.

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2 Ibid., p. 87.
3 Ibid., pp. 282, 291.
4 Ibid., p. 305.
5 Ibid., p. 232.
6 Ibid., pp. 304-5, 312. He is referred to as a man of great gifts and estimable disposition. C.F.P. 1801, Vol. III, p. 239 and 1814, p. 6. He was a keen supporter of the Madras Hunt; see Deevey's The Nabobs of Madras, pp. 125, 131.
8 Ibid., p. 197.
As remarked by the Court of Directors, the whole settlement of Fort St. George was 'outraged' by these disputes, and there must have been an atmosphere of conflict and excitement not usually connected with that station. This discord extended even to the Supreme Court and the Governor-in-Council. Mr. Justice Sullivan, to whom I have already alluded as a creditor of the Nabob, rather gratuitously, delivered a judgment disagreeing with some rulings of the Chief Justice in the Sessions cases, while Mr. Petrie, a Member of Council, who appeared to have unceasingly opposed the Governor, wrote a strong minute against any Government interference in the matter. In addition to the removal of civil officers already mentioned, there was in May 1809 a similar punishment imposed on a number of officers in the Madras Army, who were suspended by the Madras Government for the acute insubordination that had given trouble for sometime. In a letter that was written by Lord Minto to the Chairman of the East India Company in 1809, he deplores the disorders, civil and military, which then disturbed the Government of Fort St. George, as being the only exception to the tranquility of India. The view of the authorities in India that the juries' verdicts were erroneous was finally复查ed by His Majesty, who granted pardons to the three convicts. These were apparently received sometime towards the end of 1810.

If the story had ended here, then undoubtedly there would have been strong grounds for that view. But in the meanwhile there had been some sensational events at Madras. In June 1810 Reddy Row poisoned himself. This was apparently due to anticipation that his guilt would shortly be revealed, and that the powerful protection he had received from the Commissioners and Government would be withdrawn. Some of the Dumna officers, who had been sent with Reddy Row to aid the Commissioners, confessed their participation in extensive fabrication of the records, which affected the claims of Reddy Row among others. These confessions were made to Mr. Brodick, the

\[^3\] C.F.P. 1811, No. III, p. 57.  
[^8] C.F.P. 1814, pp. 4, 40, etc.  
Registrar of the Commissioners. But he concealed them for some months, and even went so far as to suggest that he should be authorized to institute an investigation into the frauds committed by the darbar's servants and others in forging bonds and misusing records. This naturally created the suspicion that he wanted to conceal funds, in which he and his friends were interested, and it was proposed to remove and prosecute him. It was only because of an accidental slip on his part that the concealment came to the knowledge of the Commissioners in December 1910, and further enquiries showed that their confidence in the innocence of Reddy Row was completely misplaced. The result was that on the very day that the pardon was read out in the Sessions Court, Aranda Row, the co-accused of Reddy Row, was charged with a further fraud and fabrication and was eventually convicted and sentenced to twp years' imprisonment.

The Government of India in 1812 acknowledged that the verdict convicting Reddy Row had proved to be right, although they still maintained that it was against the weight of the evidence.

In the end, therefore, the protagonists in this controversy, Messrs. Abbot, Maitland and Perry, were shown to have been fully justified in their complaints that the Commissioners had improperly supported Reddy Row. They had a hard fight, and bombarded Government with letters for over four years. Their protégé Puppleh escaped his threatened prosecution by his death in January 1809, and the indictment against his co-accused was abandoned in May of the same year. That there had been forgeries to an enormous extent is conclusively shown by the result of the enquiries of the Commissioners in England. Up to February 12, 1821, they disallowed claims in the amount of £625 million pounds out of a total of about £94 million. It is interesting to note that they found most of Puppleh's bonds to be forgeries or to have been fully satisfied, on the other hand his many creditors obtained awards on some of his bonds for over £25,000. Similarly all Reddy Row's bonds (including the one for 20,000 pagodas in respect of which he was convicted) were found to be forgeries or
without consideration, and his heirs appear to have obtained 
£441 on account of a year of pay due to his brother Ananda Roy. 4

The papers I have mentioned throw some further light upon the two
Hollands, whom Pumphish served as Duhshah, viz. Charles Darke, a
merchant of Madras, who had failed in 1777,5 wrote in 1789 to John
Holland, asking him to intervene with the Nabob for the payment of
his debt as he was in great need of money. This letter contained
some remarkable allegations that attracted the notice of the Court
of Directors, and in 1791 they called for a report about them. 6 In
a letter of December 23, 1791, Mr. Darke makes some startling
accusations against the Hollands. He says, for instance, that John
Holland was given a lakh of pagodas as a bribe for ordering a
detachment to help the Nabob in some military operations, and that
his brother extorted a further large sum by intimidation. He
mentions that a Committee was appointed by the Government to
investigate the charges against the Hollands, and that the Nabob
adduced evidence before it that he had paid them over four lakhs of
pagodas. The papers, however, afford no evidence that either of the two Hollands was eventually prosecuted. Edward
John Holland, who had been summarily deported by Lord Cornwallis
in April 1790,4 is shown by a diary of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce,
Lord Elgin's brother, to have been at Vienna in 1800. 9 It might
have been thought that he was keeping out of England for fear of
prosecution; but these papers make it probable that in May 1801 he
had come to London in connection with his claims against the Nabob.8
In 1818 an award was made for £16,258 in his favour and he is there
described as 'of Devonshire place in the Parish of Saint Marylebone
in the County of Middlesex.' Therefore the surmise that I made in
my previous article that both the brothers managed to escape the due
penalty of their misdeeds seems borne out by this further evidence.

P.S.—My acknowledgments are due to the Editor of the Times
of India for permitting me to republish the above article, which
appeared in its issues of January 19 and 20, 1927.

6 C.P.F. 1848, p. 181.
Reviews

THE OCEAN OF STORY


Thus new volume of Mr. Penson's great work may be called the Paliocentric volume, as it contains, not only, Somadeva's interesting extract from the Paliocentrum and as this circumstance has caused Mr. Penson to discuss in his first Appendix the history of the Paliocentrum in India and the rest of the world, which discussion has been supplemented by Prof. Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania, the author of Paliocentrum Refractory, with a comprehensive genealogical table of works derived from the Paliocentrum, and by Sir A. Denison Ross with a scholarly foreword on the Persian versions of that Indian collection of tales. A special instance of the migration of tales is contained in Mr. Penson's second Appendix on an Indian Replica of the Tale of Rumpelstiltskin, which story seems to have found its way from Egypt to India in Ptolemaic times. The index is very copious and conveys a good idea of the many interesting subjects treated in this volume of the Ocean of Story.

WURZBURG

J. JOLLY.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

JOHN COMPANY

BY

Sir William Forbes, C.I.E.

[The Badley Head, London, 12th ed.]

Great historians fall under two categories—the specialist who throws light on a great event or a great period, and the generaliser who by a new synthesis interprets the whole course of a nation's or world's history. In these days of swelling historical material, the specialist is carrying everything before him. A great French historian has

* Now of Yale—Ed.
specialised for a whole lifetime on the history of the French Revolution, while a great English historian's studies are mainly concentrated on the Civil War period in English History, and these are two of the greatest historians of our time.

The book before us is by one such specialist who has selected for himself a great subject. Sir William Foster has worked for more than thirty years in the archives of the India Office, and to-day he is the Historiographer to that historic Office. During a busy lifetime he has edited with marvellous care and scholarship many volumes of records of the East India Company, and now he is engaged in writing independent treatises on the history of that great Company. Three years ago he published an entertaining volume on the East India House which was well received. In the present book we have an equally attractive collection of sketches dealing with the domestic history of the Company from its beginnings in 1600 to its dissolution in 1833.

The history of the East India Company is a fascinating subject in many ways and has a great deal of romantic interest attached to it. That Company was incorporated in 1600 for trading with the East Indies, but it eventually became the sovereign of an empire unequalled in world's history. The immediate object of the Company was to procure from India pepper (a much needed commodity in those days) without resorting to the Dutch who had charged exorbitant monopoly prices on it in Europe. England had already heard about the great possibilities of Indian trade, mainly from the letters of the English Jesuit, Fr. Stephens (the author of Asia's First Flower, a Marathi Classic) but the menace of the Dutch monopoly was needed to supply the motive power to launch forth such a difficult enterprise. In course of time, the English Company not only shattered the trade monopoly of the Dutch and other European nations but was subsequently compelled to take sides in the political quarrels of the native princes, and this eventually led to the expansion of the Company's dominion in India and to the final supremacy of Britain in the whole sub-continent. Such a singular achievement by a few Englishmen abroad had its natural reaction on the history of their mother country. In the seventeenth century the English policy towards Holland and other European powers was swayed mainly in the interests of England's eastern trade, whilst in the eighteenth, the support of the Company's
possessions in India engrossed the attention of the leading statesmen in England. Directly or indirectly her Indian trade increased the wealth of England and enhanced her prestige in Europe. Nor was this all. English society was affected by this in many ways. The humble writer whom the Company sent into India often returned as a proud 'Nabob' ready to buy off his lord's manor and he (or his son) was found not unworthy of the hand of his lord's daughter. The far-reaching social and economic results of the Indian connection have not been properly explored by competent scholars, but it is a subject well worth the attention of historians like the author under review.

Sir William's sketches relate mainly to the domestic history of the Company. They deal with details, not with general politics or international complications. The author's object is evident from his motto—

I don't pretend to paint the vast
And complex picture of the past,

* * * * *

For detail, detail, must I care
(Ce superbe, si mesme !)

But the details of Sir William's sketches are presented in such a charming manner that the most casual reader will not be wearied.

The East India House, whether located in Smythe's house in Philipott Lane or in the commodious Crosby House or in the palatial mansions in Leadenhall Street, was one of the attractions of the city of London and played an important part in the history of London in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In that place were held the meetings of the Honourable Court of Directors, and these meetings attracted considerable attention since most of the financiers in London were in one way or other interested in the Company's profits and dividends. To the ordinary man, it was the warehouse of eastern commodities, strange spices and beverages, and to the women folk 'whose fashions were their passions,' the India House was the repository of choice draperies and elegant silks and muslins which were so popular with them in those days. The Company had not only vast warehouses but for some time had its own dockyard at Blackwall. It employed numerous people in these places, as well as in its Indian factories, and numerous people in and around the City were considerably interested in the Company's fortunes,
REVIEWS

In many other ways did the Company attract the curiosity of the London people. It introduced into England all sorts of tropical beasts and birds, elephants and monkeys "prattling birds called mynas", sabres and rhinoceroses. Charles II took great delight in these outlandish birds and beasts, and the Company took special pains to procure such objects for the royal menagerie and aviaries, then located in St. James Park. Even more interesting than this was the first appearance of coloured human beings in England. Two ambassadors from the King of Bentam visited England in 1682, and were received with great pomp in London. Banquets were given in their honour and on their departure they were knighted as a mark of royal honour. To John Evelyn (diarist) they "resembled in countenance some sort of monkeys" and they appeared no better to the contemporary poet, John Dryden.

The Company was solicitous for the well being of its employers and pensioners. It maintained a hospital and chapel at Poplar for the good of those who suffered physical hurt in the course of its service. The hospital was well looked after and provision was made for the spiritual as well as bodily well being of its inmates. Since 1800, the Company maintained also a college at Halleybury for the training of young men recruited for Indian services. All these institutions changed hands at, or soon after, the assumption by the Crown of the direct administration of India, in 1858. Halleybury College still stands in the delightful County of Hertfordshire, a monument to the wealth and magnificence of the great Company that founded it, and still bears on its walls the portraits of Thomas Maitlin and other great men connected with that institution. But to-day it is an ordinary public school and has no connection whatever with India.

The author sketches also the lives of various persons connected with the Company—of John Woodall, its venerable Surgeon-General, of John Deane, the brave sailor who went through strange vicissitudes in fulfilment of what he deemed his duty to the Company, of John Bruce, the Company's first historiographer, and last but not least, of Warren Hastings, who rescued British dominions in India at a time of sore trial.

Indeed Sir William has, true to his word, cared for detail, and we can assure him that his details are not superfluous but necessary, all the more so because he has woven them into a fine fabric, delightful
as well as enduring. With his sympathetic insight, thorough knowledge and delicacy of expression, Foster has made as interesting as romance what might have been dry-as-dust in the pages of a less gifted writer. His book therefore will interest not only the antiquarian and the biographer, but also the historian and the sociologist of the future.

But details, however good, are not sufficient; we want also, and urgently, 'the vast and complex picture of the past.' The records of the East India Company are among the best historical material (probably the best) in existence, and have been utilized in the past by such scholars of repute as Robert Orme, John Bruce (Foster's two predecessors as Historiographer), H. E. Wilson, Sir George Birdwood, and Sir William Hunter. Yet, we have not got a comprehensive history of the great Company, which has contributed to England's greatness as much as any other institution. Let us hope that scholars like Sir William Foster will before long supply this much felt need.

P. J. THOMAS.

RULERS OF INDIA—HARSHA

By

RADHAKUMUD MOOSHERI, M.A., F.H.I.

[Telcoota University Readership Lectures, pp. 150 and index. The Oxford University Press, price Rs. 3-8]
contemporary kings of the Guptas lineage, the identity of Susamka, the extent of the kingdom of Kumara Bhāskaravarman the friend and ally of Harsha and similar subjects. Some of Doctor Mookerji’s conclusions appear to be very reasonable, for example, that the war between Pulakesin II and Harsha must have taken place before 612 AD. Opinion will however differ as to whether he should have introduced the problematic theory of Yasodharman of Malwa being the father of Yasovati and thus, the maternal grandfather of Harsha. This is discussed in a note, but it does not appear to be relevant in a book intended for the general reader; at least, it would have been sufficient to have indicated the existence of such a theory in a footnote.

Apart from such matters, the main text of the book in all the chapters is above controversy. The possibility of a long and vivid historical work of some magnitude on the life and times of Harsha was foreseen and clearly pointed out by Vincent Smith as early as 1904 in his Early History of India. A few writers have since then, essayed to utilize the abundant sources available for this period, e.g., Bhandarkar, in France (1906) and C.V. Vaidya and K.M. Panditkar (1941, 1922) in India. We must acknowledge that Doctor Mookerji has utilized these sources to a greater degree than the previous writers. It would appear that 'Bana' has been thrashed to yield the least grain, and history has been discovered even in his descriptive passages. Still, we would remark that there could be a more thorough and systematic utilization of the sources, taken all together. A monograph on Harsha may contain a better and more exhaustive study of the times when the king lived. The chapters V and VI, 'The Economic Conditions' and 'The Social Life' could easily be fuller. We would have liked to find more pages devoted to Harsha’s dramatic works in a book which is professedly an historical biography. The author’s note on the Guptas art at the end of chapter V looks as if it is an unrelated essay; it might have been better knitted, and woven closely into the texture of an account of the artistic remains of the period and a sketch of its characteristic art developments. The period of Harsha saw the close of the ‘Classical’ period of Indian Art and the beginning of the medieval ‘Romantic’ period and as such is most eventful. A sketch of the art history of the period would be most welcome. The more particular reader will also miss in the book a separate chapter on Yuan Chwang, the second
Largest figure that fills the canvas of the history of the first half of the
seventh century. We do not think that an account of his life and
peregrinations would be out of place. There may be longer notice of
I-tsing and of the Greater India in the Far East. The Buddhist
Indian teachers of China and the East Indies linking up India and the
rest of Asia may be mentioned, and we would like to hear the echo
of the controversies in the halls and court-yards of Nalanda and
Nagarjunam.

But these are perhaps tasks that could be fulfilled only in the
future. In spite of the shortcomings indicated above Doctor Mookerji's
Harsha is the best of the accounts so far written on the great King
Harsha and his times.

R R

SELECTIONS FROM THE STATE PAPERS OF THE
GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF INDIA—LORD
CORNWALLIS 1786-93

EDITED WITH GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

SIR GEORGE FORREST, C.I.E

Documents, pp. 303 with a plan of Surangapatam.]

The late Sir George Forrest could not, on account of illness, see
through the press the story he wrote of the campaigns of Medowe and
Cornwallis against Mysore (1790-92) and of the Parliamentary debates,
correspondence, etc., that led to the proclamation of the Permanent
Settlement. The account is given here as it was left by him, except
for the supply of a few obvious omissions in the text. The introduc-
tion starts with the coming into office of Sir John Maopherson who
had rendered himself notorious as the secret agent of the Nawab of
the Carnatic in the negotiations that led to the appointment of Sir
John Lindsay by the Home Government as Minister Plenipotentiary
to Aroost and by his subsequent dismissal from the Madras Service
by Lord Pigot. We are then told of the negotiations that led to the
forging of the acceptance of the Governor-Generalship on Lord
Cornwallis the first Governor-General appointed after the whole power
of Government had been transferred to the Board of Control and who
was expected to carry out the chief aims of Pitt's Act. To refrain the
Company's servants in India was an easier task than to suppress a still more scandalous evil, the deeper-rooted "muddy source" of which lay in the corruption of the Court and the party-leaders, the Directors and Proprietors of the Company in England. Cornwallis did his best to remove the discontent of the Company's officers in the army, settled with the Nizam the cession of the Guftar Shera, as well as the English relations with the Nawab Visier of Oudh. But soon his greatest preoccupation came to be with Tipu Sultan; and the bulk of the introduction is devoted to the English relations with and war in Mysore. The campaigns of General Medows, a veteran soldier, are sketched at some length, while naturally enough the movements of the Governor-General after he landed at Madras with substantial reinforcements are most elaborately treated.

The treaty negotiations that Tipu concluded with Cornwallis resulted in the forcing of peace conditions on "the prostrate armies of the Sultan"; however these harsh conditions were considered moderate by Mysore, than a rising officer, who wrote thus, "Everything is now done by moderation and conciliation. At this rate we shall be all Quakers in twenty years more."

Cornwallis, who was sent out to India to pursue a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference except for self-defence, was obsessed with the notion that the utter ruin of the kingdom of Mysore would prove of serious injury to British interests, to which Mysore replied in his own way in a letter to his father—"It (peace) can never arrive while Tipu exists, while his power remains unimpaired, so far from being able to extend our territory, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Why then not remove, while we can, so formidable an enemy?"

The Introduction notices Cornwallis's missions to Nepal and Assam and closes with an account of the measures which led to the settlement of the Bengal revenue in perpetuity and of the code of regulations framed for the guidance of the Courts in Bengal. Small mistakes, which could have been easily avoided by a reference to the sources of information, have crept into the book here and there (e.g. Tsangdu, known to Orme, Wilkes and other early writers as Tiagai, has been put in the text as Tragrai on p. 63 and noted as being eight miles from

* Gage, Life of Sir Thomas Mores (1820), vol. 1, p. 131. "Roth, p. 129."
Trichinopoly, whereas Wilks from whom the point is taken
definitely says that Tanger is distant about eighty miles from Trichinopoly.
These are however very minor mistakes which crept in probably on
account of the author's inability to see the matter through the press
himself.

Sir George gives us a very good pen-picture of the Parliamentary
debates over the war and the precedent tripartite treaty and of the
way in which Fox assailed Dundas and the treaty with the Marathas
in his most vehement manner.

In the Documents volume are given the main items of correspon-
dence, minutes and dispatches relating to the war with Tipu, the
Maratha affairs, the land revenue settlement, general administration
and Cutch. Cornwallis's letter to the Directors, dated April 5, 1788,
describing the advantages of the arrangements made with Tipu by
treaty is worth close study, as well as his minute dated September 18,
1788, in which he skilfully put forward his view in favour of the right
of the Zamindars to property in the soil. He skilfully evades any
casting of doubts on the attitude that the Zamindars might adopt
with regard to their tenants under the proposed system, by saying that
'the experience of what they are or have been under one system, is by
no means the proper criterion to determine what they would be under
the influence of another founded upon very different principles.'

The publication of the important items in the documentary literature
relating to the English revenue policy in Bengal embodied in the
books recently published by Meares, Ascoli, Fittinger and Rams-
botham, helps us to easily follow up the trend of the correspondence
of Cornwallis relating to this field. The correspondence on the army
affairs and on the improvement of the civil and judicial services has
been chosen with great care. One desideratum in this volume is the
supplying of prefatory notes to each section of records which would
explain the trend of the development of policy and action, such as is
given in similar source books. We would commend this to the atten-
tion of the publishers, and urge on them the desirability of their
pushing forward this series by bringing out under equally distinguis-
hed editors like Forrest, the State-papers of the more important at least
among the subsequent Governors-General.

C. B. B.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT AND OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT

WRITTEN IN PERSIAN

BY

CASI RAJA PANDIT

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

LT.-COL. JAMES BROWN IN 1791, AND NOW EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND APPENDICES

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON

(Published for the University of Bombay by the Oxford University Press, 1964 pp 85 Rs 3)

This edition of a forgotten but valuable English translation of the contemporary account of the Panipat campaign from the pen of an eye-witness who was moreover much concerned in the negotiations preceding the battle, is by Mr H. G. Rawlinson who has done much valuable work in the field of modern Indian History and is now engaged in the work of editing and cataloguing the records in the Peshwa's Daftar at Poona. Casi Raja Pandit was a Decoodi Maratha Brahmin, an employee of the Oudh Nawab, Saifar Jang and Shiha-ud-daula, and was equally at home in Persian and in Marathi. His account has been judged by a competent critic as being on the whole veracious, 'very clear, comprehensive and rational,' though he was suspected of writing under Holkar's influence. The original Persian manuscript of the account has perished, and its translation by Lt.-Col. James Brown, Resident at Delhi (1788-89) and author of India's Tracts (1789) was almost unaccessible, being buried away in a forgotten volume of the Asiatic Researches.

Casi Raja gives a very favourable estimate of the ability in civil administration of the Baza Sahib, the Marathia generalship; but a very poor opinion of his strategic and military skill and his diplomatic skill in gaining allies. Casi Raja was himself the instrument of much of the negotiations that passed between the Baza Sahib and the Nawab Vizier and knew the weaknesses of the former. His unfavorable estimate of Maratha generalship and his condemnation of the Baza Sahib for abandoning guerrilla warfare and shutting himself
up in Panipat, have been generally accepted by historians from Elphinstone to Sydney Owen; and his remark that "Providence made use of Ahmed Shah Durrani to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas" is now proved to have arisen a little from prejudice, perhaps unconscious. Mr Rawlinson shows in his introduction how the Bhao Sahib's policy was not to dissipate his energies in guerrilla warfare, but to force his opponents to accept battle in the open field, and how, had the Peshwa come to his help in time as was desired by Visves Rao, the fate of the battle might have been different. The defeat of Panipat was to the Marathas from the bravery displayed by them "as honourable as a victory." The Editor gives as appendices the itinerary of the Maratha army in the campaign as given in Mr Sardaral's Maratha Rishad, a small bibliography of the campaign, the narrative of the battle as given in the Autobiographical Memoirs of the Early Life of Nana Farnavis (translated by J. Briggs, 1829) and two letters showing the trend of the Bhao Sahib's strategy. Two plans of the battle are also given.

We hope this book will prove the first of a series of historical records edited by capable scholars and will be followed by authentic editions of works now inaccessible like the Autobiography of Nana Farnavis.

C. S. S.

ENGLISH LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

L. F. SALMON

Illustrated. Oxford University Press, 1928. 312 pp. 7s. 6d.

MEDIEVAL English society, particularly from the twelfth century onwards, though marked with disease, poverty and cruelty, had its own note of joy, humour and laughter, the humour manifesting itself in the practical joke and the innocent story, and showing itself in art also. The division of society into the clergy and laity, and of the latter into three classes—nobles, traders and labourers—was hedged in with the corporate sense, in which the status of every man was fixed by his place in some community, manor, borough, guild, learned University or convent. The author, who has already brought out some books on life in the middle ages describes in a different chapter life in country, town and home, the church, the condition
of women, the facilities for travel and wayfaring and devotes special
attention to the description of education and literature, art and science,
law, industry and trade. He traces the village from the Saxon age
through the Norman and Plantagenet century down to the Elizabethan
parish, stressing the growth of the idea of private ownership of land.
The development of town-life and particularly of its rôle like inns, is
illustrated from accounts like the twelfth century description of
London by William Fitz Stephen and the fourteenth century poem of
Piers Plowman. The process of the drawing apart of the social
classes began with the increase of wealth in the fourteenth century and
was intensified with the rise of 'a new rich class' lacking the old tradi-
tions. The growth of the Universities trained and sublimated the
intellect of the country, while the friars gave to English religion
a new spirit and new methods. There was no very distinct line
between the grammar-school and the University. The tradition and
society of lawyers formed a highly characteristic product of the Middle
Ages, closely comparable to the Universities, according to the high
authority of Mr. G. M. Trevelyan; and their importance is only a little
lower than that of Parliament men.

The book treats of the part played by foreigners in the develop-
ment of English trade and industry, of the felicity of women, of the
merits of the good wife and of the almost equal part played by
women with men in love and war, house and field, sport and business.
The treatment is generally good, though in places overburdened with
detail. A bibliography at the end indicates a few books which will be
useful to students and teachers. The illustrations are numerous and
interesting; and the extracts from contemporary sources of informa-
tion are judicious and full.

C. S. B

EARLY EUROPEAN BANKING IN INDIA
WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON PRESENT CONDITIONS

BY

E. S.刚


Mention in the last decades of the eighteenth century, banks had been
founded by the Calcutta Agency Houses which did business not only as
merchants and agents but also as bankers for the mercantile community,
planters and the Civil and Military Services. Messrs. Alexander & Co. founded in Calcutta about 1770 the Bank of Hindustan which was the earliest European banking house in India. There were four severe runs on this bank in 1791, 1810, 1829 and 1832, the last of which it could not survive owing to the failure of its parent Agency House. Similarly the Calcutta Bank started by Messrs. Palmer & Co., could not survive the failure of that Agency House in 1829. The Bengal Bank, quite unconnected with the later Presidency Bank of Bengal, was in existence between 1790 and 1800 and even earlier according to the author, enjoying some sort of recognition at the hands of Government which allowed it to register and liquidate some kinds of Government bills. 1796 saw the opening of the General Bank of India, which, according to Mr. Sinha, was the first joint-stock bank in India with limited liability, 'long before the incorporation of similar institutions in England'—though this last claim requires further substantiation. The question of the limited liability of the shareholders of a bank was not free from legal doubts for a number of years. The deed of agreement of this Bank which has been quoted at length is comparable with the present-day memorandum and articles of association of joint-stock companies. 'The principle of limited liability' here enunciated, is claimed to be 'entirely foreign to the genius of the people'.

The General Bank met with considerable success from the beginning and reduced the Bengal Bank to an inferior position in the bid for Government patronage. It became the virtual banker to Government, though the latter continued to have its own treasury, and the independent treasury system only vanished away with the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks in the Imperial Bank of India in 1921. The author explains the scheme of the Bank Post Bills requiring acceptances before payment and drawn up in sets of three and not in sets. The notes of both the Bengal and the General Banks are examined and contrasted with the earliest 'porthole' notes of England and the earliest Bank of England notes and also with the corresponding indigenous instrument of the Derrain Dhashing Hawali.

Mr. Sinha traces clearly the movement for a scheme of paper currency first mooted in 1773, the need for a uniform paper being then much greater than now owing to the hopeless confusion of the different mint rupees in circulation. The Government of Warren Hastings enjoyed a very low credit and 'the notes of an imperious govern-
want, prose to and its reserves could not circulate. The then
advicer of Government, Sir John Collett, regarded a state bank as
impossible and suggested a scheme similar to that which came into
operation when in 1787 the General Bank was made the banker of the
Company. The General Bank did its business fairly efficiently, though
it never reached "a steady dividend-paying stage" and did not build up
reserves with a view to equalize dividends. The monetary crisis of
1790-91 brought forth a proposal from the chiefs of the Agency
Houses for the issue of nonconvertible currency notes against the
Company's paper and for the recognition of bank-notes as legal
tender, but those were not accepted. The various difficulties that both
Government and the Calcutta Money Market had to contend with, are
traced till the opening of the Bank of Bengal under the name of the
Bank of Calcutta in 1806. There now dawned a new era of banking in
India. Its notes alone were recognized by Government and it enjoyed
great reputation from the very beginning, on account of the dissolution
of failure of the previous banks. Its charter (1806) is declared by
Mr. Simha to run much along the lines of the plan for a General Bank
of India outlined by Sir James Stewart in 1772.

The history of banking in Bengal down to 1806 has been traced
elaborately in its own organization and in its relation to Government
and the currency system with the help of old state records and
newspapers and the records of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and
the Imperial Bank. In the second part of the book the author traces
the decline of indigenous banking—maintaining that the same causes
of political and economic upheaval destroyed the indigenous banks and
constructed the European banks, but these processes were distinct,
though simultaneous (p. 171). The functions of the Debrees and the
straffs gradually changed under the new conditions. The European
banks added an important function to the general duties of a bank, viz.,
the issue of notes which was then a most urgently needed want in the
rotten and chaotic state of the currency. The indirect effects of such
bank-notes were extensive, especially for the maintaining of the value
of Government securities. This close connection between Government
and the banks benefited both. The sound organization of a strong
money-market and the stressing on the need for a discount market
under the aegis of a strong central institution were proved to be
necessary by the history of early banking in Calcutta; and these needs
have been repeated by the recent Royal Currency Commission. The
issue of notes by banks was a common enough feature in those days,
and the demand for a reversion to that system, with modifications, has
been made also by the Commission and by others. Mr. Sinha discusses
other important problems like the proper relations of the Imperial
Bank to Government and other banks, the need for industrial financing
and for the introduction of a gold currency which alone will create
confidence in the people and wear them from their hoarding habit, a
State Land Bank, the provision of greater facilities for the development
of banking habits, etc., including the need for a better co-ordination of
the indigenous and English systems. The treatment has not been
uniformly clear, especially in places in the first part; but the conclusions
are generally sound and valuable, specially as concerns the
consideration of the system of indigenous banking. The information
contained in the book is confined mainly to the Presidency of Bengal,
and as a reviewer points out elsewhere there were banks started in
Bombay about half a century earlier than in Bengal while the Dutch
had set up an Indian Bank as early as 1746. The doings of the banks
have not been fully portrayed in Government records and proceedings
which only throw much light on the relations of these institutions with
Government. We are still very much in the dark with regard to the
bankers' activities in financing private and small-scale trade. With these
limitations the book is a useful addition to our knowledge of the early
currency and banking development of British India.

C. S. S.

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN
WORLD FROM THE Earliest Times to the
Fall of Rome
BY
H. G. RAWLINSON

[Second Edition - Cambridge University Press, 1895, pp. viii and 466, with a
map and a list of illustrations, £2 6d. net.]

This is practically a reprint, with no appreciable alteration or addition
of the first edition published in 1866. It traces Indian relations with
the West from the times of Solomon and even earlier; and it carries
on the story in the closest possible, succinct and compact manner of
writing, characteristic of the author who as early as 1812 contributed an article on Foreign Influences in the Civilization of Ancient India to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and later incorporated it as the last essay in his Indian Historical Sketches (Longmans, Green & Co., 1913). The bulk of the material has been gathered from the Western classical writers direct and from McCrie's translations of them. We wish he had thrown some light and tried to construct a narrative of the probable influences mutually operating between Ancient Mesopotamia and the Indian Valley from the base of the Boghas Kol Inscriptions, the excavations at Mohanjo-Daro and Harappa, etc. The book brings out in clear outline the spread of Hellenistic culture in North-western India. It is very few writers that have dwelt upon this subject, and only one of them has in recent times attempted to describe it at length (G. N. Banerjea, Hellenism in Ancient India. Butterworth, 1818). The last chapter of Mr Rawlinson's book, being a very good summary of the effects of this intercourse between India and the Eastern Mediterranean world, should be valuable in particular to the student of Indian history and culture.

C S S.

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ŚILPAŚĀTRA

BY

PROFESSOR PHANDMEA NATH BONE

Visva-Bharati University

[Published in the Punjabi Oriental (Bengali) Series]

Thanks to the late much lamented pundit and scholar Mahimakapadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri, and other scholars, a vast literature treating of the science of śāstras has been made accessible to earnest students of Indian art and architecture. Besides others which have been positively lost beyond redemption, there are still valuable manuscripts in the different libraries which await publication. The science of Śilpaśāstra is a very important one, for it is the said test of a nation's greatness in respect of culture and civilization. Such a vast and useful subject could not be treated with any justice in a small volume like the one under review. And still the attempt is a welcome one.

The whole volume of literature extant on the art and science of
Sūtraśātras has been classified into three main divisions: Vaiṣṇavītva, or the science of architecture, Śāstrikītva, or the science of sculpture, and Čatur-vala or the science of painting. The author has taken each of these divisions and has examined them from the sources of information available. The chief works from which references are often made are the Vishnuśāstra, Purāṇas, Śākhāśāstras, Praśnā-samālakaśāstras. The last work is a manuscript attributed to the sage Ātreya. Professor Bose seems to take it as a Buddhistic work, and quotes largely from it. Something like an elaborate study has been attempted on the Vaiṣṇavītva. But the chapters dealing with the science of sculpture and painting only contain elementary details which at least form an introduction to a detailed study of the subject.

The opening chapters on the origin of Śāsana and the Indian Śūtraśātras are interesting but do not exhibit the serious labour of an earnest researcher. According to our author the history of Indian art and sculpture begins with images and sculptures of Buddhistic origin. Even those artists might have been inspired by the Greek model. There were no temples or images before the Buddhist period, because there are no remains of the images of purely Hindu gods of such an early age. These are statements that have no legs to stand on when tested in the light of various details of historical evidence. It would be out of place to discuss these points in a short review like this. The last chapter on the 'Contribution of Indian Art' is indeed a disappointing section. Even in a short study of this great subject, we expected that Dr. Bose would elaborately deal with the greatness and significance of Indian art, and the real contribution it has made to advance Indian culture and its place in the progress of world civilization. We are not able to understand why this important section is dismissed with two pages.

The one redeeming feature of the book is the two appendices, one giving the text of Śāstrītva, and the other quotations from the manuscripts on the subject in the Vīshveshwara Library. The printing of the book is far from satisfactory. There are a large number of mistakes in spelling of ordinary words, and also mistakes in transliteration of Sanskrit words which by a more careful proof-reading would have been avoided. In spite of these defects the book would serve as an introductory handbook to students of the Indian Śūtraśātras.

V. R. R.
REVIEWS

ECONOMIC ANNALS OF BENGAL

By

Mr J. C. Sinha

Dacca University


The beginnings of the eighteenth century witnessed very important developments in the domain of Economics in India. It was the era of transition from the old order of things to the new. The Economic history of Modern India like that of Ancient India has yet to be written. So far there is no authoritative study of a period or periods of Indian History from the economic standpoint. An endeavour has been made in the book under review to study critically the different economic questions which exercised the minds of Hastings and Cornwallis who happened to be at the head of the administration at this particular period. This is not a loose and popular study of a great question. On the other hand, Professor Sinha has based all his facts on rare and valuable documents, most of them being manuscripts in the Imperial Records Office. As such, it is a serious study of a serious problem.

The learned author of the work has chosen for his study a period, 1757-93, which is one of the most trying ones in the annals of modern history of India. It was a period when the political horizon was in a muddle and confusion, when political intrigues were rampant, and when there was no settled order and peace which are so much essential for the satisfactory settlement of economic and industrial questions. The first chapter is an introduction rapidly surveying the economic conditions prevalent in Bengal from 1707 to 1757, when the English Company became an important political body, as a consequence of the English victory at the battle of Plassey.

But the most interesting and valuable chapters are the third and the fourth where the economic reforms of Hastings, and Cornwallis have been treated in a connected whole. After a complete study of the book, it is clear that the author has mainly pitched upon two difficult topics, the history of Bengal commerce, and the problem of currency in the period under review. In dealing with commerce the author has not failed to mark the Inland trade from the foreign trade. The different items of trade, their character and volume are discussed with a wealth of detail.
Equal, and perhaps more attention, is paid in the discussion of the currency problems which were nothing but complex. There was no uniform currency. There were different kinds of rupees in circulation in one and the same district, and there was no settled exchange ratio. It could not be positively said whether monometalism or bimetallism suited the land. Each was given a trial and found wanting. In this short period bimetallism was adopted three times. Neither Hastings nor Cornwallis could solve the problem to any satisfactory extent.

The concluding chapter is a thought-provoking one. Professor Shaha points out that as a result of the Company’s monopoly in manufactures and the consequent oppression of the weavers, most of the indigenous industries decayed resulting in the destruction of the industrial spirit of the people in the long run. They became dependent more and more on agriculture. The learned professor concludes: ‘The ameliorative measures of Hastings and Cornwallis, however beneficial in other ways, did not really compensate the people for the loss of the industrial spirit and the destruction of capital.’ The book is written in lucid and clear English, and the printing and the set-up leave nothing to be desired.

V. R. R.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

by

DR. E. C. LAW, M.A.

[Published in the Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series.]

The history of ancient India is still in the making. In spite of decades of research by both Western and Eastern savants, our knowledge of ancient Indian historical facts is still meagre. There are still knotty problems that await final solution. One such intricate subject is the state of India in prehistoric times. It is generally admitted, and we are afraid on very slender evidence, that there was a tribal stage out of which evolved the state consciousness. Dr. Law, a distinguished student of ancient Indian literature, has been devoting himself to this particular subject for several years past, and the present work is the outcome of his strenuous labours.

The book contains a study of five ancient tribes—the Kansis, the Kosaras, the Afmaras, the Magadhas, and the Bhojas. The author has
left no source unexploited in the matter of treating each of these kingdoms. The history of each country or Janapada is begun from the Vedas times and carried on to the historical period with a wealth of detail all culled out from both Sanskrit and Pali literature. After completing every page of the book, if we would ask ourselves the question, whether we can admit of different tribes occupying these territories, the answer seems to be more on the negative side. Let us, for example, take the chapters on the Kasi and the Kosala.

As for the Kasi, whether from Ashvaghoosa Nikaya the Epics, the Aranyakas or the Chinese version of Timian, it is not possible for us to say that the term Kasi was the name of a tribe. It would appear from the Aranyakas that the sons of Kasa, King of the Asanah dynasty were known as the Kasis. Again there is no mention of Kosales as the name of a people in literature. The origin of the term 'Kosala' from Kosales as given in the Bakhshagos is indeed interesting. As the author himself has pointed out, the term plural भोजज्ञम is used in the Aranyakas not to denote the people but the Kosala regions. These and other facts confirm more and more our supposition that the terms Kasis, Kosales, etc., did not represent the name of any separate tribe but offshoots of a great family of princes like the Mahabahu. Hence it would be fitting if the book is entitled 'Ancient Indian Kingdoms.' These small states seem to have been independent, each striving to absorb the other either by conquest or by marriage relations.

The book is a careful study of the different kingdoms. The author has perhaps exhausted all the available sources of information. It is an encyclopedia of information on the respective kingdoms. The printing and get-up are good.

V. R. R.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF SOME NOTABLE MINISTERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

EDITED BY

PROFESSOR P. O. C. HARDWICK

[Macmillan & Co., London.]

This consists of a series of eight lectures delivered at the London University in the spring-term of 1898. As the Editor's preface shows,
the lectures enjoyed a wide popularity and attracted larger audiences
than any course ever given at the University. We have no difficulty
in believing the statement as the subjects treated of were men that
played a prominent part in Victorian England, whose memory has not
as yet passed into history altogether. The lecturers were professors
of distinction who have apparently paid special attention to the subjects
they treated. In those circumstances, it will be small wonder if the
lectures proved very acceptable, and an appreciative audience is only
a matter of course.

The lecturers do not attempt presenting a full biography or a
complete study of the subjects they have taken for treatment. Their
object seems to have been clearly limited to the political principles
that guided each one of those great men who played their parts in the
rough and tumble of political life in England. A treatment on this
principle necessarily involves many omissions and comparatively few
commissions, and it would be hyper-criticism to point out omissions
in respect of detail or see commissions of error by way of statement
that the lecturers chose to make. In the nature of the case either of
them would be easily possible, as the one is a matter of views, and the
other, though belonging to the realm of matter-of-fact, would be out of
accord, as the purpose of the lectures was not exhaustive treatment.

Without going into the details of each one of these lectures, which
would take up too much space for a review, we may say generally
that each of the lecturers has done his part on the whole very well.
They have been able to put their finger on the principles that underlay
the action of most of these prime ministers, and have been able to
give apt illustrations that give unmistakable indication of the principle
underlying their action. The lectures are uneven in point of length,
but this can hardly be helped where different lecturers deal, each with
his own particular subject. It would be invincible to mark out that
which seems 'better than the others in this respect or that.' We may
say as a whole that the course of lectures pleased us in the reading,
and we hope they would similarly provide pleasant reading to those
that care for it. The organizers have done well in arranging the
courses, and of publishing the lectures themselves when they were
delivered. Such courses are bound to stimulate interest, and may
lead perhaps to further study of the subjects by University students.

...and when this is attained the object of the lecturers is attained.
REVIEWS

BUDDHIST INDIA (Vol 1 No 1)

AN ILLUSTRATED BUDDHIST QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

D A DHAMMACHARYA

AND

B M BARUA

We welcome to the ranks of journalism this Quarterly, Buddhist India, which takes upon itself to expound the teaching of Buddhism, and its saving features in the land of its birth, where it has almost been completely forgotten. Buddhism which now is a living religion of half Asia, and a very considerable population of the world, though it originated and received its early development in India, has become so completely forgotten, and its literature not so readily available in Sanskrit as to be cultivated very much in the country. A revival in the study of Buddhism and Buddhist history is undoubtedly welcome in our present state of knowledge of both. Those responsible for this journal have taken care not to make the journal an organ of any particular Mission. Buddhist journals are not too many, and an English Quarterly for the purpose of establishing the cultural link between 'India and the Far East, and thereby between the East and the West' is a welcome addition. It is also to be the vehicle for the dissemination of the results of the latest research concerning Buddhism. The first number before us holds out promise of success.

It begins with the invocation to the Buddha followed by a life, and then there is an account of the Pali Tripitaka. There is an interesting article on Buddhism as a universal religion. There is an important study on Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist Śaṅkarāchārya, by Dr. B. Bhatta-charyya, the editor of the Tattva-samgraha. There are other interesting articles of a more or less popular character among which mention may be made of the popular exposition of the teachings of Barhat Stage by B. M. Barua. There are miscellaneous notes on Buddhist art, archaeology, etc., together with reviews, and editorial notes. We wish this interesting periodical all success.
JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

JONYASA

BY

Vaidya Visarada Natusa Gani

AND

B. G. Subhrarangsa Sarma

Another Quarterly has also made its appearance with the December of last year, Jonyasa, from Madras. This journal seems deliberately intended to counteract what is called Western methods of research in Indian studies. It is edited by Vaidya Visarada Natusa Gani and B. G. Subhrarangsa Sarma. The first part is introduced to the public with a foreword by our much-respected countrymen, Prof. K. Sambarama Aiyar of Kumbakonam. The journal has three articles, (1) Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Sankara, (2) an article on the Vrittilaka, and (3) one on Acharya Sundara-pudlya.

All these and the foreword alike lay emphasis upon the fallacious methods of research pursued by Oriental scholars in respect of matters Indian, and lay themselves out to correct these errors by pursuing apparently what they consider to be the right method. We admit that in the work of research as it is pursued at present by Western scholars and Eastern, on matters of Indian history and culture, there may be much that is wrong in regard to the conclusions for which many good reasons may be urged in explanation. But as to the method, we are not aware of that sharp distinction that is actually drawn in this journal between the so-called Western and Eastern. Eastern scholars and critics even before the European advent were not altogether unaware of the methods of research inaugurated by Western scholars about a century and a half ago. The only difference is perhaps that in olden times research was pursued perhaps with access to texts and teachers to a far greater degree than at present, and all the defects of modern research may perhaps find satisfactory explanation in this. But if one could judge of the methods of research sought to be inculcated in this journal, it would seem clear that the scope adopted is narrow, necessitating results being inevitably fallacious. Without going into details and labouring the point, we may merely point out that the data ascribed to Sankaracarya in the sixth century A.D. may seem quite all right on the basis of the evidence adduced, but it is entirely forgotten that the evidence of Buddhism and Buddhists themselves must be held equally valid, and the conclusion that
reviews

goes against Buddhist testimony cannot be altogether correct. If
Bhikkhu Chāryā were almost contemporary with Buddha, there would be
comparatively little of the kind of the Buddhist text Bhikkhu Chāryā
had to combat against. That could be easily made by pushing Buddha’s
data backwards by a number of centuries. It is there that the
evidence of Buddhism itself would go against this conclusion.

While we approve of the effort to let in all the evidence available
on the Sanskrit side which is emphasised in this journal, we must pro-
test against research that does not take into account, even in matters
having reference to Brahmanical culture alone, the light that the
history of the heretical systems may throw upon this. Much light ought
to be welcomed and held to be valid. While therefore welcoming the
journal as highly to be a valuable addition, we would wish very much
that those responsible for it would lay themselves out for a wider and
more comprehensive study even on Eastern lines, so that the results
that they may achieve may be much less one sided than they happen
to be.

The Life of Buddha on the Stupa at Barabudur

(According to the Lalitavistara Text)

Edited by

E. N. J. Krom,

Professor, Leiden University.

[Published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1936]

It is now generally accepted that the Buddhist monument at Baraba-
dur is one of the wonders of architecture, and a miracle of stone work.
Descriptions of the great monument have been made from time to
time of a more or less complete character, but it remained for the
enterprise of the Dutch Archaeological Department and the publishing
house of Martinus Nijhoff to bring out a magnificent album of some
hundreds of plates in two volumes and a letter-press in Dutch in a
single but large enough volume some years ago. An English version
of the letter-press was promised, but the war which upset so much
also upset this as well. An earnest of this English promised version
is this work by Dr. Krom, in which he selects one section from the
whole big monument bearing upon the life of Buddha. He compares
the incidents in the life as they are depicted on the monument and as
they are described in the Sanskrit text of the life, Lalitavistara. He
finds the similarity rather close, and incidents are found to correspond almost to every illustration contained in the monument, thus exhibiting that the Lakhmīkātā text that is available to us forms perhaps the basis of the monument, such as it is in Java. Thus we have here a monument supporting the text, and the text explaining the monument.

The magnificent mention of human hands is ascribable to the glorious days of Sri Vijaya in the eighth and ninth century A.D. Indian emigration from South India dateable even to the centuries before Christ went across to the east both the inland region and the continent across Sumbatia seems to have been the objective of these voyages, and made a great impression on the mind of South India, as is evidenced by passages in the Tamil poem Alavandhalesa. It was here that the foundations of a kingdom were laid early, and all religions which had their birth and prosperity in South India found a refuge in Sri Vijaya, the modern Palembang. About the middle of the eighth century, this kingdom grew into an empire under a dynasty of rulers known to historians as the Sailendras. It is to the court of these Sailendras rulers and their capital Palembang that I'Taing went as providing the climatic and academic advantages for prosecuting his life work, accurate translations of Buddhist sacred books that he collected by his long years of travel in India. This empire under the Sailendra extended outside the island of Sumatra, and reduced the neighbouring islands to subjection, among which was Java in the immediate neighbourhood. Barabudur is a product of this glorious epoch of this glorious dynasty of Sailendras. At a period somewhat later, the Sailendra influence and power grew so great that these Sailendras came into touch, diplomatic and commercial with the celestial empire of China on the one hand, and the Chola empire of Kiijuria the Great on the other.

The monument at Barabudur is taken to be Mahayanaistic in character, and is traditionally taken to be the work of a Buddhist by name Gunadharma, and gives in the single monument an epitome of the Buddhist universe almost similar to that which is said to have been built at the Chakravāljakṣetram, according to Mapamahāsa. Dr. Krom has done his work exceedingly well: the illustrations are magnificent, and the letter-press for the 150 pictures given are clear and illuminating. We shall be looking forward to the whole work promised, with interest and expectancy.
REVIEWS

'HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL INDIA' (VOL. III)
DOWNFALL OF HINDU INDIA

By
C. V. Vaidya, I.A.S.

We must congratulate Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, the veteran Marathi scholar, and retired High Court Judge, Indore, on his great enterprise and good luck in bringing to a close his attempt at writing the History of Medieval India, for the period A.D. 900 to A.D. 1200. In the comparatively difficult period of Hindu India, the period that Mr. Vaidya has chosen is perhaps the most difficult in many ways. Nothing daunted by the vastness of the enterprise or by the difficulties involved, he has attempted the task on the whole with success. The part before us continues the good work which he has already given us in the two previous parts, the third forming no sine as big a part as the two others put together. The learned Rao Bahadur has dealt with the period with his usual learning and critical acumen. While for certain parts there is a plethora of material, there are parts which suffer from lack of reliable material, and in both alike Mr. Vaidya has exhibited critical ability and great industry.

It is a great pity that the work should have suffered damage by fire before it was hardly published. We only hope that the demand for the book from students and scholars alike would be sufficient to encourage his publishing another edition to compensate him at least partially for the loss that he sustained and for the labour that he bestowed upon the work. While one would wish him compensation for the loss certainly, one must bear in mind it often times proves that labour is its own reward in such enterprises. We congratulate Mr. Vaidya most cordially upon the completion of this great work of his.

TWILIGHT OF HISTORY

By
David George Hogarth, C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt.


Professor Hogarth here takes up for treatment that period of history which comes after the glorious epoch of Classical civilization and the coming in of what perhaps is the Aegean-Greek civilization, according, at any rate, to some authorities. The period of about five
centuries following is generally regarded as a period of decadence and
darkness. This period Professor Hoggath examines with a view to
find out if there were justification for this characterization. He
regards neither of them as a correct characterization, and if we are to
accept his dictum in the matter, it is usually a period of economic
civilization as distinct from the artistic, both on the Minoan and on the
Achaean site. The accepted archaeological classification does not
show that division to be sufficiently marked, so that one might clearly
mark off where one period ended and the other period began. It is
really a question of development of the artistic is character from the
merely artistic to the utilitarian. This change would indicate that
what probably served for the enjoyment of the few lux we really been,
both by natural development and by the influence of foreign impact,
transformed into something more utilitarian and calling for production
in the mass. The artistic forms on vases, plates, and articles of sorts
assume a more regular and somewhat more geometrical shapes, it
may be of the conventional kind even, and cease to be natural. Hence
he would call this period of commercial products as unmarked by artists
that turn up at archaeological excavations, rather by the name twilight
of history than by darkness. It is not the darkness before the dawn
as archaeologists call it, it was rather the dawn before the break of day.
His desire to the invading army being called barbarian because it is
unprofit. He does not find evidence that the older civilization was
swpt out of existence to make room for a new. It is much rather a
gradual transformation of an older into a later, and of an artistic into
an economic civilization. That is the theme of his lecture. His
lecture, short as it is, sheds a flood of light upon the darkness, and
opens a new vista for archaeologists to pursue.

TATTVASANGRAHA
BY
SANTARAKSHITA

[Godwin's Oriental Series]

This is a work of Mahayana logic written by a Mahayana Buddhist
teacher, Santaraksita, who flourished in Bengal in the reign of Gopala
of the Pala dynasty, took himself to Tibet, and was responsible for the
introduction of Buddhism there, and was instrumental in bringing
about the advent of Guru Padmasambhava, with whom is associated
the introduction of Indian Buddhism and Indian philosophy into
Tibet. This would give Śāntarakṣita a date in the eighth century
A.D. quite early in the century, if Tibetan tradition is to be believed.
He is responsible for the building of the monastery of Sam-yen in Tibet
in A.D. 749, and died thirteen years after in A.D. 762. The positive
date has some difficulties to get over, but there could be no difficulty
in regard to the century in which he actually lived.

The work Tattvasaṅgahāra constituting Volume XXX of the Ouse-
wad’s Oriental Series consists of two parts, Śāntarakṣita’s text with
his disciple, Kamalaśīla’s commentary. Kamalaśīla undoubtedly being
a younger contemporary of Śāntarakṣita. The historical importance
of this work consists in this,—that the work gives us a compendium of
the advance that logic had made in the eighth century A.D. Both
the author and the commentator alike, the latter much more than the
former, criticizes the work of their predecessors in the subject, and the
commentator in particular gives precise references to names and
works of those criticized from which one gains an idea of the authors of the various schools and their works, and to some extent
their relative position with respect to Śāntarakṣita and his work.
There are as many as sixty-four of these authors and commentators
yet under consideration, and we gain some definite knowledge of these
from the work itself. Thus it makes a very important contribution to
the cultural history of India by giving us an idea of the hierarchy of
teachers in the subject up to the period of Kamalaśīla. We gain a
more or less correct picture of writers contemporary with the author,
and of those that lived just before him.

The work is well edited with an English introduction by Dr H
Bhattacharyya, and a Hanakrit one by Hemcharanacharva, both
of the Library Department of His Highness the Gaekwad of Baroda.
It is likely to prove a work of great value to the student of Indian
history and culture, as several others of the series we have had
occasion to look into.

Note.—The Editor regrets that reviews on the Doctrine of Buddha
by George Grierson, and the Early History of the Spread of Buddhism by
N. Dutta could not be included in this number as they were received too late
for this issue.
Obituary

B HULTZSCH AND E. E. PARGITII

It is matter for great regret that this issue of the *Journal of Indian History* should be under the necessity to make as many as four obituary notices of scholars interested in Indian history in several of its departments.

The first and foremost is Professor B. Hultsch, who retired as Professor of Sanskrit at Halle only recently. In Dr. Hultsch's death Indian history loses one of its greatest pillars in the field of epigraphy. He came to India in the latter half of the eighties as the Epigraphist to the Government of Madras specifically, though the mantle of the late James Burgess and J. F. Fleet, as experts in the field of epigraphy, fell on to his shoulders very early in his career. Burgess retired a few years before Hultsch's arrival in India to take up a chair of mathematics elsewhere, an office which he held with distinction for wellnigh a quarter of a century. Fleet was still in the heyday of his work and fame as an epigraphist, a pre-eminence which he held almost to the day of his death. Hultsch as Epigraphist to the Government of Madras made the publication of South Indian Inscriptions his own, and was a great authority in Indian epigraphy apart from the distinctly South Indian. His interest in the study of Sanskrit and South Indian languages was great, and his range of knowledge in Indian epigraphy was comparable to that of Bühler and Kalhorm among the dead, and Stan Komor among the living. The number of inscriptions that he collected during his twenty years of work in India was indeed very large, of which it is only as yet a part that has been made available to the public. After retiring from here, and letting the mantle of his office fall on the shoulders of two of his successors who were his assistants, and whose training in epigraphy was entirely owing to him, he took up the Chair of Sanskrit in the University of Halle in Germany, which he occupied till about two or three years ago when he retired from it. All through the time when he was occupying the Sanskrit Chair, his interest in epigraphy never flagged. He kept a keen and watchful eye to work in the various departments connected
with epigraphy, and had a word of encouragement for all classes of
work done in any one of these branches. We have had the pleasure
of constant correspondence with him for over a quarter of a century,
and have had his encouraging approval for all work done in South
Indian history by us even since the appearance of the two chief papers
in the first years of the century. In the years of his retirement he was
occupied with works on Sanskrit literature of which two stand out,
Rupavathas based on manuscripts found in the Government Manus
cripts Library here, and an edition of the Adhyayandaka, not to
mention catalogues of Sanskrit, etc., manuscripts in the Government
Manuscripts Library here, of which he had issued three parts. His
greatest work, however, is a revised edition of the first volume of the
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, first issued by Cunningham long
ago. It was entrusted to Hultsch first. From him the Government of
India took it over, and a young Indian scholar, the late
Mr. Ladda, was at work on it and carried it some little way, when he
was carried off in the prime of life, after the first Oriental Conference
at Poona in 1919. The Great War made further work on it impossible,
as Hultsch could no more be put into requisition during the period of
the War. It was, however, destined to get into his hands after the
establishment of peace, and the work could in the ten appearance only
a short time before the death of Hultsch. The volumes of South
Indian Inscriptions, a model publication of the kind, a number of his
articles in the Epigraphica Indica, and his edition of the Asoka
Inscriptions stand out prominent monuments of his labour extending
over forty years in the field of Indian epigraphy continuously. It is
matter for the deepest regret that he should have passed away, but he
was old and has had the taste of ill-luck and misfortune in life, though
the two of his sons passed unscathed through all the vicissitudes of
war. It is matter for regret to his friends that death should have
anticipated the celebration of his 70th birthday which should have come
off had he been spared to us just for a while longer. A higher destiny
had willed it otherwise; let his soul rest in peace!

Next comes Mr. F. B. Pargiter, retired judge of the Calcutta High
Court, then S. M. Edwards, another retired member of the Indian
Civil Service, and lastly V. K. Rajavada, well-known among the
labourers in the field of Maratha history. Rajavada’s contributions
are perceptibly in collecting the material for a fuller history of the
Maharattas. This has hitherto been impossible to attempt with the material at our disposal. Edwardes was all his life a student of Indian history in all its sequestered branches, and an indefatigable worker. He was carried away in the prime of life for a European to the great loss of serious students of history. We remember the remark made by Lord Willingdon when he was Governor of Madras that Mr. Edwardes had intellectual qualifications which were a great asset to the service to which he belonged, and it was a great pity that he had to retire for sooner than his time owing to a kind of illness which made further continuance in office risky, and concluded that he was designed by nature and culture for a higher position than he was able to rise to by the time he was called on to give up office by the imperious demands of personal health.

F. B. Purshottam also belonged to the ranks of the Indian Civil Service, but he came from Bengal, unlike Edwardes who belonged to Bombay. His interest in Indian history and culture exhibited itself in his work on the Marhama-vatara, which consisted of an edition and a translation for the Bihar Aryan Index Series issued by the Bengal Asiatic Society. He made the study of the Paruṣas, in their historical aspects, peculiarly his own, and his works bearing on the various aspects of that subject were many. Within recent times, he produced his classic on the subject in the dynasty of the Ksalt Age, an authoritative version of the texts on the dynamic chapters of the Paruṣas, compared, collated, and correctly edited, the number of manuscripts compared being sometimes as many as over sixty. Without mentioning the various articles that he contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, his continued labours in the subject of what he called Kshatriya tradition as distinct from the Brahmanical, although perhaps he overemphasized the distinction very much, culminated in his great work, Ancient Historical Tradition. He took an important part in the work of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and held some of its offices as Secretary, Member of Council, and Vice-President before he passed away in the fulness of age and achievement.

THE LATE MR. S. M. EDWARDES, C.S.I., C.V.O., I.C.S.

It is a loss to Indian historical workers that Mr. Stephen Meredith Edwardes, formerly of the Indian Civil Service, and for some time
Joint Editor of *The Indian Antiquary* should have died at the early age of fifty-four, on New Year's Day, 1927. Mr. Edwards, being the son of a clergyman and an Oxford don, was a student at Brasenose College, Oxford, and passed the examination for the Indian Civil Services in 1894. He entered service in the Bombay Presidency, becoming closely associated with the city, rising to be Commissioner of Police and then the Commissioner of the Corporation of the City. As early as 1904, Government appointed him a Special Collector under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act. He became deeply acquainted thoroughly and at first-hand with the habits and customs of the heterogeneous elements of the City population, writing a number of papers and books on them 'becoming thus the greatest authority of his time on that famous city.' He was for a time the President of the Anthropological Society of Bombay; he compiled and edited the *Bombay City Gazetteer* and was connected with the drawing up of the *Bombay Census Report* in 1901. From out of his rich experience of the city he drew an interesting mass of materials and condensed them into a book—*The Bombay City Police: An Historical Sketch, 1672–1914* (Oxford University Press, 1914)—in which he clearly traced the great difficulty always experienced in that city, of preserving life and property. In the course of his Police Commissionership Mr. Edwards accomplished much: establishing the *Police Gazette*, issued three times daily with all details of recent crimes, setting up many new stations, teaching English to the Indian constabulary, controlling motor traffic, and the Maha pilgrimage; improving the Finger-print Bureau; looking after destitute girl-children, and finally during the Great War clearing the City of undesirables. He also wrote two other books on Bombay,—*The Rise of Bombay and the By-ways of Bombay*—which lifted the veil from many dark corners of the city's labyrinths and many dark spots in its expansion.

In 1918 after a short tenure of office as Municipal Commissioner, he retired from service owing to ill-health, but continued in his retirement to do much literary and other work. He was Secretary for a time to the Indo-British Association, started by Lord Sydenham to oppose the grant of the Mootsana-Chalmers Reforms and was in 1921

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1 His services were well appreciated by Governors like Lord Sydenham and Lord Willingdon and he received a C.V.O. and a C.S.I. in recognition of his work.
one of India's representatives at the Geneva Conference on traffic in
Women and Children.

Chosen as Joint-Editor of the Indian Antiquary in the beginning
of 1924, he showed himself indefatigable in his writings and contribu-
tions to that Journal, taking up a large portion of its reviewing
work, besides writing articles frequently. He was enticed rightly
enough by the Oxford University Press with the task of revising for a
fourth edition the late Dr. V A Smith's Early History of India—a
task which involved the sifting of all material accumulated by research
and collation since 1914 when the third edition was published, while
the archeological excavations at Taxila and elsewhere necessitated
the preparation of additional notes as well as slight chronological and
other amendments in the text. Likewise Mr. Edwards revised in 1923,
Dr. Smith's Oxford History of India, his magnum opus in spite of its
obvious defects in proportion and stress in places—though the work of
revision here was comparatively small and consisted chiefly in correct-
ing errors and adding new information. Particularly in the British
period he had to put to use various suggestions and amendments made by
Dr. W. Crooke, C.I.E. and by Sir William Foster, the editor of docu-
ments in the India Office, like the series (in progress) English Matria
in India, which their expert knowledge of the history of the period
had shown to be necessary.

Mr. Edwards edited for the same publishers in two volumes the
classical work on the History of the Moghuls by J. G. Grant-Duff,
which still continues to maintain its own authoritative reputation on
many points. Shortly before his death he wrote a new book—Babar,
Dinari and Dastur (published by A M Philpot, 1926) which is a
delever and entertaining sketch of the great founder of the Mughul
Empire, based largely on Mrs A. S Beveridge's translation of that
monarch's amusingly modern diary. The quotations that Mr. Edwards
gives in this last book illustrate in an attractive manner the various
phases of Babur's character and the many episodes of his romantic
life.

Mr. Edwards was thoroughly conversant in the folklore and
incorrupt historical episodes of Western India—as seen in his account
of Umai Nalik, a Ranee Chief of Purandhar Fort and his rendering of
an account, by a soldier of fortune, of the Marathas as they were at
the close of the eighteenth century. He was an acknowledged authority
on the early history of Bombay and of the details of the evolution of its revenue and administrative organisation. His life was active and crowded with literary work up to the moment of death. During his last years especially, the output of books and articles from his pen was rapid and voluminous. Besides his association with The Indian Antiquary, he was closely connected with the Royal Asiatic Society of which he became the Secretary only a few months before his death.

C S SHRINIVASACHARI

THE LATE MR V K RAJAVADE

Mr. V K Rajavade, a.a., who recently died of heart-failure at Dhule on January 11, 1927, at the age of sixty-two, was one of the greatest researchers, Maharashtra even produced. Many certainly excelled him in intelligence and careful handling of the subjects they chose to deal with. But none surpassed him in indefatigable industry and self-sacrifice.

He was educated at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, and the Deccan College, Poona. He took his degree of a.a. from the latter in 1890. He started his career as a teacher for which perhaps he was ill-fitted and which at any rate was not congenial to him. So he fortunately chose another line of action. He devoted himself with characteristic vigour to historical studies in which in the long run he won distinction. He took great pains in collecting original historical documents, addenda, local antiquities, often carrying loads of them on his shoulders and walking bare-footed. He made the first real efforts to rescue original historical papers in the possession of the ‘lebaghivars’ and private individuals. Many of them were actually being eaten by ants and so but for his unceasing efforts would have been inaccessible to posterity. By publishing them, he brought them within the reasonable reach of tea-wood students. To give the details within the scope of this notice is impossible.

Mr. Rajavade was a painless man. He took pride in being so. When he was obliged to post not-paid letters, he made no secret of his inability to pay and often explained the fact frankly to the addresser.

He had a great self-sacrificing spirit for had he chosen to pass his days in luxury he could have secured a good job in the prime of his
Life. In happier circumstances he might conceivably have made a still greater collection, but on the other hand, a happier life might have deprived him of the incentive to write essays, fables, and novels.

To the end he worked with unquenchable strength of intellect. His contributions to several journals, which included many valuable papers, are too numerous to catalogue here. But his series of twenty-two historical volumes, embodying original letters and accounts, called by him aṣāṣṭa (detached portions) are the most popular of his works. In addition, he found time to write papers such as his essay on Kāmasūtra. Of late he was interesting himself in diverse subjects, such as philology, philosophy, and ancient history.

Besides publishing many books, Mr. V. K. Rayavadele induced other scholars to co-operate with him and work in his line. He inspired many a teacher with his enthusiasm for research.

Mr. Rayavadele was one of the founders and was one of the main props of the Bāṅgārā-līṭālī-kāṃṭhā-kālvī-saṅgha of Pāṇā, the well-known historical society, which has in its possession some very valuable copperplate grants and numerous historical documents.

Mr. Rayavadele had his unscrupulous prejudices too. He was very eccentric. He was many a time carried away by his imagination.

At times he tried to show mastery over subjects to which he had no time to devote, and with no means to prosecute their studies. He tried to explain authoritatively certain facts and expressions in copperplate grants, which experts in India and on the Continent declared to be forgeries. Still Mr. Rayavadele had not the good sense to yield.

Mr. Rayavadele’s volumes contain no index. The letters in them are neither properly sorted nor systematically arranged. But the material is there. The letters can be sorted now. Rayavadele’s volumes could have been conveniently much abridged. But the author could not be persuaded to do so in his lifetime. He was very sensitive on the point. It says much for his friends and publishers that they tolerated him as long, and as well, as they did.

Some of his volumes have become rare and must be reprinted. But before the work is undertaken, care must be taken to omit letters repeating information.

In his prime days Mr. Rayavadele was over-eager. The result was that he spent his energy in copying numerous letters, which are neither
of interest nor of much use. Funds being limited a good many letters of special interest collected by him remain to be published.

He was a widower. He has left no issue.

The study of original letters was not only advanced but radically transformed by him. There can be little doubt that in spite of his oddities, he rendered enormous service to the history of the Marathas. His death is slightly mourned by Maratha writers on history.

Y. R. GUPTA.
Select Contents from Oriental Journals

The Allahabad University Magazine

December, 1926—
Dr. J J Momji. "Oriental Studies" being the Presidential Address of the Fourth Oriental Conference, held at Allahabad on November 3, 1926.
Mr. HAFIZ SYED. "Optimism in Indian Thought"
Mr. HAFIZ SYED. "Khudajah Aliaf Husayn Hall"

The Calcutta Review

January-February 1927—
Mr. MUKHERJEE NATH SUNDAR. "The Vedantic Conception of God"
Mr. HARIKAN DAS. "The Affairs of India and Siam" being the hitherto unpublished despatch of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty to King James II written on the affairs of India in July 1668.

March 1927—
Mr. J. CAMUS. "The Story of the Persian Cromwell" an account of the life and achievements of Mir Irways, the Great Duke of Kandahar, protector of the Persian Empire by a Swedish Officer, originally published in 1784
Dr. C. V. Raman. "The Promotion of Research in India"

Bengal Past and Present

Vol. XXXII. Part II

October-December, 1926—
Mr. R. M. Ramesthram. "Major-General Stringor Lawrence" being a note on the second of the three portraits which Gainsborough painted of the General who was the Father of the Indian Army and the master of Clive
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS

B N. BANERJEE 'The Mother of Nawab Shuj-ud-daula'
H W. B MUNRO 'The Life of Lala Habu' A saint of Modern Bengal (1775-1821) and a disciple of the famous Vaisnavite teacher Krishnadas Habu
M. B. N. BANERJEE 'The Mother of the Company'

The Maha Saya's College Magazine, 1'0 inarnagri

Volume VI No 2

January 1917—
C. S. BRINIVASACHARI 'A Study in South Indian Ethnology: Some features of Social Organization'
K. RANGACHARI 'Marriage and Matrimony'
K. R. SUBBAHANMYAN IYER 'Jesus Christ—A Vaisnavite Brahmin'
N. VENKAT RAO 'The Dates of Naumaya Choder Deva (m Teingu)'

The Jaina Gazette

Volume XXXI No 1

January 1917—
B. A. SALTSTONE 'Madhika—An Ancient Jain City of Tulunia'
HIMALAL JAIN 'Periods in the History of Jainism'
R. D. JAIN 'The Attributes of the Soul'

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

January 1917—
Prof. Carlo FORNITI 'The Dynamic Element in Indian Religious Development'
J. K. SEM 'Oriental Philosophy in the Light of Art'
CHAMPUPATI 'Kabir'

The Muslim Review (Calcutta)

Volume I No 2

October-December 1916—
S. KEUDA BANERJEE 'Harun-ar-Rashid'
B. B. GUPTA 'A Judgment of Sultan Shishandar Lodhi'
MIR ADIL J. BHAT 'Was the Calcutta "Black Hole" a myth?'
A. F. M. AMULT ALI 'The Panjab Records in the Imperial Record Department at Calcutta'
The Journal of Indian History
The Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute

Volumes VIII. Part III

1926-27—

Prof. F. Hodgson: 'The Hour of Death.' A note on its importance for man's future fate in Hindu and Western religions.

M. T. Patwardhan: 'Persian Prosody.'

H. C. Benzing: 'The Main Outlines of the History of Dhaśakuta.'

Prof. S. K. Belvalkar: 'Translation of: 'Santar's Introduction to the Bhagavad Gītā.'

Pandit P. Sharma: 'Historical Position of Nara Deva.'

The Modern Review

January 1927—

Prof. E. K. Sarkar: 'A Preface to the Hindu Categories of International Law, Section 4.'

C. T. Mud. 'The Kula Rambha and their peculiar Marriage Customs.'

February 1927—

A. V. Thakkar: 'The Aboriginal Tribes of India.'

Kanit Pandit: 'Buddhist Remains in Afghanistan.'

G. N. Harbord: 'The College of Fort William.'

Prof. J. N. Sarkar: 'The Historian V. K. Rajewade.'

March 1927—

M. P. N. Mahendrakar: 'The Bihli of Gujarat.'

A. K. Mahendrakar: 'A Theistic Interpretation of Sankhya Philosophy.'

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

Volume IV No. 11, 1926

The Anglo-American Conference of Historians in 1926.
Migration of Historical Manuscripts.

Indian Antiquary

January 1927—

C. S. Shrivastavakarn: 'The Promotion of Dravidian Linguistic Studies in the Company's Days.' Based in the Indian Historical Records Commission, at the Lahore Session. Brings out the part played by the East India Company in promoting the Dravidian
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Linguistic Studies in Tulu, Telugu, Canarese, and Malayalam and enumerates a number of works produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in South India.

K. R. HALDER

Yezodhavala Pravasam and the Inscription

February 1937—

MUHAMMAD IHSAN

A Hepatic inscription from the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay

H. M. JENKIN

Svetambharas Jaina Iconography. This supplies the need of a Svetambharas corollary to the contribution of Burgess on the Digambara Jaina Iconography

H. H. GOPAL

The Date of Asoka's Rock Edicts

Journal of the American Oriental Society

Volume XLVI No 4

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

On Vedanta Dharma, "Prayer," "Song."

Ceylon Journal of Science (Archaeology)

Volume 1 Part III

A. M. HOCART


A. M. HOCART

On the Origin of the Tope. The Salopatha Brahmana is cited to support the view that the tope represents the universe consisting of the earth, atmosphere, and the vault of heaven, surmounted by the region of the sun and the moon, and the abodes of the Gods.

A. M. HOCART

The Throne in Indian Art. discusses the probable motif in the lotus, lion and the diamond throne, in South India and Ceylon

Quarterly Journal of the Mycenaean Society

January 1937—

O. C. GANGLY

The Cult of Agastya and the Origin of Indian Colonial Art. Trace the movement of Agastya Cult into the regions of Further India.

B. SARPANDRAH D booster

Gandhara. Arrives at the conclusion that this saint-kings ascended the throne in A. D. 948 and ruled till 956 when he was killed by Vira Pundya.
Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

January 1937

G V Sripati. 'The Kottu Copper plate grants of Anunivarman Chodaganga.'

B. K Rameshacharya. 'Bhavartha and his identity.' Considers that evidence is favourable to the identity of Bhavartha with Umbakav. Suresvaram and Visvanatha.

H. Brikas. 'Who were the Sudraka?' Identifies the Sudraka of the Harsha Inscription of Isanavarman with the Cholas of South India.

I. Srinivasarangahava. 'Coins of Kanakavalluru. In the course of the contribution the writer points out that mints existed at Nellore and Kanchipuram which issued the coins described.

M. Ramakrishnadasav. 'Tapanavatrapraja.' Gives a short account of this important unpublished work with extracts, from photographic copy obtained from Europe.

Indian Historical Quarterly

December 1936

L. Pinto. 'Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China.' traces the main lines of the History of Buddhism in Annam, British Malaya, Suma, Cambodia and Burma the East and Western part of Indo-China.

S. C. Srikant. 'Siege of Bedmore, 1783.' Translated from Tapa Sultan's Memoirs in the India Office Library and accounts of two English eye-witnesses.

N. L. Dev. 'Rasalata.' Concluding portion of the series on Rasalata, which the author endeavours to identify with Central Asia. Besides tradition, a comparison of the physical features of the country and the condition of the people of Rasalata as described in the Hindu works and as recorded in the Ayasata and the works of travellers support the identity. The author cites the similarity of the following.—Bhogavati, Bakchis, Alou, Alsoft, Ball-Alaya, Ball, Manimay, Mayment, eto, and regards that the similarity in the names of towns, rivers and mountains is not accidental.
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS 197

January 1927—

8 KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, 'Problems of Identity in the Cultural History of Ancient India.' In this portion of the contribution the writer identifies Achārya Sundara Pandya with Kula Pandya and assigns him to c. 950 A.D. As an alternative it is also suggested that Achārya Sundara Pandya is perhaps identical with Tiruvalluvari Sambandar himself, contemporary of Kula Pandya. This inference that Achārya Sundara Pandya was one of the earliest makers of the Minakshi Śāstris and that Kamalāla and Sankara derived much valuable material from his Viśīlas, it is held cannot any longer be considered debatable. This contribution should be read along with that of Achārya Sundara Pandya by R. G. Subramanya Sarna in the first number of Jīvāntas.

9. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, 'Shukdmara' Seek to Derive the Root of this Expression from Shuk conveying the Sense 'to be suspicious or happy.'

10. K. ANANTALAKSHMI, 'Indra the Rigvedic Ātman.'

11. K. A. SANKARAR, 'Kantaka', attitude towards the theories of Devati and Rasa.'

12. G. SUBRAMANYAM, 'The Authorship of Upādi Śīstrās.' It is held that the existing list of Upādi Śīstrās could not be wholly ascribed to Śakalīgana's authorship. Additions were made by grammatical writers after Pancha, the Upādi Śīstrās being Uninchānay and Post-Paniniyan but never Paniniyan.

13. R. CHINTAMANI, 'The Date of Ārkaṇaṭha and his Brahma-Mīlīna.' This is an attempt to prove that the view that Ārkaṇaṭha was a contemporary of Sakara is wrong and that he was long posterior to Ramana and flourished after the middle of the thirteenth century of the Christian era.

14. S. KEMHRAI RAO, 'The Place of Prañastapāda and Dignāga in the evolution of Vyākār.'

15. V. VENKATARAMA AYYAR, 'The Vyākharas and their Identification.' The writer examines the position and identity of Vyākharas of Mahabhārata, Vyākara of the Vishvakarma dynasty and Vyākharadeva of Gand and Nāgara inscriptions and after discussing present views attempts to indicate the trend of Vyākara history, and chronology, in a new light.

19
JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY

Vol. I, Part 1

K. N. RAMASWAMI BAETRI: 'Elements of Realism and Idealism in the Philosophy of Sankaracharya.'

K. G. NADEBA BAETRI: 'The Vritikara.' Considers on the strength of various reasons that the Bodhayana of the Vaishnavas is not the Upavarsaka of the Adavaler, that the Vritikara purported by the Saunaka School cannot be the Bhagavata Upavarsaka, that the views of Bodhayana, the Vritikara of the Vaishnavas do not agree with those of the Vritikara of the Saunaka School and that Bodhayana must have come after Sankaracharya.

K. G. SUNDARANANDA BADHA: Sets forth reasons to prove that Acharya Sastri Pandya could not be K. N. Pandya or Thuglak Sambandar as suggested by Prof. Kuppuram Badha in the first number of the Journal of Oriental Research.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

December 1926—

H. RIMAN: 'Relation between the Gupta, Maurya, and Vaka-
takes.'

M. SANVULI: 'A Survey of Indian Architecture.'

M. O. MERTA: 'The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Institutions.'

A. RANJAN-BASIL: 'Aryan Institutions.'

M. N. RAY: 'Untouchers in Ancient Indian Society.'

Journal of the Department of Letters

CALCUTTA, Vol. XIV

N. C. CHATTERJEE: 'The Conception of Positive Law in Ancient India.'

SITARAMANANDA CHATERJEE: 'The Date of Austrvacastra from Astrological Data.' Arrives at the conclusion from the references to the Vayu and the prevalence in full force of the conception of the Mars-Jupiter adversary system that the third and the second centuries is the lowest possible limit for the Austrvacastra.

K. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR: 'A Brief Account of the Malayalam Phonetics.'

B. M. HANMAN: 'Problems of the Ancient Egyptian Chronology.'
SELECT CONTENTS FROM ORIENTAL JOURNALS

H. C. Kay, "Notes on War in Ancient India." In this portion published the writer deals with the subject in three sections devoted to (1) the influence of Indian geography on wars and military movements, (2) the Jâms, (3) Numerical strength of Indian Armies. The subject is to be continued in a subsequent installment which is promised.


P. C. Banerjee, "On the Purva." Proves that the Purva of the Jâms were not completely lost but were gradually accumulated in the present canonical literature of the Jâms in the course of its developments.

T. Dutt, "Aspects of Bengal Society." Deals with the various aspects of Bengal Society with an art, warfare, costume, architecture, etc.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January 1927—

F. W. Thomas, "Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan." This contribution illustrates the importance of the treasures of Sir Aurel Stein recovered from the sands of the Chinese Turkistan. The writer here discusses the importance of one of the Tibetan Manuscripts unearthed from the famous hidden library of Tseth-Krang. It relates to the Han people who occupy an obscure position in history.


Bengal Past and Present

Vol. XXXIII, Part I
