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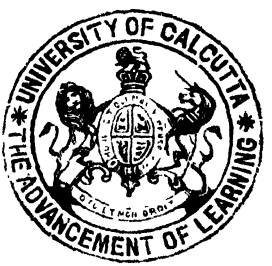
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Early Indian Buddhist Schools

A Translation from the Hsüan-Chwang Version of Vasumitra's Treatise.

BY

J. MASUDA

The study of Buddhism is getting ever fresh. Materials which are coming to light from various parts of the countries where Buddhism once prevailed, and is still adhered to, are furnishing ever fresh data for researches in Buddhism. Co-ordination, however of all the available resources is in no way an easy task. In absence of hearty co-operation of scholars who have been working in different fields, an investigation of data brought before us to a gratifying extent would appear well-nigh impossible for a single scholar. From this point of view I am engaged in the investigation of early Indian Buddhist schools in co-operation with my learned colleague, Dr. B. M. Barua, in response to the call from Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University. The following are the main sources bearing upon our subject.

A.—*Chinese Sources.*

(1) 'Shi-pa-pu'-lun. 'Ashṭādaśanikāya-śāstra.' (Nanjio's restoration.) Abbrev:—*Ch'in-lun* (*i.e.* the Śāstra translated under the Ch'in dynasties, A.D. 351-431). The first translation of Vasumitra's treatise; the translator is unknown.[1] Nanjio, No. 1284.

[1] Untenability of assigning this translation either to Paramārtha (557—569 A.D.) or to Kumārajīva is already set forth in the Kai-yüan-lu, vol. xiii (A. D. 730). Wassilief also agrees that this work was not the translation of Kumārajīva.

(2) Pu'-chih-i-lun. 'Nikāyadarśanabheda-śāstra.' (The translator's restoration.) Abbrev :— *Ch'en-lun* (*i.e.* the Śāstra translated under the Ch'en dynasty, A.D. 557-588). The second translation rendered by Paramārtha (557-569). Nanjio, No. 1285.

(3) I-pu'-tsung-lun-lun. 'Bhinnanikāya-dharma-chakra-śāstra. (The translator's restoration.) Abbrev :—*T'ang-lun* (*i.e.* the Śāstra translated under the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618-609). The third translation rendered by Hsüan-chwang, A.D. 662. Nanjio, No. 1286. This is the Chinese version from which the present translation is made.

(4) Wen-shu-shï-li-wên-ching. 'Mañjuśrī-paripṛicchā-sūtra.' (Nanjio's restoration.) Translated by Saṁghapāla of the Liang dynasty in A.D. 518.[1] Nanjio, No. 442. This work consists of 17 vargas in two fasciculi and is included under the head of Mahāyāna Vinaya in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, edited and printed on a reduced scale in Japan.[2] The 15th varga of this sūtra is devoted to the early Buddhist schools.

B.—*Tibetan Sources.*

(1) Samaya-bhedo-parachana (Bheda-uparachana)-chakra. Tibetan version of Vasumitra's work which corresponds to No. A. 3 aforementioned. Tanjur, xc; 168-176.

(2) Kāya-bhetrovibhaṁga-vyākhyānam (Nikāya-bhedavibhaṁga-vyākhyānam ?). By Bhavya. Tanjur, xc; 177-187.

[1] See Kai-yüan-lu, Vol. IV.

[2] The same edition which has been contributed to the University Library by Mr. R. Kimura, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture, the University of Calcutta.

(3) Samaya-bheda-uparachana-chakrasya-nikaya-bhedepadareśana (bhedopadarśana ?)-nāma-saṁgraha. By Vinītadeva. Tanjur, xc; 187.

(4) Bhikshu-ba-ra-śa-gra (Varśāgra ?)-pṛicchā. Tanjur, xc; 317.

C.—*Pāli Sources.*

(1) Kathā-vatthupakaraṇa, the canonical book of controversy, with its commentary by Buddhaghosa.

(2) Milindapañho, which throws fresh light on the philosophical currents of the time, mostly Buddhistic in origin.

(3) Dīpavaṁsa.

(4) Mahāvaṁsa, with its commentary.

(5) Sāsanavaṁsa, etc.

These records aforementioned are so complicated and sometimes even so contradictory of one another, that we are obliged to select one work out of them as the basis of our investigation, and co-ordinate all the resources upon it. Amongst the authorities mentioned above, the most important is undoubtedly Vasumitra's famous work, which is solely devoted to the history of early schools. The original text appears to have been lost; but fortunately we have it preserved in Chinese and Tibetan versions, the latter of which was translated into Russian by the late W. Wassilief, Professor of Chinese literature in the Petrograd University, in 1860. (See Theodor Benfey's (?) German translation of Wassilief's work entitled Der Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen Geschichte und Literatur, pp. 244-284.) Amongst the three Chinese versions now extant, Hsüan-chwang's translation (No. A. 3) appears to be the best. Besides, we have several commentaries on this translation prepared in China and Japan; and as reference works we have Chinese versions of the

Mahāvibhāshā-śāstra and the Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra.[1] In view of these facts I was persuaded to translate Hsüan-chwang's version into English; and I believe that this is the first translation of its kind which appears in print.[2] It may not be out of place here to mention that I am going to add my notes to this translation which will embody the result of our investigation, when it is published in a book form, as I think the Chinese text cannot be made otherwise intelligible. In closing this introductory note I have to tender my hearty thanks to my co-worker, Dr. Barua, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), who offered me some valuable suggestions in translating the text.

TEXT.

(*Introduction.*)

When a hundred years just elapsed after the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha, there arose different schools in the noble teaching and caused its decay. On account of attachment to diverse views, there came to be so many schools. Explaining their views according to my own Āgama, (*i.e.* the Sarvâstivāda tradition) I will make (people) dislike (the heresies).

[Vasumitra, the great Bodhisattva, is a real Bhikshu of the Śākya race, endowed with great wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. Looking back to those times (when schisms arose) he discriminates (the views of the twenty schools)].[3]

When I look at the worlds all around, (I find that peoples) are drifted by diverse views, distorting the words of Śākyamuni: I would, (therefore) explain all their doctrines. When I examine Buddhism, (I perceive that)

[1] See Nanjio, Nos. 1263, 1264 & 1267.

[2] I am told that my colleague Mr. Kimura has made a study of this work (No. A. 3) and that he has prepared some notes in Japanese.

[3] This verse appears to be an interpolation There is no counterpart in the *Ch'in-lun*, No. A. 1.

the Four Aryan Truths (Āryasatyāni) are to be relied upon (as constituting the fundamental doctrine of Buddhism). (Discarding all minor points upon which the schools are divided, all Buddhists) should accept these truths, just as (a man) gathers gold out of sands.[1]

MAIN TEXT.

(*Schools.*)

Thus I have heard : a hundred and odd years after the Parinirvāṇa of Bhagavān Buddha—(alas ! that ominous time !) being far from the time of the sage, (the age so dark), as if the sun had been setting for a long time—there was a king named Aśoka[2] at Kusumapura in the Magadha kingdom, who ruled over Jambudvīpa, as it were, under a (large) white umbrella, and his influence extended to the gods and men. It was at this time that the great Saṁgha was split up for the first time. On account of the differences (of opinion) among the four groups of people in discussing the five points (pañchavastūni), propounded by Mahādeva, (the Buddhist Saṁgha) was divided into two schools, *viz.* the Mahāsaṁghika and the Sthaviravāda. What are the four groups ? They are of (1) the Nāgas, (2) men from the border country, (3) men of learning, and (4) men of virtue. The five points set forth in his śloka are:—"(1) (The Arhats are) tempted by others (*i.e.*, Māras) ; (2) (the Arhats have) ignorance (about their attainment of arhatship); (3) (the Arhats have) doubt (regarding the truths) ; (4) (the Arhats) realize (arhatship) by (the help of) others; (5) (the realization

[1] The introductory part is in five verses. The following is the main text which is written in prose.

[2] Kālâśoka (?) who is said, according to the Burmese tradition, to have come to throne 81 years after the death of Buddha and ruled over India for twenty-eight years. K'wei-chi, the first commentator and a disciple of Hsüan-chwang writes that he was a grandson of Bimbisāra. See the latest edition of the I-pu'-tsung-lnn-lun-'shu-chi, fol. 15, brought out by Mr. Mei Kwang-hi, Justice of High Court of Shantung Province in China in 1912.

of) the path is ascertained by utterance:—these are the real Buddhist doctrines." Immediately afterwards, during the second century (following the death of Buddha) three schools sprang from the Mahāsaṁghika:—(1) the Ekavyavahārika, (2) the Lokottaravāda, and (3) the Kaukkuṭika. Later on, again, during the second century one school, the Bahuśrutīya, issued from the Mahāsaṁghika. Once again, immediately afterwards, during this century, another school, the Prajñaptivāda, issued from the Mahāsaṁghika. Towards the close of the second century, there was a heretic priest (steyasaṃvāsika) who returned to the right doctrine (*i.e.*, Buddhism) discarding his heretical (views). He, too, was called Mahādeva. Becoming a monk (pravrajita) and receiving his Full Ordination (upasampadā) in the Mahāsaṁghika order, he was learned and diligent. He dwelt on the Chaitya hill and discussed again with the priests of his school, in detail, the five points (propounded by the first Mahādeva), whereupon, on account of dissension, (the Saṁgha) became split up into three schools:—(1) the Chaityaśaila, (2) the Aparaśaila, and (3) the Uttaraśaila. Thus the Mahāsaṁghika was divided four times or five times (including the first schism). To reckon the root and branch (schools) separately, it becomes in all nine:—(1) Mahāsaṁghika, (2) Ekavyavahārika, (3) Lokottaravāda, (4) Kaukkuṭika, (5) Bahuśrutīya, (6) Prajñaptivāda, (7) Chaityaśaila, (8) Aparaśaila, (9) Uttaraśaila.

The Sthaviravāda remained in perfect harmony for a number of years. At the beginning of the third century (after the death of Buddha) there was a little dissension and it was divided into two schools, *viz.* (1) the Sarvâstivāda, otherwise called the Hetuvāda, and (2) the original Sthaviravāda which changed its name into Haimavata. Subsequently during the third century, one school named the Vātsīputrīya issued from the Sarvâstivāda.

Immediately afterwards, during this century, four schools sprang from the Vatsīputrīya, *viz.* the Dharmottarīya, (2) the Bhadrayāṇīya, (3) the Sammitīya, and (4) the Shaṇḍagirika. Immediately afterwards, during this century, another school, the Mahīśāsaka, issued from the Sarvâstivāda. Immediately afterwards, during the same century, one school named the Dharmaguptika issued from the Mahīśāsaka. (The founder of this school) declared himself that he was a successor of Maudgalyâyana. At the end of the third century one school, the Kāśyapīya, otherwise called Suvarshaka, seceded from the Sarvâstivāda. At the beginning of the fourth century one school named the Sautrântika, otherwise called the Saṁkrāntivāda issued again from the Sarvâstivāda. (The founder of this school) declared: "I take Ānanda as my preceptor." Thus the Sthaviravāda was divided seven times or eight times (including the original schism). To reckon the root and branches separately, it becomes eleven altogether:—(1) Sarvāstivāda, (2) Haimavata, (3) Vātsīputrīya, (4) Dharmottarīya, (5) Bhadrayānīya, (6) Sammitīya, (7) Shaṇḍagirika, (8) Mahīśāsaka, (9) Dharmaguptika, (10) Kāśyapīya, (11) Sautrântika.

(*Doctrines.*)

Now I shall explain the fundamental and minor doctrines, common and differential among the schools above mentioned.

I. The fundamental and common doctrines of the Mahāsaṁghika, the Ekavyavahārika, the Lokottaravāda and the Kaukkuṭika schools:—The four schools unanimously maintained that (1) the Blessed Buddhas are all superhuman (lokottara): (2) all Tathâgatas have no worldly attributes (sâsrava-dharmas). (3) The words of Tathâgatas are all (about) the "Turning of the Wheel of Law" (Dharmachakrapravartana). (4) Buddha preaches

all doctrines (dharmas) with one utterance.[1] (5) In the teachings of Bhagavān (Buddha) there is nothing that is not in accordance with the truth. (6) The physical body (rūpa-kāya) of Tathâgata is limitless. (7) The majestic powers of Tathâgata also are limitless. (8) Lives of Buddhas, too, are limitless. (9) Buddha is never tired of enlightening living beings and awakening pure faith in them. (10) Buddha has no dream (svapna). (11) Tathâgata never waits to think in replying to a question. (12) In all times Buddha never teaches by name (nāma) and so on (*i.e.*, in artful arrangement of speech), because he is always in Samādhi; but living beings rejoice, considering that (Buddha) preaches by name and so on. (13) (Tathâgata) understands all dharmas by one moment's thought (ekakshanikachitta): (and also) (14) understands all dharmas by wisdom (prajñā) corresponding to one moment's thought. (15) In Bhagavān Buddha, Kshayajñāna and Anutpādajñāna always turn together and continue till the Parinirvāṇa. (16) All Bodhisattvas, when they enter their mothers' wombs, do not form their bodies, undergoing (the four embryonic stages)—kalala, arbuda, peśī and ghana (which ordinary people go through). (17) All Bodhisattvas assume the forms of white elephants when they enter their mothers' wombs. (18) All Bodhisattvas are born from the right sides when they come out of their mothers' wombs. (19) All Bodhisattvas never entertain the thoughts of greed (kāmasaṁjñā), of anger (vyāpādasaṁjñā), and of harming others (vihiṁsāsaṁjñā). (20) In order to save living beings Bodhisattvas are born in lower states (gatis) at their wishes and get birth (in any of them) as they like. (21) With one moment's knowledge which follows the (first) perception (of truth, *i. e.*,

[1] Free interpretation of Buddhist doctrines has given rise to a belief that Buddha's sayings can be interpreted in any way as a man likes, because Buddha is omnipotent and can preach all doctrines with a single utterance.

abhisamaya-paśchāt-jñāna ?) (a Buddhist sage) understands the four truths in their (specific) differences.[1] (22) Five sense-cognitions (panchavijñāna-kāyāḥ), visual and the rest, have (the functions of) staining (mind) and also dissociating it from (defilement). (23) (Even) in the Rūpadhātu and Arūpadhātu there are six sense-cognitions (shaḍvijñānakāyāḥ). (24) The five sense-organs (panchêndriyāni) are (mere) lumps of flesh : (25) (therefore) the eyes do not see colours; the ears do not hear sounds; the nose does not smell odours; the tongue does not taste flavours; the body does not feel touch. (It is the five sense-cognitions which do these functions). (26) (Even) in the state of (mental) equilibrium (*i.e.*, samâhita) there is utterance of words *i.e.*, one can utter words); and there is the tranquillity, and also the distraction of mind. (27) Those who have completed (all the) works (destruction of passion and realization of arhatship *i.e.*, kṛtakṛtyash) never receive dharmas (*i.e.*, they never have attachment for objective world). (28) Those who enter the stream (Śrotâpannas) know well the nature of mind (chitta) and its functions and states (chaitasika-dharmas). (29) The Arhats are tempted by others. (The Arhats) have ignorance and doubts. (The Arhats) gain spiritual perception by the help of others. (The realization of) the path is ascertained by utterance.[2] (30) (The perception of) suffering (duḥkha-vedanā) leads to (the realization of the holy) path. (31) The word "suffering" helps (the process of realization of the path). (32) By wisdom (a Buddhist sage) annihilates all sufferings and also obtains (final) beatitude (sukha). (33) Suffering (duḥkha-vedanā) is also (a kind of) food (āhāra). (34) In the ashṭamakabhūmi (śrotâpanna-mārga), too, (a

[1] As to this proposition, it appears that there was disagreement among the four schools. *Vide* page 11, No. 1.

[2] See the five points of Mahâdeva, pp. 5 & 6.

Buddhist sage) can remain for a long time. (35) From (the first conversion) to (the stage) of gotrabhūmidharma (=laukikâgra-dharma) there is the (possibility) of retrogression (to the lower stages). (36) A Śrotâpanna has the chance of retrogression (vivartana), (while) an Arhat has not. (37) There is no Right-view (samyagdṛishṭi) for the world (laukika, *i.e.*, for an average man of the world), nor faith as faculty (śraddhêndriya) for the world. (38) There is nothing which is indeterminate (avyākṛita-dharṃa). (39) When (a sage) enters (the stage of) samyaktva-niyāma, he destroys all fetters (sarvasaṃyojanāni). (40) The Śrotâpannas commit all sinful acts except the (five) great sins (panchânantarīyāni). (41) (All) the discourses (śūtrāntas) addressed by Buddha convey a definite meaning (nītârtha). (42) The asaṁskṛita dharmas are of nine kinds, *viz.*, (*a*) pratisaṁkhyā-nirodha, (*b*) apratisaṁkhyā-nirodha, (*c*) ākāśa, (*d*) ākāśânantâyatana, (*e*) vijñānântâyatana, (*f*) akiñchanâyatana, (*g*) naivasaṁjñā-nâsaṁjñâyatana, (*h*) pratîtya-samutpādângikatva, and (*i*) ārya-mārgângikatva. (43) The nature of mind is pure in its origin, but being defiled by passions, foreign impurities (āgantukadoshaḥ), it becomes impure. (44) Dormant passion (anuśaya) is neither mind (chitta) nor a mental state (chaitasika-dharma), and again it has no connection with mind. (45) Dormant passion (anuśaya) is different from Bondage (paryavasthāna) and Bondage is different from dormant passion. Dormant passion and mind do not associate, but Bondage and mind do.[1] (46) The past and future are not entities. (That which is in existence is the present only). (47) All dharmâyatanas (such as asaṁskṛita-dharma and others) can neither be understood

[1] That is to say, dormant passion cannot become the object of cognition, while its manifestations can.

(by worldly knowledge) nor be perceived (by defiled wisdom): they can be realized (only by the mind of saints above the darśanamārga). (48) There is no intermediate state of existence (*i.e.*, antarābhava between death and life). (49) The Śrotâpannas also can attain to dhyāna (ecstasy). These are the fundamental and common doctrines.

The minor and differential doctrines among the four schools:—(1) As the characteristics of the (four) noble truths (āryasatyāni) differ, so also the cognitions which perceive them differ.[1] (2) There are certain dharmas (*i.e.*, things which are caused) by the agency of self (svayaṁkṛita): there are certain things which are caused by the agency of others (parakṛita): there are certain things which are caused by both: there are certain things which are produced by the conjunctions of several causes (samavāya). (3) Two cognitions can arise simultaneously. (4) (Even when the holy path is realized), passion (dormant in nature, *i.e.*, anuśaya) can exist together with the path. (5) Actions and results arise simultaneously. (6) A seed develops into the germ: (7) the great seeds (four mahābhūtas) of rūpêndriyas (the five sense-organs) do change; mind and its states (chitta and chaitasika dharmas) do not.[2] (8) The mind (manas) permeates the whole body: (9) the mind expands and contracts according to the sense-organs and objects. These minor doctrines have further developed into numerous views as the result of differentiation.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] No one can perceive the four truths at a time with a moment's knowledge. *Cf.* p. 9, No. 21.

[2] In the material world there is becoming, *i.e.*, changes from one condition to another, while in the spiritual world there is not. The psychical phenomena are only appearing and disappearing every moment without connecting links.

Shifting of the Centre of Buddhism in India

BY

R. KIMURA

Introduction

In every country the centre of prosperity shifts from place to place with the shifting of political centres, as necessitated by social and religious conditions. The centre of religious movements also shifts consequently. Buddhism, also, had to share the same fate in India. It owes its birth essentially to the Madhyadeśa, it flourished in the Madhyadeśa and it created faith in the minds of its adherents in the Madhyadeśa. But it was not destined to be confined within the limits of that influential part of the Aryanised world. It had to spread beyond those limits and to influence other places and other peoples. It was bound to shift its centre with the demands of the political and social circumstances. It changed its centres from place to place for about some eight times within the period beginning from the death of Buddha up to the end of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, *i.e.*, from the beginning of the 5th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. The centre of prosperity also shifted with that religious movement and Buddhism also was shaped and developed in various ways as was essentially necessary by the influences of the environments.

Now to study Buddhism, with reference to its historical development, one problem is of vital importance. To solve this problem means to trace the history of the shifting of the centres of this religion in India.

Let us undertake the task with strict reference to history.

I. Magadhan Period

(A) Centre of Buddhism at the time of Buddha

During the pretty long period of 45 years from the Lord's attainment of the Supreme Enlightenment, to the time of his parinirvāṇa Buddhism was prevailing only in the Madhyadeśa where the Lord wandered about for preaching his novel doctrines. He succeeded in creating a new influence in almost all the parts of that Madhyadeśa—Kapilavāstu in the north, Bārānasi in the south, Kosāmbi in the west and Campā in the east. But Magadha in the east and Śrāvasti in the west especially became the most important of all these places. Rājagriha was then the capital of Magadha, the kingdom of Seniya Bimbisāra who was regarded as the greatest and the most faithful Buddhist king of the time. Śrāvasti was the capital of Kośala, the kingdom of Prasenajit, a contemporaneous equal of Seniya and one of the fittest rival of him.

After the conquest of the kingdom of Kośala by Ajātaśatru Śrāvasti lost its influence, though not its great prosperity, and in this way all the influences of the surrounding kingdoms were centralised in Magadha. As regards the religious movements Śrāvasti cannot claim any and all of them were started and continued in Magadha. In the Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the Digha-Nikāya we hear of the six heretical teachers almost all of whom were struggling to rise up above the common level in Magadha. The Jaina literature (especially Sūtrakṛtānga) points to the same conclusion. It is therefore quite clear that Magadha had been the centre of almost all the religious movements, not to speak of Buddhism only, in the period taken into consideration.

(B) Centre of Buddhism for one hundred years after the death of Buddha

It is a well known fact that just after the death of Buddha, Kāsyapa the great, the successor of the Lord heard the unbeseeming utterances of a certain Subhaddā, who had become the member of the order in his old age. In order to obviate the dangerous effects of such utterance, he proposed to hold a council and made five hundred Arhats assemble together for rehearsing the precepts of the Lord.[1] This assembly was known as the "First Council" which is said to have been held near Rājagriha in the season of "Vassa" following the death of Buddha. It was held in the Saptaparna cave, which still exists in the Vebhāra hill near Rājagriha. It was prepared originally by King Ajātśatru of Magadha.

From the time of this Council up to the time of the Second Council there was no shifting of the centre of Buddhism.

This is the only fact of historical importance of the period in consideration. Had there been other events of such importance and had there been any change in the centre of the religion we would have come across with references to them in the Buddhist literature without fail. There would be no departure from the truth in asserting that the monks were keeping quite peacefully in Magadha which was undoubtedly the centre then.

[1] H. Oldenburg in his introduction to Mahāvaṁsa has emphatically declared this story as a "pure invention of not very ancient date." He refers to Mahāparinirbāṇasutta and tells that though the story of Subhaddā is there, yet it has no connection with the Council. This story, therefore, in his opinion cannot be the cause of the Council. But we have reasons to believe that though this might not be the sole cause of the conference yet it was certainly one of the causes. We have also sufficient reason to rely on the authenticity of the story itself as we know that such profane utterances and tendency to a Schism had already begun in the lifetime of Buddha. We shall however discuss the matter in details later on (*Vide* Kern's "Manual of Buddhism," p. 102).

It is an indisputable fact, therefore, that Magadha continued to be the centre of Buddhism even after the death of Buddha and continued to be such for one hundred years more.

Then again if we glance over the political history of the period we find the names of several powerful kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty under whom Magadha was the centre of political importance, Pātaliputra being the capital. This also points to the above conclusion. It should, however, be noted here that though Magadha did not cease to be the political centre for several centuries more yet the centralisation of matters religious were shared just after the session of the Second Council by Kosāmbi and its vicinity. One hundred years after the death of Buddha dismemberment among the Buddhist order took place. This happened in the Vesāli Council in 386 B.C.[1] This is known as the Second Council or Vesāli Council. The aim of this council was to suppress the unlawful practices of the Vajjian Monks. They declared the legality of the "ten points" (daśa Vatthūni). At that time Sthavira Yaśa was staying at Vesāli. He found their unlawful practices and took action against them. He himself went to Kosāmbi and thence he sent messengers to Mathurā and Avanti. A party was then formed known as the "Western party" because the partisans came from the western part of Central India. On the other hand the monks of Magadha, Vesāli and Vriji formed another party against Yaśa. Their party was the "Eastern party." Both the parties assembled in Vesāli and each of them appointed four representatives for holding discussion. Eastern party was decided to be the schismatic and was excommunicated. But the members of this

[1] *Cf.* Kern's "Manual," p. 102.
Rhys David's—"Buddhism," p. 213.
Buddhist Chronology by S. Mochizuki, p. 37 (Japanese).

party were greater in number and did not agree with the decision. They held a separate council and tolerated their ten points. They were then called the Mahāsaṁghikas ("the party of the great assembly") and the Western party came to be known as the Sthaviravāda.[1] From this time Magadha became the centre of the Mahāsaṁghikas and Śrāvasti the centre of the Sthaviravādins.

II. Madhyades'a Period

(From the 2nd council to the death of Asoka 386-232 B.C.)[2]

After Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru the Buddhists had no royal devotee to patronise them for about two centuries beginning from the death of Buddha. So there was no very great change of the centre before the sitting of the Buddhist Council. At this time Magadha ceased to be the centre and Madhyadeśa as a whole began to be the so-called centre of Buddhism. Magadha in the last became the centre of the Mahāsaṁghikas and Kosāmbi, Mathurā and Avanti in the west became the centre of the Sthaviravadins. Therefore, Madhyadeśa or Central India as a whole virtually grew up to be the centre of Buddhism and the place continued to be such up to the time of Asoka.

Asoka ascended the throne of Magadha and became the Mahārājādhirāj Chakravarti of India, 218 years after the parinirvāṇa of Buddha, *i.e.*, in 268 B.C. Neither his father Bindusāra, nor his grandfather Chandragupta was an adherent of the Buddhist faith.[3]

[1] *Cf.* 'Indian Buddhism' by Dr. U. Ogimaru, p. 94 (in Japanese); The History of Indian Buddhism by G. Umada, p. 117 (in Japanese)

[2] 'Buddhist chronology' by S. Mochizuki, p. 60 (in Japanese).

[3] Rhys David's "Buddhism," p. 221. According to the Jaina tradition, Chandragupta the Great was a Jaina towards the latter part of his life.

But Aśoka (Piyadasi) became a sincere convert to Buddhism since his conquest of Kalinga and became the greatest patron of the Buddhists. In the history of the propagation of Buddhism Aśoka stands as a pioneer propagator. He was the first king who, as a sincere devotee, cared much to contribute to the spreading of the religion both inside and outside India.

It was in his reign that a great Buddhist council was held at Pātaliputra. This is mentioned in history as the third council. The council was then closed according to the advice of Moggaliputta Tissa and Aśoka sent missions to various places in and out-side India.[1] These were known to the people of Magadha thus :—

(1) Majjhantika to Kāshmīr-Gāndhāra.

(2) Mahādeva to Mahīśamaṇḍala (Andhra and Mysore).

(3) Rakkhita to Vanavāsi (Rajputanā).

(4) Dhamma-rakkhita to Aparāntaka (Punjab).

(5) Mahā-Dhamma-rakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha.

(6) Mahā-Rakkhita to Yonaloka (Greek inhabitants in the western land).

(7) Majjhima and Kassapa to Himavantapāda.

(8) Soṇaka and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.

(9) Mahinda to Tāmbapaṇṇi (Ceylon).

Among the above mentioned countries 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 are inside India and others are outside India.

Up to this time the centre of Buddhism were in tw places in Madhyadeśa so to say. One was Magadha—the centre of the Mahāsaṅghikas and another was Kosāmbi the centre of the Sthaviravādins.

Just after the sitting of this third council, Kukkutārāma in the capital of Pātaliputra became more prospering as a Buddhist centre than other places. This

[1] Sāmanta-pāsādikā, Vinaya piṭaka, III, p. 314 Aśoka's Edict No. XIII (V. A. Smith, Aśoka, pp. 172, 175).

centre was occupied by the Mahāsaṇghikas. The Sthaviravādins could not unite themselves with the Mahāsaṇghikās. They left Magadha, Kosāmbi, etc., and went to Kāshmīr and established a centre there.[1] Since Magadha and Madhyadeśa became the centre only of the Mahāsaṇghikas[2] roughly speaking, the shifting of the centre of Buddhism began in real sense from this time.

III. Andhra Period

(232 B.C.—1 A.D.).

(From the death of Aśoka up to the middle of Andhra Dynasty.)

In course of the 50 years after the death of Aśoka his descendants lost their power. The outlying provinces

[1] We have two statements about the tradition of the Sthaviras, who left Magadha for Kashmīr at the end of the 3rd council. One is in the Abhidharma—mahāvibhāsa-śāstra and other is in Hiuen Thsiang's Records of the Western land. Hiuen Thsiang writes—"In the hundredth year after the Nirvāna of Tathāgata, Aśoka, King of Magadha, extended his power over the world and was honoured even by the most distant people. He deeply reverenced the three gems, and had a loving regard for all living things. At this time there were 500 Arhats and 500 Schismatical priests, whom the king honoured and patronised without any difference. Among the latter was a priest called Mahādeva, a man of deep learning and rare ability, in his retirement he sought a true renown; for this king, he wrote treatises the principles of which were opposed to the holy Doctrine. All who heard of him resorted to his company and adopted his views. Aśoka-rāja, not knowing either holy or common men and because he was naturally given to patronise those who were seditious, was induced to call together an assembly of priests to banks of the Ganges, intending to drown them all.

At this time the Arhats having seen the danger threatening their lives, by the exercise of their spiritual power flew away through the air and came to this country (Kashmīr), and concealed themselves among the mountains and vallyes. Aśoka-rāja having heard of it repented and confessing his faults begged them to return to their own country but the Arhats refused to do so with determination. Then Asoka-rāja for the sake of the Arhats built 500 samghārāms and gave the country as a gift to the priesthood." (S. Beal's Buddhist records of the Western Land, vol. I, p. 150-157).

In the above the date of Aśoka and Mahādeva is stated as 100 years after Buddha's death but this was a false information which has been carried on by tradition.

The date of Aśoka and Mahādeva must fall at least 200 years after Buddha's death.

[2] J. Umada's History of Indian Buddhism, p 141.

under their relatives became virtually independent. The central power passed into the hands of his ministers. One of them Pushpamitra, when holding a general review of the imperial army at Pāṭaliputra in the presence of the last king, Vriḥadratha, treacherously killed him. Thus the foundation of the Sunga dynasty was laid by Pushpamitra about 180 B.C.[1] Kings of this dynasty were the patrons of Brāhmanism and specially Pushpamitra had great faith in the religion; he sanctified animal sacrifices which are essential to certain form of Brāhmanism and contradictory to the most cherished features of Buddhism. Thus Brāhmanism was in its early stage of reaction under the Sungas. Pushpamitra, again, had been regarded as a great persecutor of Buddhism by the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists. He burnt monasteries and slew monks from Magadha to Jālandhara in the Punjab. The monks who escaped his sword are said to have fled into the territories of other rulers.[2]

Buddhism declined in Magadha and the central India[3] and the monks (especially the Mahāsaṇghikas) came to the Andhra Kingdom (South India), where the Mahāsaṇghika faith had been introduced since the time of Aśoka through the efforts of Mahādeva.

Let us now look to the history of the Andhra dynasty so that we may make a clear estimate of the centralisation of Buddhism in their country.

In the days of Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes the Andhras occupied the deltas of the Godavari and Krishnā rivers on the eastern side of the peninsula

[1] History of India by H P. Sāstri C.I.E., p. 19.

[2] Early History of India by V. A. Smith, p. 202.

[3] In my opinion, Buddhism in Central India began to decline just after Aśok's death because neither his son Suyaśas nor his grand-son Dasaratha were Buddhists. According to the Jaina tradition Suyaśas was Jaina in faith, and built many Jaina temples and Dasaratha built cave temples for the Ājivikas (*cf.* V.A. Smith, EHI. pp. 192-193).

and was reputed to possess a military force second only to that at the command of the King of the Prasioi, Chandragupta Maurya, and the capital of the state is believed to have been then Srī Kākulam, on the lower course of the Krishnā. The Andhras, afterwards, recognised the suzerainty of Magadha. This might have taken place either in the time of Chandragupta or in the time of Bindusāra.

In the time of Aśoka, as we know from his edicts[1] (256 B.C), the Andhras were known to be one of the outlying tribes. But after his death, Simuka, the Andhra king, set up an independent power and the dynasty succeeded in extending its sway with such extraordinary rapidity that in the reign of the second king Krishṇa,[2] Nasika near the source of the Godāvari in the Western Ghāts was included in their dominions. Before 27 B.C. the Andhras not only slew the last king of the Kānvas but also extirpated what remained of the once powerful Sunga dynasty.[3] According to the Matsya Purāna the total reign period of the Andhra dynasty is 460 years and there were 30 kings. The Vishnu, Vāyu, and Bhāgavata Purānas agree in giving the numbers 456 and 30 for their reign period and the number of kings. This agreement raises the presumption that the statement recorded in the Purānas is correct. No definite date can be ascertained from the testimony of the inscriptions and coins as regards the beginning and the end of the Andhra dynasty, but we have sufficient reason to show that the Empire began soon after the death of Aśoka (232 B.C.) and continued until some period in the 3rd century A.D.[4] During the

[1] Rock Edict XIII.

[2] E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 93.

[3] V. A. Smith E.H.I, p. 206-208.
History of India by H. P. Sastri, C.I.E., p. 20. Pargiter p. 38.

[4] Rapson—Coins of the Andhras, Introduction pp. XXVI.

whole period of the rule of the Andhras, their capitals were not only at Srī Kākulaṁ, but Dharanikotta[1] and Pratisthāna in the eastern Maharatta country, known to the Greeks as Paithāna were also imperial seats.

The Andhra country was a very important one in the history of Buddhism in India, since the time of Aśoka when the great teacher Mahādeva, the great leader of the Mahasaṅghikas in Magadha came to the country with his religious mission. He established his school known as the 'Caitya Śaila' or Cetyyavāda.[2] This was subsequently separated into two schools—'Aparaśālika'and 'Uttaraśālika' (Purvaśālika).[3] The temples[4] were situated in a place known as Bejwādā in modern times in South India. There was also the famous Buddhist stūpa of Amarāvati on the right bank of the Krishṇā river. This was the result of the gradual attempts of several kings of the Andhra dynasty. The completion of the stūpa took a long time which in my opinion, covered a period beginning from the time of Aśoka and ending in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.[5] We have no record from which,

[1] Their first capital is said to have been on the Krishṇā at Srī Kākulaṁ, about 19 miles from Mausilipatam and founded, according to a legend, by Sumāli, a great emperor; by him is probably meant Srīmuka, the first of the dynasty. It was afterwards transferred to Dhānyakataka and thence to other places. (Vide Arch. Survey of South India by Burgess, p. 4). About Dharnikota there are many opinions among scholars I shall follow Fergusson's opinion by whom it had been identified with Bezwada (J.R.A.S. 1873, p. 263).

[2] The school was known to the Southern Buddhists as "Cetyyavāda" and to the Northern Buddhist as "Caityasaila."

[3] Both Tārānath (S. 175) and Hiuen Thsiang (Records Vol. II. p. 221) make mention of these schools and call them Mahāsaṅghika schools.

[4] Regarding the situation of these temples opinions vary. I am however constrained to follow Mr. Robert Sewell who identifies the sites with modern Bezwāda. (J.R.A.S. Vol. 12, p. 98—100.)

[5] Burgess (Archaeological Survey of Southern India, p. 3), identifies Amarāvati with the Purvasaila and J. Fergusson (J.R A. S. Vol. 12, p. 105—109,)with Aparsaila. I however think it wise to differ from them. I think that it is the very place where Mahādeva, (sent by Aśoka with his Buddhist Mission) took up his residence and his disciples the members of Caityaśaila school put up subsequently. This conclusion however is not without any basis. In Amarāvati inscription Nos. I, XII and

to know, the exact faith of the Andhra Kings. But in my opinion it is not far from truth to conjecture that some of the kings at least were Buddhists.[1] The fact appears to stand thus that when Magadha ceased to be the centre of Buddhism after Aśoka and the Andhras gained power and began to patronise Buddhism, the Andhra Kingdom grew up to be the centre of Buddhism. The religion also gradually became their established faith. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Andhra Buddhism was of the Mahāsaṅghika school—According to Dipavaṁśa V. 53 and Mahāvaṁśa, V. 8. the Andhra Mahāsaṅghikas again subdivided later on Besides the two already existing schools of the Purvaśālikas and the Aparaśālikas, other two schools called the Rājagirikā and the Siddhāntikā came into existence. These four schools came to be known as the Āndhrakas.

IV. Kashmir-Gandhara Period

(232 B.C.—2 A.D.)

(*N. B.*—These two countries were Buddhist countries from the time of Aśoka and they became the centre of Buddhism at the time of the Kushan dynasty.)

XXXIII and XLI the building is called Mahācaitya or the great Caitya of the Buddha belonging to the Chaitika school. (Cf. Arch Survey of South. India, pp. 100, 104 123) Again in a book named I-pu-tsün-lun-len (Nanjio No 1286) Mahādeva is said to have founded the Caityaśaila school. So the connection of Mahadeva and his followers with the Amarāvati buildings is quite obvious.

As regards the date of erection of the temple we have reasons to suppose that it continued for a period from the time of Asoka up to the time of Nāgārjuna. (300 B.C.—300 A.D.). It is not out of the place to enumerate the reasons here—

(*a*) From an examination of the sculpture it becomes clear that it is a combination of the Gāndhāra and Gupta schools of Art.

(*b*) In the Sculpture Buddha is represented both by the symbols of Dharmacakra, Bodhidruma and *Triśula* and by the Mahayanic figures.

(*c*) In a Tibetan life of Nāgārjuna, he is said to have travelled widely in Southern India, converted Munja King of Orissa, done much for the Southern congregation, erected vihārs and "surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakaṭakā with a railing." (Cf. Tārānath, p. 72. Arch. Survey of South. India, p. 5).

[1] H. P. Sastri, History of India, p. 21.

I have already shown in the last chapter that in course of 50 years from the death of Aśoka, his descendants lost their power. Henceforth Buddhism ceased to be a dominant religion in the Madhyadeśa and it was even driven away from that part of India owing to the rejuvenation of the Brahmanical religion through the efforts of such intolerant kings as Pushpamitra (Pushyamitra) of the Sunga dynasty and some others of the Kānva dynasty. At this juncture the Mahāsaṅghika sect removed to the Andhra Kingdom. We have, however, reasons to believe also that the Sthavirvādins went away from Avanti, Mathurā and Kosāmbi (Central India) to Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra where their religion attained to prosperity.

Buddhism had been introduced into Kāshmīr or Gāndhāra[1] at the time of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. when the Great Emperor sent the Great Sthavira Majjhantika for the propagation of the great faith. The Ceylonese tradition says that Majjhantika became greatly successful in his mission. Thus we find in Dipavaṁśa and Mahāvaṁśa—"the great sage Majjhantika went to the country of Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra. He then appeased enraged Nāgas and released many people from sin by teaching of Buddhism and in this way a certain Yakkha called Panchako, together with his wife Hārita and five hundred youths converted into Buddhism and after one day for the people of two countries preached 'Asīnīsōpaman Sutra' discourse (of Buddha). Eighty thousand persons attained superior grades of religious bliss, one hundred thousand persons were ordained priests by the

[1] Many Sthaviravādins left Magadha and other parts of Central India (Avanti, Mathurā, and Kausāmbi) for Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra just at the end of the 3rd Council.

So those who went there at the time of Pushyamitra were no doubt the remnant of a party of S-thaviras in Central India so to say

Thera."[1] We also meet with a similar statement in the Sāmantapāsādikā.[2] Of course it cannot be accepted as an authentic record. But this leads us to conclude and I think to conclude quite correctly, that the Mahāsthavira Majjhantika was quite successful in his mission. Besides this we have adduced other proofs as the corroboration of this conclusion. These are that just towards the end of the 3rd Council the Therāvādins could not keep harmony with the Mahāsaṅghikas and they left Central India (Avanti, Mathurā and Kosāmbi) and went to Kāshmīr, established Saṁghas and spread the faith of the Lord there. Thus from the introduction of Buddhism into the country Sthaviravāda or the Sarvāstivāda school came out to be prosperous in defiance to the Mahāsaṅghikas of Magadha and the Andhra country. We can find out a direct proof of this statement by an examination of the conversation held by Menander with Nāgasena. The King Menander was the Greek King of Sākala in the Punjab and was so great an invader that about 141 B.C. he advanced as far as *Sāketa*. Such a powerful King as Menander, was converted by Sthavira Nāgasena who was a great Buddhist philosopher of the Sarvāstivādin school. The conversation of the two is called "Milindapraśna or the "Questions of King Menander."[3]

But it was only in the period when the Kushānas gained supreme power in Western India that Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra became the great centres of Buddhism.[4]

The Kushāna Kings (as called in Parthia) were known to the Greeks as Scythians, to the Chinese as the Yue-chis and in Sanskrit as the Devaputras.[4] The

[1] Mahāvaṁśa (*xii*) and Dipavaṁsa (*viii*).

[2] Sāmmanta Pāsādikā, Vinaya Piṭaka, ed.—Oldenburg, *iii*, p. 319.

[3] (*a*) History of India by H. P. Sāstri, C.I.E., p. 19.
(*b*) Buddhism of Western Land by R. Hadani (Japanese), p. 67.
(*c*) H. Kern's Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 118.

[4] History of India by H. P. Sāstri p. 12.

Kuṣānas as soon as they became the most supreme of the five 'Gabgons' of the Yue-chi Kingdom in the western lands. They attained shortly much power. In the second century before Christ one of these hordes destroyed the Greek Kingdom of Bactria and compelled the Greeks to seek shelter in India. The Scythians followed close upon and gradually occupied Kābul, Gāndhāra, Kāshmir and the Punjab. They advanced even as far as Mathurā and the Mārhatta country.[1]

Kaniṣka I was the first conqueror of India. He ascended the throne in 58 B.C. and established his Kingdom in the North-Western India, the capital being the ancient Puruṣapura (modern Peshwar), Huviṣka, Vāsudeva, Kujula Kadphises, Wemā-Kadphises and Vaṣiska, succeeded him to the throne one after another. Kaniṣka II became King about 110 A.D. He was the most powerful of all the Kuṣāna Kings. He founded a vast Empire extending probably from the Vindhyas to the Altai Mountains.[2] He also followed the course of his predecessor and retained his capital at Puruṣapur. Gāndhāra, therefere, became the centre of political affairs and a meeting-place of the civilizations of the East and the West.

At this time Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra became also the centre of Buddhism especially of the Therāvāda School. Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Kujula Kadphises[3] were all Buddhist Kings. Kaniṣka II also was one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism—as zealous as the great Aśoka. His name therefore had been a household word as that of Aśoka from the east to the west and he had

[1] About the shifting of the Kushānas and their political history and the date of Kaniṣka I and II compare my article to be published in the Indian Antiquary.

[2] Cunningham :Arch. Reports, I, p. 238. Indian History—H. P. Śāstri, p. 22.

[3] We have sufficient grounds to call these Kings Buddhists. Mr. Hadani has already come to this conclusion in "Buddhism of the Western Lands," Chapter I, Section *iii* (Japanese).

been best reputed as a builder of Temples and Topes, encourager of Sculptors and thus the originator of Gāndhāra School of Arts in a sense. He had for his pious associates, the great Aśvaghosa I and Saṅgharaksha. They are said to have been his personal instructors.[1] Besides them there were many other great Buddhist monks who were contemporaneous with the great Emperor. They are Vasumitra, Dharmatrāta, Ghoṣa, Buddhadeva, and Pārśva.[2] They belonged to the Sthavirvāda School.

Kaniṣka II held a council of 500 learned monks under the presidency of Vasumitra. This council is known as the fourth council. At this council the monks satisfied themselves with drawing up three commentaries :—

(1) Upadeśa on the Sūtra Piṭaka.
(2) Vinaya-Vibhāshā-Śāstra on the Vinaya.
(3) Abidharma-Vibhāshā-Śāstra on the Abhidharma piṭaka.

Each of these books consists of 100,000 couplets according to Hiuen Thsiang.[3] Among these, Abhidharma-Vibhāshā-Śastra is only existing—others are lost.[4]

Thus Kāshmira and Gāndhāra became the centre of Buddhism and thence it spread first into the western lands and at last into China and the far east.

[1] *Cf.* my article on Kaniṣka—Mr. Hadani's Buddhism of Western Lands, p. 118. Mr. D. Tokiwa's "The life of Aśvaghosa," p. 219.

In the Saṁyukta-ratnapiṭaka-sutra it is mentioned that Kaniṣka had the following 3 as his companions—I. Aśvaghosha as instructor, II. Charaka as physician (Nanjio, Cat. No. 1329), III. Maitra as minister—

[2] I shall give full description of the lives of those Sthavirahs in the main book.

[3] The account of this council only we are getting from Hiuen Thsiang's translation, Watters, Vol. I (pp 273-278), and the so-called 4th Council is unknown to Ceylonese Buddhists.

[4] Abhidharma-Vibhāsā-Śastra is existing in Chinese, this book had been translated by Hiuen Thsiang A.D. 656-659 of the Thān dynasty A.D. 618-907 (look at Nanjio's Catalogue, p. 277), No. 1263.

V. Kosala Period.

(Kośala was the centre of Buddhism at the time of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva, about the end of the 2nd Century A.D. The period continued up to the middle of the third Century A.D.)

I have already shown, that the Mahāsaṅghika School had been prevailing in South India since Mahādeva came to that country at the time of Aśoka. From the end of the 2nd Century A.D. up to the beginning of the 3rd Century A.D. the Mahāsaṅghika Buddhism of that place produced a new and much developed form of doctrine known as the Mādhyamika doctrine. It is a highly philosophical doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Nāgārjuna was the founder of this school—he was physician, magician, occultist reformer and the most brilliant philosopher of India. He was the first man to explain the philosophy of Buddhism systematically. In the historical sense he was the first man who had preached Mahāyāna doctrine.[1] He was a Vaidarbha or South Kośala[2] Brahmin by caste and flourished towards the end of the second century A.D. and the beginning of the succeeding one.[3]

When he became the master of the Buddhist doctrine based upon Prajñapāramita-sūtra he established the Mādhyamika system of philosophy or the philosophy on

[1] Mahāyāna doctrine is one of Buddha's introspectional perception. It came therefore, in existence in the ideas of the Tathāgata when he obtained the Supreme knowledge under the Bodhi tree. Historically speaking, however, this was the beginning of the system.

[2] In the north there was another Kośala and Srāvasti was the capital of it. As the mark of distinction Southern is used. (*Cf.* Life of Hiuen Thsiang by Beal. p. 139). According to Cunningham, Kośala was the ancient Vidarbha and present Berar. (*Cf.*. Ancient Geography of India, pp. 519-521.)

[3] Regarding the date of Nāgārjuna there are many opinions but we have some evidences with which we can be able to fix the date of Nāgārjuna. I shall take up further details in the main book.

"the determination of what constitutes the substance of reality."[1] He preached this doctrine in Orissa and South India. He became a greatly influential teacher there. We are told that he travelled widely in Southern India, converted Munja, the king of Orissa and thousands of his pupils did much for the preservation of the Southern congregation. He created many vihāras in Odivisa (Orissa) and other countries and specially surrounded the great shrine of Dhānyakataka with a railing."[2]

At last he came to Kosala—his native place and made that place the centre of his propagandism. At that time the king of Kosala was Sadvāhana or Sātavāhana,[3] who belonged to the Andhra dynasty.[4] Hiuen Thsiang tells us that Sātavāhana[5] greatly prized and esteemed Nāgārjuna. When he was at the Sanghārāma near a Stupa built by Aśoka, King Sātavāhana provided him

[1] Students of European philosophy will recollect the two central problems with which it is mainly concerned, *viz* :—

(I) The determination of the relation between reality and cognition.

(II) The determination of what constitutes the substance of reality. In Buddhism there are two sides of its philosophy:—The school which treats of the first of these two problems is like that of the Vijñānavadins and that which treats of the second is like that of the Mādhyamikas.

[2] Tārānath's History of Indian Buddhism (672) as quoted in Burgess; Archæological Survey of Southern Indian, p. 5.

[3] *Cf.* Itsing, Dr. Takakusu, p. 159, Note No. 1.

[4] Sātavāhana is a general name of the kings of the Andhra dynasty (*Cf.* R. G. Bhandarkar's E.H.D., 2nd Edition, pp. 25-37).

[5] From Itsing we know that Nāgārjuna wrote an epistle in verse which is called "Suhrillekha" or "Letter to an intimate friend." It was dedicated to Sātavāhana who is said to have encouraged him and given instructions. Nāgārjuma described the virtues of Buddha in a striking manner.

This event leads us to believe that Sātavāhana must have been converted into Buddhism, otherwise why should he give instructions for describing the virtues of the Lord.

We have a Tibetan translation as well as three Chinese translations of the epistle. The date of the Tibetan translation is quite uncertain whereas the dates of the Chinese translation are definite. The first translation was made in 431 A.D. by Gunavarman (Nanjio, cata. No. 1464), the second in 434 A.D. by Singhavaman (No. 1440) and the third in 673 A.D. by Itsing himself when he first arrived at Tāmralipti in India: *cf.* Itsing by Dr. Takakusu, p. 158, Note No. 4)

with a city gate hut.[1] For the sake of Nāgārjuna, the king is said to have tunnelled out the Brahmagiri Rock and built a big rock-temple which was 300 li distant from the Brahmagiri rock.[2] Here he wrote many Śāstras and commentaries. Thus under the patronage of Sātavāhana he was refuting all heretical doctrines and enlightening the Mahāyana system. Southern Kosala became the centre of Buddhism at that time and after Nāgārjuna Kānadeva or Âryadeva, an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna became a great teacher, not at all inferior to his master. He had great scholarship and eloquence. With these he propagated the Mādhyamika doctrine not only in Magadha but everywhere with his younger disciple Rāhurata.[3]

Âryadeva [4] was only a teacher who revived Buddhism of Magadha and Central India when it had been already in the decline since the time of Puṣyamitra of of the Sunga dynasty. Thus after Nāgārjuna also Kosala was a great centre of the religion.

VI. Ayodhyā Period.

(Ayodhyā became the centre of Buddhism at the time of Āsanga and Vasubandhu, *i.e.*, 370-470 A. D.).

When the Maurya dynasty ceased to exist, the kings of Central India became powerless dependents sometimes

[1] Buddhist Records of the Western Land—Beal, Vol. II, p. 210.

[2] Buddhist Records of the Western World by Beal, Vol. II, p. 219.

[3] Rāhurata—the second disiciple of Nāgārjuna and sometimes said to be the disciple of Âryadeva.

[4] *Āryadeva.* He was the son of a Brāhman of Southern India. When Nāgārjuna was residing in a Songhārāma near Kosala, Âryadeva came from his country and wished to discuss with Nāgārjuna. But the manner and appearance of Nāgārjuna was befitting an inspired Deva This influenced Âryadeva and he at once became his disciple.

Âryadeva was a younger contemporary of Nāgārjuna. So his date must fall in the middle of the 3rd cen. A.D. Further details would be enumerated in the main book.

on the Andhras and sometimes on the Kuṣānas. But in the fourth century A. D. a local Râjâ at or near Pātaliputra became much powerful. He is known as Gupta King.[1]

He chose his capital at Pātaliputra and firmly established his kingdom there. He made attempts to extend his power in all directions but could not succeed. His aim was realised by his grandson Chandragupta I.

Chandragupta was married to Kumāradevi a princess of the Licchavi clan. He gradually attained to power and assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāj (*i.e.*, Supreme King of great Kings) about 320 A. D. Samudragupta the son of Chandragupta succeeded his father in 330 A. D. He was the most powerful king according to a posthumously recorded inscription of his on the Aśoka stone pillar at Allahabad. There he is said to have conquered the kings of Dakṣiṇa, kings of Aryāvarta, the kings of Bengal, Nepal, Kāmrupa and other border countries as well as those of Mālava Khāndeś. They all acknowledged his supremacy.[2] His son Chandragupta II succeeded him in 375 A.D. and took the title of Vikramāditya (Sun of Power) and reigned for twenty years.[3] He found himself in a position to follow the aggressive policy of his father in virtue of his great military genius—by dint of his military achievements he carried his victorious arms up to the Arabian Sea through Mālava and Gujrāt and subjugated the Peninsula of Kathiawāḍ ruled for centuries by a Śaka dynasty.

He also promoted the seaborne commerce with Europe through Egypt.[4] Thus since the time of the Mauryas no empire had been so extensive in India.[5]

[1] V. A. Smith's E.H.I., p. 280. Edition III, M.M. H. P. Sastri's History, pp. 23.
[2] V. A. Smith's E.H.I., p. 279. Edition III, M.M. H. P. Sastri's History, p. 24.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 29.
[4] V. A. Smith's E.H.I., p. 290.
[5] G. Umada's Buddhist History of India (in Japanese), p. 287.

The capital had been removed from Pātaliputra to Ayodhya by this time for the convenience which the place affords for the management and control of the vast dominion. The famous poet Kālidāsa flourished by this time as one of the nine gems. Fahien also visited India during the reign of Vikramāditya.[1]

Kumāragupta I ascended the throne in 413 A. D. During the reigns of these two Kings (*i.e.*, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta from 375-455 A.D. Ayodhya the capital of the Guptas became the centre of Buddhism. Yogācāra or Vijñānavādi School, one of the great philosophical systems of the Mahāyāna Buddhism in India flourished there. Āsanga and Vasubandhu were founders of this school. They flourished about 100 years after Nāgārjuna.

This school is really a development of the Sārvastivādin school. The Sarvastivādin school was prevailing in North Western India since the time of Aśoka. Such was also the case with the Mādhyamika School of Nāgārjuna in South India which was a development of the Mahāsaṅgika School. A tradition in China and Japan says that Buddha Sakymuni preached the doctrine of Vijñāptimatra sūtra (not Vidyamatra). It also tells us that about nine centuries after the Buddha, Maitreya Buddha came down from the Tushita heaven to the lecture-hall in the kingdom of Ayodhyā at the request of the Bodhi-Sattva Āsanga and discoursed in these five Śāstras—

(1) Yogācārya-bhūmi-Śāstra (Nanj. Catalogue. No. 1170).

(2) Vibhāga-Yogo-Śāstra ? (No Chinese Translation).

(3) Mahāyānālaṁkara-Śāstra (No. 1190).

(4) Madhyānta-Vibhāga-Śāstra (No. 1244 or 1245).

(5) Vajracchedika-prajñā-pāramita-Śāstra (No. 1231).

After that the two great teachers Asanga and Vasubandhu (the two brothers) composed many Śāstras and cleared doctrines of this school (*vide* History of the 12 Japanese Sects by Nanjo, pp. 32-33).[1]

Asanga, Vasubandhu and Viriñcivatsa, three brothers were born in Gāndhāra, the modern Peshwar. They were Brāhmaṇas by caste.[2] Āsanga was the elder and flourished about 370-445 A.D. At first he was an adherent of the Mahiśāsaka School and followed the Vaibhāsika philosophy of the Hīnāyana. He was a disciple of Piṇḍola but he could not satisfy himself with the latter as the latter was a Mahāyānist.

He subsequently made a thorough study of the Mahāyānasūtras and gained a deep faith in Maitreya[3] and established the theory of Vijñapti-mātra, *i.e.*, the theory that "all objects in the universe are merely the manifestations of our Vijñanas." He thus turned out to be the founder of the Yogācara School.[4]

Vasubandhu, the second brother, flourished in 390-470 A.D. At first he was an adherent of the Sarvāstivada School. His master is said to have been Monoratha. He is reputed as a free thinker[5] and is said to have never confined himself to the study of one school only. He, afterwards, became the follower of Sautrāntika School and wrote the Abhidharmakośa Śāstra[6]

[1] But I think that this is only a mere tradition This is because Āsanga was a great believer in Maitreya as we know from Hiuen Thsiang's Records (*vide* Beal, Vol. I, p. 227) and other sutras. He might have a clear knowledge of the Vijñapti-mātra idea or the Ālaya phenomenology, or in other words he understood that deep philosophy by his intuition which was the result of his great faith in Maitreya. The Sectarians spun a mystical story out of it and the above tradition thus originated.

[2] I shall take up the lives of Āsanga and Vasubandhu in full in the main book.

[3] G. Umada's "History of Indian Buddhism," p. 299. (Japanese); Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World," Vol. I, p. 227.

[4] R. Hadani's Buddhism of Western Land, p 495.

[5] The life of Vasubandhu by Dr Takākusa, p. 35, J R. A. S., Jan., 1905

[6] Nanjio's Catalogue, Nos. 1277, 1269, 1270.

representing his opinion which presupposes the philosophy of the Mahā-vibhāśas,[1] as compiled by Kātyayaniputra and put into a literary form by Aśvaghosai (I).[2]

But he wrote this book from the Sautrāntika point of view. Saṅghabhadra wrote the Abhidharma-nyāyānusara-Śāstra,[3] but was subsequently converted to the Yogācāra School by his elder brother Āsanga. Since that time he came out to be a great master of that school and even superseded Āsanga. His headquarters was at Ayodhyā and thence spread his doctrine against the Mādhyamika doctrine of Nāgārjuna. Ayodhyā became the centre of Buddhism henceforth. There was another cause of its being the centre. It was the capital of the Gupta Empire at that time. According to the life of Vasubandhu written by Paramārtha, the greatest king of the Gupta dynasty Chandragupta II Vikramāditya,[4] at first, patronised the Sāṁkhya School of Philosophy but afterwards was induced by Vasubandhu to take interest in Buddhism.[5] Let us quote the passage from Vasubandhu's life :—

[1] Nanjio, Nos 1263, 1264, 1274

[2] J. R. A. S, 1905.

[3] Saṅghabhadra was the translator of Sāmanto-Pasādika into Chinese 488 A.D This book was originally written by Buddha-ghosa soon after 432 A.D. in Ceylon. *Vide* J. R A S., 1905, p. 51. This view is maintained by Dr. Takakusu. But I have reasons to believe that the translator of the Sāmanta-Pasādika is a quite different Saṅghabhadra

[4] Paramārtha's work, however, mentions only "Vikramāditya" (*Cf.* Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu, p. 35, by Dr. Takakusu, Jan. 1905, J. R. A. S.) Dr. J. Takakusu believes the king to be Skandagupta there. But I think he is mistaken there. The king appears to be Chandragupta II. We hear of two Vikramādityas of the Gupta dynasty—both of them are called Chandragupta So they are none other than Chandragupta I and Chandragupta II, the former's grandson. But Ayodhya could not have been the capital in the time of Chandragupta I. It was such in the time of Chandragupta II. Therefore the Vikramāditya of Vasubandhu's life is Chandragupta II. *Cf.* M M. Haraprasad Sastri's "Some notes on date of Subandhu and Din-nāga," J. A. S. B, 1905

[5] J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 35.

"Vṛsa-gaṇa (probably Varṣa-gaṇya)[1]—well versed in the Sāṁkhya-Śāstra was the teacher of Vindhya-Vasa, who revised the Śāstra. Vindhya-Vaṣa, was successful in a dispute with Buddhamitra, teacher of Vasubandhu, the latter of whom, was then away from Ayodhyā. King Vikramāditya gave the Sāṁkhya Philosopher three lacs of gold as a reward. After this triumph he returned to the Vindhya mountains and died there,—his revised Sāṁkhya-Śāstra being generally current, Vasubandhu, on his return to Ayodhyā, heard of the shame of his teacher and searched for the rival in the Vindhya mountains. Finding however that the heretic was dead, he wrote a book called Parmārtha saptatī, in opposition to the new Sāṁkhya-Śāstra of Vindha-Vāsa. The siddhāntas of the Sāṁkhya were all destroyed. This caused general satisfaction and king Vikramāditya gave him three lacs of gold moreover he sent his queen with the Crown Prince Bālāditya to study Buddhism under Vasubandhu."[2]

When Bālāditya (Kumaragupta)[3] became king Vasubandhu was respected and protected by him and his mother Dhruva. The Queen also gave him some lacs of gold. He built with this many temples in Ayodhyā, Gāndhāra and Kashmir.[4]

Thus patronised by the king he succeeded in establishing his Vijñāptimatra doctrine in the capital of an well-founded Empire. Thus Ayodhyā became the centre.

[1] Mr. S. K. Belvalkar, in his article on the Māthura Vṛtti and the date of Isvara Kṛsna in R. G Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp 171-184, holds another view against Dr Takakusu. I am not in a position to pass any opinion now. I shall do it later on.

[2] *Cf.* Dr. J Takakusu's article, 2 J. R. A. S., 1905.

[3] *Cf.* M.M. H. P. Sastri's article on the "Date of Subandhu and Din-nāga, J.A.S B., 1905, p. 1255.

[4] J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 45. R. Hadani's "Buddhism of Western Land" p. 370.

VII. Nālandā Period.

(Nālandā became the centre of Buddhism at the time of Śakrāditya and Buddhagupta of later Gupta dynasty and continued to be the same up to the time of Mahipāla of the Pāla dynasty, 5th century A.D.—to [the 11th century A.D.)

Yogācāra one of the high Philosophical Schools of Mahāyāna system was founded by Âsanga and Vasubandhu. Both the founders and their school owe their lineage to the Sarvāsti-Vādin School,—the Principal Sthaviravādin school prevailing at that time in Kāshmīr and Gāndhāra. This school, as already enumerated, arose in Ayodhyā and gradually spread to the South-East. The Mādhyamika School, on the other hand, another Philosophical School of the Māhāyāna system was founded by Nāgārjuna developed by Āryadeva. This school owes its origin to the Mahāsaṅghika school—prevailing in the Andhra country at that time. This school, as already stated, originated in the country of Kosala and gradually spread to the North and Central India. It is rather strange enough that these different doctrines of different lineages, came across each other in the Madhyadeśa. This famous Nālandā monastery was the very place where those two schools met each other during the 5th century A.D. After that time Nālandā became the most important place as the centre of Buddhism as well as of Buddhist learning. Nālandā has been identified with a modern village named Bargaon [1] 7 miles to the North of Rajgir in Behar. Nālandā was known to the Buddhists as it is occasionally mentioned in the Pāli Literature [2] but not as an important place then.

[1] Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 468.

[2] *Cf.* the Mahaparinirbhāna Suttanta—

"Then the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Nālandā and then at Nālandā the Exalted One stayed in the Pāvarika Mango grove" (Dial Budd., Part 2, p. 87).

According to Tārānāth Nāgārjuna and Aryadeva were the fore-runners of those who took interest in the educational institutions at the village. He also states that a Brāhmaṇa named Śuviṣṇa, a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, is said to have established 108 temples there in order to prevent any decline of Abhidhamma.[1] The tradition however does not appear to be authentic to me—because Fahien, who visited India for the first time in 404 A.D.—calls the place simply "the village of Nola." He saw there simply a tower which had been erected on the spot where sāriputra the right-hand disciple of Buddha entered Nirvana.[2] Had there been any other temples as mentioned by Tārānāth, Fahien could not have failed to mark them. Again Fahien makes mention of the prosperous condition of Buddhism in the vicinity of Nālandā but does not say anything about Nālandā itself. This makes us sure that in Fahien's time Nālandā had not yet attained to any such prosperity as was achieved in the time of Hiuen Thsiang (633 A.D.). In Hiuen Thsiang's time Nālandā had already become the famous centre of Buddhism and the great Buddhist learning. So from an examination of the records of the two Chinese pilgrims we can fairly conjecture that the famous monastery of Nālandā was erected and the place turned up to be the centre of Buddhism after the visit of Fahien and before that of Hiuen Thsiang (*i.e.*, from the latter half of the fifth century A.D. to the beginning of the seventh century A.D.).

According to the historical information as given by Hiuen Thsiang, Nālandā monastery was built by six kings one by one, *viz.*,—Sakrāditya, Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya and Vajra. Subsequently a king of Central India built another magnificent monastery and a high

[1] *Cf.* Indian Logic. Mediæval School by M. M. S. C. Vidyabhusan, p. 145.

[2] Leggis Fahien, p. 81

wall round these edifices with a gate.[1] Itsing who resided at Nālandā for ten years (from 675-685 A.D.)[2] says that there were eight halls and three hundred apartments.[3] From his records we come to know that Nālandā was in a more flourishing condition in his time.

Now let us examine to which dynasty the kings mentioned by Hiuen Thsiang belonged. At the first sight we can reasonably recognise the names of two Gupta kings—Buddhagupta and Bālāditya. Hiuen Thsiang calls Sakrāditya, the first builder of the monastery, the father of Buddhagupta.[4] So he can be fairly traced to a Gupta lineage. King Vajra again, another builder has been mentioned as the son of Bālāditya.[5] He too, therefore, belonged to the same dynasty. We cannot be definite as regards the name Tathāgata-gupta. An examination of his title only leads us to conjecture—possibly rightly—that he belonged to the same family.

It is however a matter of difficulty to assign dates to these kings. Buddhagupta was the king of Nālandā[6] and belonged to another branch of the main Guptas. Evidently he was the successor of Skandagupta in that quarter and reigned about 484 A. D. He made a desperate attempt to[7] prevent the empire from ruin but was defeated by Toramān, the Huna chief. As Sakrāditya was his father so he must have reigned before 484 A. D. He was therefore reigning about 450 A. D. evidently.[8]

[1] Beal's Records of the Western World, Vol II, pp. 168-70.

[2] Itsing by Dr. Takakusu, p. XXX III

[3] *Ibid*, p.154

[4] Beal's Records Vol. II, pp. 168-170

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 168-170

[6] V.A Smiths E H I, (3rd Ed), pp 313-14.

[7] M. M. H. P Śāstri's Indian History, pp 25-26.

[8] Śakrāditya's.

" Not long after the Nirvāna of Buddha, a former king of this country, named Śakrāditya respected and esteemed one vehicle and honoured very highly the three treasures. Having selected by augury a lucky spot, he built this Saṅghārama... .....

The fact has been established that Śkandagupta reigned from 455-480 A.D. Śakrāditya consequently becomes identical with Skandagupta. This identification is again corroborated by several other events. Buddhagupta was the heir of Skandagupta[1] brother of Puragupta.[2] Skandagupta's father Kumāragupta I (413-455 A.D.), as we have seen in the last section, was a great patron of Vasubandhu. From this instance only for want of other information we may reasonably guess that Skandagupta was also the true son of a true father and he did not fail to patronise the religion of his father by erecting the Nālandā monastery.

Bālāditya, generally known as Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, the son of Puragupta, defeated Mihirakula, the Huna chief, with the help of Yasodharmadeva, the king of Ujjaini (528 A.D.)[3] His period is 485-530 A.D.

King Vajra, of Hiuen Thsiang's account is known as the son of Bālāditya. But Kumāragupta II is generally accepted to be the son of Bālāditya. If Bālāditya had one son, then King Vajra should be identified with Kumāragupta II, but if it was not so, he must be a brother of Kumāragupta II. But Kumāragupta's date is given as 530 A. D. Therefore the date of King Vajra falls into that period.

We know nothing absolutely about Tathāgatagupta.

his son, Buddhagupta-rājā who succeeded him, continued to labour at the excellent undertaking of his father. To the south of this he built another Saṁghārama."—(Beal's Records—II, pp. 178-9.)

The expression " Not long after the Nirvāna of Buddha " is apparently a mistake of Hiuen Thsiang. The monastery was not in existence even in the 4th century A.D. when Fahian came—How could it be still earlier. The expression " His son Buddhagupta " is of a great historical value.

[1] V. A. Smith's E. H I.—" In the eastern province of Mālwa we find record of Rājās named Buddhagupta and Bhānugupta who cover the period from 484-510 A.D. and evidently were the heirs of Skandagupta in that reign," p. 314.

[2] E. H. I, p. 311.

[3] E. H. I, (3rd Ed.) p. 318.

Now from a consideration of the above facts we become assured, firstly, that the Nālandā monastery had been built by the Gupta Kings (from 480-535 A.D.) and secondly, that Nālandā came out to be the most famous monastery and became the centre of Buddhism, consequently in that period.

Of course, after that time also, Nālandā monastery began to be improved from time to time through the efforts of the Gupta Kings. Subsequently Harshavardhan or Śilāditya king of Kānyakubja ascended the throne in 607 A.D. and reigned for about 50 years.[1]

He had been known in the history as a great king—as great as Chandragupta Maurya and Aśoka in many respects. As far as his religious beliefs were concerned, it has been asserted that he worshipped all the three deities of the family—Śiva, the Sun-god and Buddha. But according to Hiuen Thsiang's records he was a great patron of Buddhism. It is also recorded that his elder brother Rājyavardhan and his sister were great adherents of the faith.[2] He contributed much to the progress of the monastery in diverse respects. The wonderful prosperity which it attained is well-testified to by the evidence of I-tsing's records. After Harsha, the Pāla kings of Bengal did not fail to look to the great

[1] M. M. H. P. Śāstri—History of India p. 30.

[2] According to V. A. Smith—" His remote ancestor Pushyabhuti is recorded to hav entertained from boyhood an ardent devotion towards Siva and to have turned away from all other gods. Harsha's father was equally devoted to the worship of the Sun, ...the elder brother and sister of Harsha were convinced Buddhists, while Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family—Siva, the Sun and the Buddha, and erected costly temples for the service of all three. In his later days, however, he inclined more to Buddhism. The eloquence of the Chinese master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teachings of the Mahāyāna school to the more primitive Hinayāna doctrine of Samitiya School with which he had been familiar previously (3rd Ed., p. 345).

Harsha's sister was learned in the doctrines of Samitiya School of Buddhism and his elder brother was accustomed to read ever yday Prajñāpāramitā hridayasutra.

monastery and to make various attempts to improve its condition.[1]

In this way the monastery at Nālandā continued to be the centre of Buddhism for about 6 centuries from the 5th to the 11th century A.D. (*i.e.*, the time of Mahipāla). To speak the truth, of all the places which became the centres of Buddhism Nālandā was the most important and lasting. No other place continued to be the centre for such a long time. Scholars from remote countries came to Nālandā to acquire renown and even some of them assumed the names of the Nālandā students in order to be received everywhere honourably.

Now, let us see, what kinds of Buddhism prevailed in Nālandā. From an examination of the information available from the Buddhist records, we find that there were at least two sorts of Buddhism mainly prevalent in Nālandā during the whole period—

(1) Theorized Buddhism.
(2) Popularized Buddhism

Every religion in its first stage has either a Mythological or Ethical basis. But these aspects are gradually changed, through the influence of other religious or philosophical ideas, into two forms at least—one theorized and another popularized.

The case was also similar with Buddhism. Through the influence of Brahmanical religion and philosophy Ethical Buddhism was transformed into theorized and popularised Buddhism. In the period from just the time of Nāgārjuna (2nd century A.D.) to the time of the foundation of Nālandā these two forms of Buddhism were greatly developed. Of the theorized Buddhism, four schools of adherents appeared. These schools are

[1] Nālandā still flourished and maintained its high position. Some of the manuscripts copied at Nālandā in the 6th year of the reign of Mahipāla is to be found in Asiatic Society's Library. Many other manuscripts are also to be found. (*Cf.* M. M. H. P. Śāstri's Introduction to Ramacarita, p. 21.)

the Vaibhāsika, the Sautrāntika, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra. The former two belonged to the Hinayāna system whereas the latter two to the Mahāyāna system. During the time when Nālandā was the centre of Buddhism all these four schools were in a flourishing condition in India. But in the Nālandā monastery only the doctrines of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools were taught and studied mainly. In that period there were many fabulously learned monks of both the schools. Of them, Bhāvaviveka Jñānaprabhā and Siṁhaprabhā owed their lineage to Nāgārjuna, whereas, Dingnāga, Salamati, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Dharmapāla, Nanda, Vimalacandra, Candrapāla, Silābhadra, Bandhujina, Jñānacandra, Jinaputra, Bhadraruci, Jayasena, Guṇaprabha, Sankarasvāmi—all of them owed their lineage to Āsanga and Vasubandhu. Both Nāgārjuna and the Āsanga brothers were exponents of the theorized Buddhism.

Next let us take the popularized Buddhism in consideration. It can be divided into two classes:—

(1) The worshipping of Buddhas other than Gautama and the Bodhisattvas for attaining Salvation. There are at least four Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to whom the adoration is paid:—

(*a*) the Amitābha Buddha.
(*b*) the Maitreya Buddha.
(*c*) the Manjuśri Bodhisattva.
(*d*) Avalokiteśvara.

The people generally think that Salvation cannot be attained without the favour of the past Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This was also the case in the Nālandā period.

(2) The Mantrayāna system. The doctrine of this school is a great secret law: it teaches that we can attain to the state of the "great enlightened," *i.e.*, the state of the 'Buddha' if we follow the three great secret laws regarding body, speech and thought, or in

other words, if we repeat Mantras or Dhāranis preached by the Mahāvairocana Buddha, in the mouth (Dharmakāya-Buddha) and think about Buddha in mind and perform Mudrās in the hand.[1]

This kind of doctrine was prevalent in Nālandā at that time. A school was established subsequently in the 7th century A.D. by Nāgabodhi, Vajrabodhi, and Śubhākarasiṁha.

These were however not the only subjects taught at Nālandā University. There were many other branches of learning. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang enlightens us on this point.

"The priests belonging to the convent or strangers always reach to the number of 10,000, who all study the great vehicle and also the eighteen sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas, and other books—the Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā, and Cikitsāvidyā and works on magic, etc."

In Buddhist *Nyāya* also there were such great masters Nyāyājinas as Dignāga and Sankarāsvāmin.

VIII. Vikramasilā Period.

10TH CEN. A. D.—12TH CEN. A. D.

(Vikramasilā monastery became the centre of Buddhism at the time of Mahipāla of Pāla dynasty and remained such up to the Muhammadan invasion.)

There was a change, after Harshavardhan, in everything. There was none to play the part of a Mahārājādhirāja over the whole of Northern India. The different parts of the country adopted different forms of religion and polity under the rule of different dynasties. There was incessant fighting which weakened the political power of the Hindus and made them unfit for standing

[1] I shall take up the question of three laws in the main book.

against the ensuing foreign invasion. At this juncture a chieftain named Gopāla was elected king and founded a kingdom in Magadha[1] early in the eighth century A.D. (730-740 A.D.)[2] with its capital at Odantapuri. Thus the Pāla dynasty rose in Eastern India and subsequently attained to an almost paramount power. There were eighteen kings, beginning with Gopāla and ending with Govinda-Pāla, of this dynasty and their rule covered a long period from 730 to 1175 A.D.

Some of them were very powerful kings. Of these Dharmapāla flourished about 782-816 A.D.[3] and was the real founder of the greatness of the dynasty. Devapāla, the third king and his successor reigned for 48 years (816-864 A.D.).[4] His kingdom covered a large area and in his Mungir grant[5] he is said to have ruled the whole India from the Himālaya to the Setubandha and from the sea to the sea. As popular a king Mahīpāla the ninth king of the dynasty was reigning in the first part of the 11th century A.D. (in 1026 A.D.).[6] Mahipāla seems to have reigned long and many works of great public utility are associated with his name at different parts of Bengal. He was so popular that songs were composed to celebrate the works of his life; these songs were sung in many parts of Bengal up to the recent time and which are still sung in remote corners like Mayūrbhañja and Kuch-Behar.[7]

The kings of the Pāla dynasty were Buddhists and consecrated many temples to the order and reformed and patronised the religion. Though Buddhism was on the

[1] Introduction to Rāmacarita, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, p. 3

[2] V. A. Smith E. H. I., p. 397. (3rd Ed.) M.M. H. P. Sastri's Indian History, p. 32.

[3] Introduction to Rāmacarita, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, p. 4.

[4] V. A. Smith. E. H. I., p. 399 (3rd Edition)

[5] Ind Ant, Vol. XXI, pp. 253, 258

[6] Introduction to Rāmacarita, by M. M. H. P. Sastri, p. 9. V. A. Smith. E. H. I., p. 399.

[7] Introduction to Rāmacarita, p. 10

decline in other places of India still it was in a flourishing condition in Magadha under the protection of the Pāla kings.

During this period the monastery at Vikramasilā became the famous centre of the Buddhistic learning in India. The monastery was founded by Dharmapāla towards the close of the eighth century A.D.[1] It has been said that the monastery stood on a hill overlooking the right banks of the Ganges but the site has not yet been conclusively determined.[2]

Dharmapāla, the great adherent of the Buddhist Church, patronised a learned Buddhist scholar of his time, Haribhadra[3] by name. At his encouragement Haribhadra wrote a commentary on the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā embodied with the ideas of Nāgārjuna as well as of Maitreya some time after the conquest of Kanauj[4] by Dharmapāla. The king also endowed the Vikramasilā monastery with grants sufficing for the maintenance of 108 resident monks besides non-resident monks and pilgrims.[5] Vikramasilā was at first a rival to Nālandā regarding the centralisation of Buddhistic learning. The former at last came out successful in the contest and the strength of Nālandā became centred in Vikramasilā in the reign of Mahipāla, *i.e.*, in the first part of the eleventh century. Subsequently the monastery became the centre of Buddhism and Buddhistic learning.

[1] Smith: E. H. I (3rd Ed.), p 398.
Indian Logic; Mediæval School, App. C, p 150.

[2] General Cunningham identifies Vikramasila with modern Silao, a small village 3 miles to the south of Bargaon (ancient Nālandā), six miles to the north of Rājgir in the Sub-division of Behar. (*vide* Arch. Sur. Rep., viii, p. 83). Dr. S C. Vidhyabhusan identifies it with Pātharghāta in his Indian Logic, Mediæval School, App. C, P. 15, Note I.

[3] Haribhadra belonged to the Tāntric school and owed his lineage to Asang. *Cf.* Introduction to Rāmacarita, p. 6.

[4] *Cf.* Introduction to Rāmacarita, pp. 5-6.

[5] *Ibid.*

Oddantanpura monastery however did not cease to flourish. It continued to exercise its traditional influence which began in the time of the founder of the monastery, Gopāla.[1]

At this time Dipāṅkara Srîjñāna, the famous Tibetan Sthavira flourished and was the head of the monks at Vikramasilā.[2] It was the custom of the Vikramasilā monks to elect a head-priest for directing the affairs of the monastery. There were also gate-keepers who were selected from among the most erudite priests for guarding the gates of the monastic university. There were six gate-keepers or more accurately the *Dvāra-panditas*[3] at the time of King Mahipāla: they were:—

(1) At the eastern gate	...	Ācārya Ratnākara-śānti.
(2) At the western gate	...	Vāgîśvarakirti.
(3) At the northern gate	...	Naropa.
(4) At the southern gate	...	Prajñāa-kramati.
(5) At the first central gate	...	Ratnavagira.
(6) At the second central gate		Jñānasrimitra.

Now let us see what kind of Buddhism had been prevailing at that time. The Buddhism at this time had essentially changed.

Generally speaking, the popularised Buddhism (mantrayāna) was in a more flourishing condition than the theorised Buddhism (*i.e.*, the mādhyamika) towards the latter part of the Nālandā period. At the same time the mantrayāna or the mysterious Buddhism was transformed into the lower Tantric form.

So, to speak the truth, popularised Buddhism was prevailing in the Vikramasilā period among the mass and theorised Buddhism was still adhered to by high class

[1] V. A. Smith: E. H. J., p. 398 (3rd Ed.).

[2] Intro. to Ramacarita, p. 11.

[3] *Cf.* Indian Logic, Mediæval School, App. C. p. 151. Introduction to Ramacarita, p. 12.

people and the royal family. Dharmapāla's encouragement to Haribhadra is a sufficient proof of the fact.

Of the Tantric Buddhism there were different Yānas or schools at that time, *viz*, Sahaja-Yāna, Kālachakra-Yāna, and Vajra-Yāna.[1] Besides these another form of popularised Buddhism came to exist. This is what we call the Dharma-Thākurapujā or the worship of Dharma, one of the Buddhist trinity in the form of god. This was introduced in Bengal by Ramai Pandit in the Southern districts of Western Bengal under the patronage of Lausena, the son of Devapāla's sister-in-law, the ruler of Mayana in the Midnapur district.[2]

The University of Vikramasilā was destroyed by the Mahomedan invader Bakhtiar-Khilji about 1203 A.D. when Sākya Sri-pandita of Kāshmere was the last head of the Buddhistic order in India.[3]

[1] I shall discuss about the doctrines of these schools in my main book.

[2] Introduction of Rāmacarita by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri, p. 7.

[3] This article is meant for an introduction to my main book on the history of Buddhism as well as of its philosophy. This is why I don't enter into details which would be given in the book in preparation

Shifting of the centre of Buddhism in India.

I. Magadhan Period.

This period covers from the Buddha's first preaching at the Deer Park up to the second council at Vesāli 530—386 B.C.

II. Central Indian Period

(1) Kosāmbi
(2) Mathurā
(3) Avanti
(Sthaviravāda)

Magadha
(Mahasaṁghika.)

This period begins from the Second Council and ends with Asoka's death. 386 B.C.—232 B.C.

III. Andhra Period
This period begins from Asoka's death and continues up to the middle of the Andhra dynasty.
232 B.C.—1 A.D.

IV. Kāshmīra—Gāndhāra Period. (From Asoka's death up to the end of the Kushan dynasty.)
232 B.C.—2 A.D.

V. Kosala Period (covers the whole period of Nāgārjuna and Âryadeva) from the end of the 2nd century A.D. up to the end of the 3rd century A.D.

VI. Ayodhyā Period (covers the whole period of Asanga and Vasubandhu) from the middle of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 5th century A.D.

VII. Nālandā Period (covers the period beginning from the time of Sakrāditya and Buddhagupta of the later Gupta dynasty and ends with king Mahipāla of Pāla dynasty) from the end of 5th century A.D. to the 10th century A.D.

VIII. Odanta-Vikramasilā Period (covers the period of Mahipāla of the same dynasty up to the Muhammadan invasion) 10th century A.D. to 12 century A.D.

Customs and Transit Duties in Bengal during Early British Rule

BY

J. P. NIYOGI

Under the system instituted by the Delhi Emperors a great variety of tolls and duties were collected not only by the Chiefs but even by the Zemindars, Revenue Farmers and *Amils*. The prevailing theory of taxation was that every commodity should be taxed in the course of transit from place to place. The duty thus levied was called Sayer in the North and Mohturfa in the South (Arabic words implying universal application). Besides the transit duties the traders had to pay market duties on every variety of goods brought into the *hats* and markets, to the Zemindars in whose territories these markets were situated. The result was a bewildering variety of duties which considerably hampered the internal trade of the country.[1]

The East India Company at first did not interfere with the Zemindars' right to levy these duties as is evident from a resolution of the 23rd March 1773 on the future establishment and regulation of the duties of the country government. "All duties, tolls or fees or ground rents collected at the Gunjes," so runs the resolution, "shall be collected as usual until the Board shall

[1] Evidence of Holt Mackenzie before the Select Committee of 1832 (Harrington's Analysis).

establish such new Regulations regarding them as they may think necessary."

On articles of foreign or inland trade was imposed a duty of 2½ per cent. denominated "Government Customs" in addition to those levied in Calcutta under the name of the "Company's Customs." The Government Custom of 1773 was a tax on all goods (with minor exceptions) imported into or exported from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa either by land or by sea, levied by the East India Company, by virtue of the limited right of sovereignty which it had acquired under the grant of the Dewani. The Company's Custom, also called the Calcutta Custom, and subsequently known as the Calcutta Town Duty, was confined only to Calcutta and levied by virtue of the customary "factorial rights" possessed by the Company.[1] Roughly speaking it was a tax amounting to 4 per cent. on imports by sea and 2 per cent. on inland imports of piece goods and cotton into the town of Calcutta.

The collection of these duties was supervised by a Board of Customs consisting of a member of the Council and certain senior servants of the Company. Custom houses were established at Calcutta, Hughly, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna, besides Chokies or subordinate Custom houses to collect the Government Customs of 2½ per cent.

It appears from the consultations of the 16th February 1773,[2] that the Company's servants had enjoyed a limited right of trading within the country duty-free if they could secure the Company's *Dustucks*. This privilege was suspended in February 1773 and in its place certificates were given on payment of the established duty of 2½ per cent. to such of the civil servants as had enjoyed

[1] Harrington's Analysis, Vol. 3, p. 59.

[2] Colebrooke—Supplement.

the privilege on their making a solemn declaration that the goods were their own property.

Goods imported on behalf of the Company remained exempt from the payment of duties on the production of certificate issued by the Board of Trade. Goods manufactured for export under the orders of the Company when brought down to Calcutta were subject to the same duties as were applicable to the inland commerce of the country, but the whole amount of such duty was refunded on exportation to Europe in any of the Company's ships.[1] The object of this measure was to prevent private persons from passing off their own property under the appearance of the Company's investment.

The Government Custom operated as an onerous tax on the internal consumption and in accordance with the instructions contained in a letter, dated the 3rd November 1787,[2] from the Select Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal Lord Cornwallis abolished the tax in 1788. This abolition, be it noted, did not extend to the Company's Customs or Town Duties which continued to be collected at the old rate on goods imported into the Town of Calcutta by land or by sea. The establishments at the 5 custom houses were abolished but a new one was established at Manjee at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Gogra for collecting duties on goods passing between the Company's provinces and the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh or any country beyond the river Karmanasha. Goods which paid the prescribed duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at Manjee could pass freely through any part of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa unless imported into the town of Calcutta where they were liable to pay the additional Town Duty.

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[1] Plan for the future management of the Customs, 10th May 1781—Colebrooke, Supplement.

[2] *Vide* Appendix 16, Second Report of the Select Committee, 1811.

Trade between Benares on the one hand and Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the other was facilitated by the system of taking out Rowannahs or passes which the Raja of Benares was authorised to issue. A Government Custom of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was collected on goods passing between Benares and the Company's territories and no further duties were payable for their transit into the interior.

The effect of the abolition of the Government Customs in 1788 is clearly shown in the following table of customs receipts in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa[1] :—

Year.	Gross Receipts.	Charges.
	Rs.	Rs.
1786-87	19,47,444	2,64,300
1787-88	20,03,907	2,44,129
1788-89	9,83,372	1,48,471
1789-90	9,04,943	1,17,348
1790-91	6,07,405	93,705

The position in 1788, then, was this: all internal custom houses had disappeared; import and export duties were collected at Manjee, the Benares frontier and Calcutta. No other restrictive duty was imposed by the East India Company on the internal trade of Bengal. But it must be remembered that besides these duties which were levied by the Company, the Zemindars possessed at

[1] *Vide* Appendix to the Report of the Committee of Accounts—15th February 1793.

this time the customary right of collecting certain duties, fees and tolls on goods either passing through their territories or brought into their markets.

The resolution of 1773 referred to above, did not affect the Zemindars' right of collecting these duties. By subsequent legislation, the Company regulated the levy of these duties, taking precautions to guard against undue extortions. It was afterwards found that the duties were so numerous and complicated that a policy of regulation was impracticable. Accordingly by a series of rules contained in the Codes of 1793 and 1795 all Sayer duties which used to be levied by the Zemindars were abolished. The company pursued the same policy with regard to Benares, the provinces ceded by the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, and those wrested from the Mahrattas, called "the ceded and conquered provinces."

Attempts were made at this time to facilitate commercial intercourse between the Company's territories and those of the Indian Chiefs by means of reciprocal treaty obligations. Mr. Malet, the Resident at Poona, observed in a letter to the Governor-General, dated the 8th August 1788: "I am inclined much to doubt the practicability of improving or extending our commerce by extraordinary means adopted for that purpose." The Select Committee of the Court of Directors appointed to take into consideration the export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies observed in 1793 : "from the tenor of the correspondence respecting the various attempts made by the Presidencies in India to promote a commercial intercourse with neighbouring powers it is evident that a free intercourse of that nature must be impracticable if not established on the faith of treaties or under the protection of a military force. The latter alternative being out of the question, your Committee will consider the effects derived to commerce from treaties with the Native

powers of India."[1] Two such treaties were concluded about this period, one with the Vizier of Oudh in 1788, and the other with the Raja of Nepal in 1792.

By Article 5 of the first treaty it was provided that certain enumerated articles including the manufactures of copper and lead, silk and cotton piece goods, exported from the Company's territories to the dominions of the Vizier should pay an import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the price specified in the Rowannah taken out in the former. All unenumerated articles passing between the territories of the contracting parties paid a duty of 5 per cent. on the valuation mentioned in the Rowannah of the country whence the goods had been originally exported.[2] In accordance with the terms of the treaty with Nepal, 2 per cent. was reciprocally taken on the imports from the territories of either of the contracting parties.[3]

The rules introduced in 1788 with regard to the levy of Town Duties in Calcutta and the establishment of the Government Customs at Manjee were re-enacted by Regulation 42 of 1793. On imports by sea and land into the town of Calcutta was levied a duty of 4 per cent. calculated on the Calcutta price with this reservation however, that in the case of goods imported in foreign ships the Town Duty was to be calculated after adding 60 per cent. to the prime cost, and on China goods an addition of 30 per cent. was made to the invoice price.[4]

The arrangements introduced in 1788 and re-enacted in 1793 did not however last long. It was argued that the Company's Custom or the Town Duty unduly hampered the trade of one part of the

[1] Report of the Select Committee of the Court of Directors to take into consideration the Export trade from Great Britain to the East Indies, 1793.

[2] Commercial treaty concluded with the Vizier of Oudh, 25th July 1788.

[3] Translation of the Treaty of Commerce with Nepal of 1st March 1792.

[4] Reg. 42 of 1793, Secs. 2, 4, 27. cl, (3).

country as compared with that of the other parts and "in order to place all persons trading to or from the Company's dominions on the same footing as to duties" it was decided in 1795 to abolish the Town Duty of Calcutta, and as a preliminary measure to reintroduce the Government Customs in Calcutta only, whilst the Governor General reserved the power to impose similar duties on goods entering through any other port than Calcutta.

A duty of 2½ per cent. was levied on the imports by sea on Calcutta price of the goods, with the usual exceptions in the case of China goods and goods imported on foreign bottoms in which cases the prices were artificially advanced by adding a certain percentage to the original price. This policy of discrimination as between English and foreign goods was carried further in later years. Goods brought by sea and imported into Calcutta from foreign settlements paid the import duty as if imported direct from the sea. The export duty was also fixed at 2½ per cent. and certificates were given which exempted the Bengal goods from import duties when imported into Bombay and Madras.[1]

In 1797 an additional duty of 1 per cent. was levied on the imports into and export, from Calcutta to defray the cost of an armament for the protection of "the Bengal river." This duty was however repealed by Regulation 11 of 1800, but the general rate of duty was raised to 3½ per cent. so that the effect of the repeal was nullified.

In 1801 the Calcutta Town Duties which had been abolished in 1795 were re-imposed and the duties on imports by sea and land were equalised, being fixed at 4 per cent., but piece goods and cotton yarn imported by land only paid 2 per cent. The exportation of indigo, cotton yarn, cotton piece goods and spirits of European manufacture, were encouraged by a drawback of the

[1] Reg 39 of 1795, Sec. 17, cl. (17).

whole amount of the duty if the goods were exported in the Company's ships.

In 1801 the internal customs duties which had been abolished in 1788, were re-introduced throughout the Company's territories and Benares by Lord Wellesley at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Goods which had once paid the duty were allowed to pass inland without any subsequent payments. As a corollary to the above, sea imports which paid duties on importation at Calcutta, Hooghly or Chittagong could be carried into the interior without the payment of further duties and the Collectors were authorised to grant Maafee Rowannahs or free passes for such goods.[1]

Meanwhile the Company's territories had extended by the cession of Oudh and by conquest from the Mahrattas. Transport duties were levied on the trade between these newly acquired territories and the Company's dominions but certain articles, *e.g.*, Irish linen, Manchester goods, flannel and blankets, etc., were exempt from the transit duties on importation into Benares and the ceded provinces.[2] Rules for the collection of Government Customs similar to those established in 1801 were also laid down for the ceded and conquered provinces, and custom houses were established in the cities of Allahabad, Farukkabad, Bareilly, Agra, Gorakhpur, Cawnpur, etc. The reason urged in favour of the re-establishment of Government Customs in the interior of the country was that owing to the prosperous state of the British dominions in India, these duties would constitute a productive source of revenue without affecting the commerce or industry of the country.[4]

[1] Reg. 11 of 1801.

[2] Reg. 7, 1802, § 2.

[3] Reg 38 of 1803 and 11 of 1804.

[4] See Appendix 17 of the Second Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1811, extract letter from the Governor General in Council dated the 31st July 1801.

The diverse rules for the levy of inland and customs duties were reduced to one uniform system by Regulation 9 of 1810 which aimed at the consolidation and simplification of the duties, so that goods having once paid the consolidated duty could be carried from place to place without the subsequent harassing interruptions to which they were liable under the old laws. Custom houses were established at Calcutta, Balasore, Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad, and Patna, and also in the more important districts of the Upper Provinces. These custom houses were connected by a strong cordon of Chokees or subordinate custom houses on the principal routes leading to or from the custom houses at a distance of not more than four miles. The Chokie officers were not authorised to levy taxes, but were to detain goods liable to the imposts passing without Rowannahs until the orders of the Collector were received.

The avowed object of the measure was to promote internal trade by freeing from the successive payment of duties of goods which had once paid them. This was in some respects an improvement on the system which generally prevailed under the administration of the Indian Chiefs. Under that system the duty was originally light, but the weight of the impost increased with the accumulation of the new taxes proportionate to the distances traversed. Commercial intercourse between neighbouring districts was not retarded as the duty was very low. As regards trade between distant districts goods could afford to bear a heavy impost, as the difference in price between these districts was sufficiently large. The East India Company introduced a radical change in the existing system. The new system substituted a fixed duty on goods irrespective of the distance traversed and based on a rough calculation of the average amount of duties to which the goods traversing long distance were liable

under the old system. The result was that as compared with the duties under the Indian administration, those levied by the Company were higher on the trade between neighbouring places and nearly equal to those on the trade between distant places.[1] Had these laws operated as effectively as their framers intended the result would have been disastrous to the internal commerce of Bengal at this period.

But the great bulk of the internal trade was carried on without interruption, as the customs Chokees existed only on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna and only the long distance trade was subjected to the duties. Hence, a considerable part of the trade was carried on without contributing anything to the Company's revenues.

But this measure proved not only unproductive but troublesome. The law required that traders should take out Rowannahs or passes on payment of the required duty and it was the duty of every officer in charge of the Chokee through which the goods passed to satisfy himself as to their identity with those mentioned in the Rowannahs. This endowed the Chokee officer with a power which proved a fertile source of trouble specially to the small merchants; for in the exercise of this power he could stop every boat or cart-load of goods passing through his Chokee and to detain, weigh, examine and value them. But he usually waived this power in consideration for a bribe and allowed the goods to pass without actual examination. The Select Committee of 1832 on the East Indian affairs reported, "the goods are liable to examination and the delay and vexation is no less than under the native system. In addition to the consolidated duty, a small fee or *douceur* is levied, though illegally, by

[1] Report of the Commissioners relative to the Customs and Post Office System, India, 1836.

the native officers entrusted with the work of examination."

The actual rate of transit duty levied under the Regulation varied according to the nature of the commodity and the country of its origin. Thus cotton and silk piece goods paid a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if imported inland from the territories of the Vizier of Oudh and of the Raja of Nepal but on the transit of same goods the manufacture of the Company's territories or of any foreign settlement a duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was levied. The low rates of duty on the goods of the territories of the Vizier and of Nepal were no doubt due to the treaty obligations to which reference has already been made. It will be observed that no distinction was drawn between the goods manufactured in the Company's territories or in the foreign settlements. Indigo and cotton yarn paid a transit duty of 5 and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively.

We now turn to the provisions of Regulation 9 of 1810 with regard to the export and import trade. Cotton and silk piece goods paid an import duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Woollens from Europe paid 5 per cent. All unenumerated goods were subjected to a duty of 5 per cent. on imports and exports. Rowannahs had to be taken out for goods for the Company's investments but they were not liable to duty. Articles exclusively imported by sea which had paid the import duties were allowed to pass inland without question and the collectors were authorised to grant free Rowannahs for such goods on payment of a duty of one quarter per cent. and a small fee for the benefit of the Collector and the Joint Collector.

The Captains or officers of the Company's ships of 755 tons were allowed to export from England for private trade to the extent of 87 tons per ship.[1] It was laid down

[1] Report of the Select Committee of Court of Directors, 1793.

by Regulation 9 of 1810 that these goods were to pay the usual duties on the price specified in the invoice and on failure to produce the invoice, on the Calcutta price of these articles.

Cotton and silk piece goods which had paid the duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were allowed a drawback of 5 per cent. on exportation. But in order that the goods of the Company's territories might not be placed at a disadvantage as compared with the goods of Nepal and Oudh which were subject to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty, it was laid down that these instead of being given a drawback should pay an additional duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. We shall have occasion to point out that these rules for drawback underwent material alteration in the course of subsequent legislation.

In order to evade the import duties, British ships often took recourse to the foreign settlements to unload their cargoes and subsequently imported these goods overland to the Company's territories. These goods were made to contribute to the Company's revenues by the provision that they should pay the duties in the same manner as if they had been imported at Calcutta. Certain articles, *e.g.*, timber used for shipbuilding, horses, bullion and coin on importation, and grain, precious stones and opium purchased from the Company's sales on exportation, were exempt from the payment of all duties.

Such were the main provisions of the Regulation 9 of 1810 as regards internal and external trade which were considerably modified by Regulation 3 of 1811. This regulation introduced a principle of discrimination as between goods carried on English and on foreign bottoms, which influenced the whole fiscal legislation of India up to the year 1848.

On the 3rd August 1808, the Court of Directors despatched a letter to the Governor General in Council[1]

[1] Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1811.

in which they suggested the levy of double duties on foreign bottoms and explained the reasons for such a measure. "It is but reasonable," they observed, "that those nations which without incurring any charge or risk in forming and maintaining a settlement are at once admitted to a share in the Indian trade with all the benefits of such establishment ready prepared, should for that important advantage unattainable before our acquisition of territory in the East, pay a suitable consideration in the shape of duties beyond what is levied on the subjects of the British Empire * * * Our general intention is that foreigners shall be subjected to double the duties on imports and exports paid by British subjects."

In pursuance of the wishes of the Court of Directors, Regulation 3 of 1811 was passed. Goods imported and exported on foreign bottoms were subjected to twice the rates of duty charged on British bottoms. Thus silk and cotton piece goods paid 7½ per cent. if imported on British bottoms and 15 per cent. if on foreign bottoms; similarly, iron and wine paid 10 per cent. if imported on British and 20 per cent. on foreign bottoms.

The provisions for drawback underwent material alterations and complications. Thus, foreigners were excluded from the benefit of the drawback in those cases where the British subjects received a drawback of half the amount of the import duty. Articles, the produce of the territories of the Vizier and of Nepal or of any foreign settlement which if exported from Calcutta, Chittagong, Balasore, paid under the provisions of Regulation 9 of 1810 an additional duty of 2½ per cent. now paid that duty only if exported in British bottoms, whilst if exported on foreign bottoms the duty was 7½ per cent.

A more complicated rule was laid down with regard to those articles which were imported expressly for re-exportation. Such goods were allowed a drawback of

two-thirds of the amount paid on their importation if exported on British bottoms and one-third, if on foreign bottoms. If, however, these goods were originally imported on foreign bottoms and consequently paid double duties, the drawback amounted to two-thirds the amount, irrespective of the nationality of the ships on which the goods were exported. This rule was subject to some exceptions.

Some little modifications were introduced by Regulations 1 of 1812, 12 of 1813 and 6 of 1814. The first enacted that instead of a uniform rate of As. 12 per maund levied by Regulation 9 of 1810 on cotton, a distinction was to be drawn between cleaned and uncleaned cotton. The Regulation 12 of 1813 levied export duties at the rate of 3 per cent. on British bottoms and 6 per cent. on foreign bottoms on coin or bullion exported to Europe or America. This measure proved unproductive and was repealed in 1825.[1] The regulation of 1814 was passed to prevent a fraud which, it was discovered, was being perpetrated by the exporters of indigo manufactured in the Vizier's dominions, who fraudulently withheld the Rowannahs and declared it to be the produce of the Company's territories. To prevent this it was enacted that in all cases where the Rowannahs were withheld the indigo should be declared to be the produce of the Vizier's territory and subjected to the additional duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Company's charter was renewed in 1814 and all private persons were allowed to trade to and from the United Kingdom to ports and places within the Company's jurisdiction, except China, in ships navigated according to law. Hitherto the Company's commerce was exempt from taxation. The 67th section of the Charter Act,

[1] Answer of Holt Mackenzie, Appendix to Select Committee's Report, 1832

53 George III, Cap. 155, introduced one important modification with regard to import and export duties. This section made it imperative that the duties should be levied and should be debited to the commercial branch of the Company's affairs and credited to its territorial revenues.

The Court of Directors sent a despatch dated the 29th July 1814 and in accordance with the instructions contained therein, Regulation 4 of 1815 was passed by which extensive changes were made in the customs laws of Bengal, corresponding changes being made at the same time in the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The object of this measure was to encourage trade between England and India. The duties on the foreign trade remained the same as before. With regard to the exports from the United Kingdom to India in the British registered ships or India-built ships trading under the operation of the 30th section of the Act, 53 George III, Cap. 155, or other Acts, the import duties were abolished on the following articles:—woollens, blankets, unmanufactured metals (subsequently extended by Regulation XXI of 1817 to all metals wrought or unwrought), canvas, cordage, marine stores of the United Kingdom. Other exports from the United Kingdom paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. whilst the produce or manufacture of foreign Europe paid 5 per cent. if imported in British registered ships or ships trading under the provision of the 30th section of 53 George III, Cap. 155. Articles which had paid the duties in one port were exempted from further duties on transit from port to port.

One important result of the repeal of the import duty on some of the English goods may be noticed here. Under Regulation IX of 1810 goods ordinarily imported by sea could pass into the interior without any payment of transit duties, and scarcely any article was exempt from the payment of the import duties except Company's

goods. Under the Charter Act of 1814 this exemption ceased, but when next year under the Regulation IV of 1815 these English goods were admitted free, the right of free transit was continued.[1] The net result therefore was that these English goods escaped from the liability to pay not only import duty but transit duty as well.

As regards export duties the regulation provided that indigo, the produce or manufacture of the British territories, if exported to the United Kingdom in British or Indian ships would get a drawback of the whole amount of the duty, whereas indigo, the produce of any native state, should get the same drawback as British indigo although the duty paid might have been higher. This regulation left untouched all the provisions regarding the levy of transit duties except with regard to the duty on cotton. This Act reduced the duty on cotton wool so as not to exceed 5 per cent. on its value. Cotton wool and hemp, the produce of any part of India, obtained a drawback of the whole amount of the duty if exported to the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Regulation IV of 1815 is important in another respect. It drew a distinction for the first time between the general trade and that conducted under the Acts of Parliament for regulating the direct and circuitous trade between Great Britain and Ireland. It was only the latter which was entitled to the low rate specified in the Regulation. The former kind of trade still continued subject to the higher rate as laid down in Regulation IX of 1810.[2]

The general tenor of Regulation IV of 1815 was to improve the trade between the United Kingdom and India.

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[1] Evidence of Holt Mackenzie before the Select Committee of 1832.

[2] See Sec. 6, Reg. IV, 1815; also a despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 10th October 1817, in the first Appendix to the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1831.

The maximum rate as we have seen, to which the British manufactures were subjected was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. while in many cases the British manufactures escaped from the liability to pay both the import and transit duties. The result was not only a loss of revenue but an unequal and unfair competition between British and Indian goods which was distinctly prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures. Lord William Bentinck's Committee of 1835 in discussing these measures speaks of "the unquestionably disadvantageous position in which the produce and manufactures of India heavily taxed by the inland system were placed, in coming into competition with free or lightly taxed articles produced by the most improved machinery."[1]

To be continued.

[1] First Report of the Commissioners relative to the Customs and Post Office System of India, paragraph 399.

The Kushan Chronology[1]

Part I

BY

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The date of Kanishka has been a fruitful source of controversy among the students of Indian Antiquity. (See Part II, App. I, *History of the Kanishka Question*) The comprehensive nature of the problem is fully indicated by the printed report of the debate that was held in the Hall of the Royal Asiatic Society in London on 10th June, 1913 (J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 627-650, 910-1042). It may be deemed superfluous to add to the voluminous literature that exists on the subject and specially when the most notable scholars of the day have thoroughly discussed it in the debate referred to. The present writer's excuse lies in the fact that in his opinion the problem has not been dealt with from all possible points of view. Indeed the most characteristic feature in all the recent discussions about the date of Kanishka is the limitation of the possible solution of the question to one or other of the two theories of 58 B.C. or 78 A.D. There is, however, absolutely nothing to warrant the assumption that the date of the accession of Kanishka must fall in either of these two years. The narrow outlook tacitly adopted by the scholars is not beyond all question. Both the theories are beset with serious difficulties and there is no reason why we should not look

[1] The article is divided in two parts for the sake of convenience. Part I merely contains the general line of arguments, the detailed discussions on some of the important points involved being reserved for Part II, which will consist of a series of appendices.

for a third which would furnish a more satisfactory explanation of all the known facts of the case.

Two classes of evidence alone throw direct light on the question of Kanishka; Indian coins and Inscriptions, and the Chinese historical texts. If they are independently interpreted without any bias to any preconceived theory, they may lead to some fruitful solution. I propose to study afresh all these evidences in an unprejudiced mind, and find out the most natural conclusions to which they lead. I am prepared to accept them and risk all the consequences. It is for others to judge whether these consequences are to be borne.

Indian evidence—It is held by almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. Fleet and the supporters of his theory, that the Northern Satraps and King Gondophares preceded the Kushan Emperors, and that among the latter, the Kadphises group preceded Kanishka. I accept this view and refer the reader, for reasons, to the printed report of the debate held in the Hall of the Royal Asiatic Society (J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 627 ff., 911 ff.).

Now we have a series of epigraphic dates for these rulers which may be arranged as follows:—

Northern Satraps	...	72 and 78.
Gondophares . .	...	103.
Kushan Kings (without any proper name).		113, 122, 136. [1]
Kanishka, Vāsishka Huvishka and Vāsudeva		[3—98].

It is quite evident that the dates 3 to 98 cannot refer to the same era as the others. The Inscriptions which refer to Kushan ruler without any name should naturally be placed before those of Kanishka, for we know from the

[1] Kaldarra (J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 41), Panjtar (A.S R., Vol. V, p. 61, pl. xvi) and Taxila (J. R. A. S., 1914, p. 975 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 284 ff.) Inscriptions.

Chinese writers that the early Kushan Emperors did not personally govern India but a viceroy ruled there in their name. We have a series of coins (the coins of the so-called Nameless King) which are in some respects parallel to these inscriptions, and have been referred, on independent grounds, to the period of Wema Kadphises.[1] These coins and inscriptions may therefore be referred to the period of interval between the first Kushan conquest of India, and the assumption of the Indian Government by the Kushan Emperors themselves. It is legitimate, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, to take all these dates ranging from 72 to 136 as belonging to one era. Kanishka, according to this view would have to be placed after the year 136 of that era, and a great advance may thus be made in the solution of the Kanishka problem if we can fix the initial point of the era.

Dr. Fleet has emphasised the principle that we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of an era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all.[2] Dr. Oldenberg made a similar remark in connection with the Gupta era. "The fundamental mistake," said Oldenberg, "which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta Chronology consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition which we possess regarding the Gupta Era instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question."[3] These principles, applied to the question at hand, limit our choice, in the first instance,

[1] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 661

[2] J. R. A. S., 1905, p. 231.

[3] I. A., Vol. X, p 217.

to the two well known eras which commenced in 58 B.C. and 78 A.D. If impossible results follow, we must, of course, give them up, but not otherwise. On the other hand, if the conclusions deduced are supported by extraneous evidences we may be tolerably certain that we are on the right track.

On general grounds the era of 78 A.D. must be preferred to that of 58 B.C. in interpreting the dates of these foreign rulers. (See Part II, Appendix II. *The use of Śaka Era in Northern India.*) In the first place, tradition attributes the inauguration of the first to the accession of a Śaka ruler while it assigns an indigenous origin to the second. Secondly, the Western Satraps who undoubtedly used the era of 78 A.D. indicate a close connection with the North-Western parts of India by the Kharoṣṭhī letters on their coins,[1] and all the rulers we have to deal with belong to that quarter. There is again another reason why we should reject the era of 58 B.C. and accept that of 78 A.D. The former was tried by Dr. Fleet and others, and has been shown to yield impossible results. The latter has never had any fair trial.

Interpreted by the 'Śaka Era,' the dates of the various rulers will be as follows:—

Northern Satraps	...	150 and 156 A.D.
Gondophares	...	181 A.D.
Kushan Kings	...	191 to 214 A.D.
Kanishka	...	Some time after 214 A.D.

The results may appear at first to be too startling for serious consideration; but when calmly considered, they are found to be opposed to nothing but vague prejudices inherited from earlier writers who had to form their conclusions on very insufficient grounds.

[1] Rapson, Andhra Coins, p. civ.

The Northern Satraps (see Part II, App. III, *Northern Satraps*) have usually been referred to very early times, but there are no positive data to determine their dates, and their chronological position has been fixed solely with reference to that of the Greeks and the Kushanas. As the date of the Kushans is the matter of dispute, it would be begging the question to rely upon it, and the Greek chronology is far from being settled as yet. It must never be forgotten that numismatic and palæographic evidences can only supply a relative date and never an absolute one (unless, of course, the coins are dated in a known era, which, however, is not the case in the present instance). When specific dates are given to a king on numismatic and palæographic evidences, they are simply conjectured on the basis of the date of other king or kings with relation to whom his chronological position has been established by means of coins and inscriptions. Everything, therefore, depends upon the latter, and the specific dates of the former arrived at by numismatic and palæographic evidences possess no more value than may be attached to it. We should therefore distinguish the numismatic and palæographic facts from the theories based upon them. The establishment of these facts requires a great deal of technical skill and observation, and they should not be lightly treated when their accuracy is established by the joint testimony of a number of experts in these branches. The chronological theories established on the basis of these facts do not stand, however, on the same footing. They are based on some assumptions with regard to historical events, and must stand or fall with them. As regards the Northern Satraps, early dates were assigned to them on the basis of the assumed date for the extinction of the Greek rule in India. This was at first taken to be 120 B. C. and next shifted to a period 100 years later, but even this did

not rest on secure grounds. Already a still later date has been proposed and generally accepted and more shifting will probably take place in future. While, therefore, we should accept in general the priority of the Greek sovereigns, we are unable to rely much upon any specific date assigned to the Northern Satraps. The proposed date for the Northern Satraps is not therfore *primâ facie* an impossible one.

Gondophares (see Part II, Appendix IV): There seems to be a consensus of opinion among the scholars as regards the date of Gondophares, but the unanimity is more apparent than real. By a curious coincidence they have come to maintain the same point though their views are based on diametrically opposite principles. Thus Dr. Fleet arrives at the date by referring the year 103 of the Takht-i-Bahai Inscription to the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B. C. which he considers to be the historic era of Northern India, being founded by the great emperor Kanishka. Dr. Thomas, V. Smith and Rapson who all deny any association between Kanishka and Vikrama Samvat, and do not even recognise the possibility of the Vikrama Samvat having ever been used in those regions at so early a period, arrive at the same conclusion on numismatic and palæographic evidence which places Gondophares a little before Kanishka whom they refer to about 78 A.D.

The position with regard to Gondophares is briefly this: A Christian tradition associates him with the apostle St. Thomas and thus refers him to the middle of the first century A. D. It is generally admitted that the tradition, by itself, is unworthy of serious belief[1] and cannot be accepted, unless corroborated by independent evidence. Reliable independent evidence is, however, not forthcoming,

[1] For Example *cf.* Fleet in J. R. A S., 1905, p. 227; V. Smith in Early History, p. 233-34, also Burkitt's statement quoted in J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 1020.

and the scholars do not agree among themselves even as to the bearing of the numismatic and palæographic facts with regard to the question. Fleet and Mr. R. D. Banerjee do not hesitate to place Kanishka before Gondophares, while Bühler, Thomas, V. Smith, Rapson and others would reverse the position. I am inclined to accept the latter view, and hold it as almost an established fact, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, that Kanishka flourished later than Gondophares. But the specific date proposed for Gondophares on this ground possesses little value as the date of Kanishka is open to dispute and forms the subject-matter of the present discussion. There is thus no good ground for the assumption that Gondophares flourished in the middle of the first century A.D.

Regarding the Kushan kings before Kanishka, it may be noted that most of the scholars are inclined to place the Kadphises group before him. (See Part II, Appendix V.)

The above discussion makes it quite clear that no serious objection can be opposed to the results obtained by referring the dates under consideration to the era of 78 A.D. I now proceed to show that the Chinese evidence, when interpreted without any bias, leads to the same results.

Two Chinese historical texts throw important light upon the history of the Indo-Kushans. These are the "Heou Han Chou" or the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" and the "Wei-lio." The former covers the period between 25 and 220 A. D. and was composed by Fan-ye who died in 445 A. D. The latter was composed by Yu Houan between 239 and 265 A. D. and the events mentioned in it come down to the period of Emperor Ming (227-239 A.D.).[1]

Fan-ye gives the following account of the Kushan conquest of India.

[1] The accounts of these books are based on the French translations that appeared in T'oung Pao, 1907 (p. 153 ff.) and 1905 (p. 519 ff.).

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hioungnu. They then went to Ta-hia and divided the kingdom among five 'Jabgous,' *viz.*, those of Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-Chouang (Kushan) named Kieou-tsieou-kio (Kozoulo Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other 'Yabgous' and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kushan. He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kaofu (Kabul). He also overcame Pouta and Kipin (Kashmir) and became completely master of these kingdoms. Kieu-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Oema Kadphises) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered India and established there a 'chief' for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushan after their king but the 'Han' retain the old name and call them Ta-yue-chi."

In course of his description of India Fan-ye adds the following:

"At this time all these Indian kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi. The Yue-chi had killed their king and installed a 'chief' to administer the Government."[1]

Now, if we altogether banish from our mind all preconceived theories regarding the Kushan chronology, the meaning of the passages quoted above offers no difficulty. As Fan-ye dates past events by referring them to distinct chronological periods (apparently the Chinese equivalent of our method of dating in the years of an era) it appears plainly, from the use of the phrase "at this time," that at the close of the period with which Fan-ye is dealing (*i.e.*, about 220 A.D.) the different kingdoms of

[1] T'oung Pao, 1907, pp. 193-4.

India were subject to the Yue-chi king, who had installed a 'chief' to govern the country. Fan-ye is quite explicit on this point as the last quotation will show. It will be observed that the separate accounts which Fan-ye gives of the Yue-chi and the Kabul kingdom are quite consistent with this. The last thing he records of the Yue-chi is their conquest of India under Wema Kadphises and the consequent increase in their power, and the last thing mentioned of Kabul is also the Yue-chi conquest of the country. There can hardly remain any doubt that the picture of the Yue-chi which he has preserved is true of the period with which his history closes.

This plain interpretation is however fatal to all the theories that have hitherto been entertained regarding the chronology of the Kushanas. It has been therefore maintained that the above accounts were all taken from Pan Yong, that the significant words "at this time" were taken verbatim from Pan Yong's report, and that therefore the historical accounts of the Yue-chi and India were only true of the period when Pan Yong wrote, *viz.*, about 125 A.D.

This explanation, originally propounded by Chavannes has been improved upon by Mr. Kennedy, and it is therefore necessary to consider in detail the basis upon which it is founded. M. Chavannes, in the introduction to his "Translation of the 118th Chapter of Fan-ye's work" refers to a passage, where the author says that he took "*all his facts*" from Pan Yong's report,"[1] and argues that the whole account of the Western Countries, as given by Fan-ye, was based upon that report. It is quite clear, however, that either the French translation is faulty or there is something wrong in the copy, for *all the facts* that Fan-ye describes could not possibly have been

[1] T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 168.

based upon Pan Yong's report, in as much as just before this statement, Fan-ye mentions incidents which took place in 132-134, 152 and 153 A.D. and were therefore posterior to Pan Yong's report. As a matter of fact, in regard to almost all the countries of which he gives a historical account, he narrates events which were posterior to the time of Pan Yong and could not therefore have occurred in his report. These facts of course did not escape the notice of the French savant but he seeks to explain away their importance by the following observations.

"It is true that as regards Khoten, Kashgar, or Tourfan, Pan-ye mentions some events which took place between 150-170 A.D. This does not however weaken the importance which must be attributed to the text of Pan Yong in this chapter. In reality it is this text itself which constitutes the whole account of the Western countries; only, in regard to countries which were nearer to China and with which she had continued her intercourse for a longer time, the historian adds some facts which were posterior to the report of Pan Yong."[1]

Against this view it must be observed, in the first place, that it is not only as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan that Fan-ye mentions events which were posterior to Pan Yong, but the same is true of India, Kiumi (pp. 170-171), Ta-tsin (Syria) and incidentally also of Parthia (p. 185).[2]

The view cannot therefore be maintained that the only additions that the historian made to Pan Yong's report were with regard to countries nearer to China. As he could give additional account of India, and Parthia and Syria he had certainly not to depend upon the report of

[1] T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 150.

[2] The pages refer to the T'oung Pao, 1907.

Pan Yong alone in his account of the Yue-chi country and Kabul kingdom which lay in an intermediate position between China and those countries. But all possible doubts on this point are removed, so far at least as India is concerned, by the express statement of Fan-ye, that he had access to later authorities than Pan Yong's report. In the dissertations which end the chapter, Fan-ye remarks that very meagre accounts of Buddhism are given in the geographical treatises on India of the Han period and then observes as follows:

"Chang-kien merely writes 'the country is mostly warm and humid; the inhabitants ride on elephants when fighting.' As to Pan Yong, although he has stated that the people adore the Buddha, and that they neither kill nor attack, still he does not convey any information regarding the perfect style and the excellent doctrine (of the sacred Books), and the merit these possess of guiding the people and making them comprehend (the truth). For me here is what I have heard spoken on the subject by others at a subsequent period." [1]

Fan-ye thus positively asserts that he hadutilised other sources of information regarding India, besides Pan Yong's report, and some of these belonged to a subsequent period. No doubt it was from these sources that he learnt the events which he records to have happened subsequent to Pan Yong's time.

Besides, it has been elsewhere clearly shown by Chavannes himself that Fan-ye's work was based upon

[1] "Tchangkien s'est borné à écrire": ce pays est le plus souvent chaud et humide; les habitants montent sur des éléphants pour combattre.

"Quant à Pan Yong, quoiqu'il ait exposé que ces gens adorent le Buddha et qu'ils ne tuent ni n'attaquent, cependant il ne nous a rien transmis sur le style parfait et sur la doctrine excellente (des livres saints), sur le mérite qu'ont ceux-ci deguider les hommes et de leur faire comprendre (la vérité).

"Pour moi, voici ce que j'ai entendu dire à ceux qui, plus tard, ont parlé de ce sujet." T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 218.

previous works, not less than 10 in number, and all posterior to Pan Yong's time.[1] There is thus no reason to suppose that the events mentioned by Fan-ye had all taken place before Pan Yong's report. As regards the phrase " at this time," on which Chavannes remarks " apparently, at the time when Pan Yong wrote " the case is still more clear. As Fan-ye drew upon sources of information, both anterior[2] and posterior to Pan Yong's time there is no reason why that phrase should refer to it. Besides, Fan-ye was writing an independent account of India; and even if it were wholly based on that report, he could not borrow any such expression; because any man possessed with a grain of common sense (and Fan-ye has clearly proved that he had a fair share of it) could not have been blind to the fact that such expressions, if they were meant to refer to Pan Yong's time, would be entirely misleading in a work which professes to record the historical events down to 220 A.D. It would indeed be a most astounding thing if a writer, usually so precise about dates, would so far forget himself as to reproduce an expression from Pan Yong's report which could not but mean an entirely different thing to the readers of his own work. Now such strange phenomenon can be accepted as true only if adequate proofs are forthcoming, but what are the proofs? Chavannes says that " in the dissertation which closes this chapter Fan-ye expressly indicates that certain passages in

[1] An old Chinese authority has furnished us with a list of historical treatises which were written before Fan-ye's time and to which evidently Fan-ye had access, for we are told that Fan-ye " rassembla et completa tous ces auteurs." The extract has been translated by Chavannes in T'oung Pao, 1906, pp. 211-214

[2] It is quite evident that Fan-ye had access to Changkien's report. See the first sentence of the quotation in footnote 1, p. 75. Chavannes remarks on the observations attributed therein to Changkien : " These two sentences are found almost word for word in chapter 123 of Ssu-ma-Ch'ien's history which is based on the report of Chang-kien." T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 218 and f. n. 1.

his account of India are borrowed from Pan Yong."[1] Mr. Kennedy even goes further and asserts that "Afterwards Fan-ye tells us that some of his remarks about India were taken verbatim from Pan Yong."[2] Fortunately the dissertation has been made accessible to us by a French translation of M. Chavannes and we can examine it for ourselves. The first thing that strikes one on reading it is the entirely misleading nature of Mr. Kennedy's statement, for never in the course of the whole of the disseration has Fan-ye told us that " some of his remarks about India were taken verbatim from Pan Yong." As regards the indication that Fan-ye borrowed some passages from Pan Yong to which M. Chavannes has drawn attention the facts are simply these. In the dissertation which concludes the chapter, Fan-ye refers to some notices about India left by Changkien and Pan Yong (the passage has been already quoted above), and these are also found in the account of India which Fan-ye gives in the body of the book. Whether these notices, as given in the dissertation (and therefore also in the body of the book) are couched in the same words as used by those writers themselves cannot be made out so long as they are not compared with the writings of these latter. Changkien's statement is introduced by the words "Changkien writes " (ecrire) and we might expect here an actual quotation ; but a comparison with the available version of that statement shows that it is not an exact quotation but only agrees " almost word for word."[3] Now the statement attributed to Pan Yong

[1] " Dansla dissertation qui termine ce chapitre, Fan-ye indique formellement que certaines phrases de sa notice sur l'Inde sont empruntées à Pan Yong."

T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 168, f.n.

[2] J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 678, f.n. 2.

[3] See footnote 2, p. 76. I do not know whether Changkien's report is itself preserved in Sse-ki. If that is so, it is definitely proved that Fan-ye does not make exact quotation. If not, no definite statement can be made on this point.

is introduced by the words "Pan Yong has stated (exposé) that" and the whole sentence is written in indirect narration (direct narration is used in the case of reference to Changkien). We cannot therefore very well expect that an actual quotation has been made here, unless the thing is proved by an actual comparison between the report of Pan Yong and the sentence in Fan-ye's work. This is for the present impossible for I do not believe that a copy of Pan Yong's report is still available. Under these circumstances the belief that even this sentence was an exact quotation from Pan Yong's report rests on no secure basis. It is hardly necessary to point out that it would be sheer folly to infer, on the basis of this sentence, that others, with which Fan-ye does not in the least associate the name of Pan Yong, were also verbatim quotations from Pan Yong's report specially where such inference argues want of common sense on the part of such a critical writer as Fan-ye.

Now, even if we admit, for the sake of argument, that the sentence in his history, which Fan-ye attributes (in the concluding dissertation) to Pan Yong, was actually quoted verbatim from the report of the latter, the case is far from being proved. The sentence contains two informations, *viz.*, that the Indians worship the Buddha and that they neither kill nor fight." Now these are informations of a general nature without any reference to time, and they suffer no change in meaning even when reproduced word for word in the text of another work, dealing with the same subject, although no indication is made about the source whence they are borrowed. But such a sentence as "At this time, the king of India was killed by the Yue-chi" which conveys information, true only of a particular time, cannot possibly be quoted verbatim by any author without indicating, either by expressly mentioning the authority from which he is quoting, or in some other way, the time

to which reference is made. The two classes of sentences are altogether different from the point of view of their being quoted in another work. The quotation by an author of a sentence of the former class, has nothing unusual in it and is not unknown even in the present day. But the quotation of a sentence of the latter class, without any other reference to the source from which it is quoted cannot be conceived as possible except in cases where the authors are idiotic in the extreme and it remains to be proved that Fan-ye belonged to this category.

Fan-ye, no doubt, says that the facts he describes had been related by Pan Yong in his report. But this applies to India as well as all other countries of the west described by him, and as we have seen that all the facts he describes about them could not have been taken from that report, in as much as many of them are posterior to it, we cannot suppose that his Indian account was brought down only to the period when Pan Yong wrote. Further Fan-ye merely says that " all these facts were related by Pan Yong " but he nowhere says that he gives extracts from Pan Yong's report, so as to warn the reader that all personal references to time should be taken to apply to the period of Pan Yong alone. Where Fan-ye describes events of Pan Yong's time, and in which Pan Yong himself played a part, he does not use the first person nor indicate the time by any such expressions as "at the present day," "at this time," " now," " last year," or " so many years ago," etc., which must have been used in Pan Yong's report, but he indicates the time, as a later author would naturally do, even when his facts are all taken from Pan Yong's report, by referring them to distinct chronological periods. The position with regard to the question under discussion may therefore be described as follows :

Fan-ye in course of his description of India says, "At this time, all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi." It has been contended that the phrase (at this time) apparently refers to the time of Pan Young. The contention rests on two grounds : (1) Fan-Ye tells us that he borrowed his facts from Pan Young's report.

(2) He expressly indicates (or actually tells us, as Mr. Kennedy would have us believe), that some of his sentences are borrowed from Pan-Young.

Against this view it has been clearly demonstrated that :

(1) Fan-Ye did not take all his facts from Pan Young ; he did not even confine himself to the period when Pan Young wrote, but noticed events which happened posterior to it.

(2) The phrase "at this time" if quoted verbatim from Pan Young's report would mean an entirely different thing in Fan-Ye's work, and it would be absurd to suppose that Fan-Ye could have remained ignorant of it. Fan-Ye has proved himself too critical to be capable of quoting in such an absurd way. Strong and definite proofs are therefore needed to induce us to believe that he actually did any such thing and such proofs are entirely wanting. There is no clear indication that any sentence was borrowed from Pan Young in the sense that it was reproduced word for word ; only there are some grounds for the conjecture that one sentence, conveying information of a general nature and therefore entirely different from the sentence under discussion might have been so reproduced but even this belief does not rest on a secure basis. The conclusion is therefore obvious that the phrase "at the time" should be taken, in its normal sense, to refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan-Ye dealt, *i.e.*, sometime about 220 A. D. Any forced construction of it would be inadmissible as there are no circumstances warranting the same.

A few words must be said in regard to the passage in Fan-Ye's work from which it has been concluded that Kozoulo Kadphises flourished in the first century A.D.[1] Pan Ku the author of the "History of the First Han Dynasty," mentions Kabul as one of the five principalities that were established within the Yue-Chi kingdom. Fan-Ye makes the following remarks with reference to this:—

"The people of Kabul were not always subject to the same masters; whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien Tchou, Ki-pin, or Ngansi became powerful, it brought Kabul into subjection. When it grew weak it lost Kabul. But Kabul never depended on the Yue-Chi. The history of the (Elder) Han is therefore in error when it makes Kabul one of the five Hi-heou. Later, Kabul fell under the rule of Parthia; and it was not until Yue-Chi triumphed over the Parthians that they came for the first time into possession of Kabul."[2]

The meaning of all this becomes quite obvious when we remember that Fan-Ye has told us a few lines before, that Kozoulo Kadphises subjugated the other four principalities, invaded Parthia and took possession of Kabul. Fan-Ye obviously means to say that Kabul did not come into the possession of the Yue-Chi till Kozoulo Kadphises took possession of it by defeating the Parthians and as this took place after Kozoulo Kadphises had subjugated the other four principalities, Kabul could not have been one of them and the author of the History of the Elder Han is therefore in error when he enumerates Kabul in the list of the Yue-Chi principalities.

This passage has however been twisted in a remarkable way and we are told that Fan-Ye implies in the above passage "that Pan Ku, knowing the Yue-Chi to be masters

[1] A good exposition of this view will be found in J.R.A.S., 1912, p. 676.

[2] *Ibid.*

of Kabul in his day, had erroneously attributed its conquest to the period of which he was treating."[1] How such implication arises it is not easy to determine. The mistake of Pan Ku, as pointed out by Fan-Ye, consists in the enumeration of Kabul as one of the five principalities, and this mistake could not arise by Pan-ku's antedating the events, which were true in his own day, to the period with which he was dealing in his history; for neither in his own time nor in any other period could Kabul be said to have been one of the five principalities. The supposed implication in Fan-Ye's statement has therefore no basis to stand upon. The statement itself is quite clear. Fan-Ye gives an account of the political history of Kabul and describes how it was contested by the three kingdoms of Tien Chou, Ki-pin and Ngansi and frequently passed into the hands of the one or the other. Then he takes care to add, probably as a contrast to her later history, that the Yue-Chi had not yet entered into that contest and Kabul did not therefore belong to them, even for a time, during that period. This statement was in contradiction with the account of an earlier history which made Kabul one of the Five Yue-Chi principalities, and Fan-Ye therefore thought it necessary to point out the mistake in so many words, for he had already implied it by replacing Kaofu or Kabul of the History of the First Han dynasty, by 'Tou-mi,' in his list of the Five principalities.[2] The next sentence, might be intended as a piece of evidence to establish his own proposition; in other words Fan-Ye might mean thereby, that far from forming one of the five principalities, Kabul was not even a part of the Yue-Chi kingdom till those principalities were themselves

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] This can be shown by comparing Pan Ku's list of the Five Principalities with that given by Fan-Ye. The other four names are practically identical in both, only in place of 'Kao-fu' of the former we find 'Tou-mi' in the latter.

extinct. Whatever we may think of this, it is in any case certain that Fan-Ye points out a mistake in Pan Ku's writings, but does not stop to explain how that mistake arose. It might have arisen in more ways than one (slip of pen, faulty information, etc.) but not in the way in which Fan-Ye is supposed to have implied that it did. The supposed implication, in itself a mere conjecture, becomes therefore altogether baseless.

There is thus no reason why we should not accept the plain meaning of Fan-Ye's statements which place the reign of Kozoulo Kadphises, and the conquest of India by his son Wema Kadphises towards the close of the period with which he was dealing or in other words the beginning of the third century A.D., as I have shown that nothing in Fan-Ye's history either indicates these events to have happened at the time of Pan Yong, or implies that the conquest of Kabul in any case preceded the time of Pan Ku. I shall now adduce evidences to show that the results obtained by the plain and natural interpretation of Fan-Ye's history are fully corroborated by Yu Houan, the author of the Wei-Lio. Yu Houan, in describing the three routes that lead from China to Western Countries, mentions, in connection with the southern route, that it passes along the kingdoms of Kipin (Kashmir?), Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and Tien-Tchou (India) all of which are subordinate to the Yue-tchi."[1] There cannot be the slightest doubt that this state of things was true of the period with which Wei-lio concluded. This has been recognised by the French Translator of the work M. Ed. Chavannes who remarks on the above passage : " so, at the middle of the

[1] "La route du sud, en allant vers l'ouest, passe par .. .. le royaume de Kipin (Cachemire), le royaume de Ta-hia (Bactriane), le royaume de Kao-fu (Kabul), le royaume de T'ienchou (Inde) qui tous dependent des Ta Yue-tche." T'oung Pao, 1905, pp. 535, 538-39.

third century of our Era, the power of the Kushan kings was at its height." [1]

It is evident that Fan-Ye's description of the conquests of the Yue-Chi, entirely agrees with the above account. Both the works speak of Kao-fu, Kipin and Tien-Tchu being conquered by the Yue-chi. But this agreement is brought out more fully in connection with another kingdom, called Tong-li by Fan-Ye and Kiu-li, Li-wei-t'o or Pei-li-wang by Yu-Houan.[2] That both the authors mean the same country is placed beyond all doubt by the almost identical descriptions which they give. Thus both place the country at a little more than 3,000 li to the south-east of T'ienchu, and both name 'Cha-ki' as the capital of the country. Indeed no doubt has been entertained on this point.[3] Now Fan-Ye says in regard to this country that "the Yue-Chi attacked this kingdom and made themselves master of it." [4] Yu Houan tells us about the people of the same country, "Now the Yue-chi have conquered them and imposed taxes upon them."[5]

The two works thus speak in the same strain about the Yue-Chi, and the facts they relate about them perfectly agree with each other. Now one of these works describes the events which took place about the year 239 A.D. and no doubt has hitherto been entertained about this. The other work also covers the period down to 220 A. D., and naturally enough the accounts in these two works

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[1] "Ainsi, au milieu du troisieme siécle de notre ére, la puissance des rois kouchâns était à son apogée." T'oung Pao, 1905, p 539, f.n. 1.

[2] For Fan-ye's account see T'oung Pao, 1907, pp. 194-95.
For that in Wei-lio, see T'oung Pao, 1905, p. 551.

[3] Thus in a footnote to Fan-ye's account of Tong-li, Chavannes remarks: "In the Wei-lio, the kingdom is called Kiu-li, or Li-wei-to or Pei-li-wang." T'oung Pao, 1907 p. 194 f.n. 5.

[4] "Les Ta-yue-tche attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent." T'oung Pao, 1907, p. 195.

[5] "Maintenant les Yue-tche les ont asservis et leur ont imposé des taxes" (op. cit.).

perfectly agree. And yet we are asked to suppose that this latter work describes events which took place 100 years earlier. If proof were needed, that Fan-ye really records events down to the year 220 A.D. as he professes to have done, the Wei-lio furnishes it and even scepticism itself can no longer refuse to believe that the natural interpretation of Fan-ye is the true one. But even the Wei-lio has not been spared the hands of critics who are determined to make the Chinese texts fit in with preconceived theories of their own. According to Mr. Kennedy the Yue-chi, referred to in the Wei-lio, means the later Kushans.[1] But what are these later Kushans of whom so much has been made by him ? The only definite evidence of their existence is furnished by a number of coins, mostly debased, imitated from the early coins of Kanishka and Vāsudeva and mechanically repeating these illustrious names. Of the earlier class of these coins the greater number were found in the Punjab and only a few gold coins have been discovered in stūpas in the Kabul valley; while the coins of the later class are confined to the northern Punjab alone.[2] The style of these coins also does not favour the supposition that they were issued by a line of powerful rulers. The available evidences therefore seem to indicate that the so-called later Kushans were a line of weak rulers who at first held sway over Kabul and the Punjab but whose territory was afterwards confined to the northern Punjab alone.

Now the empire of the Yue-chi as described in Wei-lio extended from Bactria to the eastern India and according to Mr. Kennedy it even included the kingdom of Magadh. Does Mr. Kennedy seriously ask us to believe that this description is applicable to the later

[1] J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 1054-1064.

[2] Numismatic Chronicle, 1893, pp. 116, 121 ; also Rapson, Indian Coins, § 74, pp. 18-19.

Kushans? There is not a particle of evidence to show that these held either Bactria [1] or any Indian territory to the east of the Punjab. If they really held sway over such a vast extent of territory, it is almost incredible that definite evidences should not be forthcoming to establish the fact and that their coins should indicate such debasement when compared with those of the great Kanishka line.

Mr. Kennedy has referred to some other evidences in support of his theory of a Later Kushan kingdom and it is necessary to add a few remarks upon them.

(1) Mr. Kennedy refers to the evidence of Ptolemy.[2] This writer has nowhere mentioned about any Kushan kingdom in India, while the ruling race of the Punjab has been referred to by him under the name of Kaspeiraioi. Mr. Kennedy observes: "The Kaspeiraioi of Ptolemy must obviously have been Kusans so far at least as the governors were concerned"[4] to which I can only add that the thing is not as obvious as Mr. Kennedy supposes.

(2) Another evidence on which Mr. Kennedy relies in order to show that this later Indian Kushan kingdom was a great and powerful one [3] is the following statement made by a Chinese translator in 392 A. D.

"There are four sons of heaven; there is the Chinese emperor 'son of heaven' of the Tsin.....; in the south there is the 'son of heaven' of Tien chou (India), famous for its elephants; in the west the 'son of heaven' of the Romans and in the North-West the 'son of heaven' of the Yue-chi, rich in horses."[4]

[1] The so-called Scytho-Sassanian Coins are regarded by Drouin as the coins of Kushanas themselves, while according to Cunningham they were issued by the Sassanians. In any case their date is limited between 300-450 A. D. and they do not, therefore, belong to the period contemplated in the Wei-lio (Rapson, Ind. Coins, § 75, p. 19).

[2] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 1058.

[3] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 1058.

[4] J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 682.

Mr. Kennedy remarks on the above passage : " As the title ' son of heaven ' borrowed from the Chinese, was assumed only by the Yue-chi among the foreign invaders of India, we have here sufficient evidence to show that the Tochari Viceroys not only made themselves independent, but established a powerful and famous kingdom, a kingdom which lasted until the Guptas overthrew it in the fourth century A.D."

It is impossible to understand how the " son of heaven " of India in the above passage can refer to the Yue-chi rulers from whom it is expressly differentiated. It is argued that it must refer to the Yue-chi as they alone assumed the title of the "sons of heaven." On similar grounds we must also look for an oriental ruling dynasty in Rome which used the title, for the Romans never assumed it. It is quite evident that the expression " sons of heaven " as used by the Chinese translator simply means an Imperial ruler, and that it should not be taken as a technical term. Apart from general grounds, this is indisputably proved by its use in connection with Rome. It must be acknowledged therefore, that there is no evidence to show (in any case Mr. Kennedy has failed to produce any), that the power of the so-called Later Kushans extended beyond the Punjab and Kabul valley, and as such it is impossible to hold that the account in the Wei-lio which describes the Yue-chi at the height of their power,[1] ruling over a vast empire from Bactria to the Eastern India, could in any case be applicable to them.

The description of the Yue-chi, as found in Wei-lio, is only applicable to the great line of Kushan emperors in India, beginning from Wema Kadphises and ending with Vāsudeva. This, as we have seen above, is in entire

[1] See the remarks of Chavannes quoted in foot note 1, p. 84.

agreement with the account of Fan-Ye which when plainly interpreted, places the Indian conquests of Wema Kadphises shortly before 220 A. D. The joint testimony of these two writers cannot be lightly ignored and we are therefore bound to hold that the Yue-chi had established their supremacy in India in the beginning of the third century and that their power was at its height by the middle of it. The Chinese evidence thus corroborates the results deduced from Indian Inscriptions regarding the date of Kushan sovereignty. We have seen that by referring the Indian Inscriptions to the well known era beginning in 78 A.D., the date of the Indo-Parthian King Gondophares falls in 181 A.D. and that of the Kadphises kings between 191 and 214 A. D. The Chinese evidence also shows that Kozoulo Kadphises defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul and that his son conquered India, shortly before 220 A.D. This perfect agreement between two such different sources of information shows that we are on the right track.

It follows from what has been said before that Kanishka must be placed after 214 A.D. The silence of Fan-ye regarding Kanishka seems to carry this limit to about 220 A.D. We must therefore look for the initial point of the Kanishka era very near this date, for he cannot well be very far removed from Wema Kadphises. As I have said before, we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all. Our choice must therefore fall upon a known era which commences close to 220 A.D., if there be any. Such an era is to be found in the so-called "Traikūṭaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era" the initial point of which falls in 248-249 A.D. and assuming our main arguments to be true there can be scarcely any hesitation in looking upon Kanishka as the inaugurator of the era.

The origin of this era is shrouded in mystery. The earliest instance where its use can be definitely established is afforded by an inscription of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasena dated in the year 207. From this time onwards the era was mostly prevalent in the Gurjjara country and Konkana without any definite name, being simply referred to as Samvatsara. In one instance it is referred to as—

"Tr(ai)kūṭakānā(ṁ) pravarddhamāna-rājya-sa(ṁ)vvatsara-śatadvaye pañcha chatvāri(ṁ)śad-uttare" which seems to show that it was mostly in use in the Traikūtaka kingdom. It is not until the year 893 of the era that a definite name, *viz.* Kalacuri Samvatsara was given to it. In all these there is nothing inconsistent with the assumption that the era was founded by Kanishka and made current in Gurjjara and Konkana by dynasties of feudatory kings. An analogous instance is afforded by the Gupta Valabhi era, which was prevalent in western part of India long after it had ceased to be current in its home provinces, and even came to be known as the Valabhi Samvat. A close study of the coins of the Western Satraps seems to show that the influence of the Kushan Emperors had made itself felt in this quarter. The following remarks of Rapson, who has made a special study of the subject, show the gradual process of decline in the power of the Western Satraps.

"Already in this reign [of Vijayasena] appear the first symptoms of a decline about the year 167 or 168 (245-246 A.D.); and from this time onwards until the end of the dynasty it is possible to observe in the coinage a process of continuous degradation, varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore a higher standard." (Rapson, Andhra Coins, p. cxxxvii.)

"In any case there must have been a long interval in which there was no Mahākṣatrapa. The first part of

this interval is taken up with the reigns of two Kṣatrapas Rudra Siṁha II [227-23(5-9)] [305-31(3-7) A.D.] and Yaśodaman II 239-254 [317-332 A.D.]; during the latter part, 254-270 [332-348 A.D.] the coins of this dynasty cease altogether.

"All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period, the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation, first of the Mahākṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas—seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful (*ibid*, p. cxlii)." It will be observed that my theory about the Kushan chronology fully explains the process of continuous degradation noticed by Rapson. The first symptoms of decline appear shortly after the Kushans had established their supremacy in India. The dynasty is shorn of power during Huvishka's time, altogether ceases to exist as a ruling power during the rule of Vāsudeva, and revives some of its power and influence only after the death of this prince and the consequent downfall of the Kushana power. It is quite permissible to hold, therefore, that a rival dynasty was established in the South to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas and this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushanas long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

Another circumstance corroborates the theory that Kanishka flourished about 249 A.D. We have a Mathura Inscription dated in the year 299 which must be placed on palæographic grounds, close to the period of Kanishka. It is admitted by all that this date cannot be referred to the era used by Kanishka or the Northern Satraps. Those who place Kanishka in 78 A.D. are thus compelled to refer

it to a second unknown era (the first unknown era being that to which they refer the dates of Śoḍāsa and Gondophares). According to my theory all difficulties are removed by referring it to the Vikrama Samvat which places it about 7 years earlier than the inauguration of the Kushana era. This fact probably explains the use of Vikrama Samvat in Mathura. The Saka power had been extinguished, and the new dynasty of the Kushanas had not yet established an era. Under such circumstances one who is conversant with Vikrama Samvat may use that era in Mathura. This seems to me to be the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty, for it must be remembered that the era was current for about 300 years and can hardly be explained by the theory of a local origin without any definite proof.

Our position may thus be summed up as follows. The natural interpretation of the Indian and Chinese evidences places Kanishka after 220 A.D. and as there is a well known Indian era running from 248-9 A.D., we can hardly be mistaken in looking upon Kanishka as its inaugurator. This proposition is fully supported by the history of the Western Satraps and the curious inscription of Mathura dated in the year 299.

This view of Kushan chronology may apparently seem to be liable to some serious objections. It is impossible to forestall all of them but I propose to deal with a few that occurs to me in order to show that they are not based upon any solid grounds.

1. The prevalence of the Greek language:—Mr. Kennedy has stated that " it can be shown on general grounds that the use of Greek as the language of daily life ceased in the regions east of the Euphrates (except in Northern Mesopotamia) in some places before, and everywhere soon after, the end of the first century A. D.; and there is neither evidence nor reason to suppose that it lingered

after that time in an enclave of the Punjab. What evidence we have tells the other way. We have, therefore, a time limit after which we cannot date Kanishka and his dynasty.....The disappearance of Greek in the second century of our era forbids the latter hypothesis (that Kanishka could possibly flourish after 100 A. D.)"[1]

Professor Lüders has shown, that there is no reason to infer from Kanishka's coin-legends that Greek was the language of daily life in his time. He refers to the Latin Legend on a British Penny and remarks that he would be sorry for any historian two thousand years hence who may conclude that in A. D. 1900 Latin was the language of daily life in the British Isles.[2]

Dr. Thomas refers to the Greek legends of Kanishka and remarks upon them as follows: This is the total of his (Kanishka's) Greek, less than the Parthians retained in the 3rd century A. D.

Mr. Kennedy seems to have acknowledged the substantial validity of this argument, for he has since modified his views and now simply contends that Greek was understood in Kanishka's time.[3] Now, even if we concede this, it does not help us much in fixing a lower limit for the date of Kanishka. There is no means to determine, even approximately, the period when the last traces of Greek language and alphabet disappeared from Western Asia. We are dependent on the coin-legends alone, and as the 'total of Kanishka's Greek is less than the Parthians retained in the 3rd century A. D.'[4] there can be no valid objection against the date I have proposed for Kanishka, on the score of his Greek legends. Besides, we must remember that no less than 37 Greek

[1] J. R. A. S., 1912, p. 667.

[2] J. R. A. S, 1912, p. 122.

[3] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 124, p. 922, Barnett is of the same opinion. *Ibid*, pp. 942-43.

[4] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 638. This is the view of Dr. Thomas.

Kings ruled in India and its borders after the middle of the 3rd century B. C. This was not the case with Parthia or any other part of Western Asia, and we cannot therefore be surprised to find the Greek language and script survive ' in an enclave of the Punjab long after it had disappeared from other places in the East.'

2. Traditional date of Kaniṣka :—It is contended both by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Thomas that tradition is in favour of the views they respectively hold about the date of Kanishka. This, in itself, shows the weak basis of the traditions and too much emphasis should not be laid upon them.

According to Yuan Chwang, Kanishka flourished 400 years after the Nirvāṇa. That his chronological information need not be taken seriously is clearly demonstrable in two famous cases. He puts Asoka only about 100 years after the Nirvāṇa, and refers to Mihirakula as having lived some centuries before his time. Nay, more, he speaks elsewhere that Kanishka's council was held 500 years after Nirvāṇa.[1]

Paramārtha places Aśvaghosha in the 500 years after Nirvāṇa. Dr. Fleet argues that as another tradition represents Aśvaghosha as a contemporary of Kanishka, the two traditions combined have the effect of placing Kanishka in the fifth century after the death of Buddha, that is, in the period B. C. 83 to A. D. 17. Now, besides the discussion about the true interpretation of the expression ' Five Hundred years,' Paramārtha's evidence cannot be seriously used in as much as he has assumed the Nirvāṇa to have taken place about 1265 years before his time or in about 8th century B. C.[2]

The two traditions therefore which seem to place Kanishka at an earlier date than I have assumed, have

[1] For discussions on this point see J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 941, 1005 and 1012.

[2] J. R. A. S, 1914, p. 749.

been shown to be unworthy of serious consideration. But there is a tradition which supports my view. The Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra, which was translated into Chinese in A. D. 472 contains a traditional story which places Kanishka 700 years after the Nirvāṇa. This tradition, which, it will be observed, is contained in an earlier work than either Yuan Chwang's record or Paramārtha's life of Vasuvandhu, places Kanishka in the first half of the 3rd century A. D. The earliest tradition about the date of Kanishka thus supports the view I have put forward above, and though I do not claim for it a greater amount of historical importance than is usually assigned to traditions of this nature, it suffices to uphold my theory against other traditions which would refer Kanishka to a much earlier period.

3. Three pieces of sculpture of the Gandhara school, found respectively at Loriyan Tangai, Hashtnagar and Skarah Dheri bear the dates 318, 384 and 399. Dr. Fleet is of opinion that these dates, interpreted by any other era than that of 58 B. C. would produce results inadmissible from the points of view of epigraphy and art. [1]

Now interpreted by the Saka Era, these dates would be equivalent to 396, 462, and 477 A.D. When we remember that the last date of Vāsudeva is about 348 A. D. we can hardly be surprised at the result. Nobody can seriously maintain the improbability of the existence of either the Gandhara school of sculpture or the Kharosṭhī script a little more than 100 years after the death of Vāsudeva.

Dr. Fleet remarks on the inscriptions of the above sculptures that "they are all in the Kharosṭhī characters in respect of which we can hardly believe that they

[1] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 999.

remained in use anywhere in India, even in Gandhara, for any long time after A. D. 375 when the power of the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta with all that went with it, had made itself felt by the rulers of that region, the Daivaputras, Shāhis and Shāhānushāhis." I confess I do not understand the drift of this argument. The power of Samudragupta, however exercised, cannot be conceived to have made the people of Gandhara forget the script they had been accustomed to use for more than 500 years. It would be too much to ascribe to the great emperor a spirit of nationalism which could ill brook the use of a script other than his own by his subjects. But were the Gandharians really his subjects? There is no evidence to support this. The Yaudheyas and Madras paid him tribute, so even their states in the eastern Punjab were not directly administered by the Gupta Emperor. Gandhara which lay farther to the west was not even a tributary state and though its ruler probably conciliated the mighty monarch by occasional gifts or other marks of submission his status was certainly better than that of a tributary king. It would be absurd to maintain that his subjects could be so far influenced by Samudragupta as to accept his script in preference to their own.

It may be argued that, to be consistent, I should refer these dates to the Kushana era. But they belong to a period when Kushana Empire was no more and there is thus no necessity to refer them to it. Analogous instances are not rare. The Gupta era was current in Guzerat and Malwa during the supremacy of the Guptas but the use of the Saka era was revived after their downfall. The Mālava era was current side by side with the Gupta era, and it continued even after the latter had ceased to be used. It is just possible that the Saka era, which was the earliest one in the Punjab and Afganistan, continued to

be occasionally used alongside the Kushana era and there can be hardly any matter of surprise if we find them current even after the time of the Kushanas.

4. The absence of the letter 'h' from certain coins of Huvishka and its presence on the coins of Kharahostes and Nahapāna, has led Dr. Fleet to conclude that Huvishka was prior to both of them. According to my scheme of chronology Huvishka flourished more than 100 or 150 years later and this, apart from other considerations, would be enough to explain the absence of the letter the use of which might have been dropped during the interval.

Having answered some possible objections I now proceed to show that the theory I have put forward is in full accordance with the evidence of the Greek writers and all the known facts of palæography, numismatics, art and archæology.

I. *Greek evidence.*—We know from the writings of Isidore of Charax that there was a Saka settlement in Seistan in the first century A. D.

The author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea supplies us with the following information—"The country inland from Barygaza is inhabited by numerous tribes such as the Arathi, the Arachosii, the Gandaraei, and the people of Poclais in which is Bucephalus Alexandria. Above these is the very warlike nation of the Bactrians who are under their own king."[1] Elsewhere the author calls the Indus valley by the name of Scythia, and explicitly states the coast regions of it to have been subject to Parthian princes.[2] These statements, taken together, hardly leave any doubt, that at the time when the book was written (the latter half of the first century A. D.) the Scythians or the Sakas probably occupied the Indus valley but its coast region was subject to petty

[1] Schoff, Periplus, p. 41.

[2] Schoff, Periplus, p. 37.

Parthian chiefs and as regards the Bactrians they were confined to their own country alone, and played no part in Indian History.

Our next source of information is Ptolemy's account which was written in the middle of the second century A.D.

Ptolemy remarks in connection with Drangiana that a portion of it adjacent to Arachosia was possessed by the Baktrioi,[1] who were presumably the Bactrians. This shows that the Bactrians had already begun their career of conquest though by the middle of the second century A.D. their territory was bounded by the confines of Arachosia.

As we know from Chinese history that the Kushanas had occupied Bactria at least 100 years before Kuzula Kadphises' time and that the son of this chief flourished before 220 A.D., the Kushanas must have been in possession of Bactria at the time when Ptolemy wrote. The Bactrioi of Ptolemy may therefore be taken to mean the Kushanas.

The evidence of the Greek writers, when interpreted in the natural way without any attempt to suit it to a preconceived theory, plainly indicates that the Bactrians, or the Kushanas were outside the sphere of Indian politics till the middle of the second century A.D., though they were recognised as a powerful nation as early as the first century A.D., and had already conquered portions of Drangiana and reached the borders of Arachosia by the middle of the second century A.D.

It will be seen that my theory is in full accordance with these deductions while they are opposed to the current theories about the chronology of the period.[2]

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[1] Mc'Crindle's Ptolemy, p. 313.

[2] The Parthians noticed in the Periplus were probably some subordinate chiefs under Vonones. I hold that the Manes and Vonones dynasties flourished in the

II. *Palæographical evidence.*

If we compare the Asoka characters with those used in the inscriptions of the Gupta period it at once strikes us that the following letters have undergone important and distinct change of shape.

The letter.	Description of the change.
1. *k*	The straight horizontal stroke has become a curve.
2. *ṇ*	The straight vertical stroke has developed into two curves joined by a curved base, which is sometimes looped.
3. *n*	The base has developed into a looped curve.
4. *bh*	The two down strokes have developed into peculiar curves.
5. *m*	The loop has been converted into a base line.
6. *y*	The left curve looped and the right developed into an angle.
7. *ś*	The angle developed into a curve and the vertical stroke in the middle converted into an horizontal one.
8. *s*	The tail in the left developed into a curve.
9. Subscript *y* ...	Bipartite.

Now assuming the above as test letters we can institute a comparison between the characters of the Kushana

first century A.D., and Maues or one of his successors inaugurated the Saka Era. Their empire included Taxila, Mathura and Ujjayini, and the Satraps of these places were their viceroys. Ptolemy probably noticed their Empire under the name of Kaspeiraioi. I reserve full discussion on these points till my Kanishka theory is established.

period with those used in the inscriptions of Śoḍāsa and Rudradāman, only the most advanced forms in each being employed for the purpose. (The term Asoka-Gupta refers to a form intermediate between the two types.)

Characters	Śoḍāsa	Rudradāman	Kushan
k	Asoka	Gupta	Gupta
ṇ	Asoka Gupta	Asoka Gupta	Do.
n	Asoka	Do.	Do.
bh	Asoka-Gupta	Do.	Asoka-Gupta
m	Do.	Do.	Do.
y	Do.	Do.	Gupta
ś	Do.	Do.	Gupta
s	Do.	Do.	Gupta
Subscript *y*	Asoka	Asoka	Gupta

These comparisons fully support the theory that Kanishka flourished after both Śoḍāsa and Rudradāman. The date of the latter is about 150 A.D. and there can be no objection, therefore, on palæographical grounds to place Kanishka in the third century A.D.

It must be admitted that the comparison of the Kushan inscriptions with those of Rudradāman lie under some difficulty. They come from far distant provinces and probably many differences are due to mere local characteristics. Besides, Rudradāman's inscriptions show the first steps leading to what may be called the southern alphabets, so widely divergent from the northern ones, and we may hold therefore, that some distinctive principles were already at work.

Against this we must remember, first, that the differences between northern and southern types had not yet become clearly perceptible, and, in general, the developments from the Asoka types took place on parallel lines. Secondly, that wherever the Kushan characters differ from those of Rudradāman they

show more advanced forms, and this is clearly proved in so much as seven different instances. Thirdly that some of these advanced forms are actually found in the inscriptions of Rudradāman's successors (*e.g.*, the Bipartite '*y*' occurs in Gunda Ins. of 180 A.D. and Yasdhan Ins. of 205 or 206 A.D.) showing that the course of development was still to some extent parallel.

Although therefore, we cannot come to any certain conclusion regarding the priority of Rudradāman, on palæographical grounds alone, it must be admitted that the evidence of palæography is not against, but rather in favour of, the theory that Kanishka was posterior to Rudradāman.

According to my theory Śoḍāsa was a contemporary of Rudradāman. This is quite in agreement with palæographical facts. Thus Bühler remarks on the Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman.

"This script agrees with the later southern alphabets in the following characteristic points..... .....its other letters, for instance '*s*' and the tripartite subscribed '*y*' of *lya*, partly agree with those of the inscriptions of Śoḍāsa and partly, for instance *kh*, *n* with the bent base line, *p* with the notch in the left vertical, *y* with the curve on the left, and the frequently rounded *e*, with the types of the Kuṣan period" (Ind. Pal., p. 12).

This remark is apt to lead one to the apparent conclusion that Rudradāman's Inscription represents an intermediate type between those of Śoḍāsa and Kanishka. But it would appear from a closer examination that this is not necessarily the case. Let us examine one by one the characters of the Girnar Ins. which, according to Bühler, show an affinity towards those of the Kushana period.

(1) *Kh*—This letter does not occur in the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas. So it is impossible to ascertain its form in their time. Although therefore

Rudradāman's '*Kh*' might be of Kushan type, it cannot be said to be an advanced form over the letter of the Northern Kshatrapa period. Like so many other letters all these three classes might present similar type of this letter.

(2) '*n*' with the bent base line.—

This is the earlier form of '*n*' used in Kushana Inscriptions, the later form showing a loop like the Gupta character. But even this type of '*n*' is not absent from the inscriptions of the northern Kshatrapas, *e.g.*, compare the '*n*' in the word '*Brahmaṇena*' in the first line of the Mathura Jail Mound Inscription of Soḍāsa (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, p. 188, plate) where the base is distinctly bent.

(3) '*p*' with the notch in the left vertical.—

This is certainly a characteristic of the Girnar Ins. but that the notch was a local ornamentation and does not indicate any advanced form is indisputably proved by the fact that even the Asoka Inscriptions of the same locality present a notched '*p*' quite distinct from the plain '*p*' used in other places (*cf.* Bühler's plate II, column X, No. 28). It may be mentioned that the '*b*' is also notched both in Asoka's and Rudradāman's inscriptions in Girnar.

(4) The '*y*' with the curve on the left.

This advanced form of '*y*' is sometimes met with in the Girnar Ins. though the older form is principally used even in the inscriptions of Rudradāman's successors. But this form is not absent from the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas. For example, the 'ya' at the beginning of the third line in the Mora Well Inscription of Rajuvula shows a distinct curve on the left (Arch. Survey. Rep., vol. xx, p. lv, No. 5).

(5) The frequently rounded '*v*.'

It is true that rounded '*v*' is sometimes found in the Kushan Inscription side by side with angular 'va' which is more frequently used. This however cannot be said to be an advanced form of the letter as it is more allied to the Asoka '*v*' and does not occur in the subsequent inscriptions from the fourth century onwards (where angular *v* is alone used) except in the solitary instance of the Kura Ins. of Toramana (Ep. Ind., I, p. 238). The presence of the rounded form of '*v*' cannot therefore be held to point out to a later period.

It will be quite clear from the above discussion that the Girnar inscription does not possess more striking affinity than that of Rajuvula-Śodāsa, towards the inscriptions of the Kushana period. A close comparison will reveal the fact that except *k*, hardly a single letter of Rudradāman's Inscription shows a distinct advance over that of Rajuvula-Śoḍāsa. The palæographical evidence therefore is not against the view that Śoḍāsa and Rudradāman were contemporaries.[1]

We have already seen that the letters *ṇ*, *n*, *y*, *ś*, *s* and subscript *y*, which possessed similar forms in the inscriptions of Rudradāman and Śoḍāsa at the middle of the Second Century A. D. underwent distinct changes in the Kushana period. The gradual progress of this change can be estimated to some extent by the examination of Jasdhan Inscription, the latest of the western Kshatrapa series, which was incised in 205 or 206 A.D. during the reign of Rudra Sena I, the grandson of Rudradāman.[2]

It preserves the old forms of the letters *n*, *y*, *ś*, and *s* as used in the Girnar Inscription but the form

[1] The advanced form of *k* and the cursive style of the Junagaḍh inscription gives it *primâ facie* an antiquated appearance, but this fallacy is exposed by a comparison with the Sātavāhana inscriptions of the same or a later period.

[2] J. Bo. Br. R. A. S., Vol. VIII, p. 234.

of subscript *y* belongs to the advanced Kushana type and there is only one letter, a form of '*m*' which shows some advance over the Kushana type. This inscription of the year 205 A. D. may therefore be said to have belonged to an intermediate period between Rudradāman and Kanishka and the palæographical evidence thus supports the view that Kanishka belonged to the middle of the third century A.D.

According to my theory, the Kushana period is brought quite close to that period of the Guptas of which we possess epigraphical record. This is fully in agreement with palæographic facts. For, as we have seen above, of the nine letters in the Gupta series which show distinct development over those of Asoka, seven already appear in the Kushana Inscriptions. Bühler, after an exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities of the Kushana Inscriptions, makes the following remarks :—

"All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels of '*ā*' in '*rā*' of '*u*' in '*ku*' and in '*stu*,' and of '*o*' in '*lo*' reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta Inscriptions and of the Bower Mss., or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Mathura during the first two centuries A.D. very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms, observable in the inscriptions of the Kushana period may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions."

Thus Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kushana and Gupta period. But as he was not prepared for its logical consequence he had to maintain the identity of alphabets separated by more than two centuries. If such a view meets with acceptance, palæography can no longer be relied upon for determining even approximate chronological periods.

The theory I have advanced shows that the alphabets of the two periods were similar for the very natural reason that one of them closely followed upon the other.

Mr. R. D. Banerji seeks to explain away the advanced forms of the Kushana Inscription by the supposition that "the Jaina merchants and traders of the Indo-Scythian period, in recording their religious donations, used the same script as in their business transaction" 'which was very much in advance of the current hand.'[1] But it is a gratuitous assumption that these traders and merchants took the trouble of recording these donations by their own hands and it is more consonant to reason to suppose that these things were done by a class of professional scribes irrespective of any religious tendency.

Then, again, we must remember that the business habit of the Jaina merchants is a factor which is by no means peculiar to the Kushana period alone.

Śoḍāsa's Mathura Inscription, for example, belongs to Jaina religion. Mr. R. D. Banerji says that a comparison between the Sarnath Buddhist Inscription of Kanishka and the Mathura Jaina Inscription of the same king will bear out his statements. But though the former is undoubtedly of an archaic character it hardly proves his case; for it appears to be equally archaic when compared with many Buddhist inscriptions of the same period, for example, the Sahet Mahet Image Inscription of the time of Kanishka or Huvishka (Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 180 and Plate) and the Mathura Image Inscription of the 33rd year of Huvishka (*Ibid*, p. 181, Plate).

Apart from all these forced explanations, which might be true or false, the fact remains that the alphabet of the Kushana period is almost identical with that of the Gupta period and my theory is not only in full agreement

[1] Ind. Ant., 1908, p. 52.

with this phenomenon but offers the most natural and satisfactory explanation of it.

If we next refer to the Kharoshṭhī alphabet my theory will be found to be in full agreement with all the known palæographic facts. Dr. Bühler classifies the post-Asokan Kharoshṭhī alphabet into the following chronological order :—

(1) The variety on the coins of the Indo-Grecian kings.

(2) The variety on the Taxila copper plate of Paṭika and on the lion capital of the Satrap Śoḍāsa.

(3) The strongly cursive script which begins with the Takht-i-Bahai inscription of Gondophares and is fully developed in the inscriptions of the later Kushana kings Kanishka and Huvishka.

Thus the development of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet fully supports my theory according to which the Saka Satraps succeeded the Greeks, and were themselves succeeded by Gondophares who flourished before Kanishka. Dr. Bühler's classification of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet is generally accepted, but Mr. R. D. Banerji has raised a note of dissent. His remarks may be quoted in full :

"If we compare the Takht-i-Bahai inscription with that of Manikyala or that from Zeda, then the following conclusions follow :—

(1) The '*k*' both in the Manikyala and Zeda inscriptions, is archaic, while that in the fifth line of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription is later, as it shows a slight curve on the top as found also in the Panjtar and Kaldarra Inscriptions.

(2) The characters resemble those of the Panjtar and Kaldarra inscriptions rather than those of Manikyala or Zeda.

(3) The symbol for 100 is exactly like those found in the Panjtar and Mount Bauj inscriptions.

The above conclusions show that from the palæographic standpoint Kanishka cannot be placed later than Gondophares as proposed by Dr. Bühler, General Cunningham, Mr. V. A. Smith and others; on the other hand the palæographical evidence clearly proves that Gondophares reigned after the Kushana group."[1]

A careful examination of the three points noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji, seems to prove however, that his conclusion rests on no secure basis. I consider them seriatim :

(1) The reading of '*k*' in the fifth line of the Takht-i-Bahai inscription is doubtful; M. Senart holds it as probable[2] but by no means certain. In any case it is too indistinct to admit of comparison.

(2) This is a general vague expression which proves nothing. That the Takht-i-Bahai inscription resembles Panjtar and Kaldarra inscriptions to a greater degree, is probably due to the fact that they were nearer in point of time than Manikyala and Zeda which belonged to a period about half a century later.

(3) We possess no symbol for hundred in any inscription of Kanishka and though that in the Takht-i-Bahai inscription is exactly like those found in the Panjtar and Mount Bauj inscriptions, there is no reason to suppose it was later than the time of Kanishka, for the Panjtar inscription according to my theory was about half a century earlier than the time of Kanishka.

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[1] Ind. Ant., 1908, pp. 47-48.

[2] It is written in 'Italics,' and Senart has remarked before his transliteration "J'ecris en italiques ceux qui sont seulement probables." (J. A serie, Tome xv.)

It will thus appear that no ground exists for questioning the classification of Dr. Bühler.

I may conclude this dissertation on Kushana palæography by quoting an opinion of Mr. V. Smith, which is more in support of my theory than the one he sought to advocate by means of it. "It is not always easy by mere inspection to distinguish an inscription of the Kushana from one of the Gupta period. Many alphabetical forms specially characteristic of Gupta inscriptions are found sporadically in Kushana records while, on the other hand, Gupta documents often exhibit archaic forms specially characteristic of the Kushana age. But, notwithstanding this overlapping of forms, the general complexion of the Kushana inscriptions is distinctly more ancient than that of the Gupta documents."[1]

III. *Numismatic evidence.* The numismatic *facts*, as opposed to all *theories* based upon them, are in perfect agreement with my theory. Long ago Cunningham had expressed the view that the coins of Gondophares[2] are to be placed later than those of the dynasties of Maues and Vonones and earlier than those of Kanishka. The later scholars like Rapson,[3] Whitehead[4] and V. Smith[5] have fully endorsed this view and there seems to be a general consensus of opinion on this subject. That the coins of Maues and Vonones also indicate a very close connection in point of time is equally accepted by all these eminent authorities. The chronological arrangement which I have suggested for these kings is therefore fully supported by the numismatic evidence.

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[1] J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 35.

[2] Coins of the Sakas, p. 15.

[3] Ind. Coins 61, 62, p 15.

[4] Cat. Punjab Museum, pp. 91-97.

[5] Cat. Indian Museum, pp. 36-37.

Coming down to later times, my theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the close connection between the coins of the Kushanas and the Guptas than any that has yet been proposed. Dr. Oldenberg, while placing Kanishka in 78 A.D., made the very apposite remark that "It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this (Kushana Coinage) is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off." He further added that "the vacant period between Vāsudeva and the Guptas is already [by placing Kanishka in 78 A.D.] perhaps greater than might be expected."[1]

Mr. V. Smith practically agrees to this when he says "The close relationship in weights, types and palæography between the coins of the imperial Gupta Dynasty (A.D. 320-480) and those of the Kushana kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, is obvious and has always been recognised. But the connection between the Kushana and Gupta coinages, although close, is perfectly consistent with the assumption that Chandra Gupta I ascended the throne nearly a century after the death of Vāsudeva."[2]

The numismatic facts may no doubt be consistent with such an assumption, but there can be hardly any doubt that my theory alone brings the dynasties sufficiently close to each other for a satisfactory explanation of the great resemblance between the two systems of coinages. It is not the question of a sporadic imitation of one or more individual specimens, such as caprice might dictate, but the whole system of Gupta coinage is, so to say, a continuation of that of the Kushanas. John Allan is of opinion that Samudragupta was the first in his dynasty to

[1] Ind. Ant., Vol X, pp. 216-217.

[2] J.R.A.S. 1903, p. 35.

issue coins. According to my theory Samudragupta was on the imperial throne just after the death of Vāsudeva ; and we may readily imagine that when the Eastern provinces were lost to the Kushana Empire, either during the last years of Vāsudeva or soon after his death, his great contemporary (or successor ?) in the east revived the dignity of the empire and continued its currency.

IV. Opinions differ regarding the relationship of Kanishka to the Gāndhāra Art. Mr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that " the brilliant development of a semi-European school of art was the direct result of the patronage and zeal of the powerful Kushana monarchs " and he refers " all the sculptures of any considerable degree of artistic merit to the period between 200 and 350 A.D." [1] Thus the logical consequence of his argument would be to assign the date I have proposed to Kanishka and his successors.

But Mr. Vincent Smith's view has been opposed by Dr. Vogel and Dr. Spooner who hold it as " certain that the great flourishing period of Gāndhāra art had passed away " before the epoch of Kanishka,[2] while M. Foucher considers that Kanishka occupied a middle period.[3] The atrocious casket of the Peshawar stūpa seems to strongly support the views of Dr. Vogel and Dr. Spooner, which are in full agreement with my view about the date of Kanishka. In general, a single piece of sculpture is no good specimen of the art of the period, but the casket was utilised to such an important purpose that it is impossible to believe that it does not represent even the normal state of the art of the period.

Colonel Waddell is prevented from accepting this view by the chronological difficulties. Thus he says: " Taking

[1] J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 50.

[2] Ann. Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind., 1908-9, pp. 33-4, 50.

[3] London Lectures, 1913, also L'art Greco Bouddhique du Gāndhāra, pp. 40-42.

even the earliest limit for the zenith of Gāndhāra Art.....namely anterior to the second half of the second Century A.D., this date, when allowing for the art to become decadent, would necessitate the postponement of Kaniṣka's date to at least the end of the second or beginning of the third century A.D., which is impossibly late."[1] These difficulties would disappear if my view is accepted, and there would then be no difficulty in assigning the decadent period of Gāndhāra art to Kanishka and his successors which is so strongly suggested by the relic casket of Peshawar.

It will thus appear that my chronological scheme is not irreconcilable with the known facts about art, while it admirably falls in with the views of one class of writers on the subject.

V. *Archæology.*—Dr. Sir John Marshall who is at present employed in the excavations of Taxila, makes the following observations on the stratification of the buildings he found there.

"The buildings at the Chir stupa occur in four strata, one above the other; in each stratum a different type of masonry is used in their construction and with each stratum are associated coins of the kings or dynasties indicated in the following table :—

	Stratum.	Masonry construction.	Coins.
1.	Uppermost .	Semi ashlar, Semi diaper	Vāsudeva & later Kuṣan.
2.	Second ...	Large diaper ...	Kaniṣka, Huvishka & Vāsudeva.

[1] J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 946.

Stratum.	Masonry construction.	Coins.
3. Third	... Small diaper ..	Kadphises I and II.
4. Fourth	... Rabble and Kanjur ...	Saka and Pahlava.

In the city of Sirkap also precisely the same stratification is found so far as the third, fourth and earlier strata are concerned, but the city was deserted before any buildings of the second and first classes came to be erected."[1]

It will appear that this is fully in agreement with the chronological scheme I have suggested. Again, Dr. Marshall says: "The original masonry of the Kaniṣka stupa at Peshwar is of a type which at Taxila, at any rate, was unknown in the Saka Pahlava period but is paralleled there in buildings of the second century A.D.

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.....At Manikyala.....the great stupa created during Huviṣka's reign is similar in all its details—in its dwarfed pilasters, degenerate Corinthian capitals, bevelled torus mouldings, notched Indian brackets, and the like—to monuments of the second and third centuries A.D., at Taxila."

It will thus appear that these conclusions are quite consistent with, and in a manner support, my theory about Kanishka. It may be added that they are opposed to all the current theories about Kushan chronology.

To sum up: I have shown that my theory is the outcome of the natural explanation of inscriptional evidences, that it is corroborated by the evidence of the Chinese historians, and fully supported by the available testimony of the Greek writers, that no legitimate objections can be made against it and that it is fully in

[1] J. R. A. S., 1915, p. 195.

harmony with all the known facts about palæography, numismatics, art and archæology. I may venture therefore to offer the following chronological table for the Kushan kings :

Kadphises I and Kadphises II .	C. 180 A.D. to 248 A.D.
Kanishka's accession . .	248—249 A.D.
Vāsudeva's last known date ..	347—8 A.D.

Prehistoric Cultures and Races of India

A Preliminary Review

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INTRODUCTION.

Any student of ancient history, comparing the first pages of modern works with those published not more than thirty years ago, would be struck with a notable difference mainly about the origins of civilisation and the races in the different lands, especially in those countries thought to be invaded by the "Aryan." It is well known how over a century and a half ago Sir William Jones drew attention to the striking similarities between Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, German and Keltic, which were ascribed to a common parentage. Soon after in 1833-5 Bopp's Comparative Grammar came to establish once for all the science of Comparative Philology as well as an Indo-Germanic group. Then came the mighty Max Müller who replaced the word "Indo-Germanic" by that misleading word "Aryan" and by 1861 established not only an Aryan language but an Aryan race or family with its original home in Asia. Then a long controversy was started as to the home of the primitive Aryans but no doubts were raised about the correctness of the central position.

The long and famous researches of Latham[1] and Sayce,[2] Canon Taylor[3] and Schrader[4] made firmer the

[1] The Pre-historic Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples (trans. by Jevons, 1890).

[2] The Primitive Home of the Aryans (Transactions of the Philological Society, London, 1885-87).

[3] Elements of Comparative Philology, 1862.

[4] The Origin of the Aryans, 1890.

"Aryan" position though the original abode was shifted to Europe. Side by side with the Philological speculations, the "Aryan" races were also subjected to the critical comparative expositions of their myths begun so ably by Max Müller. The inferences drawn from these two sources of theorisings, from language and mythology were accepted as being based on scientific induction as genuine historical truth. It is only lately that a general challenge has been thrown to these by Prehistoric Archæology and Ethnology though the controversy is far from being settled. Of course Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology have stood the strain and have come to their own in the independent domains of the study of language and religion. But the encroachments of these sciences on the domain of history have come now to be zealously guarded at least in Europe. A typical case would be that of Ancient Greece which as much as India was subjected wholesale to the "Aryan" theories. In the domain of Greek researches no name stands higher than that of Professor Ridgeway and the fittest prologue to the memorial volume presented to him by all antiquarians on his sixtieth birthday in 1913 has been found to be a verse[1] beginning with an indictment of Max Müller and his theories thus :—

"E'en when Max Müller, celebrated man,
Conceived the past upon a different plan,
Divulged the fact and pleased the world therewith,
That Agamemnon was a solar myth ;
* * * * * *
And first presented to our mental view
The glorious certainty that naught was true !
E'en then each legend howsoe'er designed
Was still a figment of the Graecian mind !
No part of dim antiquity, but it
Was made or fancied by Hellenic wit."

[1] Written by Dr. A. D. Godley, p. 1.

So also elsewhere Hall[1] points out how 'if we look to the Greek histories of thirty years ago we find their writers when dealing with the beginnings of Greek culture talking under the influence of philological theories of Max Müller and how Archæology had to rescue history from the morass into which philology had dragged her.' Now if *Prehistoric Archæology* has become the *sine quâ non* of the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, if it has been definitely recognised that any historical attempt to deal with the ancient cultures of those two lands without a proper and thorough enquiry into their forerunners in civilisation the Creto-Ægeans or Etruscans is bound to end in failure, is not the case the same as regards India? Of course though no Schliemannic excavations have come in India, so far, the accepted basis of things is solely the result of inferences drawn largely from the comparatively recent discoveries which throw little light on the ancient traditions, literary or otherwise, of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. Now that the value of traditions cannot be minimised do we not get as yet but a study of the history of India from the wrong end? Should not the light of more ancient discoveries be turned over ancient India as it has been done with so marvellous success on the case of Egypt and Western Asia? And now that prehistoric Egypt and prehistoric Chaldæa have been laid bare no one doubts the datings in thousands of years of the cultures of these two lands and thus only their histories have been placed on a sound footing. But the traces of prehistoric man and his culture are being unearthed in India for over fifty years and yet no systematic *historical* treatment has been offered of them. It is our business here to accumulate that scrap-heap of respectable size about the prehistoric antiquities of India and with the aid of Ethnology to

[1] Ægean Archæology (1915), p. 1.

arrange them on the basis of European methods and to point out their historical bearings on the earliest page of Indian history. Now it might be that here the old philological theories would be confirmed and the word "Aryan" being more concerned with the culture of India and its neighbouring countries, the 'Aryan' theory is likely to hold good of the part of the world where ancient Indo-Iranian culture reigned, the 'Ariane,'[1] of the ancient Western writers, from which one branch at least moved eastwards, who became the Hindus, *i.e.*, Sindhu-bank dwellers in the Vedic age and spread over the rest of India later on. Still though much has been written about this invading race from the North-West and even their career of conquest has been mapped out from their ancient literature, about what they found in India, and the cultures that were handed over to them Indian history is yet very vague. But this is more essential as invader or no invader, an enquiry from a historical and cultural standpoint into the mass of Prehistoric archæological data, has revealed a continuity in growth of arts and crafts in the Indian soil for over 5,000 years.

But first of all, so far as Prehistoric India is concerned our method has been to note very carefully such researches in Europe such as the subdivision of the Bronze Age in Sweden from 2000 B.C. to 850 B.C. into five distinct periods or the superb classification of Palæolithic cultures into over half a dozen groups not indeed to achieve anything similar to them but to retell the history of progress of the earliest Indian peoples in that light.

And though it is a pretty long time since Breeks gave out his interesting study of "The Primitive Tribes of the Nilgiris" and a still more valuable prehistoric collections and various stray notices began to appear in Geological, Palæontological, Anthropological and Asiatic

[1] Strabo (McCrindle's Ancient India, p. 80).

Journals about the stone implements of Ancient India and Fergusson treated a part of this subject in his "Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries," no connected account of oldest India has yet been compiled if we except Logan's rapid and short survey of the "Old Chipped Stones of India." And the task is not insuperably difficult. Though in the words of a reviewer "A prehistoric survey on scientific lines of Southern India is still a desideratum[1]" and though even in the Hyderabad Archæological Society Journal for the last year[2] we read how 'there are now still in H. E. H. Nizam's dominion alone a thousand unexplored megalithic remains,' it cannot be denied that we have already got a large amount of material ready to hand to deal with. The published catalogues alone of the prehistoric collections in the Museums of India are already "four" in number:—(1) the *Catalogue raisonné of the Foote Collections of Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities* by R. B. Foote, (2) *the Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities, Madras Museum*, (3) *the Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, and (4) the *Catalogue raisonné of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum* at Calcutta, most of which are not quite small in bulk. But still as Bruce Foote, who if anybody in India has devoted long and serious attention to the prehistoric finds of India, himself admits in his Catalogue of 1901 that 'his interest has been that of a bird of passage' in the course of his duties as the head of the Indian Geological survey, how much more is it true of others. To a student at Calcutta having the run of the magnificent libraries at Metcalfe Hall or of the fast growing one at Durbhanga Buildings with their array of interminable volumes on the Stone, Copper or Bronze and Iron Cultures of various other countries for

[1] Somerset Playne, F.R.G.S.—Southern India (1914-15), p. 53.
[2] P. 60.

comparative study it is an arduous but fascinating and fruitful task to make a connected study of the culture of prehistoric India. Above all the direct touch with actual finds in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which contain enough representative specimens to start work with (besides the possibility of a run to the Madras Museum or the prehistoric sites, now being laid bare in the Deccan) endows all the results arrived at, with the importance of first-hand investigations. It may indeed be argued that all labours in this direction would be mere misdirected energy so long as all the possible data are not at hand and it would be prudent to wait till all the prehistoric sites and megalithic monuments are laid bare by excavations. But it must be definitely noted that until proper spade-work is done with the actual materials already available there is little chance of definite steps being taken towards their identification, classification and grouping. The Madras Museum collection had so long been in the show-cases but it is only last year when they were examined afresh that definite marks in the prehistoric pottery were found out. This alone is more than enough to arouse a special interest and has called for a thorough investigation. A comparative study of these marks has been offered in this paper and some possible solutions have been suggested. But it is the intention of this thesis to come to conclusions always with reservations and to keep an open mind being prepared for any issue. The vestiges of culture, the stone implements, the ceramic and other arts should all be taken and carefully examined and compared with similar other cultures and results should be deduced therefrom. Thus there would be a descriptive portion based on scientific inference which would be little liable to doubt. And then there would be an attempt to grapple with the various interesting problems arising out of them, which

would be of a more or less controversial kind, and as it is best not to have a preconceived theory, all the possible aspects of the case would be laid bare. It is well-known how an intensive study of the technology of the stone implements aided though by geological and palæontological observations has settled once for all the various stages of culture in the Palæolithic age and it has been found worth while to classify the Indian finds according to the accepted methods of the West. The light of later research may lead us to modify our groupings and probably the very basis might be changed. And them the student of the ancient history of India cannot but be profoundly impressed by the march of human progress and civilisation on the banks of the great rivers of this country not to speak of its general contribution to the knowledge of humanity at large. Talking of Asia and especially of India Dr. Keith the eminent anthropologist observed in 1916[1]:—"It is a part of the world from which the students of early man has expected so much and so far has obtained so little" and ended with a hope that India and China would yet reveal the story of their ancestral prehistoric races."

It is indeed the business of the excavator to unearth definite remains of human beings in this part of the world and it is a matter of regret that while even Africa and South America have yielded skulls of great antiquity the search after Palæolithic human bones in this part of the world except in one case has yet eluded the eyes of the geologist and the anthropologist. It is all the more exasperating when we remember that a strong concensus of opinion still makes South Central Asia the cradle of humanity and if ever there was a single centre of culture, the island of Java which has had intercourse with India from time immemorial has already yielded that very interesting 'missing link' the Ape-man, *Pithecanthropus erectus.*

[1] The Antiquity of Man (1916), p. 256,

It is but idle speculation to think whether future excavations (which unfortunately has scarcely begun) would bring to light as in Europe a great Tertiary early man like *Eoanthropus Dawsoni* from Piltdown or shed new light on the existing races by unearthing the great Neanderthal race side by side witl a more polished Cremagnon type or reveal a Proto-negro type as from Mentone, or show a type persistent through dim ages of Antiquity as in North America. As it is, the tale of human shape and form and build in India is carried a pretty long way to the past by the skulls discovered by Mr. Reá at Adichánnallur though these dim into insignificance besides the previously mentioned types in point of antiquity or interest.

But though as yet human bones in India have not allowed us the facility to track his brain capacity far into the distant ages, there are sufficient remains of undoubted human origin associated with animal bones of yore to allow us "*ex pede Herculem*" to build up a considerable portion of the structure of the civilisation in which man flourished in India. Here, as at every step, the works of the great savants on European culture not only offer us the safe methods of work but afford the only corner-stones of research. One has got to forget now that most of the subdivisions of Palæolithic culture, Azilian or Acheullean, are but names of particular localities of France, for to the Prehistoric technologist they become definite symbols and synonyms of distinct phases of culture. Of course time may show that the particular order of development of Palæolithic cultures indicated by the terms, Reutelian, Mafflian, Mesvinian, Strepyan, Chellean, Acheullean, Mousterian, Aurignacian, Solutrian, Magdalenian and Azilian holds good of France or Europe alone rather than of this country. First of all, there would be no question at all as to the division of the Prehistoric ages into that of Stone, Bronze and Iron

though, of late, the late Iron Age with the immediately preceding and succeeding one is spoken of as a Protohistoric Age, being too recent for the dignified title of Prehistoric. And Copper has come into share equally the place with Bronze and it is generally placed as beginning a little earlier than the latter. The division of the Stone Age into Palæolithic and Neolithic is of course as old as Avebury's classic work but the modern tendency is strong to bring in a third forerunner the "Eolithic" age. As there might be some objection to the term "Eolith," I have avoided the difficulty by the word Pre-chellean which is made by widening its scope to cover here the culture extending from the earliest Pleistocene times far back into the Tertiary age. The other succeeding ages of culture have come in also for their due share, though it has been impossible to recognise all the stages and some intermediate ones had to be left aside. Passing now to the special conditions applicable to India alone we have got to refer to the two laudable attempts at dealing with the oldest strata of Indian civilisations in some systematic shape by Logan in his *Old Chipped Stones of India* and Bruce Foote in his *Notes on the Ages and Distribution of the Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities of the Foote Collection of the Madras Museum*. The former was published in 1906 and though the latter has been brought out in 1916 by Mr. Henderson, as his preface shows, it was long on the anvil and, in fact, the composition was most likely finished by the late eminent Indian Geologist at least 12 years before its publication as is quite patent from its internal evidence (its up-to-dateness consisting only in the sporadic adding together of some fresh details). But Anthropology has undergone a great revolution within the last decade. Duckworth's last sentence in his *Prehistoric Man* (1912) is that 'the extraordinarily fruitful results of excavation during the last 10 years may

challenge comparison with those of any other period of similar duration,'[1] and even this work has become antiquated by the discovery of the Piltdown skull whose importance is recognised by its occupation of more than half the space of Dr. Keith's bulky volume *The Antiquity of Man*, 1916. With a word of high praise to Logan's summarisation of the geological aspect of the localities in which the worked stones of India occur we cannot but point out the narrowness of his outlook by just quoting a few of his sentences. "We may therefore picture our precursors as short brown apes, no bigger than the African pygmies and probably not very brutal in face, living in companies as large as their means of subsistence would allow and endowed with the primary virtues of courage, co-operation and obedience to a leader but not necessarily anything else that we should call virtues,"[2]—is not this a sentence which requires emendation from every department of Anthropological studies? Then again,—'the race that invented the river-drift palæoliths I take to have been exclusively the long-headed race which inhabited Europe in the earliest times known to us and which was destined to become the ancestors of the white race in its three main divisions of Aryans, Semites and Berbers,'[3] is a sentence which neither Prehistoric Archæology nor Ethnology nor even Comparative Philology would swallow at the present age. Then again, though I am not quite competent enough to state, I doubt whether only a strong prejudice to tertiary man alone does not lead him to increase in large figures the duration of the pleistocene age in India and bring down the earliest vestiges of human existence there to middle or late quaternary age. The last charge can be brought against the great Bruce Foote even, who, besides, was unfortunately

[1] Page 149.
[2] Page 76
[3] Page 79.

led into the ethnological speculation of the possible route of Dravidian race in the earliest times when now the Neolithic races from the skull measurements by Messrs. Lapicque, Reá and Thurston are being classed as Pre-Dravidians and not at all as Dravidians. Bruce Foote's last work is more a geographical study as Logan's is a geological one, and both of them suffer from doing little justice to the cultural and evolutionary aspects of the things. He has indeed recognised the value of Ethnography for a solution of the problems of culture of the older people but he has missed one important point that in this, the range of comparison for enquiry and study should be rather limited to the Indian or neighbouring savage tribes most of whom are undoubtedly survivals, the "Vestigeal organs," as it were, of the tale of past human life and its culture in this country. Thus his admirable and ingenious explanation of the old Indian method of hafting on Carribean analogies is, as might be shown later on, quite the wrong view of the thing. That is why in the course of this research care has always to be taken to trace out the existence of archaic implements and their methods of use amongst the existing primitive tribes of India on the one hand and also to take note of the products of the later higher civilisations in this country to give a surer clue to their ancient utility. Here, there is the great advantage of the scientific treatments in such classic works as *The Todas* by Rivers or *The Veddahs* by Seligmann not to speak of the countless valuable accounts from the time of Breeks to the days of Thurston.

As the Palæolithic stages in India cannot be satisfactorily settled till a study of the terraces of the *Narbadá* or the *Godávari* or the *Ganges* or any other important river on the lines of the hundred-foot-terrace of the Thames or of the deposits of the Seine is carried on,

some of the classifications would surely require modifications later on, and, who knows, one day it might be found more suitable to name the stages in India as "Post-Siwalik," "Pre-Narbadá," "Early-Sabarmati," "Late-Sabarmáti," etc. But the need of a complete working hypothesis is very urgent otherwise for want of proper attention all the interesting relics would continue to be spirited away silently by foreign amateurs or be lost amidst the heaps of a modern museum which had actually been the case in at least three recorded instances.

A few special words, about eolithic times in India are necessary. The traces of the peoples of those days, the megaliths erected by them, their potteries and evolution of the ceramic arts, their recently discovered cup markings all of which have raised fresh issues such as the question of the true autochthones or aborigines of India, the affinities of the builders of rough stone-monuments and possibly the prehistory of alphabets in India. And in all these the comparative method as well as Indian Ethnography have done yeoman's service. Here it has been found more convenient to deal with several items of technology than anything else. In the course of shewing the development of certain types of implements care has always been taken to utilise the knowledge of historical India as has been brought out by its archæological remains. The reference to ancient Indian literature has also been found useful but the actual representations in sculptures and painting are more trustworthy and leave no room for conjectures as the former is bound to do. Besides the separate detailed treatment of the pottery and the markings, it was found necessary to add a short chapter on the cultural affinities between India and other countries as the question had been attracting attention for some time.[1]

[1] These have only been touched here. A fuller treatment would be found in my forthcoming work on "Prehistoric India."

Though the existence of a Bronze age in India has been doubted, Copper age antiquities have been forthcoming and prehistoric bronzes are also not very rare. So it has been found not quite proper and true to facts to deny its existence altogether.

As for the Iron age it brings us so near to historic times that it becomes of great importance for it shows how far it saw the remarkable development of culture in some respects and reveals strong marks of cultural connection with certain other parts of the Old World.

We pass on to quite a new phase of prehistoric studies, being a sort of sequel to it,—the attempt to take a synthetic view of the Ethnological issues brought to a head. The comparative method, a previous acquaintance with the standing problems of Assyryology, Egyptology and Mediterranean Archæology gradually led me to a firm conviction as to the existence of a great ancient race flourishing in Southern India in late prehistoric times. From the historical and ethnological evidence here brought forth, it would clearly appear that this race was in touch culturally with the great civilisations in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Of course the final proof would depend upon more Archæological data and systematic excavation. But as it is, it would be shown that it was this race which had regular commerce with all the ancient nations of the Arabian Sea. The term Dravidian cannot at all be applied to these peoples and pre-Dravidian or proto-Dravidian would not make matters much better. For this reason I have called them after the ancient name of the Arabian Sea and on account of their existence in India. The Indo-Erythræans.[1] Many obscure points of Vedic and Epic culture are cleared off by recognising their existence. Their culture was a

[1] *Vide* my paper in Indian Antiquary, May, 1919 which shows two scripts on Indian eoliths read with the half of a Proto-E gyptian key.

direct offshoot and product of prehistoric India though profoundly modified by the high cultures of the peoples with whom they came in contact. My study of the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform is but just begun but from what I have studied I have my suspicions that the ancient Egyptian and Sumerian tongues bear a considerable similarity with the archaic South Indian tongues such as whose vestiges are still to be met with from amongst the Todas Time may or may not reveal the greater glories in India of that great race whose offshoots or at least collaterals produced the two mighty civilisations in Asia Minor and Africa but I have been content simply with pointing out the existence of such a race and the possibilities of its greatness.

In conclusion, I beg to point out the enormities of the task. Beginning with geology it has to take note of various anthropological questions of the antiquity of man and then certain technological as well as sociological aspects of culture-developments and its final phase is part of an enquiry into the origins of the historic civilisations and peoples of India. What is offered here is clearly recognised to be an outline only, to reveal this vast field of enquiry as well as to put forth humbly the results of the present enquirer's study for the last four years.

CHAPTER I

The Dawn of Humanity in India

Anthropology divorced from geography gets but short shrift in the present day and as the question of the first appearance of man, the earthly and climatic conditions properly evolved to usher in his existence happened not in the present geological epoch, earth-history, especially of the tertiary and quaternary times, becomes of vital importance to us. So the following from Dr. Vredenburg's excellent *Summary of the Geology of India* (Introductory chapter) cannot but be given the first place when considering the question of the evolution of Hominidae in our part of the world. "From a geological point of view India is divided into three regions: (1) the peninsular area in which there are no mountains in the truer sense newer than palæozoic, (2) the region of relatively recent mountains upheaved in tertiary times, constituting the ranges of the Himalaya, Baluchistan and Burmah, and (3) the great Indo-Gangetic alluvial plain which with the exception of a fringe of cretaceous and tertiary strata in some points along the sea-coast peninsular India, *has been a continental area ever since the earliest geological times, and is one of the oldest land areas in the globe.* The rocks constituting the extra-peninsular area remained mostly occupied by the ocean until late in tertiary times, when the upheaval of the Himalaya was completed. The great Indo-Gangetic plain which now connects the essentially different peninsular and extra-peninsular areas and consists of alluvial soil whose rapid accumulation (mainly in Pliocene and Pleistocene times) has finally obliterated all remnants of an arm of the sea which might still have subsisted between the

two areas." In these days of polygenism it is not possible to deny perhaps that humanity may have evolved at different times in different places under almost identical circumstances and that the old controversy about the cradle of humanity has lost much of its savour; but still Dr. Wright's theological zeal gives us late in 1913 a laudable book on *The Origin and the Antiquity of Man* which is pledged to prove the orthodox canon that man appeared suddenly probably by the intervention of God in Central Asia not more than fifteen thousand years ago. Apart from the fact that in the face of the Piltdown skull in which Boule is chary of admitting any generic difference from a full-blooded Homo, tertiary man is well-nigh proven, who would think of questioning that man could combat the rigours of the glacial epoch and that the dawn of the human race belongs to a past more remote than the great Ice-Age (Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, 1911, p. 60). How and where it possibly happened is surmised as follows by Lord Avebury with his characteristic lucidity. "Without expressing any opinion as to the mental condition of our ancestors in the Miocene period, it seems to me evident that the argument derived from the absence of human remains, whatever may be its value, is as applicable to pliocene as to miocene times. Judging from the analogy of other species I am disposed to think that in the miocene period man was probably represented by anthropoid apes, more nearly resembling us than do any of the existing quadrumana. We need not, however expect necessarily to find the proofs in Europe: our nearest relations in the animal kingdom are confined to hot almost to tropical climates; and though we know that during parts of the miocene period the climate of Europe was warmer than at present, so that monkeys lived north of their present limits, still it is in the warmer regions of the earth that we may reasonably find the

earliest traces of the human race." It is exactly this which is impressed on us when we read the recent article of Dr. Pilgrim on "*New Siwalik Primates and their bearing on the question of the Evolution of Man and the Anthropoidae*" in the *Records of the Geological Survey* (1915). He makes out a strong case for a Sarmation (Miocene) ancestor of man from the Siwaliks thus: "The remarkable characters possessed by the mandible of Sivapithecus ally it in many respects rather to man than to any of the Simiidae." After pointing out that a short symphysis is a primitive characteristic as seen in the Propliopithecus of Fayum and that its extreme shortening is a special development in man he points out that this characteristic combined with other peculiarities leads him to place it on the line of man's ascent. The outward curvature of the premolar region, in his opinion, involves the co-existence of the breadth of jaw and a degree of separation of the mandibular rami which is essentially peculiar to man. The inner cusp of p.m. 3 as in the cebidae, the large canines with primitive features, the hinder heel of the lower canine as in the gibbons, etc., forces him to the conclusion that Eoanthropus represents a marginal species which did not lead to man being one of nature's experiments at producing the higher human type and that Sivapithecus diverging long before the appearance of that genus represents a marginal species of the human ancestor.

Dr. Hayden in his annual address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal last year has appositely referred to the article of Mr. W. K. Gregory and pointed out that quite a different view is possible and that the existence of miocene man has yet to be proved though the human stem branched off from the simian during the tertiary epoch, not later probably than the middle of the miocene period, or from thirteen to sixteen million years ago.

But in any case Dr. Pilgrim's paper has the greatest importance for us as Boule points out in *L' Anthropologie*, 1915, p. 410: "*Un autre fait de première importance, que confirment les travaux de M. Pilgrim, est que, pendant la Miocene, l'Asie était habitée par des tres nombreux Singes anthropöides aux caracteres divergents dans toutes sortes de directions et même, comme Sivapithecus, dans une direction humaine. Il y a lá un mouvement de vie chez les Primates, tout à fait, extraordinaire et l'on a, pour la première fois, la sensation que l'Asie etait, a ce moment, le laboratoire où devait s'elaborer la differenciation des ancétres des Hominiens.*" "There can be little doubt that man evolved somewhere in southern Asia, possibly during Pliocene or Miocene times"—this is the verdict of Dr. Haddon. (*The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 15) and we know it was with this conviction that Dubois launched his expedition to Java and discovered the famous Pithecanthropus. It is of supreme interest for us as Java was at that time connected with the mainland and Osborn in his *Men of the Old Stone Age* (1918) surmises that the Trinil race, as he calls it, was also most probably living in India at that time.

The case of the Pithecanthropus is too well-known to need much dilatation, how it belongs to an intermediate position between ape and man so far as the capacity of the skull is concerned but its thigh bone is distinctly human as it definitely establishes its erectness of stature. This is physiognomically the most important factor as it is practically the starting point of human culture thus fully brought out by Dr. Munro in his presidential address to the Anthropological section of the British Association in 1893:—"With the attainment of the erect position, and the consequent specialisation of his limbs into hands and feet, man entered into a new phase of existence. With the advantage of manipulative organ and a progressive

brain he became *Homo sapiens*, and gradually developed a capacity to understand and utilise the forces of nature. As a handicraftsman he fashioned tools and weapons, with the skilful use of which he got the mastery over all the other animals. With a knowledge of the use of fire, the art of cooking his food, and the power of fabricating materials for clothing his body, he accommodated himself to the vicissitudes of climate, and so greatly extended his habitable area on the globe. As ages rolled on he accumulated more and more of the secrets of nature, and every such addition widened the basis for further discoveries. Thus commenced the grandest revolution the organic world has ever undergone—a revolution which culminated in the transformation of a brute into a civilised man."

This is not all. In the next chapter it would be seen that from the tertiary of Burma and the older ossiferous gravel beds of Narbada and Godavari have been discovered in the fifties of the last century genuine human artifacts which on account of their antiquity have been widely noticed. But on examining them afiesh in the light of the latest researches, in the Indian Museum I was struck by the fact that though on palæontological grounds they cannot be later than the pre-Chellean phase in Europe their technique was of the sort of much greater finish of later palæolithic phases in Europe. The Hackett Nurbada find inevitably recalls a a Levallois artifact and the Godavari agate chip is more the prototype of a Chellean II 'knife' than anything that I know. Unfortunately I could not find the Burma specimens in the Indian Museum but from the plate in the Records of the Geological Survey it appeared to me that some of them specially the rectangular and irregular forms belonged to the Chellean II type and moreover seemed to be more akin to Egyptian

forms of palæoliths given in figs. 16, 18, 23, 26, of Morgan's *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Egypte* (*L'Age de la Pierre et les Metaux*, pp. 58, 60, 64, 66). Thus we find Haddon is probably being upheld by archæological evidence when he states the likelihood of inter-glacial man in Europe being represented by pre-glacial man in Asia (*The Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 15). Whatever may be said in respect of other centres as starting points of humanity, one has ulimately to give up the cases of South America or South England or Southern France or even Egypt or the blessed land between the two rivers and formulate with Dr. Mathew a South Central Asiatic home for the earliest man. In other words we can state with Sir H. H. Johnston as follows :—"From such meagre facts as have already been collected by scientific investigation we are led to form the opinion that the human genus was evolved from an ape-like ancestor somewhere in Asia, most probably in India, but quite possibly in Syria on the one hand, or in the Malay Peninsula or Java on the other. So far, the nearest approach to a missing link between the family of the anthropoid apes and the family of perfected man has been found in the island of Java (*Pithecanthropus erectus*), but there are slight indications pointing to *Burma or the southern part of the Indian Continent having been the birthplace of humanity*" (*The Opening up of Africa*, p. 10).

CHAPTER II

Pre-Chellean Cultures of the River-Drift Men

We are on a safer ground as we have now to do with the authenticated 'organised instruments' of Bergson's *Homo faber* rather than with the sliding scales of brain-weights of doubtful value made to lead to *Homo sapen.* But it is now very amusing indeed to turn over old records where facts were given the go-by simply because the notions of the day rebelled against a very high antiquity of man. In the course of our work we would have to meet with specific instances in which the evidence of palæontology and the opinion of a very eminent authority in that department was being called into question. The three cases that we have got to deal with at first takes us to the very heat of certain controversies, raised simply because doubters would not put faith in the positive evidence forthcoming or would belittle its importance. Let us take up the cases one by one. R. B. Foote in his "*Notes on the Ages and the Distribution of the Foote collection of the Madras Museum*"[1] strongly asserts that as yet there are no traces of eolithic remains in India and though the position of eoliths as human is as yet insecure there are undoubtedly three great finds of very great antiquity recorded in India. But probably so far as age is concerned by far the oldest trace of human existence has come not from India, but its outskirt Burma. Turning over the pages of the *Records of the Geological Survey*[2] we find Dr. Noetling of Tasmania in the course of his duties in India noticing the occurrence of chipped flints in the upper Miocene of Burma. He describes it as follows :—"While engaged in mapping out a part of the Yenangyoung

[1] P. 14.

[2] Vol, XXVII, pp. 101-2.

oil fields my attention was particularly directed to the collecting of vertebrate remains. One of the most conspicuous beds palæontologically as well as petrographically is a ferruginous conglomerate upwards of ten feet in thickness. This bed may be distinguished a long distance off as a dull red band running in a continuous line across ravines and hills. Besides numerous other vertebrate remains such as, *Rhinoceros perimense*, etc., one of the commonest species is *Hippotherium antelopium*, of which numerous isolated teeth can be found. Three types of implements may be distinguished: (*a*) irregularly shaped flat flakes, (*b*) more or less triangularly shaped flakes and (*c*) a rectangular flake.

Dr. Keith telling us how 'as in all cases where chipped flints of an eolithic type have been discovered the humanity of these implements has been called in question,' mentions these flints as showing distinct traces fo having been worked by man though found in a conglomerate deposit which contained the remains of animals belonging to the earliest part of the Pliocene period. It would be quite out of place to enter here into the general controversy about "Eoliths" but as the rectagular flake of the (*c*) group found at Burma is exactly the prototype of the rectangular shaped eolith from Dorset I would give one excerpt about the age of the latter. Dr. B. C. A. Windle, F.R.S., in his *Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England*[1] writes about them as follows:—"Dr. Blackmore has himself found Eoliths at Dewlish in Dorset associated in undisturbed beds with the remains of *Elephas meredionalis*. Now this particular elephant belongs to the Pliocene period and had disappeared before Pleistocene times. If, therefore, there is no doubt and it must be confessed that little seems to be possible

[1] The Antiquity of Man (1916), p. 257.

[2] P. 7.

as to the natural collocation of these objects the question of the Pliocene date of eoliths must be regarded as settled." Geological and stratigraphical proofs about the high antiquity of the Burma flint has also been discussed by the finder. His statement is as follows[1]:— Three distinct groups can be distinguished in the Yenangyoung tertiaries, namely, in descending order:—

"(1) *Group A.* Consisting of a series of blue clays. Thickness not less than 1,000 ft.

(2) *Group B.* Consisting of brown and red sandstone and light brown clays consisting of numerous crystals of Selenite and countless numbers of *Batissa Crawfordi* terminating in a bed of ferruginous conglomerate with remains of terrestrial animals, *e.g.*, *Hippotherium antelopium*, and *Rhinoceros perimense*; chipped flints locally not rare. Measured thickness 1,105 ft.

(3) *Group C.* Consisting chiefly of light coloured yellow sandstones. Thickness not less than 4,620 ft.

Group C must be upper Miocene."

The finder concludes thus: "But whatsoever their particular age may be it is certain considerable amount of time must have elapsed since the deposit of a series of strata of more than 4,620 ft. thickness. Moreover the writer draws our attention to the fact that 'the shape of this specimen reminds us very much of the chipped flint described in Vol. 1 of the Records and discovered in the Pleistocene (?) of the Nerbudda river, the artificial origin of which nobody seems to have doubted."

Before coming to this very interesting find I want to refer to what may be reckoned up to now as the undoubted vestige of very old culture in India which was unearthed from the banks of the Godávari more than fifty years ago by Mr. Wynne in the upper Godávari

[1] Records of the Geological Survey, Vol. XXXVII, p. 102.

associated with some extinct mammalia. In the quarterly Journal, Geological Society, London [1] the eminent Palæontologist Dr. Falconer proved the deposit to be pliocene and stated, "In designating the formation as pliocene which I have during many years, I have been guided by the indications of the mammalian fauna, as intermediate between the Miocene of the Irrawaddi, Perim Island and the Sewalik hills and that of the existing period." We must call back to mind the acute phase the question of the antiquity of man was then passing through, in Europe. Though in 1833 the human cranium now known as the Engis Skull had been discovered by Dr. Schmerling [2] it was not till 1863 that even the open mind of Sir Charles Lyell, convinced of the great antiquity of man, published his classical work [3] and full five years were yet to come when Aurignacian culture and the Cromagnon men were to be discovered.[4] So in October 1866 Mr. Blandford expressed his doubts in the Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, thus: [5] "I was first very sceptical as to the genuineness of this flake, but a recent examination and comparison of it with some of the Jubbulpore specimens have strongly inclined me to believe that it is really of human manufacture." Dr. Oldham of the Geological Survey who has doubted the age of the implement just marking with a query the word "Pliocene" thus describes it in his paper in the Record of the Geological Survey of India: [6] "The flake was discovered just below the village of Moongee near Pyton. The river cliff here has a height of about 50 ft. It was found about 20 ft. above the base of the cliff. It is

[1] XXI, p. 383.

[2] *Recherches sur les ossemens fossiles decouvertés dans les cavernes de la province de Leige, 1833.*

[3] The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, 1863.

[4] *Vide* Keith—The Antiquity of Man, pp. 53 & 55.

[5] *Vide* p. 230.

[6] Vol. I, p. 65.

formed from a compact light coloured agate chip, which near the surface has become blackened, and in two parts the original smooth ferruginous surface of the agate moss remains. The flake is rudely triangular in section, one side being flat, while between the two edges, although not centrally, it rises on the other side into a ridge. The whole is slightly carved, and at an end the sharp edges are carved so as to form a slight reflexion of the whole flake, giving the end very much the form of the carved end of a carving knife for game. The other end of the flake has a lateral extension which may have served as a means of attachment to a handle. The sharp cutting edges are much blunted and hacked, obviously by use. The total length of the flake is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the breadth which is tolerably constant for its entire length is $\frac{7}{12}$ inch."

In the address to the Asiatic Society, Bengal, in December, 1865[1] Mr. Oldham referred to the locality thus: "Many of the members of the Society are perhaps not aware that spreading over a large area in the country drained by the upper waters of the Godavari and its affluents, there is a widely spread deposit of clays and gravels containing remains of large mammalia which are probably of the same kind as those which occur in the similar gravels and clays of the Nerbudda valley and of which the Society possesses many specimens." Further in September, 1867 when several chipped stones were being exhibited, Mr. H. F. Blandford reverting to this interesting find of Mr. Wynne said:[2] "I am much disposed to believe that we have evidence in India of the existence of man at a much earlier period than Europe. We have here evidence of the co-existence of man with the animals the bones of which occur

[1] Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p 207.

[2] *Ibid*, 1867, pp. 144-145.

in the Godávari gravels and which are identical with those found in the Nerbudda gravels. The fauna thus indicated differ much more widely from the existing Indian fauna than the pleistocene animals of Europe do from those now existing in that country." Thus we find that though doubts have from time to time been raised as to the authenticity of Dr. Noetling's find *in situ* and thus as to the vestiges of Tertiary man in India nothing can be said against the very high antiquity of this Godávari find. Its case is quite similar to the Nerbudda find, as we have got to describe presently, whose association also with extinct fauna leaves little chance of post-dating it. Whether these two belong to the Tertiary age or not would depend only upon the time granted to the Pleistocene age. We have here more concern with culture than geological time-scales ever shifting in the pages of every new great scientist. "Pre-Chellean" which stands for the earliest culture is, I think, the best term to satisfy all demands. And our point consists in recognising the Burma find of Dr. Noetling, the agate chip from the Godavari and the boucher from the Nerbudda as belonging to types of culture and to times which cannot be brought down later than the earliest pleistocene stage even in the opinion of the doubters. Before coming to a general consideration and bearing on the history of culture of these, we have got to enter into the details of the Nerbudda celt. "The celt,"[1] we read, "is formed of Vindhyan quartzite such as might be procured at any point along the northern edge of the valley; it is of pointed oval shape, $5'' \times 3\frac{3}{8}''$ of very symmetrical outline. Mr. Hackett dug it out himself from where he found it lying flat and two-thirds buried, in a steep face of the stiff, reddish, mottled unstratified clay about 6 ft. above low-water level and about 3 ft.

[1] Records of the Geological Survey of India, 1873, p. 49.

below the upper surface of the clay, upon which there rested about 20 ft. of the gravel with bones. From the edge of the cliff of gravel there is a steep slope passing up through the raving ground to the plains at 90 to 100 ft. above the level of the Narbada. The locality is on the left bank of Narbada near the village of Bhutra, 8 miles due north of Godarwara." Now the antiquity of this piece can be gauged by the fact that it was found in gravels associated with bones of animals long since extinct. Besides that, the passing away of these animals for ever from India forms part of a general movement and change for which a great lapse of time must be allowed. What that is, Mr. Blandford brings out clearly:[1] "The change which has taken place in the Indian fauna since the period of the Nerbudda gravels consists in a substitution of animals with Malay affinities for animals with European or African affinities. The great bovine of the Nerbudda gravels, an animal, the remains of which are peculiarly abundant was a true Taurine, so closely allied to the *Bos primigenius* of Europe that the differences are scarcely more than sufficient to constitute geographical races. But as it is well-known, the only indigenous race of wild bovines (exclusive of the buffalo) in the Indian peninsula, the Gaur is a flat-horned Taurine, widely different in structure from the true round-horned Taurines. A more complete case of the substitution of one animal by another with distinct affinities can scarcely be imagined; then again the species *Hexaprotodont* and *Tetraprotodont hippopotami* of the Nerbudda have become extinct." Dr. Falconer, as has been mentioned before invariably spoke of these fauna as pliocene as being a development of the Siwalik fauna in many respects, and intermediate between them and our times. Though his opinion in questions relating

[1] Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 207.

to the determination of vertebrate fossils specially of India, is unassailable, his word "Pliocene" has been the cause of much contention. Some would allow even 400,000 years or more when these bits were manufactured but would turn their faces against 'Tertiary' or 'Eoliths.' But coming to the technique of the things we find at least Dr. Noetling's finds of rectangular shape are the prototypes of some of the rectangular 'eoliths' at Dewlish found associated with *Elephas meridionalis* which had become extinct before pleistocene times. As in the historic period, so also in the prehistoric age the mere similarity in craftsmanship cannot be an argument for synchronism when widely separated tracts are concerned. In fact there might be difference of one or two cycles of civilisation which according to Flinders Petrie, occurs every 2,000 years. But a few thousand years are of little account in the earliest palæolithic age where we have got to do more with geological time of hundred thousand years than any lesser period. But the fact is important since much depends upon the lease of time granted for the first appearance of man and we have seen the systematic efforts in Europe have settled beyond doubt the question of the possibility of such human handicraft existing at such an early age. What is there in accepting these as "Pre-Palæoliths" of the last Pliocene Indians? Only a blind prejudice which would still hold to "Tertiary man not proven" would demur at that.

Let us pass on to the actual men who used these chipped stones, their environments and their possible lines of development. In all probability there are some other palæoliths still gracing the show-cases of the Indian Museum or the Madras Museum which belong to this very same period of the remotest human antiquity in India. But as the utmost caution is needed for coming into any conclusion especially in such highly disputed

cases, I have restricted myself to the undoubted specimens associated with bones of animals which thus afford us a sure index of their time by the unerring test of Palæontology. We cannot talk of the build of the men or of their features unless actual human bones are forthcoming. There is little use of guessing if the human bipeds using such antique weapons were not exactly *Homo sapiens* but some other distinct species like the Piltdown dawn-man (*Eo anthropus Dawsoni*) or possessed distinct long protuberances over the brow like the Neanderthal races from Spy and Gibraltar and other places in Europe. But this much is certain that a distinct erect posture had already been gained, otherwise the hands would not have been free to use these stone weapons, as I would show them to be. And the hands were very possibly much longer than those of existing men and the stature shorter as the weight and the grasping places of the Burma 'eoliths' plainly show. And then even with the meagre data in hand we have got to remember here that, as yet, the earliest ape-man (*Pithecanthropus erectus*) has been discovered from Java which was in contact with India by land as well as sea from the earliest dawn of time, as far as we can see, and the ancestral ape the Palæopithecus (or Dolichopithecus) of the Punjab, that interesting species, a half-way house between the Orang and the Chimpanzee was living in India in Pliocene times. We had to refer and would have to revert again when we come to the Karnul men as to that mysterious relationship between extinct Indian fauna with African ones and of the present types with Malaysian ones. We have got to encroach upon alien grounds because the early problems of anthropology are as much biological and palæontological as archæological. Now leaving aside the animals and coming to the men we find, even considering the three specimens in hand that there is a steady advance in

craftsmanship from the Burma type to the Godávari type. Time will bring out what more favourable conditions or it may be harder struggle for existence or a possible intercrossing of races were evolving mankind in the favoured regions between the Nerbudda and Godávari in India as between the Seine and Thames in Europe. But what I assert and try to establish is that the rude flat, triangular and rectangular flakes of Burma could not but have been the work of men of ruder built, shorter stature, longer hands with a possible facility of bending in order to enable them to raise these heavy weapons easily from the ground ; and that the brains had already been evolved highly enough to feel the necessity of these things however rough-shaped they might have been. The Nerbudda celt on the other hand is more pointed, more laboriously finished and more capable of being effective than the half-blunt half-sharp specimens from Burma and what is more, more portable. It is quite patent that the "Bhutra boucher" to quote the language of the catalogue of Mr. Coggin-Brown was used to be thrown and carried to some distance if occasion required and cast at the six-toothed or four-toothed Hippopotami of the Nerbudda to provide a hard-earned meal. Lastly Wynne's Godávari agate-chip with its slender shape and sharper edge and clear grasping-place point out a little more advanced man with possibly some æsthetic taste carrying it for protection and fashion's sake as well, to "spear," if we might use this term of these handleless things, the cattle big and wild and the giant elephant of the Godávari forest-tracts. Now the question may arise that are we right in speaking of the antique men whose hands were graced by these most primitive Indian weapons as mere hunters, can all of them be spoken of as hunting weapons? I think that the only use which these could have served was to put an

end to the giant mammalia of zoologically richer times. Mr. Bruce-Foote has plainly pointed out by dwelling on the geographical distribution of the Palæolithic men that these people avoided big forest-tracts. Though it was necessary for their existence and saved them from meeting with the titanic early enemies of man yet the needs of the "Maw" had to be looked after. It was not till Neolithic times that man the hunter became the shepherd and took to taking fruits and agricultural produce. The formidable teeth of the Heildelberg men and the Piltdown races and the gnawed bones of Spy by the Neanderthals show that early man was carnivorous and probably a cannibal. In India also when we would come to the Karnul cave-dwellers we cannot but be led to think that men lived on whatever flesh came handy to them. We can assert that they took it raw though they might have been acquainted with fire as the succeeding cave-dwellers assuredly were. What their possible modes of living were, would be more brought out in the later section where we would pass on to a consideration of the later cave-dwellers about whom much detail is forthcoming.

Note.—Evidence is now forthcoming that Prechellean cultures probably extended from Burma to Ceylon (*vide* Spolia Zeylanica—Octr. 1919) which was then connected with the Indian mainland. I have personally come across same Prechellean scrapers from Chakradharpur in Chota Nagpur.

CHAPTER III

The Chellean, Acheullean and Mousterian Cultures

The Chellean and Acheullean cultures preceded the Mousterian stage in Europe. Many Palæoliths have been recovered from very old beds of shingle or laterite which Mr. Bruce-Foote invariably speaks of as Chelleo-Mousterian from their shape and also circumstantial geological evidences of the finds. Unfortunately little record has come down to us about the exact depth from which most of the artifacts were unearthed and thus considerable doubts have been thrown on the age of most of them. But the technique and shape of the things roughly lead them to be classified as Chellean, Acheullean and Mousterian and when there is no palæontological evidence to the contrary there is little to demur as they are discovered from the older alluvia of early pleistocene times.

A few words must be said about the people of this period before coming to their chipped stones. At the outset it must be pointed out that though, no doubt, the occurrence of suitable rocks played a considerable part in the selection of habitation sites by Palæolithic men, it seems that there were thicker settlements towards the South than in the North and so likewise towards the East than in the West of India. First of all it must be admitted that a distinct progress is discernible from the Burma find to the Godávari chip and the more Southern the find the better the finish. And all indications of the Palæolithic movements of the people are from the North to the South. However that may be, we find the Early and Middle Palæolithic Indians mustered strong in the Cuddapah, Guntur and Nellore districts and the neighbouring tracts of Madras. Now many of the implements have been extracted from undisturbed

laterite beds which prove their great antiquity for these have been formed immediately after pliocene times. Most of the specimens obtained are formed of quartzite. And so Logan is disposed quite rightly to take the quartzite-users as the most ancient prehistoric men of India and speaks thus.[1] "The men of the quartzite and most ancient period appear to have inhabited the coast from Orissa to South Arcot and inland as far as Karnul. From Arcot a Colony detached itself to Tanjore and Madura where quartzose was used in place of quartzite and from Karnul another branch passed across Tungabhadra perhaps leaving out Bellary and colonised the Southern Maratha country."[2] This gets additional corroboration from the fact that in our later study we would find exactly how the advance of people synchronised with advance of their culture. Anyway, it is in the great river-districts of Southern India that the Palæolithic man is traced most often exhibiting various stages of culture. The Southern and evidently late ones belonging no doubt to the Early and Middle Palæolithic period show a progress from rougher careless forms to variegated attractive artifacts and from offhand conchoidal to careful stepped retouchings on which evidently much labour had been bestowed. In point of antiquity and age the Savarmati river find of Bruce-Foote belongs to times just subsequent to the age of the Bhutra boucher. But this and some rare specimens from Bundelkhand and Jaipur betray a Chellean phase of culture. The dirty white quartzite from Indargarh, the quartzite from Bundelkhand (Nos. 167 and 145 of the Indian Museum) and several specimens from Cuddapah can be called the handiwork of the Indian

[1] Old Chipped Stones of India, p. 65.

[2] Use of quartzites in the midst of flint industries has been reported from France and Morocco (*vide L'Anthropologie*, 1914, pp. 43 and 47; *ibid*, 1908, p. 166, 425 sq), so they may be associated with a 'quartzite-using' race.

"Chelleans." There are about 220 specimens of old artifacts from Cuddapah and of them no less than 72 are of such rude make yet unquestionably worked up by man, that there would be little hesitation in calling some of them Chellean and some Mousterian types. The Chellean and Mousterian man in India made Cuddapah the centre of his culture as this district is practically the home of the quartzite formation and thus had the best attractions for the primitive settlers. Any rough and handy form suitable for throwing and cutting a wound if possible was sufficient for these peoples. Sharpness of the edges is met with in some artifacts, which made them quite effective and rude efforts at selections of pieces affording grooves as facilities for holding these tight are discernible. Some sort of chipping, however rude, can always be traced and bespeak probably the work of rude, thick and stout fingers. Cutting woods and piercing animals were also occasionally done with these same artifacts which were not yet developed into distinct types but it is to be doubted whether any digging could be carried on with them.

But undoubtedly, just as in the later age, the settled life or at least for some time the ceasing of large migration told slowly but effectively on the culture of the Palæolithic dwellers of Peninsular India. In the districts now known as Chingleput and Arcot in the neighbouring tracts of Madras and the Southern Mahratta country the early Indians soon developed æsthetic instincts in the choice of colours and progressed in craftsmanship and passed, in one word to the Acheullean stage. From Attrampakkam, Caradepootoor, Manajakaransi, Hire and Chik Mulungi, Puttrer, Amarambeda to mention only a few of the names, a good number and variety of old chipped stones have come to tell us how humanity was flourishing in those portions of Southern India under

conditions highly favourable to primitive life. The proximity of rivers to the rocks highly suitable for the old weapons and implements no doubt was helping man much to be the dreaded hunter of animal life. Probably also in some places lake-dwellings were found highly suitable and Palæolithic lacustrine settlements sprang up. At Hcera and Chik Mulungi about 20 miles above Kaira a large variety of weapons have been found in a lateritic soil which does not belong to the river alluvium but is evidently of old lacustrine origin. So it may be supposed that a large lake-dwelling Palæolithic Colony flourished there.

The step towards progress seems to have been taken by the decided tendency towards a uniform shape often of rough geometrical form and the development of an eye for colour. Chipping, pecking and sharpening are done for the artifacts and the range of use is also extended. In the Indian museum are shown 34 specimens unearthed from Bennihallah nullah 3 miles south of its junction with the Malprabha river; of them ten are of decent elongated oval shape with sharp edge,—a few of these are well truncated and one has a curious projection on one side. The colours are often reddish or pinkish than grey. They formed the earliest hand-axes (*coup-de-poings*) held often with both hands and driven straight into the body of the enemy. The rest though superficially of the same thick coarse build can be differentiated into various kinds. The edges are always sharp crescentic or oblique or wedge-shaped, the sides are sometimes parallel or constricted, often thick and flat. They are mostly pebble-butted and are made of striking striped red or mottled grey or white-banded coloured specimens of quartzite.

But the Indian Acheulleans and Mousterians mustered stronger and went another step forward in their settlements

by the Attrampakkam stream in the Trivelloro taluk, Chingleput district.* More than 90 specimens (Nos. 572-670) from that place are now in the Indian Museum. Wedges, axes, cleavers, knives, scrapers, digging, casting and piercing implements mostly of variegated hues and well chipped and flaked surfaces yet on the whole maintaining the rude build of the early Palæolithic phase and justifying the designation of Acheullean when applied to them. The shapes show an agreeable variety. Discoids with convex faces, ovoids, beautifully triangular pieces, pointed ovals, pear-shaped ones, roundish ones and thinly rectangular ones meet our eyes not infrequently. Here again the fascination for gaudy colours and pebbly butts are more than evident. A noteworthy fact is that the weapons for hunting such as slingstones, piercers, etc., are of more subdued greyish colour than the home-implements for digging or chopping which are often banded and streaked and of reddish hues. So however rude and primitive the Attrampakkam people might appear to the moderns, their artisans and hunters knew their works of attraction when "woman was the game" and paid a good deal of attention to the stony things that had to grace their hands often.

* (A late Palæolithic phase is also discernible in the finds from the recent alluvia of the places)

CHAPTER IV

The Karnul Cave-dwellers

It is well known that the Billa Surgam caves of Karnul afford us sure proof of very early Palæolithic cave-dwellers in India and though eminent authorities would characterise some of their artifacts, as Magdalenian still there is no reason why the cave can be told to have begun to have been inhabited from earlier times. Though these were discovered and partly explored in 1844 by Captain Newbold they were forgotten till more than forty years afterwards their systematic exploration was undertaken, at the suggestion of Huxley, by the Madras Government. There can now be little doubt that Karnul was one of the most ancient settlements of the cave-dwellers as many caves were found near Billa Surgam or within a few miles of it containing distinct traces of human habitation. The bones of many animals were found in the Billa Surgam caves, which have been extinct in India long since. While Billa Surgam is in the neighbourhood of Bengampalli, a few miles N. N. W. of it is the Yerrazari cave and S. W. by South of that very place is another, while there are no less than 3 caves at the Yegunta pagoda immediately north of Yerrazari and another cave near the South of Billa Surgam.[1] Of these details are forthcoming about the Billa Surgam cave alone. There also though 2,000 bones were found the exact place and depth in which each was found has not been recorded. Though no continuous trace of human habitation could be found little doubt exists as to the fact that even up to Neolithic times the cave was resorted to by men, for at a

[1] See Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVII, p. 33.

low depth of 2 to 3 ft. broken pottery of very antique pattern was found.[1] But the floor of the cave which was found level for a distance of 160 ft. could be reached only after excavation of 27 ft. at one place or even of 33 ft. at another showing the old age of the caves. At the depth of 11 to 12 ft. was found an old fireplace with many fragments of charcoal and some of which looked like cowdung ashballs. This clearly brings out that men acquainted with fire and what more with the art of keeping it ablaze by some animal products or otherwise lived in very early age in the cave. Many bone implements have been found in these caves which have been called Magdalenian. But a consideration of the extinct fauna would lead to its dating to Mid-Palæolithic times when cave-dwelling began in Europe. It is well-known that India also suffered from the rigours of a glacial period and also of pluvial periods. These drove the people no doubt into the caves. A mysterious change of climatic conditions or some upheaval was affecting the conditions of life at that time in India. Though the human bones that were found have been lost sight of, the testimony of the other animals will throw much light on it. This Lydekker after enumerating carefully all the mammalia found in the Karnul caves goes on to point out,[2] thus:—"The most remarkable feature in the list is the occurrence among a number of existing Indian species, of a Cynocephalus, of *Hyena crocuta*, of a small Equus indistinguishable from *Equus asinus* and of a Manis apparently identical with the existing West African *Manis gigantea*; while scarcely also less noteworthy is the occurrence of a peculiar species of Rhinoceros and of a Hystrix and a Viverra specifically distinct from the species now living in India as well as

[1] Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVII, p. 33.

[2] Palæontologica Indica, Series X, Vol. IV, Part II, 1886, pp. 26-27.

of the non-Indian genus Atherura. The occurrence of the genus Cynocephalus and of forms identical with African species of Hyena, Equus and Manis is extremely important in supplementing the evidence afforded by the Siwalik fauna as to the probable derivation of many of the existing Ethiopian mammals from those of later tertiaries of India ; and it is interesting to trace the gradual dying out in the latter country of genera and species which are now dominant forms in Africa. There is at present no satisfactory explanation of this total extinction of genera and species (*e.g.*, Hippopotamus, Giraffa, etc.) which appear equally as well suited to exist there at the present day as those which remain." It has already been seen that these changes were taking place in times just succeeding the pliocene epoch. Though it continued for a long expanse of time after it, it cannot be brought down later than middle Pleistocene times. Of course this epoch in India may or may not synchronise with the same age in Europe but it must be admitted that the same hard climatic conditions were driving the men of Europe as well as of India to the caves. Unfortunately no stone-implements except perhaps one were discovered in the Billa Surgam cave which could have afforded us more chance of identifying this culture with the European phase. The bone-implements which have been dug out occur only at the depth of 15 or 16 ft. while the floor is reached after 26 or 30 ft. On the other hand definite proofs exist of the use of stone. Thus in the Cathedral cave of Billa Surgam 'two or three bones were found showing distinct traces of having been scraped with a hard and sharp implement the marks being such as wood be made by sharp stone flake.'

The Billa Surgam caves are situated on the Yerrakonda hills and are three in number and known as the Cathedral, Chornel house and Purgatory caves. A

passage to which the name of the 'Corridor' was given, was found to lead at a distance of 55 ft. to another passage running East and West which formed a domed chamber which was so beautiful at its Eastern extremity that it was called the 'Fairy Chamber.' "All have the appearance of considerable antiquity being above the present drainage levels and full of stalagmite in enormous masses." It has already been pointed out that man did not inhabit the cave continuously. But the existence of the deep floor and extinct fauna, the bone implements at a great depth as well as of pottery at a smaller depth shows that the cave was resorted to by men from very early times to Neolithic days. Now a curious fact is that the cave was associated with religious rites or it was resorted to by a race who were hunters of scalps not only of men but of all animals as well, for it is remarkable how not a single skull was discovered in the midst of the heap of bones. With the exception of two or three tolerably perfect skulls of bats which lived in the cave, no entire crania or large fragments of crania were found. The dwellers of these prehistoric caves were mighty hunters. At least 200 bone weapons or implements were found there. They include all manner of primitive instruments required to destroy the wild denizens of the forest and to cut them up for food. Awls, many kinds of arrowheads, small daggers, scrapers, chisels, gouge, wedges, axe-heads, etc., form part of the various kinds of things which bear definite traces of being worked up by man. The flesh probably was selected from any animal that came ready to hand and might have been smoked before being taken as the presence of the cinder plainly brings out the existence of fire. There can be little doubt that the majority of the animals whose bones have been found formed the diet of these

primitive inhabitants. The gazelle, the antelope, the bovine species, the rhinoceros, the manis supplied quite a heavy meal though it must have been but few and far between. The lion, the leopard, the tiger, the hyæna, the bear, the big monkeys were creatures with whom they had to deal in the course of their forest excursions and they went to bulge their game bag These primitive dwellers did not lack any muscular strength at all as some of their bone weapons clearly show. We read how 'the dagger (as found in the cave) is made of the calcaneum proper of some large animals. The calcaneum proper is the handle and the narrow head of the implement is cut out of the united fibula and tibia. It would be a formidable weapon in the hand of a strong man.'[1] The presence of their cinder and a clear evidence about the spasmodic nature of the habitation of the cave dwellers raise interesting probelms. Was the Billa Surgam cave connected with some religious rite, and some of the antique cults were enshrined in a cave temple which played such a prominent part in later India? Then the long list of scalpless animals and possibly the smashed human bone carry but the tale of the numerous victims to some pristine demoniac deity. When we remember that some form of worship always exists among the lowest savages there should not be much hesitation in allowing such an early Palæolithic man some form of animistic worship. What is more probable is that the cave was used as an occasional retreat and deserted after the death of somebody there. Here Indian Ethnography would be of some help. We know how the Veddas represent one of the most primitive stocks of mankind near India. Allowing for the lapse of such a vast time and also some essential modification which climatic changes and intercourse

[1] Records, Geological Survey of India, Vol XVII, Part IV, p. 201.

[2] Logan "Old Chipped Stones of India," p. 37.

with higher cultures have brought about in the lives of the modern 'Forest Veddas' we might imagine the mode of living very well in the Palæolithic caves. Mr. and Mrs. Seligman thus writes of them:—[1] "The Forest-Vedda forms a home two or three times a year, as the season demands. Thus in the dry hot months when brooks and ponds dry up, the game collects in the low forests around the half dried river-beds. He then settles with his family in a place close to water. The rain sets in, however, and the iguanas, deer, pigs, etc., are scattered over the country; the elks then seek rocky hills and are followed by the Vaedda. Here if possible, a cave is chosen for the term." [2] Now here don't we get a very plausible explanation of the mode in which the caves like Billa Surgam were resorted to by the primitive Palæolithic men of India as Duckworth surmises the same of Europe. In Europe the rigours of the climate compelled the cave-dwellers probably to spend most of the year indoors but the conditions in India were much milder. Then again it is from these Veddas that we can suggest a cause of the desertion of the caves for a long time. "Amongst the Veddas [1] when a man or woman dies from sickness, the body is left in the cave or rock-shelter in which death took place. The body is not washed or purified but covered with leaves and left as it is. This was formerly the universal custom. And as soon as these matters are attended to, the small community leaves the place or cave in which the death has occurred and avoids it for a very long time." Now we find how very likely it was that these cave-dwellers of the Palæolithic age had similar notions and the fear of being pelted by demons (or Yakkas as in the case of the modern Veddas) drove

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[1] The Veddas, pp. 81 to 82.

[2] Records, Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVIII, p. 234

them to other contiguous caves whence they returned again after they had forgotten the incident which led to their desertion or hard necessity compelled them again to seek their previous shelter.

[1] The Veddas, pp. 81-82.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 122.

CHAPTER V

The Last Palæolithic Phase

Though Bruce Foote strongly asserts that there was a hiatus between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages, the student of the progress of culture and technological evolution would be very loath to concede it, since a steady approximation to Neolithic types is discernible in the artifacts, already unearthed. He says that the hiatus theory has met with the approval of many of the most experienced and leading prehistoric archæologists of Europe. "It appears to me that the real existence of a similar gap is strongly supported by the geological features seen in the right bank of the Sabarmati."[1] It might be that the banks of the Sabarmati had been deserted for long ages after Palæolithic dwellers settled there and then a Neolithic colony sprung up at the same place much later but that does not argue a general hiatus all over India between the two ages. In fact we find in the case of the Narnaveram river finds of the Chingleput district that Palæolithic implements of quartzite were chiselled out of laterite and on the very same bed stood many "Kurumbar rings" or circular enclosures of large rough blocks of laterite. This is a clear proof that in India as in Europe in many places the Neolithic Age overlapped the earlier one. In fact, some of the Palæolithic types resemble Neoliths so much that even the guide to the Stone Age issued by the British Museum was led into the error of classing them with "Neoliths."

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[1] *Vide* p. 15. The Foote Collection of Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities (1916).

As a rule, it might be stated that the uniformly slender types of small delicate pieces of those made of trap or Vindhyan sandstone belong to later ages than those we have already spoken of. Besides the oblique-edged and pointed oval axe-types now appear the square-edged regular-shaped forms with occasional belting or grooving to provide for facilities of "hafting." Narrower types of spears also begin to appear while scrapers, cores, hammer-stones and even strike-a-lights become common. There are about 20 specimens in the Indian Museum from Bundelkhund (Nos. 119 and 124-144) which one is tempted to call Neolithic with Mr. Coggin-Brown, but where the lack of polish and finish is too evident not to assign them to the just preceding Palæolithic Age. The trap flakes, chipped and pecked, beautiful crescentic scrapers, the pointed tapering pieces reveal that men are gradually coming to learn the art of rough grinding which when added to smoothening and polishing wood usher in the next age. Besides, quartzite has now given place to trap and chert, as in the case of the Central Indian specimens and two yellow Palæoliths from Trichinopoly, and these are more artistically workable.—Banda, the Vindhyan regions and the places in India yielding pygmies, have now been recognised by Sollas and others to be the centres of Azilo-Tardenoisian industries.

Though,[1] as yet not many Palæolithic cave-paintings or engravings on old stones and bones have been found, Bruce-Foote has rightly pointed out:—"That the Indian peoples of Palæolithic times did occasionally make drawings and engravings on bones for special purposes seem, however, more than probable because implements suitable for the preparations of such drawings have been found, notably the chert 'burin' from Jabbalpore resembling one

[1] P. 15. The Foote Collection of Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities.

from Les Eyzies." Palæolithic cave-paintings would probably be recognised in Mr. Anderson's Singanpur discovery reported in J. B. O. R. S. 1918 and Mr. Cockburn's finds described in J. R. A. S. 1899 and J. A. S. B. 1875 while the Edakal cave paintings and etchings on Bellary rocks are probably Neolithic.

It is at this stage that the rise of the two shapes peculiar to India can be noticed—they are the oblong choppers and those of triangular shapes. We would find later on, how these types persisted to later historic times in India and they themselves were evolved from ruder earlier forms. It is rather curious how all these later transitional forms occur mostly across the Nerbudda in the Northern parts of India or in the upper portion of Central India while they shade off into earlier types the more South we proceed. All the artifacts are losing in weight and gaining in shape, size and colour. In the earlier period the artifacts clearly reveal in India a total lack of the grasp of principles of fastening to a handle, while in the later Palæolithic and Neolithic period the majority of the weapons and implements are seen to be meant for effective use by hafting. This idea was being comprehended in India through the long lapse of ages after the middle Palæolithic period of the cave-dwellers.

CHAPTER VI

The Bellary Neolithic Settlement*

The men of the Old Stone Age have been seen to evince a preference for the tract of India from the Kistna to the Palar river but the Neolithic cultures spread far into the north. Neoliths are reported in large numbers from the Salem, Madura and Bellary districts and the last was undoubtedly the centre of Neolithic as Cuddapah was of the Early and Mid-Palæolithic culture. In 1872 the discovery of the North Hill and the Kapgallu Neolithic remains by Fraser brought out the existence of the most extensive polished stone culture in that part of the Bellary district. All sorts of Neolithic weapons and implements were found in abundance. Only from Kapgallu alone 180 celts were recovered. The north-east slope of the hill was apparently a Neolithic factory-site and the largest manufacturing industry of polished stones in India flourished there. The diorite trap dykes which traverse the hill furnished the workers with an inexhaustible supply of excellent material of two sorts, the coarse black diorite and a fine-grained pale greenish-gray to a drab type which occurred in lenticular masses. In a rock-surface just on the edge of the south-east terrace was found five or six well-polished grooves. They were 7 to 8 inches long and 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, apparently worn by grinding the celts to a sharp edge. All these grooves lay parallel to each other within an area of less than 20 inches square.

* Neolithic India shows us 3 phases. (1) from Murpha comes the earliest 'Robenhausian' stage of India; (2) the Bellary is an instance of a long-enduring mid-Neolithic phase passing straight off into the Early Iron Age; (3) Chhota Nagpur and Assam with their highly polished and shouldered celts bespeak of chalcolithic times when copper, bronze or iron was being used side by side with neoliths which were becoming symbolic objects of veneration.

No less than 77 prehistoric sites were discovered near that place and in the outlying tracts and there is no doubt that a large and extensive civilisation flourished there. The people, though they still adhered to the primitive forms of life offered stubborn resistance to invading races from the North with higher cultures. The cinder mounds in the contiguous districts retain unmistakable traces of big encampments and huge conflagrations and that there was most probably a tussle between some bringer of Vedic culture with the aboriginal tribes flourishing with their older type of civilisation. Thus on the road from Bellary to Dharwar rocks a remarkable mound consisting of slaggy cinders full 50 ft. high and 400 ft. in circumference is met with and local tradition assigns it to the cremation of a Rákshasa *Hiṛimbá* by name who was killed by Bhima, one of the five Pándavas of the Mahábhárata epic. From the Rámáyaṇa we find that Ráma had a tussle here with the "monkey"-king (?) Báli and allied himself with his brother Sugríva and the description plainly indicates the existence of an organised state of a primitive numerous tribe dwelling in rocks and forests in Kiskindhyá (the modern Bellary district). *Válmíki*, indeed, writing in much later times, could not quite seize the import of the old legends that he was utilising and also could not distinctly differentiate between the different stages of culture. As it is, a cursory glance over the particular part of the *Rámáyaṇa* would convince one that a numerous band of forest-dwelling tribes abiding in arboreal and rocky recesses and yet hunting the wild deer and tigers and possessing rock-fortresses are but meant (*vide Rámáyaṇa, Kishkindhyá Kaṇḍa*, Canto II, Slokas 10-11). The caves covered at the mouth by trees and plants and by turf (?) served as forts (*ibid*, Sloka 19) and undoubtedly they were of the Neolithic type. The better weapons like bows and arrows excited wonder in them (*ibid*, Canto XII,

Sloka 5). The fight between Báli and Sugríva is carried on by blows, fisticuffs, wooden weapons as well as by stone weapons (*ibid*, Canto XII, Sloka 18). In the Mahábhárata, Vanaparvva, Chapter 281, we read of the fight being carried on by weapons of *Sál* and *Tál* wood as well as of stone. And it has been already pointed out by many that the so-called monkeys were not actual tailed arboreal animals.[1] "The monkeys in Ramayana might have been a very low class primitive Southern tribe. The tail probably referred to a peculiarity in the mode of dressing of the lower class people in Southern India (which can still be seen occasionally) which appeared like tails. The panels on the Sanchi tope representing the primitive tribes bring it fully home to us." Bruce Foote foregetting that Válmíki writing in historic times was liable to make errors of anachronism states that the tussle occurred in later times. But sufficient has been shewn to make us surmise that this Neolithic settlement was synchronous with or perhaps a little earlier to the legendary time of Ráma's Southern expedition.

Leaving aside these doubtful but highly interesting speculations and only pointing out how prehistory can come to the rescue of Indian history by bringing as in this case, independent evidence as to the date of Ráma's expedition (not *Valmíki's* composition) we pass on to considerations more proper to our review. These old Neolithic peoples of the Bellary district can be traced at their work of celt-making. The successive series of celts in various stages of preparation tell an eloquent tale. A piece of dioritic trap was first selected and chipped into form roughly. Then it was pecked, *i.e.*, the different angularities due to chippings were broken down. Then came the third stage in which the implement was ground and all roughness was smoothed down.

[1] *Vide* Somerset Playne, Southern India, p. 58.

Lastly the things were polished and made fit for hafting. Celts of various types were used, some were of basalt with narrow shape and straight sides some were pecked and the ridges between the chipping faces were broken down, some were of thick battle-axe type, some were adze-like in shape, but all were in different stages of polishing and thoroughly effective.

No longer mere hunters but partly agriculturists the Neolithic peoples show abundant varieties of mealing stones, corncrushers, pounding stones. In fact, the people were more vegetarians than carnivorous like the preceding men of the Old Stone Age as the peaceful implements far outweigh in number the weapons for war. The fascination for colour is more than evident especially in the articles for domestic use. The small tools were made of beautiful chert, agate, chalcedony, bloodstone, Indian stone and rock-crystal. Knives, saws, drills and lancets were made from the flakes struck off for them and went to make up the comforts of their economic household. The numerous fine rock-shelters have already been commented upon. Thatched primitive houses were also not infrequent as the presence of the straw in the cinder-mounds clearly prove. But the inhabited parts of the old settlement were mostly the citadel on the hills and on the little shallow sloping valleys.

That this Neolithic settlement was acquainted with iron-making industry need not be doubted as some small pottery (*tuyére*) suitable for protection against direct flame action of the nozzle of a small bellows was found in the Neolithic strata.

Before passing on to the next section, some mention should be made of the cinder-camps which form the standing puzzle of this place and which as we have already suggested might but mark the invasion by peoples of higher culture from the north of these tracts of Neolithic

culture. Bruce Foote has once for all established the connection of these cinder-heaps with the Neolithic Age and differentiated them into cinder-camps and cinder-mounds. To the former class belong the two camps at Kupgal, one at Halakandi (S.-W. of Bellary), one at Gadigunurer (23 miles West by North of Bellary), the fifth at Sonadaspur (16 miles North of Bellary) and the last at Lingadhalli (129 miles N.-E. of Bellary). Of the latter class are those at Budiknama, Nimbapur, Kanchangar, Belagulla, at Sugura, at Kurikoppe and at Suridamna Konda.

CHAPTER VII

The Other Neolithic Indians

It would be an injustice to Neolithic India if the other parts from which the polished stones are abundantly forthcoming, are not brought in for due considerations. To Burma specially some remarks are due as a few new individual types come from that part alone. It has already been remarked that the Neolithic settlements are more abundant in Northern India or rather the parts immediately North of the Deccan namely the Central Provinces, and still higher up, the United Provinces. Of course Bengal and Assam on the one side and the Indus valley on the other also yield their Neolithic celts, chisels, etc. The involuntary suggestion cannot be kept back that as it were the Palæolithic passed into the Neolithic stage in Southern India which became in time the emanating centre of the later Neolithic culture over other parts of India, and, who knows, probably over a large tract of the old world. The question of this distribution of some Late Stone Age culture from some central point has been the bone of contention of prehistoric archæologists for a long time and as, so to speak, a particular phase of this has received ampler treatment in the next chapter we pass by it for the present.

Theobald's paper in the *Memoir of the Geological Survey of India*[1] can still be read with interest and as it deals with the Burma Neoliths and their speciality it is given here, "Were there, however, any object so hardy as to argue that such similarity of monuments both industrial, funeral and religious, was merely the result of fortuitous similarity of conditionally it would

[1] Vol. X, p. 160.

seem as though a conclusive answer to such a supposition was provided in anticipation in British Burma. It seems difficult to imagine what differing conditions could have obtained during the savage infancy of our race in Burma, greater than what existed between India and Europe; yet directly we cross from India, properly so called, to the countries lying to the eastward of the Bay of Bengal, we find stone implements not less abundant than elsewhere, but of an entirely different type. We no longer find the familiar Indo-European type either Palæolithic or Neolithic, but one seemingly autochthonous to the Malayan countries, and both in size, shape, and design displaying considerable divergence from any of the ordinary types of weapons found elsewhere."

The main points of divergence are, 1st, the frequency of forms possessing "shoulders" a peculiarity quite confined to articles from the Burmese or Malayan area; 2nd, the cutting edge being usually formed by grinding down on one side, as chisel and not an axe; 3rd, the general small size and seeming inefficiency for any rough purpose, though it must be remarked that very small and well fashioned weapons are also found in India."

Shouldered or spade-celts have since been discovered in the highlands of Bengal and Assam. These with some grooved hammers and axes have been found in Assam and rarely occur in Eastern Asia. Mr. H. C. Das Gupta who wrote in the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,[1] connected them with the Khasia hill tribes who are still in the practice of raising megalithic monuments:—

"The occurrence of these two implements of the Burmese type, in areas through which the wave of Khasia immigration very likely passed, before the race found its present hilly home, is of extreme interest and is quite in conformity with the view so long held regarding a

[1] Vol. IX (1913), p. 292

relationship between the Khasias of Assam and some of the older tribes of Burma, which has been based chiefly on linguistic grounds."

Whether these had anything to do with the Khasias or whether the Khasias are the only surviving remnants of the Neolithic race passing out of India and evolving a high stone culture is more than can be answered at the present juncture. But what is highly interesting is that if a progress is admitted in a Northerly route from the Deccan, distinct advancement is discernible in the North-East as well as the North-West of India. Perhaps the most finished specimen of Neolithic celts and cores come from the Indus valley which with their flawlessness remind us of the great height the New Stone Age culture of the Toltec, Maya, Nahua and Aztecs of America attained to. Mr. Blandford in the course of his long notice of them in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal [1] while calling attention to the high finish, the ground bottom and the late age of these was led away to suppose the existence of a new race with a higher civilization whereas their preceding types can be traced through long ages in India and there is nothing to argue against their gradual evolution in India.

In Northern India, the cores are more common than other types. They are most often of agate or chert and with their translucent pinkish, white and orange, milkish white banded and other variegated hues form very pleasing objects to the eye. These with flakes often of very small size, hammerstone, smoothed sandstone, polishing stone and ringstone were much in request amongst the Northern Neolithic dwellers. An article of which primitive Indians from late Palæolithic times seemed to

[1] 1875, pp. 135-6

have been very fond, was "Reddle." It was no doubt used for pigmentation and stones for its preparation as well as pieces of red earthy hematite have been discovered in Neolithic sites. Wood was undoubtedly very largely used along with stones but being less durable has not come down to us. Fortunately a piece of fossil wood beautifully polished and flattened on one side has been recovered from the Sitakoond range in Chittagong. But the most interesting wooden find though perhaps of a later prehistoric age is the wooden toothcomb perfectly preserved and found at Guntakul Junction by Mr. Cardew.

The Neolithic peoples had already begun the use of crude pottery which they developed considerably in the Later Iron Age. They were agriculturists and most probably used clothes as certainly they did in the later age. Crude art had been begun probably in earlier days but as yet we are acquainted only with a solitary Neolithic specimen from the Bellary district. There on the face of a cliff was found a number of graffiti consisting of rough sketches of human beings in groups and singly, and many figures of birds and beasts. They are rather crude and appear like rock bruisings and some of the figures are obscene.

CHAPTER VIII

The Copper and Bronze Cultures*

An Indian Bronze Age is still a thing to be proved, for bronze occurs but rarely in prehistoric sites and figures there more often as costly ornaments than articles of daily use. In the case of Europe, in Homeric and pre-Homeric Greece and all through the North bronze has been found at a certain stage to be an article in common use and swords and celts were mostly made of bronze. The great Minoan culture was essentially a Bronze Age culture and pottery of the highest artistic kind, palaces of great ingenuity have gone hand in hand with it. It is rather curious that the south of India where thousands of megalithic structures of late Neolithic days and early Iron Age are still standing, yield pottery and iron implements of the type of prehistoric Bronzes yet give out but some occasional Bronze articles meant to be gaudy furnitures or costly ornaments. Is it possible that a great Bronze Age in Southern India is hidden under the so-called Hindu temples and cave temples of archaic type? The worship which is still accorded to the Neolithic artifacts by superstitious people has been widely commented upon. The appropriation of Buddhist images and Buddhist temples to a later Hindu pantheon through various parts of India is now being conclusively proved as in the case of Juggernath of Puri. Is it a mere accident that bronzes at times showing the *acmé* of art are so common in the temples of Southern India specially when figuring such un-Hindu or pre-Hindu deities as *Nátesa* who are of course now passed off as manifestations of Siva? A systematic research into the origins of

* Vincent Smith's paper in Indian Antiquary, 1905, and a supplementary one in 1906 contain almost all the available data on the subject.

Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism can only help to answer this question. Till then Prehistoric Archæology must wait and only point out the possibilities of a Bronze Age.

But however hazy may be the outlook for the age when this alloy of copper was in extensive use, the use of copper itself in primitive form has been demonstrated to flourish in India from the various discoveries from several places of Northern India. Southern India is now held to have passed through no Copper Age even and the Iron Age succeeded there to the Polished Stone Age. Copper Age antiquities have been forthcoming from Rajpur, Mathura, Mainpuri, Niarai, Bithur, Allahabad, Behar, Hazaribagh, Karachi and Beluchistan, while the most important discovery of instruments of copper in the old world has come from Gungeria in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces.

A remarkable feature of the copper finds is that most of them are weapons and of heavier build though perhaps not with sharper edges than the Iron Age artifacts of Southern India. Nothing more can be said of the people who used them on account of the absence of other associated articles. The manner in which most of them had been found, at least the Gungeria articles, would seem to indicate that they had been *caché*, hidden as hordes. And the low depths from which most had been recovered combined with the primitive shape clearly point out that these had been found out and collected at later age and cherished as a treasure with superstitious veneration. The Neoliths from Bhita recovered from the house of Nāgadeva of Kushāna date might not have been used for religious purposes or due to invading tribes as Sir John Marshall suggested but merely collected by later peoples and looked upon with veneration by them as the Yunnanese Chinese regard still Neolithic stone implements as of celestial origin. Many objects of Hindu

worship and veneration are still but Neoliths which are gathered under some tree and receive homage as rude phallus. In the case of metallic finds, popular Bengali superstition attributes them to *Yak* and speaks of them as *Yaker dhan*, the treasure of Yaka, which is obviously a variant of the Veddah *Yakku* often standing for spirits of departed souls (as the *Náe Yákku*). The men think that some calamity would visit them if they reveal the secret places or utilise the treasure and this clearly explains why the Hazaribagh finder did not point out the place of discovery of the copper celts and metal plates.

Coming now to the artifacts themselves we find the celt to be conspicuous by its variety. First of all the celts are generally of broad, flat, battle-axe type. In fact the flat celt with a convex cutting border of the axe type was common at one time in Southern Babylonia. Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Hungary, France and Italy. A much larger type and more expanded across the cutting edge which is highly convex but blunt has also been found from Gungeria and resembles strongly some Irish Bronze celts. A distinctly 'shouldered' celt in the form of a battle axe with a rounded cutting edge has also been recovered from the Midnapore district. Swords of various primitive types but betraying Indian individuality have been found from the district of Furruckabad. Leaf-shaped swords not contracted towards the hilt but having two projections on two sides a little below the top, formed picturesque but effective weapons of the day. Some swords had long tapering blades one side of which was rounded off into the handle. Some others were dagger-shaped and some were meant for piercing and cutting. Spear-heads of copper were also not unknown.

Vincent Smith rightly draws attention to the remarkable copper harpoons peculiar to India, which I think

was a development of a very widespread Magdalinian and Azilian harpoon industry in the Old World.

Some sort of money like the ring money of the Northern antiquaries were evidently used as the six rings, of which three were linked together, found from Mainipuri had been thought to be such by Dr. Oldham.

The Gungeria silver discs and peculiar silver three-coned pieces have given rise to much discussion and their connection with religious rites has been more than once commented upon. I would like to refer to the figure on page 73 of "The Cave Temples of India" by Fergusson and Burgess and to plates VII and XI of Vincent Smith's "The Jaina Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura" and point out that both the forms occur conspicuously as prominent Jaina emblems.

Primitive bronze are now forthcoming from various places in Chhota Nagpur mainly by the efforts of Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray.

CHAPTER IX

The Iron Age Peoples

Iron* was known to the Vedic Hindus from the very earliest times. In the Rigveda there are numerous references to weapons made of iron (*vide* I. 326; II. 156; II. 326; IV. 250, etc.). And the people whose monuments have been discovered in Southern India where abundant traces of the uses of iron are forthcoming were surely not Hindus and most probably the pre-Hindus of the Deccan as their funeral rites plainly prove. Some pre-historic chronology may be attempted by tracing the use of iron and of another important element of the so-called Aryan civilization, the horse.[1] For the latter also was well-known to the early Iron Age people of the Deccan as the rider figures of bearded people amongst the pre-historic pottery are very frequent. It may indeed be argued that the use of the horse by these pre-Hindus of the South was subsequent to their being influenced by the Northern "Aryans." If so why then should they have continued in their peculiar funeral rites and went on building the megalithic structures as before? It is well known that megaliths have long since ceased to be reared up in Hindu India as in mediæval and modern Europe. The important exception of the Khasias in Assam who still continue this curious practice,

* The question turns on the interpretation of 'Ayas' which has been taken to mean copper in consideration to Greek *Aes*, Gothic *Aiz*. But black 'Ayas' is also found described in late Vedic literature. I suggest that this was the sematological change consequent on the Aryans coming in contact with "wootz" steel manufactured by pre-Aryans from time immemorial.

[1] *Note.* The ideogram of the horse in Babylon signifies 'the ass of the mountain in the east' and its name is "Susu." The Babylonians could not have learnt its use from the Aryans who were not inhabiting mountain-tracts but living in steppes or plains at this stage.

proves our contention as they are still beyond the pale of Hindu influence. Besides it is well-known that in Babylon the horse was known as the "Ass of the East" and the dwarfish horses of the pottery figurines of Southern India, which by the by was probably descended from the *Equus asinus* of the extinct Narbada fauna, suit that description more than the spirited horses described in the Rigveda (II. 220; IV. 154, etc.). Nothing can be definitely stated but the strong likelihood is that the Iron Age in Southern India was in full swing at least in 1500 to 1600 B.C. and that the knowledge of iron in the Mesopotamia valley spread from the plateaus of the Deccan than *vice versâ*.

In Southern India there is abundant evidence that the Iron Age industries were the outcome of long years of evolution in some particular localities and the settlements also were on the old sites. Already in the Neolithic Age in India specially in the Bellary district the use of iron has been incontestably proved and there is nothing to show that this knowledge of the most useful of the metals was not the outgrowth of peculiar local facilities in Southern India. Iron Age sites have been discovered from many parts of Southern India from Nagpur southwards. The Pálni Hills seem to have been a favourite haunt of these later peoples as Bellary and Cuddapah had been of much earlier ones. From Mysore and Hyderabad have been reported many Iron Age pottery-bearing sites, but those at Adittánnallur and Perumbair have been made famous by the great labours of Mr. Reá. The last have been amply described in the Archæological Survey Reports of India for 1902-03 and 1908-09 and Mr. Reá's Catalogue. There we learn that prehistoric burial sites are very numerous in the gravelly mounds or low hills of the Tinnevelly district. In the neighbourhood of all sepulchral sites generally towards

the North have been traced invariably marks of ancient habitation.

From the finds in the burial sites we can say that they were agriculturists and used rice and millets. They wore clothes and knew the art of weaving not quite rudely. They used gold and also bronze as personal ornaments and were specially fond of gold diadems for the head. They probably domesticated the buffalo, goat and sheep. Elephant and horse formed their riding animals. They hunted tiger, the leopard and the antelope and used iron swords and daggers with wooden handles and spears, javelins, lances, hatchets, spades, etc., all made of iron. They were artists in their own way and executed not very crude specimens of bronze or clay figurines of animals and men. They were fond of wire bangles, ear ornaments and bronze diadems and necklaces of stone and cornelian beads. The men wore their beards in a thick bushy fashion which hung a few inches below their chin in an oval or square shape. The women were fond of dressing their hair elaborately, though rather in a lewd fashion in separate locks hanging over the shoulders reminding us very strongly of the pre-Homeric Aeginetans as they figure in the Sculptures of Hagia Triada in Crete. But probably the most interesting aspect of their life is connected with their rituals for the dead, which is the raising of works of rough stones over the dead who were buried in urns. First of all, though there is no doubt that the raisers of the megalithic monuments were Iron Age people, it is very likely that in that age two or three races lived in the Deccan. Near the prehistoric site at Adittanallur has been found an extensive area of ashes which leads to the likely conjecture that cremation was practised side by side with urn-burial. Referring to old Tamil literature which is generally assigned to later times and may bear interpolations of a

late date but which no doubt records legends and usages of Pre-"Aryan" Deccan we get into an idea of funeral rites of these days. The Manimekhalai,[1] which belongs to the class of European composition like Chanson de Roland or Niebelungen Lied and is a valuable mine of information about Pre-Brahmanic days, records that there were in those days five methods of the disposal of the dead, namely, by (1) cremation, (2) exposure in an open place to be eaten by jackals and vultures, (3) burial, (4) stuffing the corpse in natural pits, and (5) covering it with big earthen jars. Already the existence of cinder mounds in the Neolithic Bellary tracts has led naturally to conjectures about cremation being known even in those days in the Deccan. Now people as a whole are very conservative especially where funeral rites are concerned. Thus in the Iron Age in Southern India at least two races, one a cremating one in smaller number and the second practising urn-burial and raising megalithic monuments over them. But what should have been recognised long ago, is that amongst those practising burial in urns there must have been again two distinct races who later, of course as in all cases, became merged into two different sections of one community. The one used mostly pyriform vessels in which the dead body was placed in the contracted position with the knees bent at the elbow and the hands placed close to the face or in an embryonic pose as the megalith students say. The other used burial at full length in rectangular cists as the Etruscans did.

However that be, that these archaic peoples were numerous, widely spread and quite in a moderately high grade of civilisation is abundantly proved by the number of megalithic structures and the variety and beauty of the finds in the Deccan. T. Eric Peet in his admirable

[1] *Vide*. Aiyangar, Tamil Studies p 30

monograph on the *Rough Stone Monuments* (1912)[1] thus draws attention to them: "The Central and Southern parts of India afford numerous examples of dolmens. They are to be found in almost all parts of Lower India from the Nerbudda River to Cape Comorin. In the Collectorate of Bellary dolmens and other monuments to the number of 2,129 have been recorded. These latter appear to be of two types, either with three supports only or with four supports, one of which is pierced with a circular hole. The Deccan, in addition to its numerous dolmens possesses also megalithic monuments of another type. They consist each of two rows each of thirteen worked stones set as close together as possible in front of which is a row of three stones, each about 4 ft. high, not let into the ground. The planted stones were whitewashed and each was marked with a large spot of red paint with black in the centre."

In the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Southern Circle, Madras*, for 1913-14[2] we find how the Deccan megaliths often described as sculptured cromlechs are but dolmens which are megalithic monuments of unhewn or partly hewn stone set on end or on edge so as to form a small chamber and covered with a single huge capstone or with several stones. These dolmens were sometimes used as hero-shrines later on and then went by the name of "Virakkáls" (hero-stones) or "Mahásati kals" (great sati-stones). In the Coimbatore district certain cairns were opened in 1913 and were found to be of two types, the first representing typical and usual circular cairns and the second (generally near villages) being without the dome-shaped heap of small stones covering the circular space enclosed by the ring of large boulders which is found in the perfect cairn. On

[1] P. 118.

[2] Pp. 36 and 43.

clearing away the mound of small stones above and on digging down into the grave to a depth of about 4 feet one comes across either a large earthenware burial urn or a roughly excavated stone coffin or sarcophagus. The former is generally 4 ft. in height including the lid and about 2½ ft. in diameter at its greatest width. Within these urns are found various kinds of cups, offerings, beads, iron-bits, etc. The dead bodies are found in a crouching posture, sometimes the corpses are cut into minute pieces and mixed with mud and heaped into the urn.

These dolmens and rude stone monuments have been found over a large tract from Sweden to Japan and the remarkable similarities between them have led to the supposition of a single megalithic race, which is admitted by some and denied by others. Some thinkers like Dr. George Wilkes have tried to connect them with the supposed passage of the Indo-Aryan race from the North of Europe to India and thence to the Pacific coast in his "Kultur Bezeihungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europa" and it is curious how even the great savant Dr. Montelius could commit the same mistake in his "Orient und Europa," for even if it had been the work of a single race, that race was emphatically not what goes at present by the name "Aryan." A mystery hangs on these megalith builders who might have been the ancient Egyptians or a set of people spreading a high metallic culture peacefully as W. H. R. Rivers has beautifully propounded in his essay on the Contact of Peoples in the *Essays and Studies presented to Ridgeway.* Three things are clear about them that they had a strong dolichocephalic tendency, that they spread in places accessible by the sea and that they had a strongly un-"Aryan" culture. To say more is hazardous.

CHAPTER X

Prehistoric Pottery and the Marks

Pottery was in use in India since the Neolithic days and a general development can be discerned though perhaps no high stage of art was reached in India as in the Eastern Mediterranean. Two types of pottery have been distinguished by Bruce-Foote, plain and decorated. To the former class belong rough, smooth polished and painted varieties and the latter consists of impressed, moulded or incised kinds. The styles are not distinct enough for us to construct a chronology as has been done so successfully with Minoan pottery or that of Northern Europe.

The colours are red, grey black or brown mostly due to different degrees of burning. Numerous varieties of shapes are forthcoming. From Srinibaspur alone have been recovered lotahs, vessels with spouts, vessels with three or four legs, chatties, melon-shaped bowls, wide-mouthed bowls, vase-shaped bowls, etc. From another Iron-age site of the Mysore State have been found, libation cups, flanged bowls, chatty-formed vessels with wrinkled polished surface ornamented sometimes with broad reeded fillets or rarely with "Swastik"-like figures. An interesting feature concerning these is that in material and in shape the Indian pottery resembled very much the similar finds from various parts of Asia and Europe.[1] Thus as regards the material, mud mixed with stone dust was used for Indian, Egyptian and Ægean vessels. In India the polishing was done by the help of the juice of a plant and the same was the case also in Egypt. The

1 *Vide* passim Kultur Beziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient und Europa by Dr. George Wilkes (1913), pp. 23-54.

round and the common shapes of the vessels in India agree surprisingly with those from Egypt and Eastern Mediterranean. Flask-shaped bowls, spouted vessels, pitcher-shaped ones, footed beakers, cone-shaped vessels of various types, jugs with sloping edges, spherical vases, vessels with pricked, incised or bulging ornaments, star-figured or " M " " V " or " W " figured pottery, all these were common to the various megalithic tracts of Europe, Africa and Asia. Marks on the pottery and on rocks known as cup-markings had been reported since the days of Breeks from India also. But only lately Mr. Yazdani's well thought-out article in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society for 1917 has gone to show that the pottery marks which had so long been thought to be only ownership marks might have been ideograms or prehistoric alphabets. The connection of some forms with some of the alphabets of the Bhattiprolu inscription have been pointed out by the learned reviewer. Since the discovery of the Minoan script and bringing out of the fact that hieratic is as old as the hieroglyphic as well as linear scripts from Gourdan, Lour des and probably Mas d'Azil it should be generally recognised that modern alphabets might have originated in pictographs or ideograms as much as from a notationary lineal type of detached lines and curves. Picture writings may be later developments and not primitive forms as was evidently the case in Pre-Columbian Mexico. If that is conceded from the diagram of " marks " on the Indian pottery we can clearly bring out forms which might have been the ancestors of the hieratic, the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform. Whatever they might have been, that they were very primitive signs cannot be doubted. Thus amongst the linear types (Nos. 80-89 of Mr. Yazdani) we can clearly trace a distinct affinity of some signs of a primitive race from Africa, the Nisbidi for whom such

signs are always connected with youngmen (see Man, 1910, No. 67, p. 113). The Egyptian hieroglyphic 'ra' is strangely found in Nos. 124 to 127. It is but rash to theorise on them at present but they should be taken into account as a possible prehistoric script and not rejected *in toto* as mere ownership marks.

Bissing and Wilke's studies if not Prof. Elliot Smith's bring out one important fact that India was 'not culturally isolated' with Europe and Africa in prehistoric times and it is time that the potteries and marks were systematically studied in this light which alone can provide us with a chronology and clue to late prehistoric phases in India.

CHAPTER XI

Cultural Affinities

Simcox in his *Primitive Civilisations* in the long section on Malabar has given us an interesting study of some customs of the Deccan and those of Egypt and Babylon which goes to show in his own words 'that in Malabar, a number of usages linger akin to the most archaic customs of Egypt and Babylonia'.[1] Avebury in "*The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*' in pages 153 and 175-79 has also drawn attention to several particular Dravidian customs closely similar to some of the customs of the Red Indian tribes. But of more interest to us from the point of view of prehistoric archæology are Dr. Wilke's two remarkable books "*Sudwest Europaische Magalithkultur und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient*" and "*Kultur-Beziehungen zwischen Indien, Orient and Europa*" which in spite of their radical defect of being ridden by a mistaken theory are useful as having collected many facts together. Both of these being inaccessible in English form I had once thought of giving a running summary of them but it was found too big for such a small paper. The connections between the East and West have taxed brains from the learned pages of Heeren's *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse and Trade of the Primeval Nations of Antiquity* (1820) to the superficial flourishes in the lecture of Hermann and Keyserling (*Ueber die innere Beziehung zwischen den Kulturproblem des Orients und des Okzidents*). Bissing's study of *Prähistorische Topfen aus Indien und aus Aegypten* (1911) brings out clearly

[1] Vol. I, p. 354.

besides other things how Egyptian "Glazing" was done by means of some plant juice like the Indian process.

Besides these, we want to point out how very similar to the pre-dynastic Egyptians the Iron-Age Indians were. Somerset Playne's *Review of Southern India*, pages 54-56 describing the life of late prehistoric Indians tally superprisingly with the following description of pre-dynastic Egyptians from Budge (*History of Egypt*, pages 51 and 57).

"Pre-dynastic (Egyptian) women wore necklaces of beads made of carnelian, agate, flint, limestone, etc. Bracelets made of ivory, flint and mother of pearl have been found. Sometimes garments were worn. In day-time most of them wore no clothing of any kind, some wore the undressed skin of animals in such a manner that the tail was seen hanging behind the men's back. The hair of both sexes was short and the beards of the men wore long and pointed but turned up at the points. The faces were regular and oval." So gradually it has come to be recognised that there was some mysterious connection between Egypt, Babylon and India. But the archæological records of historic India cannot aspire to stretch as far as even the latest of the great monuments of those countries. Their connection was with prehistoric or rather Pre-Hindu, Pre-Brahmanic and Pre-Buddhistic India. And what exactly was the case would continue to be mystery so long as some attempts are not made to make a comparative study of that sadly neglected part of Indian history.

CHAPTER XII

Race-Problems of Egypt, Chaldaea and the Deccan

*A Chalcolithic Indo-Erythræan Race**

The problems of Ethnology are not so complex and difficult when dealing with the existing population as when it has to infer therefrom the fascinating task of race-origins. Much more so is the case with India where in the words of Sir Herbert Risley,[1] the greatest authority on Indian Ethnology, "The origins of the types of the people now inhabiting India are hidden in the mist which veils the remote era of Aryan advance into India." But it is the solution of mystery, the lifting of the veil that attracts the student and braces him up in his long tedious years of toil though there is always the danger in leaving the oft-beaten tracks of being led astray by the wildest surmises rather than sober estimates. So far as Southern India is concerned Mr. Ayanger, a Tamil Scholar, tries to state the case so simply as to bar out all controversies when he says, "There were in the Tamil country at least three distinct races, namely, the aborigines, the Dravidian Tamils and the Aryan immigrant."[2] In the very first days of Indian scholarship the controversy raged keenly about the two sections of the Dravidians but even then a preceding aboriginal element was taken for granted.

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* *Note.*—The recent discovery of the Bayana cranium shows the antiquity of the pre-Dravidian Veddaic type which Ruggirri shows to be a dominant strain still in the Indian population. It is this in which Ripley recognises an eastern extension of the Mediterranean Race and Prof. Elliot Smith a Brown Race ; but the term is too vague to indicate a certain chronological contemporaniety as well as similitude in culture of a paramount race round the shores of the Erythraadean sea, many archæological vestiges of which are now forthcoming.

[1] The Peoples of India (1914), p. 47.

[2] Tamil Studies (1914), p. 11.

This view about the origin of existing types in the Deccan is brought out in the *Dictionnaire des Sciences anthropologiques* by Monsieur Mondiere (p. 391):—"Under the article Deccan we have shown that of the other tribes which existed previously and which one takes as the aborigines had mixed with a first stream of invaders coming out of the North-East and composed I believe of the peoples of Thibet. Conquered, these aborigines were subjected to a mixture with the conquering race and out of these unions resulted a mixed population, which one should call with Rousselet, proto-Dravidian and of which the principal types are the Gonds and the Bhils. Still later, another invasion came again, this time by the North-West and belonging to the Ural Altaic (Turanian) race. It is the mixture of these invaders with the first mixed race, which gave rise to the Dravidians so called, which are in consequence a mixture of the second degree." Thus we find the problems rendered as complicate as possible first by presupposing that the existing wild primitive tribes of the Deccan are a result of the intermixture of some aboriginal races with an invading race from the North-East and the existing Dravidians are the result of a second mixture of some of these first mixed tribes with another invading race from the North-West. And now the very existence of an invading race from the North-East has come to be doubted from Ethnological grounds. The objection against this North-Easterly element of the Deccan population has been thus put by Sir Herbert Risley: "It is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions." Now the discovery of the prehistoric skulls in Adichannallur in Tinnevelly has thrown a new light on the whole case as

they bring out the existence of a decidedly prognathous and higher dolichocephalic race in the Deecan as early as Neolithic times. Monsieur Lapicque thus speaks of one of them[3] "J'ai rapporté un specimen des urnes funeraires, avec une collection assez complete du mobilier funeraire. J'ai rapporté aussi un crane en assez bon etat, et parfaitement determinable. Il est hyper-dolichocephale et s'accorde avec la series que le service d'archaeologie de Madras a deja reunié. Je pense que la race d'Adichanallar appartient aix pre-Dravidiennes." The same author recognises a Negroid element in the Deccan and calls it Pre-Dravidian whereas the term should be restricted to brunet dolichocephals. The excellent reviewer, S. Playne, F.R.G.S., who quotes this goes on to observe how some at least of the existing tribes and castes belong to a race of people who for want of better name have been called the Pre-Dravidian race.[4] We have already seen the use to which the word Proto-Dravidian has been put and now the word Pre-Dravidian is also made to stand for the ancient dolichocephalic race there. This pronounced long-headedness takes us to the similar types which we can follow practically from the shores of Indian ocean to the furthest extremity of the Mediterranean. Thus talking of the races of Asia Minor, Ripley in his classical "*Races of Europe*" (page 448) states that the Mediterranean racial type represents the oldest layer of populations in this part of the world and that a second racial type subsequently superimposed is that of the brachycephalic type." We might now turn to the Arabs for a while. Here also Ripley's testimony would be of great value. He says: "Scientific research upon the Arabs has invariably

[3] Southern India (1915-16), p. 59.

[4] *Vide* passim—R. Chanda.—The Indo-Aryan Races, pp. 5-10 (where they are called *Nisāda*).

yielded harmonious results. From the Semites in the Canary islands all across Northern Africa to Central Arabia itself the cephalic indices of the nomadic Arabs agree closely. They denote a head form closely allied to that of the long-headed Iberian race, typified in the modern Spaniards, South Italians and Greeks. It was the head form of the ancient Phœnicians and Egyptians as has recently been proved. Thus does the European Mediterranean type shade off in head form as in complexion also into the primitive anthropological type of the Negro." It would not be out of place to point out here how, from other source as well, other affinities have been pointed out with this ancient element in the Deccan population, Thurston, the great living authority on South-Indian Tribes and Castes pointed out in his *India and the Durbar* (pp. 215-16) thus: "There are strong grounds for belief that the Pre-Dravidians are ethnically related to the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Toalas of Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, the Sakais of the Malais peninsula and possibly to the Australians. An important ethnographic fact is that the method of tree-climbing by means of bamboo-pegs resorted to by the Dyaks of Borneo as given by Wallace, might have been written on the Annamalai hills of Southern India and would apply equally well in every detail to the Pre-Dravidian Kadirs, who inhabit the mountain range. Following this chain of argument from the philological standpoint we find Dr. Daniel Wilson writing as follows:—"Striking analogies have been recognised between the languages of the Deccan and those of the Polynesian group, in which the determinate significance of the formative particles on the verbal root equally admits of comparison with peculiarities of the American languages." So also Richard Garnett writes: "We may venture to assert in general terms that a South American verb is constructed precisely

on the same principle as those in the Tamil and other languages of Southern India, consisting like them of a verbal root, a second element defining the time or action and a third denoting the subject or person." Finally Mr. Horatio Hale definitely states that the Australians belong to the Dravidian race family of India.

Turning to the ancient testimony of the Akkadian language we find also our attention being drawn to the languages of Southern India. Thus Whitney says, "The Shumirs and the Accadians have mingled with their Iranian and Semitic successors. To what race did they belong? Doubtless to an autochthonous people dark of skin, intermediary between the Mongol and the Malay between the blacks of the Caucasian whites. Their language recently discovered has been connected on the one hand with the extinct idioms of Mt. Ararat and the yet living dialects of Georgia and on the other hand with the Dravidian family. But the agglutinative character is patent." Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie in his *Babylonian and Oriental Record* speaks of these early races of Accad as those who used to inhabit the lands and Seashores from Abyssinia to India and of whom the Bisharro, Agaw, Gullah of Abyssinia, the Bagas of the Oman coast, the Brahui and the Kolarians are the later representatives possibly arising from the Semitic Aryan or Negric all intermingling."[5]

It was little more than 30 years ago when Dr. Flinders Petrie's excavations of pre-dynastic graves of the "New Race" shed a new light on the ethnology of the land of the Pharaohs. The conclusions then arrived at by the indefatigable archæologist has now been found to be all untenable but the discovery was of immense value as for the first time clearly bringing to view the juxtaposition

[5] As quoted by Gregg in his Comparative Philology, Vol I, p. 3.

of two entirely different races. It is still interesting to turn to his well-known work where he describes some of the oldest graves of the world.[6] "The pit in all wealthy graves is rooted over with leaves and brushwood, in place of preserving the body intact and embalming it, the bodies are more or less cut up and destroyed, in place of burying at full length with head-rest and mirror, the bodies are all contracted and accompanied by many jars of ashes." "The knees are always sharply bent at 45 degrees to the thighs, or else nearly parallel, while thighs are always at right angles to the body or even more drawn up so that the knees touch the elbows. The arms are always bent, with the hands placed together before the face or the neck. In a few cases the body is laid on the back and the knees bent sharply up together or else both knees and hips are bent sharply so that the legs are folded up on either side of the body. The direction of interment was as constant as the attitude the body lay on the left side, facing the West, with the head to the South and the feet to the North."[7] Later excavations however showed that the remains of the people, who built these graves which were a strange contrast to the later tombs of the historical Egyptians may be found on a continuous chain in the North to Wadi Halfa in the South. Petrie thought that they came from a distinct Mediterranean civilisation[8]:—"In the New Race we see a branch of the same Libyan race that founded the Amorite power, that we have in their remains the example of the civilisation of the Southern Mediterranean at the beginning of the use of metal about 3200 B. C. In short, we have revealed a section of the

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[6] Naqnada and Ballas, p. 18.
[7] *Ibid*, p. 32.
[8] *Ibid*, p 60.

Mediterranean civilisation, preserved and dated for us by the soils of Egypt." But the accepted view is that the so-called New Race were the aborigines or perhaps more correctly the inhabitants of Egypt whom the Egyptians found there when they entered or invaded the country. The eminent authority of Sergi however would deny the existence of two races:[9] "Not only in this comparison of prehistoric skulls with those of the dynasties do we find that both show the same forms and therefore belong to the same stock, but also by an examination of the royal mummies of Deir-el-Bahari on these grounds the conviction has grown in my mind that there is no difference of race between the historical Egyptians and the men who preceded them, the so-called Proto-Egyptians of Evans and Morgan's "Old race." So the case as it now stands has been admirably summed up by King and Hall thus[10]:—"They (the conquerors of ancient Egypt) themselves would seem to have been Semites or rather proto-Semites, who came from Arabia and Africa by way of the Bab-el-Mandeb, and proceeded up the coast to the neighbourhood of Kuser, whence the Wadi offered them an open road to the Nile ..... The conquering race is that which is supposed to have been of Semitic or proto-Semitic origin and to have brought elements of Sumerian culture to savage Egypt. . . ."

Then again "Just as the Egyptian race was evidently compounded of two elements of conquered Mediterranean and conquering X so the Egyptian language is evidently compounded of two elements, the one Nilotic, perhaps related in some degree to the Berber dialects of North Africa the other not X but evidently Semitic. So also certain elements of the early dynastic civilisation

[9] The Mediterranean Race, p. 112.

[10] Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Modern Discoveries, pp. 35-6.

which do not appear in that of the earlier pre-dynastic period resemble well-known elements of the civilisation of Babylonia, *e. g.*, cylinder-seal, mace-head, art, etc. Lastly the custom of burying at full length was evidently introduced into Egypt by the second or X race. The second or X race evidently introduced the custom of embalming as well as that of burial and the use of coffins. The Neolithic Egyptians used no box or coffin, the nearest approach to this being a pot which was inverted over the coiled up body." [11] Thus it is quite evident that the civilisation of Egypt was not indigenous and most probably came from the East. Finally in the words of Budge we have got to state that 'the invaders of Egypt came from the East and although it cannot be proved as is sometimes stated that the Egyptians derived their earliest culture from Babylonia, it is certain that many of the most important elements of Egyptian culture were brought into Egypt by a people who were not remotely connected with the Babylonians. They either entered Egypt from the North-East by way of the peninsula of Sinai and the Delta, making their way thence up the river, according to the other which is certainly the more probable they crossed the African shore, which they followed Northwards until they arrived at the entrance of the Wadi Hammamat at Kuser. They then entered this valley and after a few days' march arrived in Egypt near the ancient city of Coptos." [12]

Moreover thus when the problem of the origin of the Egyptian conquerors finds itself inextricably associated with the question of some of the early settlers of Chaldea, notably the Sumerians, let us turn our attention awhile to them. But before passing on to that, we should just pause for a moment in order to point out emphatically

[11] *Ibid*, p. 36.

[12] History of Egypt, Vol. I, p. 44.

the direction whence whence the bringers of the civilisation of Egypt came. Simcox points out[1] that 'there is nothing in history inconsistent with the conjecture that long before the dawn of history men more or less remotely of the same parentage as the Akkadian inhabitants of Chaldæa and the hundred families of China spread slowly round the coast of the Arabian Peninsula and crossed over into Africa at one or other or perhaps at all of the successive points where the Red Sea narrows enough to tempt adventurous mariners.' So also in Mesopotamia, it was not in Assyria where the later grand imperial civilisation rose to its height, nor in the plain of Babylon but lower down in the plains of Chaldæa near the sea-board in the sites of that the vestiges of more ancient civilisation now going by the name of Sumerian was definitely ascertained and established. Though no sharp division ever existed between an older and a Southern Sumerian Culture and the Northern Babylonian (Akkadian) and though both became merged in one in course of time there is now no room for doubt that there was a double layer of civilisation in ancient Babylon which can be roughly defined as being non-semitic and semitic. And it is also evident that the non-semitic culture was the older one and was not indigenous to it but was brought about by a conquering race who proceeded not from the North but from the direction of the Persian gulf and long ruled at such places in Southern Chaldæa as Lagash, Kish, Ur till they were overwhelmed by the northern Semites. Of course, when first definite proofs of the conquering Sumerians were unearthed the controversy raged furiously amongst the Assyriologists whether the people who brought in the higher civilisation were Indo-Europeans as Hincks maintained or they were

[1] Primitive Civilisations, Vol. I, p. 20.

Scythian or Casdo-Scythian. And there was also an influential section who with Halevy would eliminate the second race altogether. It was Oppert who first proposed the term Sumerians for the non-Semitic settlers of the Euphrates Valley and Akkadians for the Semitic population, which has been finally demonstrated to be the correct one. The character of the Babylonian and Assyrian Syllabary as one with a more ancient ideographic element has now left no doubt of an ancient Sumerian culture which later on flowered in the amazing culture of the land of the two rivers. Now who were the Sumerians ? Let us hear from the latest authority, Mr. Jastrow [1]: "We know that the Sumerians were not Semites, their features as depicted in the monuments reveal a Turanian type, but the term Turanian is too vague to furnish a clue. Various indications point to their having come from the mountainous region. They brought the worship of their nature gods with them and the nature of these deities suggests their having their original seats on the tops of mountains. It is to the Sumerians that we owe the construction of the stage-towers." Then again he goes on in another place :[2] "They are portrayed (in the cylinder seals at Telloh, Sippur, Nippur and Bismya) in contrast to the (later) Akkadians as beardless and generally though not always with shaven heads. The general type suggests a comparison with the Mongolian race. The shape of the head was inclined towards redness, the cheek-bones were prominent and the nose was not full and fleshy as was the case with the Akkadians. The dress in the earliest period consisted of a plain or fringed garment, hanging from the waist.....In contrast we find the Akkadians represented with hair and beards.....The Sumerians also appear to have the custom of wearing

[1]. The Civilisations of Babylonia, Assyria, &c. (1913) pp. 106-7.

[2]. Ibid, pp. 120-121.

wigs as the Egyptian, perhaps limited to ceremonial occasions." Now comes the next question, if they were different people, whence did they come? Had they any contiguous home near by? Can any stream of immigration be noticed by the traces that survive thousands of years and hundreds of invasions and changes of rulers by which we can come to the most probable solution of the problem. That is the task to which we have set ourselves. But it is always safer to leave the matter, as much as possible, in the hands of authorities before hazarding any theory. Let us hear what Mr. Hall's up-to-date knowledge has got to say on the subject[1]: "The ethnic type of the Sumerians so strangely marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the Semites, Aryans or others; they were decidedly Indian in type. The face-type of the average Indian of to-day is no doubt much the same as that of his Dravidian race-ancestors* thousands of years ago. Among the modern Indians as amongst the modern Greeks or Italians, the ancient pre-Aryan type of the land survived while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. And it is to this Dravidian type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Deccan and it is by no means improbable that it was an Indian race which passed certainly by land, perhaps also by sea through Persia to the land of the Two Rivers. It was in the Indian home that we suppose for them that their culture developed. There their writing may have been invented and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated

[1] The Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 173-74

[* We should say pre-Dravidian.]

form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on it peculiar 'cuneiform' appearance. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam.. .... .There is little doubt that India must have been one of the earliest centres of human civilisation and it seems natural to suppose that the strange un-Semitic un-Aryan people who came from the East to civilize the West were of Indian origin, specially when we see with our eyes how very Indian the Sumerians were in type."

Simcox has rightly drawn attention to the famous tenth chapter of the Genesis thus.[1] "The Biblical genealogies do not represent a minute local tradition but rather the best judgment of the best informed men of their time as to the relationship and affinities of contemporary nations. And this is just what constitutes their value, for if different nations speak languages which prephilological observers can see to be akin and have usages and features so conspicuously of the same type as to suggest a common origin in spite of political separation and antagonism, this is good evidence as far as it goes and may be accepted in the absence of facts on the other side." Thus we read in the Bible of the sons of Ham as four in number Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. Now of these details are given of Cush, Mizraim and Canaan and remembering the old comment that they refer to 'gentes nor homines,'[2] nations not men, we can easily identify them and their descendants as meaning the Cushites, the Egyptians and the Canaanites respectively. But while there can be little doubt about these three as the names of their sons have all been traced to various towns of Asia Minor and Egypt, about the fourth even the great Biblical genealogist is silent. "Put" is mentioned

[1] Vol. I, p. 20, Primitive Civilisations.

[2] St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XVII, 3.

also in I Chronicles, 1, 8 and thus its affinity with the Egyptians, the Cushites (*i.e.*, the pre-Semitic or Sumerian race of Chaldæa) and certain Canaanitic tribes is insisted upon. Now Simcox has also drawn attention to this fact and also pointed out how on the Egyptian monuments these representatives of the Hamitic stock were clearly delineated as possessing delicate features midway between the Aryan and Semitic peoples in type and a complexion neither black, white nor yellow but red. Now where could these red Asiatic races come from? A branch of pre-Dravidian race has already been seen in the Deccan. Then again wherefrom could come the word "Put." If probably there is any part of the world where the words '*paṭṭa*' and '*paṭṭanam*' are common it is the Deccan and these words are generally associated with woven garments. Now prehistoric Deccan has been amply proved from the Neolithic and Iron-age finds of splindle whorls and traces of cloth to have possessed a flourishing weaving industry. The probabilities are therefore that this trade was practised by the pre-Vedic pre-Aryan peoples of Southern India. From time immemorial the staple everyday fabrics at the seaports of the Gulf of Cambay, the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts found a ready mart in the West. The word "Paṭṭa" itself is pre-Aryan which found its way into Sanskrit. Now the modern weaver castes of India still go by the name of "*Páṭve*" in Gujrat and Central India *Paṭṭun-urkaran*" in the Tamil country, "*Paṭoṛ*" in the Orissa district. Baines thus speak of them:[1] "The weaver castes occupy a low position, considering the character and utility of their function. This is doubtless due to the fact that the latter originated amongst the pre-Aryan races, who subsequently became the helots of those to

[1] Ethnography (1912), p. 62.

whom cotton was unknown before they exchanged the steppes of the North for the more genial temperature of sub-tropical India." The weaver, though below the peasantry is far above the village-menials and represents, in fact, the highest rank to which castes of that origin can attain. These people were the great traders of ancient prehistoric days and the reminiscence of their enterprising and adventurous spirit is still to be seen in the *Bhátia* of the Bombay Presidency who were probably originally cloth-merchants as their name indicates (*Bhatta*, *Bháta* like Sanskrit '*vastra*' being probably variants of the older word *Patta*). It is to these familiar traders in Asia Minor who possessed remarkably similar features to the Egyptians and Sumerians but to whom like the modern Jews no distinct homes could be assigned and whose homes in the Deccan and Central India lay too far beyond the seas to be within the ken of those great early Hebrew savants that the unmistakable "Put" with no other ramifications was probably applied. Turning now to Egyptian ethnological traditions we find that:[1] "tradition generally assigns that the god Horus of Behutet and his servants or followers who are described as 'mesniu' or 'mesenti,' *i.e.*, metal-workers came from the South and the struggle between Horus and Seth occurred at Denderah. Another legend makes the goddess Hathor come from Ta-Neter, the land of gods. In later times it was applied to Egypt but in earlier times to the South of Egypt. The Egyptians always seem to have had some idea that they were connected with the land of Punt." Dr. Naville points out that:[2] "A vague and ancient tradition lingered among the Egyptians that they originally came from the land of Punt and that it had been their home before they invaded

[1] Budge: Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods (1902), Vol. I, p. 46.

[2] Deir El Bahari, Part III, London, 1898, p. 11.

and conquered the lower valley of the Nile." If we come to the Deccan we would find curious counterparts of these legends. Our purpose would not be served so much by the people in high status at present or the civilised literature which are permeated with the later "Aryan" culture as with the "Pre-Aryan" legends as they have survived in the primitive tribes who have maintained the most ancient legends least tainted, through countless lapse of ages by their isolation. Amongst the Todas, whose language has been discovered by Dr. Rivers as heretofore hidden under the Badaga tongue, we probably meet with the vestiges of the great "Pre-Dravidian" speech which had probably affinities with the ancient languages of the pre-dynastic Egyptians and Sumerians. Thus the word the land of spirits "Ta Neter" which repeatedly occurs in Egyptian documents as another name of the land of Punt is but "Teu-Nodr" "the country of the gods" of the Todas. Of the Egyptian foreign gods "Horus" may have survived in Toda "Kora Teu" (meaning the god "Kora") and Hathor probably figures as "Kwoto." There is a Toda legend which plainly points at the connection between Egypt and Toda-land in the dim past. We read in pages of Mr. Rivers [1] how at one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this world and *Amnodr*. (Now Amnodr is but *Amam Nodr* the land of Amam which figures so much in the Punt legends, in the letter of Herku and Pepa II's pyramid inscription as the sea-port on the Red Sea where African land-route came to an end and ships started on the voyage to Punt.)[2] Then Punatvan (the man of Punt) went with Kwoto there once and stayed long and people were told he had died at Amnodr and sacrificed 30 buffaloes for him as if dead. And at last when he wanted to come back, difficulties arose and *On* (the supreme god) prohibited further

[1] "The Todas," p. 208.

[2] *Vide* Budge, Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods, p. 44.

intercourse between the two lands. This legend plainly refers to the ancient commercial intercourse between the original Toda-land or Malabar coast and the African port, which was mysteriously stopped. Then again as in the case of the Egyptian legends a scuffle is reported to have taken place between two races at Denderah, so also there is a Toda legend of a similar fight at "Tadendari." Now much ink has already been spilt about the whereabouts of "Punt" which we would see is none else than the land of megaliths or 'puns' as the Todas call them. It is now certain that Punt has no connection with the Phœnicians who were pure Semites and spoke a language almost identical with Hebrew. In the History for Ready Reference is quoted the following under the heading of "Punt" from Chapter VIII of Brugch's History of Egypt under the Pharaohs:—"Under the name of Punt the old inhabitant of Kemi (ancient name of Egypt) meant a distant land washed by the great ocean full of valleys and hills abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, balsam, precious metals and costly stones; which also sent beasts as cameleopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dogheaded apes and long-tailed monkeys. According to an old obscure tradition the land of Punt was the original seat of the gods. From Punt, the holy ones had travelled to the Nile Valley, at their head Amon, Horus and Hathor." Now Carl Peters in his letter to *The Times* in October 23, 1901, pointed out that Poenat or Punt was in South Africa as many East African and South African rivers bear the name of "Pun" but, if place-names with "Panni," "Puna," etc., be the index of the location Africa must yield its claims in numerical strength to the Deccan. Any geographical and economical map would convince one that the only place accessible by sea from Egypt which could have yielded all the products would have been either South-East Africa or the Malabar Coast. Now two things were peculiar to Punt the "chent" and the "anti" unguents. In pages 145-146

of the magnificent edition of the Book of the Dead by Budge where the hieroglyphics are given with interlinear transliteration as well as English translation we find "*Urhu hekennu*" (anointed with unguents), *neter-senthra* (unguents from Ta Neter or Punt) and in page 192 *anta* (spices). Now as in the ancient Egyptian *th*, *tch*, *ch*, were always interchangeable what are these but the time-honoured products of Southern India whose names have come down with little variatian to our own days the *chandan* (sandal).[1] An extensive trade was carried on in this commodity between India and the West down to late days, from a place in Southern India called *Punáḍ* famous for its beryl mine as well as its antiquity. Thus we read of that place in Epigraphia Carnatica, Vol. I (1914), p. 7: "The *Punáḍ* Six thousand was situated in the South-West of Mysore, adjoining Coorg, and is interesting on account of its antiquity. For it is the *Punnáṭa* to which Jain immigrants from the North, went under Bhadrababehu in the 4th century B.C.....Harishena, in his *Brihatkathákosa* says that the whole Sangha went by the guru's direction to the *Punnáṭa* country, situated in the South. It is further mentioned in the 2nd century A.D. by Ptolemy as "Pounnata" 'where is beryl.' Jinasena the reputed author of the Jain Harivamsa was of the Brihat Punnata-sangha."

Lastly must be mentioned another human commodity for which Punt was most prized by the Egyptians. This is the Tenk or Chenk. We read in Egyptian records how in the reign of Mer-en-ra, Her-khuf, son of a man of high rank in Abu went on an expedition to the country of Amam in order to open out a trade-route therein. Pepi II referred to Her-khuf's letter to him in his pyramid in which he had brought back a Tenk (pygmy) of the

[1] Bissing in a note to page 7 of his "Prähistorische Topfe aus Indien und aus Aegypten" points out with a quotation from Schweinfurth that the older name for *anti* was '*sonte*' ("Der A'gypter hat ein alters und ein jüngeres Wort fur Weihrauch: 'Sonte' und 'enti'...aber der ältere Raucherstoff war 'sonte.'...Dieses auf den Reliefs von Deir el Bahri dargestellt ist und aus Puene kommt").

[2] *Vide passim* Budge, History of Egypt, Vol. II, pp. 113-114.

dancers of the god from Ta Neter, like unto a Tenk which the former chancellor Ba-ur-Tetta brought back from Punt in the time of Assa. Now it is well known how in the South Indian sculptures figure some dwarfish creatures, sometimes hoofed like satyrs, which are represented with primitive musical instruments in their hands. Still there are several tribes in the Central Provinces known as *Nats* and *Dang Charahas* famous for their acrobatic and dancing feats. The Shah Nameh records the legend of the Persian King Bahran-Gaur having obtained from a South Indian king numerous musicians as presents. So here again India in its prehistoric times as certainly in historic times was able to supply to any other land dwarfish dancers and singers. So it may be stated that the place with its peoples and commodities might have been well located in the Deccan and probably the African Punt of Egyptology was a colony for this same place. Thus we may conclude that :—

(1) the Early Pre-Aryan races of the Deccan can be differentiated as (*a*) Pre-Dravidian, (*b*) Proto-Dravidian and (*c*) Dravidian, besides a still earlier negroid strain ;

(2) the Pre-Dravidians betray many outer Indian racial affinities ;

(3) the race-problems of Egypt and Chaldæa are intimately connected and there was an early invasion of these lands by peoples of Pre-Dravidian characteristics ;

(4) the pre-dynastic Egyptians and the chaco-lithic Indians very probably belonged to a common " Erythræan " race ;

(5) the home of that ancient race was most likely Punt in Ta Neter which though finally located in Africa had also a counterpart on the Indian shore of the Arabian sea ; and

(6) Ta Neter, the land of Gods, was probably an early colony from pre-" Aryan " Southern India and Punt from the " Pounnata " of Ptolemy in Southern India which was one of the centres of Indo-Erythræan industrial activity, however primitive it might have been.

International Law and Custom in Ancient India

BY

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Introduction

Eminent jurists and disinterested publicists regard International Law as the product of modern European culture. They do not deny that the ancients—by the ancients they mean exclusively the Greeks and the Romans—had a distinctive civilisation of their own; but obsessed with the Austinian conception of law they refuse to believe that the constitution of ancient societies was at all favourable for the development of a body of systematic rules. Sir F. E. Smith, the Attorney-General of England, in the most recently published book on International Law gives the following testimonial to ancient societies:

"The constitution of ancient societies was little favourable to the development of International Law. Since states are its units, International Law can only exist where a number of communities acknowledge a mutual equality before the law and make common submission to its authority." Such conditions, says the great lawyer, did not prevail amongst the nations of antiquity in general. He rates the ancients—meaning of course the Greeks and the Romans—because certain rules or customs which guided the relations between people of cognate race were not observed with regard to people outside that pale. "For the most part a state of hostility characterized the relationships between a nation and alien races. Might

was regarded as right. Neither person, nor property was considered sacred."[1]

Kent,[2] in his Commentary on International Law held the same view. Even the most civilized states amongst the ancients, according to him, had no conception of the moral obligations of humanity and justice between nations, and that no such thing as International Law obtained among them. Wheaton[3] was no less disparaging in his opinion concerning International Law in Greece. "In the ancient world," says he, "the law of might was universal..... that even Aristides the Just was guided by state-interest rather than by justice." According to Oppenheim,[4] the ancients could not possibly have any regard for man as man, or for territorial rights; the stranger was regarded by them as a spy and the normal condition of things was war, during which everything was permissible.

In the "well-considered" opinions of the above jurists therefore, very little of a systematic body of rules governing interstatal relationships could be looked for in antiquity, even among the Greeks and the Romans who have admittedly bequeathed a rich legacy of culture to the modern European nations. International Law therefore, has until quite recently, been regarded as a tardy offshoot of modern civilisation. Imbued with imperialistic ideas, Hall[5] considers International Law as a 'favoured monopoly' of the European family of nations and he regards with great complacence and philosophic satisfaction, "the tendency which has shown itself of late to conduct relations with states, which are outside the sphere of International Law, to a certain extent in accordance with its rules." "A tendency has also shown itself on the part of such states to expect that European

[1] F. E. Smith: International Law, p. 1. [2] P. 11 Introduction. [4] International Law, I. § 37. [5] International Law, p. 40.

countries shall behave in conformity with the standard which they have themselves set up."

Hall was obviously referring to the cases of China and Japan. The case of India, stood on a different footing as she was neither a sovereign state, nor a "civilised" state. Such a considerate publicist like Lawrence[1] would regard the Indian troops as "semi-civilised or imperfectly civilised troops" and he recommended their "use against border tribes and in warfare with people of the same degree of civilisation as themselves." To such people saturated with the theory of the European origin of International Law, the admission of India in the peace conference this year (1919) was regarded as either an "eye wash," or as the legitimate exercise of the right of "self-determination." The signing of the peace treaty by two Indian agents of the Government of India—not the accredited representatives of the people—was regarded by most Indians "as a parting of the old ways," the herald of a brighter dawn, when the westernised education of the Indians would have a distinct though late recognition by the civilised nations of the world. To them India was a

> "... ....Sad relic of departed worth,
> Immortal, though no more, though fallen, great"

It is, however, the object of the present thesis to establish the apparently incredible fact that *the ancient Indians had a definite knowledge of the rules of International Law according to which they regulated their international conduct.* Warfare was conducted according to such customs and usages, and the rule of might and the doctrine of state-necessity had no more elaborate applications with them as with the 'moderners,' in their cynical disregard of the rights of others as has been evidenced during the last great world war, in the violation of Luxemburg, and Belgium, in the compulsory enlistment of Greece,

[1] Lawrence: International Law.

after the violation of her neutrality, in the utter disregard for all rules of civilised warfare and in the curtailment of the rights of the non-combatants to the lowest limits. The ancient Indians had two thousand years before a Grotius, a Rachel or an Ayala recalled Europe to humanity, propounded a body of rules governing the relations between different states into which the continent of India was generally divided.

Nor could we, in the face of modern researches, attribute the rules of International Law solely to modern European ingenuity, to modern European thought, to modern European culture and to the powerful writings of European jurists like Grotius, Rachel, Ayala, Puffendorff, Bynkershoeck or Vattel. We have a dim perception of the rudiments of International Law in ancient Egypt. To Mr. Petrie is due the undying gratitude of every orientalist because of his discovery and interpretation of what we now call the Tel-el-amarna and the Boghazköy inscriptions. They clearly prove the international consciousness of ancient Egypt. Intercourse between Egypt and the countries in Syria was maintained by diplomatic agents; hostages were demanded and kept and lastly, the Egyptians entered into elaborate extradition treaties with the Hittites for the protection of their national industries.

Mr. Martin[1] in his "Traces of International Law in China" has pointed out the existence of International Law in China long before the dawn of the Christian era. Diplomatic agents maintained interstatal relationship in China: they were immune from personal violence and the sanction of religion was invoked to mitigate the rigours of Chinese warfare.

Mr. Philipson has clearly established the existence of International Law in ancient Greece. Apart from rules relating to "naturalisation" and "aliens" the Greeks

[1] History of Roman Law: Curtis Ed., § 181.

had rules relating to hospitality, asylum, extradition, diplomatic agents and intervention. They firmly grasped the principles of the theory of the Balance of Power and actually used them in practice. They had also rules relating to the declaration and cessation of hostilities, rules relating to the treatment of combatants, to maritime jurisdiction, embargo, blockade and neutrality. Similarly, the Romans had a variety of international rules relating to various topics dealt with by modern International Law; alliances, arbitration, naturalisation, extradition, immunity of ambassadors, procedure and formalities in the conclusion of treaties, right of asylum, treatment of enemy person and enemy property. They had a clear cut conception of protectorates and territorial sovereignty; they knew the position of hostages and the doctrine of *post liminium* owes its origin to them. With the gradual expansion of Rome, all these rules of International Law were frequently violated till the Roman foreign policy was summed up in one word—the triumph of expediency. The foreign policy of the later Roman Republic and the Roman Empire has been admirably described by Ortolan[1] thus:—

"To sow discord among different nations in order to array one against another—to assist the vanquished in conquering the conqueror—to husband its own resources, to use those of its allies to invade the territories of its neighbours—to interfere in the disputes of other states, so as to protect the weaker party and finally to subjugate both—to wage unnecessary wars and prove itself stronger in reverses than in success—to evade oaths and treaties by subterfuge—to practise every kind of injustice under the specious guise of equity—this was the policy which gave Rome the sceptre of all Italy and which was destined to secure for it that of the entire known world."

[1] History of Roman Law: Curtis Ed., § 181.

If Europe owes the invention of gunpowder to the Saracens, it owes also its first systematic war code to them. Thus precepts of kindness and chivalry abounded in the Quoran and in the decisions of Mohammad and his successors. There were injunctions against the making use of incendiary projectiles, cutting trees belonging to the enemy, intercepting his water-supply or poisoning wells and water courses, while the killing of women and children or the insane and the mutilation of prisoners without order was absolutely forbidden. Women and minors of both sexes became the immediate property of captors. The disposition of adult male persons was reserved to the commander. They could be sent back, released on ransom, exchanged or reduced to slavery. The giving of food to the prisoners was compulsory, and their torture was prohibited. Captured enemy property became the property of the whole Mussalman community. Booty could not be appropriated till after a fifth had been taken from it for religious purposes. These rules were very frequently violated in actual practice even by the Saracens themselves; but the Turks who succeeded them did not perceive the utility of observing any rules whatsoever in their dealings with non-Mussalmans and betrayed their Turanian origin by habitual disregard of them.

From what has been said above, it would appear that rules of International Law are not exclusively of European origin. The rules of interstatal relationships followed in ancient India were much more humane and much more elaborate than the rules followed by all nations of antiquity and even by nations of modern Europe down perhaps to the time of the French Revolution.

The geographical configuration of India, her early political development and her intellectual expansion all point to the frequency of regularised interstatal relations. Unlike Greece, the various states of India were not

isolated from each other. Hills and dales were in plenty in this vast continent of India, but they did not help the development of autonomous city states as in ancient Greece. Although city republics were in existence, they did not form the ideal of political organization in ancient India: on the contrary the country state was the prevailing type of advanced political organisation. The territories of these country states were contiguous to each other and political development as well as commercial intercourse necessitated the observance of a body of rules governing such intercourse. India could not therefore develop what is called in the case of Greece "intermunicipal law." Her geography stood in her way.

The political development of the ancient Indians also helped the growth of interstatal rules. The chief accusation brought against the Indians has been their utter lack of a perfected and lasting imperial organisation. The idea of imperialism had no doubt ruled the minds of men in India in the distant past long before the vista of a vast imperial organisation was opened up to the Indian eye by the invasion of the Persian Emperor Darius or the Macedonian conqueror, Alexander the Great. But the establishment of an empire in India was the exception and not the rule. This lack of an imperial organisation in India, however reproachful to the imperialistic school, was helpful to the establishment of a body of rules guiding the conduct of states in their daily intercourse with the other states, either in times of profound peace or in anxious times of war. Behind this fortuitous concourse of circumstances stood the ever present sanction of religion or *Dharma* which differentiated modern International Law from ancient International Law. Followers of Austin have denied the title International Law to rules based on religious sanction. They put their case too high. All laws are not *laws* according to the positive

theory of Austin. Thus Jenks in his "Law and Politics in the Middle Ages" has shown that in mediæval times there existed a body of rules propounded by merchant guilds, by the Church, or based on feudal customs which were laws but could not be regarded as "laws" according to the Austinian sense of the term. If that is the case with municipal law how very different would be the case with International Law? International Law has not ceased to be law because admittedly up to the present day, it has lacked the element of sanction, or coercion in cases of infringement. Rules of International Law have been in the past based on moral persuasion followed by physical compulsion in cases of grave infringements. No common superior has yet enforced the sanction of International Law, though time alone can prove if the "Big Five" in the contemplated League of Nations will be in a position to enforce obedience by making huge sacrifices of accumulated interests, or whether national pride and national prejudices will convert the league into a second Holy Alliance. Prophecy is risky but the contracting units appear restive.

The ancient Hindus did not lack in the idea of the positive sanction of law but they preferred to base the rules relating to interstatal relationship on *Dharma* or religion as the sheet anchor of common humanity. They had no special code of International Law but as will be seen later, their Dharmasastras and their Arthasastras lay down a body of rules guiding their interstatal relations under the title, *Deshadharma*. A careful study of *Niti* was particularly recommended by the Arthasastras as conducive to all-round prosperity. Thus, belief in the efficacy of a Science of polity as a condition precedent to progress leads to increased intercourse between states on approved lines. Thus says Kautilya :

वृद्धिं क्षयं च स्थानं च कर्शनोच्छेदनं तथा
सर्व्वोपायान् समादध्यादेतान्यस्यार्थशास्त्रवित् ॥

एवमन्योन्यसञ्चारं षाड्गुण्यं योऽनुपश्यति ।
स बुद्धिनिगलैर्बद्धैरिष्टं क्रीड़ति पार्थिवैः ॥[1]

True it is that the exponents of the theory of expediency in ancient India declared :

तावत् परो नीतिमान् स्याद्यावत् सुबलवान् स्वयम् ।
मित्रं तावच्च भवति पुष्टाग्नेः पवनो यथा ॥[2]

But does not this doctrine of political morality contain certain and universal truth ? In spite of the tangled mass of rules of International Law, is there any respectable state in Europe to-day which does not live in a perpetual armed peace ? And where is that rule of International Law which in the stern realm of fact concedes equality of status to a tiny little state like Montenegro, or a rather weak state like Servia, along with any of the "Big Five"? The retention of Egypt by England, the subordinate treaty of alliance entered into with Persia, Japan's persistent refusal to return Shantung to China are forceful illustrations of the statement of Sukracharyya.

As observed before, International Law in ancient India was based largely on religion and tacit consent but in numerous treaties and alliances entered into by various states, and in the developed conception of the Balance of Power we have also express sanctions of International Law. We have a definite idea of international consciousness in Kautilya's Arthasastra. In a passage the Vijigisu is advised to incite the "Circle of States" or मण्डल (a theory which probably owes its origin to the

[1] Arthasastra, VII 18. Whoever is acquainted with the science of polity should clearly observe the conditions of progress, deterioration, stagnation, reduction and destruction, as well as the use of all kinds of strategic means. Whoever thus knows the inter-dependence of the six kinds of policy plays at his pleasure with kings, bound round, as it were, in chains skilfully devised by himself.

[2] Sukra, IV., vii, 89 : One should follow *Niti* or moral rules so long as one is powerful. People remain friends till then : Just as the wind is the friend of the burning fire.

love of symbolism of the ancient Indians), to preserve the balance of power against the overrapid growth of a *Madhyama King*.

मण्डलं वा प्रोत्साहयेत्—"अतिप्रवृद्धोऽयं मध्यमः सर्व्वेषां नो विनाशाय अभ्युत्थितः सम्भूयास्य यात्रां विहनाम" इति ।[1]

Although this international consciousness has for its basis interests of a sordid types till the force of public opinion is duly regarded by the Vijigisu or the conquering King in his dealings with the other states included within the circle of states. Thus, if he thinks that the circle of states would be enraged against a friendly state, for giving up its "sovereign" state, then the conquering King should keep quiet :

मध्यमश्चेत्सखिमित्रं मित्रभावि लिप्सेत, पुरुषान्तरेण सन्दध्यात्—"सापेक्षं वा नार्हसि मित्रमुच्छेत्तुम्" इति वारयेदुपेक्षेत वा—"मण्डलमस्य कुप्यतु स्वपक्षवधात्" इति ।[2]

If it is conceded that "laws" governed the relations between different states, the further question arises whether International Law in ancient India was a law regulating the relation between states or the conduct of Kings ? The answer to this question depends upon the general character of ancient Indian monarchy. It has been repeated many times that Grotius's Law of Nations was a law regulating the conduct of princes while the inestimable services of Vattel towards International Law consisted in his advocacy of the rules of International Law as guiding not princes but states in their mutual dealings, as also in his presentation of a developed body of rules relating to Neutrality. Hindu monarchy has been sanctified by the halo of divinity but the Hindu King could not at any time, like Charles I of England, declare that *Rex is Lex* and not *Lex is Rex*, nor could

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 18. [2] *Ibid*

he proclaim like Louis XIV at the height of his power, "*L'état c'est moi.*" Though divine origin was attributed to him, the Indian monarch remained a mere servant of the Community, "the first servant of the state"; unlike the Roman "imperator," he was to all intents and purposes a trustee of the state. That was his position from the time of the Atharvaveda to the days of Kautilya when imperialism was at the noontide of its power and a ruthless policy of conquest and further conquest was urged upon the monarchs, by the Arthasastras. The King had to take a coronation oath in which he had to promise without mental reservation that he would see to the prosperity of the country, look upon it as Brahma and undertake to abide by all laws dictated by ethics or not opposed by politics.

प्रतिज्ञास्वामिवोऽसवो मनसाकर्म्मणा गिरा,
पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्मइत्येव चासकृत्।
यश्चात्रधर्म्मो नीत्योक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाश्रयः।
तमशङ्कं करिष्यामि सर्व्वशो नकदाचन॥[1]

The conception of the King as a salaried official of the state is an established truth according to Manusamhita, Sukracharyya and the Agnipurana.[2] Even an avowed imperialist like Kautilya recommended a virtuous king to address his army just on the eve of a battle thus:

"तुल्यवेतनोऽस्मि; भवद्भिः सह भोग्यमिदं राज्यम्;
मयाऽभिहितः परोऽभिहन्तव्यः"[3]

"I am a paid servant like yourselves; this country is to be enjoyed by me together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me." This

[1] Mahabharata Santi-Raj, LXIX, 106-107
[2] *Vide* Carmichael Lect, III (*b*), 1918.
[3] Arthasastra, X, 3

theory about the trusteeship of the monarch receives further confirmation from the various theories about the origin of the state—even the "social contract theory" being clearly discernible in the Mahabharata, the Agnipurana and the Arthasastra of Kautilya. Thus, International Law in ancient India dealt not with the princes alone but with the subjects of all states as well. It is interesting to note here that in a voluminous dissertation, Grotius argued against the view that sovereignty, always and without exception, belonged to the people. Just as an individual may give himself up to slavery, he says, so may a people subject itself completely to one or more persons. In certain cases such submission will be advantageous. If it is objected that free men are not articles of commerce, Grotius replies that the liberty of an individual is one thing and the liberty of the nation of which he is a part another. According to Hindu ideas on the other hand, the personality and the sovereignty of the state stood for the personality and the sovereignty of the prince.

A general outline of International Law and Custom in ancient India has been attempted in the following pages. It will be shown that rules of International Law in various forms existed in ancient India. Admittedly, these rules were not perfect, nor did they cover rules relating to such important subjects as maritime warfare, blockade, law relating to contraband, as well as rules of private International Law relating to such important topics as extradition, and naturalisation; but the imperfections of International Law in ancient India should not blind one to the very fact of its existence. The translation of the Code of Manu into various European languages has led to the reluctant admission by some European writers that mitigations of horrors in warfare were advocated by the whole of the Aryan family of nations. To some authors

like Philipson, the ideal of warfare set forth in Manu's Code was not actually followed in practice and he therefore condemned the ancient Indians to eternal perdition : their conception was high, their practice was low. In the following pages an attempt will be made to prove that practice generally conformed to the ideal excepting when the supreme need of the state overbore all moral considerations. If protection of state interest can condemn a nation to hell, then many nations of antiquity as well as of modern times will find a safe abode in that dismal and uninviting region.

CHAPTER I

Sources of International Law

Interstatal relations owe the English title "International Law" to Jeremy Bentham. Hugo Grotius called his book, "De jure belli ac pacis"; Puffendorff christened his work, "De jure natural et gentium"; Balthazar Ayala named his work, "De jure et officis Bellicis"; while Vattel wrote on "the Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law." Bentham in his "Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation" (1789) made the following observation:

"The word 'International Law,' it must be acknowledged, is a new one, though it is hoped sufficiently analogous and intelligible. It is calculated to express in a more significant way that branch of law which goes by the name of the law of nations; an appellation so uncharacteristic that were it not for the force of custom, it would apply rather to internal jurisprudence. The Chancellor D'Aguesseau has already made, I find, a similar remark: he says that what is commonly called *droit des gens* ought rather to be termed *droit centre les gens*" (XVII, 25). The Hindus gave no special name to the science of interstatal relations or the modern science of International Law. They were firm believers in "*Desadharma*," they knew that a regulative science of international rules alone could accelerate interstatal intercourse and consequently internal prosperity; but the rules of international law according to their ideas had a better place in a science of polity, directing the activities of the sovereign of a sovereign state rather than in a separate treatise like the *Consolato del Mare* of the mediæval ages.

The four "eternal divisions of knowledge" according to the *Arthasastras*, "were *Anvikshikee*, *Trayee*, *Vartā* and *Dandaniti*,"[1] paving the way to happiness. Some of the great thinkers went so far as to assert that *Dandaniti* was the sole[2] source of knowledge and within this *Dandaniti* were included the rules and customs governing international intercourse and interstatal relations.

International Law in ancient as well as in modern times is based upon the sociability of the human nature directed by specific human needs and interests. The guiding motive of International Law, looked at from this point of view, is the utility or the satisfaction of collective needs and interests of states whether intellectual, moral or material. This theory of utility has been very forcefully brought out by the *Agnipurana*;[3] "No king becomes a friend or foe without sufficient cause, or without a due regard to his own interests for the sake of amity or discord." This then is the *basis* or foundation of International Law.

Writers frequently confuse the *sources* of International Law with its *basis* or *foundation* on the one hand and the *evidences* or witnesses to its existence on the other.[4]

The primary sources of International Law, according to modern jurists are (1) custom based on tacit consent

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[1] & [2] Kamandaka, § ii, 5

आन्वीचिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्च पार्थिव:। तद्विद्यैस्तत् क्रियोपेतैश्चिन्त्येद्विनयान्वित:।
आन्वीचिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्च शाश्वती। विद्याश्चतस्रवर्वता योगक्षेमाय देहिनाम्
एकैव दण्डनीतिस्तु विद्येत्याशनसो स्थिति:। तस्यान्तु सर्व्वविद्यानामारम्भा: समुदाहृता:॥

[3] Agnipurana, CCXXXIII, 20.

Cf. also Story (Conflict of Laws, § 35) on p. 62 and Bentham's Works, VIII., 538.

[4] For example, Westlake (I., 14-15) makes "custom and reason," the two sources of International Law He confuses one of its sources with a means of interpretation. And Oppenheim (I., n. 22) justly remarks that "reason is a means of interpreting law, but it cannot be called into existence."

and imitation ;[1] (2) conventions or express agreements by means of treaties of an international character. The ancient Hindus understood the first source by *Desadhi-dharma* or *Dharma* in general, for example, Sukracharyya defines Desadharma as "custom which may or may not owe its origin to the Srutis but is always followed by the people in different climes"[2] . . . Various meanings have been attached to the expression *Dharma*. Dhammapada was so bewildered with their vastness and complexity that he exclaimed, "for those that are enveloped there is gloom, for those that do not see, there is darkness, and for the good it is manifest, for those that see there is light; even being near those that are ignorant of the way and the *Dharma* do not discern anything."[3] One thing at any rate is certain: that from the time of the Rigveda onward, *Dharma* meant both "Law" and "custom."[4]

The well-known definition of Dharma given in the Rajadharma-Prakaran of the Santiparva of the Mahabharata bears repetition: "No one in discoursing on righteousness can indicate it accurately. Righteousness was declared for the advancement and growth of all creatures. Therefore that which leads to advancement and growth is Righteousness. Righteousness was declared for restraining creatures from injuring one another. Therefore that is Righteousness which prevents injury to creatures. Righteousness is so called because it upholds all creatures. Therefore that is Righteousness

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[1] Pollock: Sources of International Law, 2 Col. L. R. (1902), 511-24. Pomeroy, §§ 31-46.

कल्पित श्रुतिमूलो वामूलो लोकैर्धृतः सदा।
देशादिधर्मः स ज्ञेयो देशे देशे कुले कुले॥

[2] Sukra, IV., iii., 64.

[3] The S. B.E. X (ii), 144.

[4] McDonald and Keith: Vedic Index.

which is capable of upholding all creatures. Some say that Righteousness consists in what has been inculcated in the *Srutis*. Others do not agree to this. I do not censure them that say so. Everything again has not been laid down in the *Srutis*."[1]

No student of Indian antiquity has yet suggested this all-embracing definition of Dharma to be a subsequent interpolation and it very forcibly points out that Dharma or custom is indeed the basis of all righteousness whether in the dealings of a man towards his fellowmen or that of one sovereign state towards another sovereign state. Thus, the ancient Hindus recognized the truth of the well-known maxim of Pindar "that custom is the king of all things."[2]

The second primary source of International Law has been stated as conventions or express agreements by means of *treaties* of an international character. Unfortunately for us, like the treaty of an international character between Rameses II, King of Egypt ("the

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[1] Mahabharata, Santi-Raj, CIX., 8-13, Pratap Ray's translation.

तादृशोऽयमनुप्रश्नो यत धर्म्म. सुदुर्विद:।
दुष्करं चापि संख्यातुं तर्केणात व्यवस्यति ॥
प्रसवार्थाय भुतानां धर्म्मप्रवचनं कृतं ।
य: स्यात्प्रसवसंयुक्त: सधर्म्म इति निश्चय: ॥
"अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्तपो दानं दमो मति: ।
अनसूयाऽथसामर्थ्यामनीर्षा श्रीलमेवच ॥
एषधर्म्म: कुरुश्रेष्ठ कथितं परमेष्टिना ।
ब्रह्मणा देवदेवेन अयम् चैव सनातन: ॥
अस्मिन्धर्म्मे स्थितो राजन्नरो भद्रानिपश्यति ।
श्रौतो वधात्मको धर्म्म: अहिंसापरमार्थिक: ॥"
धारणाद्धर्म्ममित्याहुर्धर्म्मेण विधृता: प्रजा: ।
य: स्यादहिंसासंयुक्त: स धर्म्म इति निश्चय: ॥

[2] Attributed to Pindar by Herodotos, Bk. III., 38 (νομου παντων βασιλεα).

Pharaoh who knew not Joseph")[1] and Khitasir, the King of the Hittites, we have no treaty of an international character in ancient India. We have various kinds of treaties defined and classified in the Arthasastras between the sovereign states of a *mandala*, we have instances of treaties or alliances and intercourse with foreigners, *e.g.*, Selukos Nikator, Antiochos Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphos, but they do not bequeath to us treaties with the stamp of International Law. Probably the ancient Hindus trusted too much to custom and probably they looked upon Dharma with the eyes of an ancient Hellene towards "the law of Nature." Thus Aristotle says:

"Customary laws have intrinsically more force, and pertain to more important matters than written laws; and that a man may well be a safer ruler than the written laws, but not safer than the customary law."[2] Thus when Creon accused Antigone of breaking the laws of the state, she replied that those laws were not ordained by Zeus, or by Justice who dwells with the Gods below:

Cr. Now, tell me thou—not in many words, but briefly—knewest thou that an edict had forbidden this?

An. I knew it; could I help it? It was politic.

Cr. And thou didst indeed dare to transgress that law?

An. Yes; for it was not Zeus that had published me that edict; not such are the laws set among men by the Justice who dwells with the Gods below; nor deemed I that thy decrees were of such force, that a mortal could override the unwritten and the unfailing

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[1] Brügsch: Egypt under the Pharaohs, Vol. II, pp. 71-76.
Petrie: History of Egypt.
See Breasted: Records of Ancient Egyptian History.

[2] Politics, III., 16-9, ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων κατὰ γράμματα νόμων οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθη εἰσίν, ὥστ' εἰ τῶν κατὰ γράμματα ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων. ἀσφαλέστερος, ἀλλ' οὐ-τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος

> statutes of heaven. For their life is not to-day, or yesterday, but from all time; no man knows when they were first put forth."[1]

The evidences or witnesses of International Law in ancient India are many and various. These may broadly be classified into (*i*) the evidences of the Dharma-sastras, (*ii*) the evidences of the Arthasastras, those of the (*iii*) Puranas and lastly (*iv*) of inscriptions. We have very little trace of interstatal relations during the Vedic times. We have only glimpses of a state in formation in the Vedic age—the Vedic monarch stood midway between a tribal chief and a territorial king, but the negative evidence of the Vedas stands us in good stead in proving the existence of International Law in ancient India. We get no examples of blood-curdling warfare, nor do we find the *Dasyus* or the *Dasas* absolutely outside the pale of law. Although the Aryan conquerors and colonizers called them "अकर्म्मन्" (a-karman), अब्राह्मण (a-brahmana) and अव्रत[2] (a-brata, *i.e.*, "lawless") still their struggle for existence was not embittered by the use of inhuman methods of warfare; the sacred pages of the Vedas are not disfigured by cannibalism and although we have absolute proof of the use of "poisoned arrows,"[3] still it is not proved that they were exclusively reserved for the aborigines.

Rules of International Law based on *accepted principles of morality* were promulgated in the Dharmasastras, *e.g.*, Manu Smriti, Yagnavalka, Apastamba, etc. Thus, in Chapter VII of the Code of Manu we have a glimpse

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[1] Sophocles Antigone, 450 *seq.* tr. Philipson.

[2] R. V., I, 51, 8; I., 175, 3.
R. V, VI, 14, iii.
R. V., IX., 41, ii.

[3] R V., VI., 75, xv.
A. V., VI., 6, vii.
A. V., V., 18, viii.

of the Kautilyan theory of the "Mandala," or "the circle of states," an evidence of international intercourse in the appointment of diplomatic agents and we have also the accepted rules of humane method of warfare fully stated as well as rules relating to chivalry, enemy person and enemy property. We have humane laws of warfare as well as rudiments of what we now call "a Science of Politics" stated in the Santiparva of the Mahabharata, while warfare in the two Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, seems to have been conducted on the accepted principles of interstatal morality of a very high order.

Rules of International Law drawn from principles of expediency broadbased upon 'political considerations' find their suitable place in the Arthasastras. Almost the same rules relating to the "circles of states," intercourse between them, and rules relating to the sixfold policy, *viz.*, *sandhi* (peace), *vigraha* (war), *ásana* (observance of neutrality), *yána* (marching),[1] *samsraya* (alliance) and *dvaidhibhava* (making peace with one and waging war with another) have been stated and re-stated in almost all their works. There were other writers of the Arthasastras (besides Kautilya, Kamandaka and Sukra) dealing with the same topics or allied topics but their works have been lost. We can gather scraps of information about them from the authors of various extant Arthasastras, such for instance, Kautilya, Kamandaka and Sukracharyya. Prof. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta Univer-

[1] There is a difference of opinion as to whether all these six expedients should govern the interstatal relations of the circle Kautilya however votes for all the six.

सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावाश्चाङ्गुण्यम्। इत्याचार्याः

"द्वैगुण्यं" इति वातव्याधिः, सन्धिविग्रहाभ्यां हि षाङ्गुण्यं सम्पद्यते" इति।

"षाङ्गुण्यमेवैदवस्थाभेदात्" इति कौटिल्यः॥

sity has framed a list of the authors of the Arthasastras preceding Kautilya[1]:—

Schools.

1. Manavah.
2. Barhaspatya.
3. Ausanasha.
4. Parasarah.
5. Ambhiyah.

Individual Authors.

6. Bharadvaja.
7. Visalaksha.
8. Parasara.
9. Pishuna.
10. Kaunapadanta.
11. Vatavyadhi.
12. Bahudantiputra.
13. Katyayana.
14. Kaninka Bharadvaja.
15. Dirgha Charayana.
16. Ghotamukha.
17. Kinjalka.
18. Pishunaputra.

The most outstanding witness of International Law and Custom of ancient India is Kautilya, who has been identified by scholars with Chanakya, the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Mauryya. His Arthasastra is interesting from many points of view—not the least among them is its close analogy to rules of International Law laid down by mediæval jurists, for example, Grotius, Ayala and Rachel. As an evidence of International Law, Kautilya's Arthasastra has two obvious limitations: Firstly, he is a ruthless exponent of the principle of expediency, although it will be shown in subsequent chapters of

[1] Carmichael Lectures, pp. 89-90.

this thesis, that Kautilya's diplomacy is based on the universally followed doctrine of state-necessity. Secondly, the Arthasastra of Kautilya deals exclusively with warfare on land and does not therefore enable us to construct a body of rules relating to important topics such as blockade or contraband. It does not also deal with subjects of vital interest such as naturalisation and extradition. The Arthasastra of Kautilya was followed by Kamandaka and Sukracharyya, who along with Kautilya were the advocates of the utilitarian school of political philosophy. Many references relating to peace and war are to be found in their works as well as in the Agnipurana which from its own evidence is a book written at a time when the Tantricism was at its height.

Besides the rules directly relating to interstatal relations in the Arthasastra, we have in the Sukranitisara, evidence of private instructions given by individual states to their armed forces—rules of military discipline[1] some of which are not followed by the civilised nations of the world even to-day, *e.g.* :—

(1) The king should station troops near the village but outside it. And there should be no relationship of debtor and creditor between the village-folk and the soldiery.

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[1] ग्रामादृष्टिः समीपेतु सैनिकान् धारयेत् सदा ।
ग्राम्यसैनिकयोर्न स्यादुत्तमर्णाधमर्णता ॥
चण्डत्वमाततायित्वं राजकार्य्ये विलम्बनम् ।
अनिष्टोपेक्षणं राज्ञः स्वधर्म्म परिवर्ज्जनम् ॥
त्यजन्तु सैनिका नित्यं सल्लापमपि वा परैः ।
नृपाज्ञया विना ग्रामं न विशेयुः कदाचन ॥
स्वाधिकारिगणस्यापि स्वापराधं दिशन्तु नः ।
मित्रभावेन वर्त्तध्वं स्वामिकृत्ये सदाखिलैः ॥
मृज्यलानिच रचन्तु शस्त्रास्त्रा वसनानि च ।
अन्नं जलं प्रथमतः पातव्यञ्चान्नसाधकम् ॥
शासनादन्यथाचारान् विनेष्यामि यमालयम् ।

Sukra, IV., vii., 379, 381-83.

(2) The troops should always forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over state affairs.

(3) They should never enter the village without a "royal permit."

(4) They should never point to the defects of their commander, but should always live on friendly terms with the whole staff.

(5) The troops will remain not only responsible for their personal arms and uniforms but also for their provisions and their cooking utensils.

(6) They were subjected to martial law if they intrigued with the enemy and were required to take an oath of allegiance which ran thus—"I shall kill the troops who will act otherwise."

CHAPTER II

International Status or Persons in International Law

"A state has been defined by Lawrence, as a political community, the members of which are bound together by the tie of common subjection to some central authority, whose command the bulk of them habitually obey... ..This central authority may be vested in an individual or a body of individuals ; and though it may be patriarchal it must be more than parental." [1]

If we analyse the above definition of the state we get the following characteristics of a sovereign state, the 'subject' of International Law :—

(1) It must have a government which receives the *de facto* allegiance from its subjects.

(2) It must be a sovereign independent state.

(3) It must exhibit reasonable promise of durability.

(4) It must possess definite territories.

(5) It must be recognized as a member of the family of nations.

In other words, a sovereign state that is a member of the modern European family of nations must possess *some degree of civilisation* and must occupy a *fixed territory*.

We have dim reference of a state so early as in the Vedic period. The *Samiti* which elected the Vedic

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[1] Lawrence : Principles of International Law, p. 55.

king elected him the "King to the *Rasthra*," *e.g.*, in the election *gatha* from the Atharvaveda :[1]

आ त्वाहार्षमन्तरभूर्ध्रुवस्तिष्ठाविचाचलत् ।
विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधि भ्रशत् ॥
ध्रुवोऽच्युतः प्र मृणीहि शत्रून्च्छत्रूयतोधरान् पादयस्व ।
सर्ब्बा दिशः संमनसः सध्रीचीर्ध्रुवाय ते समितिः कल्पतामिह ॥

"We welcome thee gladly. Be steady and do not falter. The whole *vis* want you. Do not tumble down from the state. Fixed and never falling, crush and trample down enemies or those who behave like enemies. Every quarter, *i.e.*, everybody assembled with one mind is honouring you : the Assembly here is appointing you for permanence." We have the traditional list of sixteen "**महाजनपदाः**" in the Pali works[2] such as :—

1. Anga	9. Kuru
2. Magadha	10. Panchala
3. Kasi	11. Machchha
4. Kosala	12. Surasena
5. Uajji	13. Assaka
6. Matta	14. Avante
7. Cheti	15. Gandhara
8. Vanisa	16. Kamboja

From the time of the Vedas and onward, the states of India grew in size and in importance till we come to the Mauryya period of Indian history, when Asoka had relations not only with four kingdoms of the South but also with principalities outside the borders of India,

[1] A.V., 6-9-2 I am indebted for this sloka to one of Mr. Jayaswal's soul-stirring articles in the Modern Review.

[2] Vinaya, II., 146.
Anguttara, I., 213 ; IV., 252, 256, 260.
Jataka, V., 316 ; VI., 271.
The Carmichael Lectures (1918), p. 48

and it does not require the ingenuity and the perseverence of an erudite scholar to prove that there were states, either country states or city states, in existence during the historic period in India.

1. *A state must have a government which receives the* de facto *allegiance from its subjects.*

Whether we accept the divine origin of the state as propounded by the *Aitareya Brahmana*,[1] the Mahabharata[2] or the Manusamhita[3] or we agree with the theory of Kautilya[4] that the state is a human creation, we see very clearly that the states in ancient India, whether republican or monarchical in character, had governments which received the *de facto* allegiance of the subjects. This has been beautifully expressed by Manu,[5] the apostle of the theory of the Divine origin of Kingship :

"Punishment governs all created beings, punishment alone protects them, punishment watches over them when they sleep ; the wise declare punishment (to be identical) with law.. ..... If the King did not, without tiring, inflict punishment on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish in a pit.

The crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with any one, the lower ones would (usurp the place of) the higher ones." (Bühler's translation)—Manu, VII., 19-20.

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[1] Aitareya Brahmana, I., iii , 14.

[2] Mahabharata, Raj-Santi, Sec. 59.

[3] Manu, VII., 3.

[4] Arthasastra, I., 13 :—

तत यैऽनुप्रशंसेयु: तानितरस्मं च प्रतिषेधयेत्—" मात्स्यन्याया‌भिभूता: प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे। धान्यषड्भागं पण्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागधेयं प्रकल्प्ययामासु:। तेन भृता राजान: प्रजानां योगक्षेमवहा:तेषां किल्बिषमदण्डकरा हरन्ति। योगक्षेमवहाय प्रजानाम्। तस्मादुपल्कषड्भागमारण्यका अपि निवपान्ति—तस्मैद्वागधेयं योऽस्मान्गोपायतीति।

[5] दण्ड: शास्ति प्रजा: सर्व्वं दण्डएवाभिर क्षति। दण्ड: सुप्तेषु जागर्त्ति दण्डं धर्म्मविदूर्बुधा:॥
समीक्ष्यसधृत: सम्यक्सर्व्वारञ्जयति प्रजा:। असमीक्ष्य प्रणीतस्तुविनाशयति सर्व्वत:॥
यदि नप्रणयेद्राजादण्डंदण्ड्येष्वतन्द्रित:। शूलेमत्स्यानिवापक्ष्यान् दुर्ब्बलान् बलवत्तरा:॥
अन्यात्काक: पुरोभाशंश्वावलिह्याद्विलथा। स्वाम्यंचनस्यात्कस्मिंश्चित् प्रवर्त्तताधरोत्तरम्॥

2. *It must be a sovereign independent state.*[1] Sovereign states are those which are fully autonomous and independent. The attributes of sovereignty according to Kautilya are—" the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend."[2] From a passage in Kāmandaka,[3] we learn however, that Maya one of the authors of the Nitisastras, described four only of the states of the *Mandala*, or the " Circle of States " as 'sovereign states':

" These four, namely, the *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udasina* have been said to be the principal components of a Mandala. This is the Mandala of four Sovereigns described by Maya conversant with Political Science."

The Mandala or the " Circle of States " has been described at some length by (*i*) Manu [4] and at great length by (*ii*) the authors of the Nitisastras for instance by Kautilya,[5] Sukracharyya[6] and Kāmandaka [7] as well as (*iii*) by the Agnipurana.[8] The number of foes and allies inside this मण्डल (mandala) varies. Generally speaking however, twelve Kings formed a Mandala, *viz.* :—

(*i*) *Vijigisu* or the Sovereign in the centre.

(*ii*) the five Kings whose dominions lay in front of the Vijigisu, *e.g.* :—

(*a*) *Ari*, the enemy,

(*b*) the friend of the Vijigisu (**मित्रप्रकृतिः**),

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[1] The authorities are divided on the question whether sovereignty is an essential characteristic of the state Among those who answer in the negative are Laband, Meyer, Oppenheim ; among those who answer in the affirmative are Borel, Bornhak, Merignhac.

[2] स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्डमित्राणि प्रकृतयः . A. S., V., ch. 6.

[3] Kamandaka : Nitisara, VIII., 20.

[4] Manu, VII, 155 et ffg.

[5] Kautilya, Bk. VI., Ch. 2, Shama-Shastri, tr., pp. 322-24.

[6] Sukra.

[7] Kamandaka, Section VIII.

Agnipurana, CCXL.

(*c*) the enemy's friend (अरिमित्रं),
(*d*) the friend's friend of the Vijigisu (मित्रामित्रं),
(*e*) the friend's friend of the Enemy (अरिमित्रामित्रं).

(*iii*) In the rear of the Vijigisu there were—
(α) *Parshnigraha* or a rearward enemy,
(β) *Ákranda*, a rearward friend,
(γ) *Párshnigrahasara*, an ally of the rearward enemy, and
(δ) *Ákranadasara*, an ally of the rearward friend.

(*iv*) Besides these we have (*a*) the *Madhyama* (the mediator) and (*b*) the *Udasina* (the neutral).

Thus it will be observed that the four states (*b*) the friend of the Vijigisu, (*d*) the friend's friend of the Vijigisu and the (β) *Ákranda* as well as the (δ) *Ákrandasara* were not wholly sovereign states. The Vijigisu controlled their activities and maintained the balance of power within the Circle of States.

नेमिमेकान्तराद्राज्ञः क्षत्वा चानन्तरानरान् ।[1]
नाभिमात्मानमायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥

Each of these three states possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army and these are not therefore vassal states. It is noticeable however that they lack in the sixth attribute of sovereignty, *viz.*, "a friend" and Kautilya says "that it needs no commentary to understand that the three Circles of States having the enemy of (the conqueror) the Madhyama King, or the neutral King at the centre of each of the three circles are different from that of the conqueror."

अनेन मण्डलपृथक्त्वं व्याख्यानं अरिमध्यमौदासीनानाम् ।

Besides these protectorates or "spheres of interest," we have another kind of state known by the modern

[1] A. S., VI., 2

phraseology of a "client state." The duties of the client state have thus been described by Kautilya:[1]

"He (the King of a client State) should behave himself like a servant to his master by serving the protector's *occasional* needs. Forts and other defensive works, 'acquisition' of kings, celebration of marriages, installation of the heir-apparent, commercial undertakings, capture of elephants, construction of covert places for battle, marching against an enemy, and holding sports—all these he should undertake only with the permission of the protector. He should also obtain the protector's permission before making any agreement with the people settled in his country or before punishing those who may run away from his country..... .He should not accept the offer of a good country even from a friend.....He should also help the protector as much as he can. On all occasions of worshipping gods and of making prayers, he should cause his people to pray for the long life of his protector."[2] This is the true picture of such a client state as the kingdom of Kamrupa during the time of Harshavardhana, or perhaps a kingdom like modern Korea under the enlightened guidance of Japan.

3. *It must possess definite territories.*

Every king must be a territorial monarch, *i.e.*, he must not be a mere tribal chieftain. Of the seven elements of sovereignty, "the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend," *the country*

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[1] Shama Sastri, pp 323-324.

[2] Arthasastra, V., 2. 17.
Shama Sastri's translation, pp. 377-378

लब्धसंश्रयः ममथाचारितवङ्गन्नरि वर्तेत। दुर्गादीनिच कर्माण्यावाहविवाहपुत्राभिषेकाश्वपण्यहस्तिग्रहणसवयाचाविहारगमनानि चानुज्ञातः कुर्वीत। स्वभूम्यवस्थितप्रकृतिसन्धिमुपधातमपसृतेषु वा सर्वमनुज्ञातः कुर्वीत। दुष्टपौरजानपदो वा न्यायवृत्तिमन्यां भूमिं याचेत·····उचितां वा मित्राद्भूमिं दीयमानां न प्रतिगृह्णीयात। ·····यथाशक्तिचोपकुर्यात्। दैवतब्रह्मिवाचनेषु तत्परो आशिषो वाचयेत्। A. S., VII., 15.

occupies a very prominent place. The minister, the fort, the treasury and the army have all a *pied à terre* in the country.

4. *The state in ancient Indian polity was not identified with the monarch.* A Hindu monarch could not like Louis XIV exclaim "*L'état c'est moi*" (I am the state). From very early times, the ancient Hindu monarch considered himself merely a custodian of the interests of the people. He was **नरपति** (protector of the people), **भुपति** (protector of the country). The Mahabharata regards the king as the highest servant of the community.

वलिष्ठेन शुल्केन दण्डेनाथापराधिनाम्

मान्त्रानीतेन लिप्सेथा वेतनेन धनागमम्।

Mahabharata-Santi-parvam, LXXX., 10.

"A pure sixth part of the produce of the soil, 'fines and forfeitures' collected from offenders, taxes demanded in accordance with the Shastras (law) as your *wages* (**वेतनेन**) shall constitute your revenue." So we find also in *Sukraniti*, I., 188 :—

"God has created the king though master in form, the servant of the people *getting his wages in taxes* and this for the protection and the growth (of the people) in all classes."

Says Kautilya

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।

नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्॥

The trust character[1] of the Hindu monarch has also been very beautifully expressed by the Agni Purana :

"The house of a monarch who lives for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, is the heaven itself.....The king takes as his own share a sixth part of the income of his subjects good or bad

[1] The trust character of the Hindu monarch has been very forcibly pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal and Prof. Bhandarkar.

in exchange for his good government; .....The king shall punish the wicked and the evil doers and in lieu of that, people shall justly pay him revenue .. . . The king should make good the loss to the owner, the price of an article stolen by a thief and on such an occasion the king shall reimburse himself out of the salaries of his police officers." [1]

5. *Lastly, the sovereign state must be a member of the family of nations.* This idea of a family of nations has held sway over the minds of men at all times. Thus, the Greeks, the most polished nation of antiquity looked upon all non-Hellenes as mere "barbarians," beyond and outside the pale of Greek religion. This exclusive frame of mind has been very well illustrated by Martin. In China there was a bond of sympathy between the various constituent states, but active hostility against the "barbarians." In the middle of the seventh century B.C. the Tartars of the north-west presented themselves in the court of Tsin, requesting a treaty of peace and amity and humbly offering to submit to be treated as vassals of the more enlightened Power. 'Amity,' exclaim-the prince, 'what do they know of amity? The barbarous savages! Give them war as the portion due to our natural enemies.' [2]

Even in our own day, races and nations outside the pale of the European family of nations are entitled to the protection of International Law merely by the application of the doctrine of *legibus soluti, legibus vivimus*, so that such an enlightened nation as the British do not feel the least compunction in using dumdum bullets against the African savages on the ground that they are not subjects of International Law. Herein lies the superiority of international usage of ancient India over the

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[1] Ag. P., CCXXIII, 12. 14 22.

[2] W. A. P. Martin: Traces of International Law in Ancient China.

international custom or usage of even the most enlightened nations of the modern world. The "अठवीदल" translated as 'wild tribes' by Mr. Shama Sastri were outside the 'circle of states' and yet not only were they not regarded as outlaws but Kautilya counselled even alliance with them, *e.g.* :—

सन्धिविग्रहक्रमहेतुभिर्वा चेष्टेत ।
दूष्यामित्राटविकानुभयोरुपगृह्णीयात् ।
एवयोरन्यतरं गच्छम् स्तैरेवान्यतरस्य व्यसने प्रहरेत् ।
हाभ्यामुपहितोवा मण्डलापाश्रयस्तिष्टेत् ॥[1]

Kamandaka goes even further and says that peace might safely be made with an अनार्य्य :

"A king true to his promises, an Aryya, a virtuous prince, an *Anaryya*, one having many brothers, a very powerful sovereign, and one who has come off victorious in many wars, these seven are said to be the parties with whom peace should be concluded."

Then again,[2]

"Peace should be made with an Anaryya, for even he meeting an enemy eradicates him like the son of Renuka destroying the Khatriyas."[3]

Thus, in ancient Indian polity there were various grades of subjects of International Law according as they made free or fettered exercise of the rights of sovereignty, either in internal or in external matters.

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[1] A. S., XII., 4.

[2] Kam., IX., 42 सत्यार्य्यधार्म्मिकानार्य्य भ्रातृसंघातवान् बली ।

[3] *Ibid*, IX., 45. अनेकविजयी चेति सन्धेया: सप्त कीर्त्तिता: ॥

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सन्धि: कार्य्योऽप्यनार्य्येण समप्राप्योत्सादयेद्धि स: ।
रेणुकाया: सुतइव मूलेष्वपि न तिष्ठति ॥

CHAPTER III

Intercourse of States

Amongst the peoples of the most distant antiquity there were practices, more or less systematic, relating to the interchange of embassies. Yet, Sir F. E. Smith, the Attorney-General of England, writing the most recent English book on International Law warned his readers against "tracing in the immunity of envoys the germs of a nascent humanity; it was an immunity involved in the necessity of international intercourse."[1] It is this necessity of intercourse that however gave birth to diplomacy, and intertribal or interstatal law. As societies advanced in the successive stages of evolution, treaties began to be established for the control of such international relationships. Mr. G. C. Wheeler[2] in a very recently published book, has ably proved interchange of embassies accompanied by established formalities and ceremonies between the various states of China in remote antiquity. The Tel-el-amarna and the Boghazköyi tablets undoubtedly prove the existence of temporary embassies in the world round Egypt and Syria. In the Fiji Islands intercourse between group and group in peace or in war is conducted through the medium of heralds who are considered inviolable at all times. In Greece and Rome diplomatic relationships reached a very high state of development. In ancient Indian polity diplomacy was considered the sheet anchor of international or interstatal relationship. The importance of diplomatic relationship is fully recognised by Manu. "The army

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[1] F. E. Smith: International Law, Sept., 1918, p. 1.

[2] G. C. Wheeler: Traces of International Law in the Ancient Orient. *Cf.* also Rde Maulde-la-claviere: La diplomatic au temps de Machiaval.

depends on the official (placed in charge of it), the due control (of the subjects) on the army, the treasury and the (government of) the realm on the king, peace and its opposite (war), on the ambassador."[1] Then again: "For the ambassador alone makes (kings) allies and separates allies; the ambassador transacts that business by which (kings) are disunited or not."[2]

To Kautilya, the *pontifex maximus* of the school of political expediency, diplomacy meant the only means of preserving the balance of power, as the surest weapon of success in material welfare.

एकं हन्यान्नवा हन्यादिषुः क्षिप्तो धनुष्मता।
प्राज्ञेन तु मतिः क्षिप्ता हन्यादृगर्भगतानपि॥[3]

In ancient India, we have traces of diplomatic agents from very early times—from the time of the Rigveda. Thus we have a passage in the Rigveda[4] in which Agni discharged the functions of an ambassador.

"अग्निदूतं वृणीमहे होतारं विश्ववेधसं अस्य यज्ञस्य सुक्रतं॥"

Sāyana in his commentary said—"अग्निः देवानां दूत आसीत्"। Diplomatic agents in ancient India were divided into दूत and चार. दूत, an open spy, corresponded to modern envoys, चार on the other hand was 'a secret spy' holding the honourable position of an "international spy" of our times. The Taitareya Samhita first drew this distinction[5] between दूत and प्रहित. Sayana explained दूत as परसैन्यवृत्तान्त-कुशलः and प्रहित as स्वामिना प्रेषितः पुरुषः. In one word, the

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[1] Manu, VII., 65 अमात्येदं··· ....
नृपतौ कोशराष्ट्रे च दूते सन्धिविपर्ययौ॥

[2] *Ibid*, VII., 66 दूत एव हि संधत्ते भिनत्त्येवच संहतान्।
दूतस्तत् कुरुते कर्म्म भिद्यन्ते येन मानवाः॥

[3] Arthasastra: X., 6.

[4] R. V., I., 12.1.

[5] Taitareya, IV., 7. 1.

former represented the sovereignty of the state and the latter was a mere international spy having no *locus standi* whatever in a foreign country.

The qualifications of an ambassador were very high. They were chosen from amongst the most distinguished and honoured citizens. Sometimes those who had already held high civil or military appointments were nominated for legations, as an additional mark of honour and in recognition of their able services. Thus says Kautilya:

उद्भूतमन्त्रो दूतप्रणिधिः।[1]

Thus, in Greece the *Proxenoi*[2] who had experience and knowledge of foreign affairs in their domestic duties as protectors of foreigners, were frequently sent on important diplomatic errands. Thus, in democratic England, even now, the foreign office does not admit in practice the democratic principle of "a career open to talents."

All the writers on international or interstatal relations laid great stress on the loyalty, honesty, intelligence and proficiency in the art of the statecraft on the part of ambassadors. When we remember the recent occasions of refusal on the part of modern states to receive what we may politely call "indiscreet" or "undiplomatic," ambassadors we cannot but applaud the wisdom of the ancient Hindu writers on polity in their categorical insistence on qualifications of a very high order on the part of ambassadors.[3]

So says Bhisma in the Mahabharata:

"An envoy should possess these seven accomplishments, *viz.*, he should be highborn, of a good family, *eloquent*, clever, *sweet-speeched*,

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[1] Arthasastra, I., 16.

[2] Livy: XXXVII., 55, 56.

[3] See Hall International Law, 7th ed., p. 239.

N.B.—A well-known instance of dismissal occurred in 1888, when Lord Sackville, the English ambassador at New York was given his passports and required to leave the country within three days. Lord Sackville had been asked to advise an unknown

faithful in delivering messages with which he is charged, and endowed with good memory." [1]

Thus says Manu:

"An ambassador is commended to a king (who is) loyal, honest, skilful, possessing a good memory, who knows the (proper) place and time (for action) (who is) handsome, fearless, eloquent." [2]

The Agni Purana repeats the same thing:

"The ambassador sent to represent the king at a foreign court should be a man of a very sharp intellect, sweet-voiced, possessing eloquence of speech and well-versed in the arts of diplomacy..... ..."

A man intelligent, ingenuous, well-versed in the arts of war and scriptural knowledge and accustomed to the work of espionage and possessing a good retentive memory and eloquence of speech should be appointed an ambassador.[3]

It is curious to note in this connection that "eloquence" and "sweetness of speech" were regarded as the greatest qualifications for an ambassador at a time when the art of writing despatches had not so well developed. Thus, the *legatus* or an envoy in Rome was generally called an *orator*. In French it appears that *orateur* had the meaning of "ambassador" until the close of the fifteenth century.[4]

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correspondent of English extraction and sympathies how to vote in the Presidential election of that year. He replied suggesting in a general way that the then government was friendly to England whereas Mr. Cleveland's intentions were unascertainable. In September 1915, Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Washington, was recalled on the ground, first, that he had proposed plans to his Government for instigating strikes in American factories producing munitions of war, and secondly, that he had employed an American citizen to carry official despatches secretly to Austria through the lines of her enemies.

[1] Mahabharata, Santi-Raj, LXXXV. 28.

[2] Manu, VII., 64.

[3] Agni, CCXLI., 7.

[4] Livy: I, 15, "Veientes pacem oratores Romam mittunt."
Virgil: Aeneid, XI:, 331.
"Centum oratores prima de gente Latinos"

Cf. also the Greek word *ἔκδικος* and *αὐτοκράτορες*.

Permanent embassies were not probably known to the world before the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, which brought about the close of the devastating Thirty Years' War in Europe, ushered in a brighter day for independent statehood and laid the foundation stone of "modern" International Law. The Greek embassies were not permanent institutions, nor could the Roman *fetials* be regarded as precursors of modern resident embassies endowed with the theory of "extra-territoriality." In Ancient India, the *Duta* was entrusted with certain specific mission,[1] the conclusion of which ended his career as an *open* international agent whereas 'wandering' spies or *secret* agents collected information from various states under various *rôles*. They, in no way, represented the might of the state but they merely formed a secret service "without letting the public know that they had been so employed," and the kings took particular care "to prevent their mutual recognisance."[2]

Comparative exclusiveness of states till quite recent times, looked upon foreigners generally with an eye of suspicion and diplomacy as a periphrasis for intrigue. Thus, Louis XI of France regarded an ambassador as a sort of chartered spy in the court of each of his powerful neighbours. "If they lie to you, lie still more to them"[3] was his general instruction to his ambassadors. Sir Henry Wotton's cynical definition of an ambassador was "a person sent to lie abroad for the benefit of his country." Coke in his famous *Institutes* praised King Henry VII "overmuch" because "he would not in his time suffer leiger ambassadors of any foreign king or prince within his realm, or he with them, but upon

[1] *E.g.*, the functions enumerated by Kautilya, I., 16.

[2] Agni Purana, CCXX., 17-24.

[3] Flassan : *Diplomatie Française*,. Vol. I, p. 247, cited by Lawrence, p. 246.

occasions used ambassadors."[1] So Grotius[2] affirms that a nation is not bound to receive resident embassies for such is unknown to ancient practice. The Agni Purana[3] gave vent to the same feeling of distrust in the following lines :

"An ambassador is but an open spy and a spy is but an enemy travelling in the enemy's country, in the guise of a trader, a mendicant, or a strolling physician."

The institution of "foreign spies" claimed very great attention from ancient Hindu authors specially from Kautilya. His institution of spies has most likely never been rivalled in the world, excepting perhaps by the modern Germans.

"A kingdom has its roots in spies and secret agents," says Bhisma, in the Mahabharata.[4] The same sentiment is also expressed by the Agni Purana :[5]

"The spies are the king's eyes and men should be employed in espionage and secret service, without letting the public know that they had been so employed and care should be taken to prevent their mutual recognisance. They should guide themselves as merchants, physicians, astrologers, religious mendicants, and watch the strength and the armaments of foreign kings. The king should not trust the statement of a single spy unless corroborated by informations received on the subject from different sources."

Espionage was a recognized international institution in ancient Indian polity and diplomatic duels between "secret service" agents were established facts in state-raft. Thus we find in Kautilya,—"spies set up by foreign kings shall also be found out by local spies; spies

[1] Coke : Fourth Institutes, ch 26.

[2] Grotius : II., 18. 3.

[3] Agni, CCXLI., 12.

[4] Mahabharata, Santi-Raj, LXXXIII.

[5] Agni, CCXX., 17-24.

by spies of like profession."[1] Furthermore, Kautilya says:

एवं मण्डलमात्मार्थं विजिगीषुर्निवेशयेत्।
पृष्ठतश्च पुरस्ताच्च मित्रप्रकृति सम्पदा॥
क्षत्त्रेच मण्डले नित्यं दूतान् गूढांश्च वासयेत्।
मित्रभूत्सपत्नानां हत्वा हत्वा च संहृत्तः।[2]

P. 302, Mysore Ed.

Spies have been divided by Kautilya into nine classes: each spy playing a rôle different from that of his confrêre:—

1.	*Kapatica-chhatra*	... A spy under the guise of a fraudulent disciple.
2.	*Udasthita*	. A spy under the guise of a recluse.
3.	*Grihapatika*	... One playing the part of a householder.
4.	*Vaidehaka*	... One assuming the rôle of a merchant.
5.	*Tapasa*	... Representing an ascetic practising penances.
6.	*Satri*	.. A student spy.
7.	*Tikshana*	... A firebrand spy never stopping at any act of incendiarism.
8.	*Rasada*	.. A poisoner.
9.	*Bhikshuki*	... A mendicant woman.[3]

All these spies were recruited from various classes of society, and persons of diverse conditions of life were drafted for this relentless machinery of the state. They were to adopt various disguises and received

[1] Arthasastra, Shama Sastri's edition, p. 25.

[2] Thus the conqueror should, through the aid of his friends, bring the Circle of States under his sway both in his rear and in front .... he should send messengers and spies to reside in each of the states composing the circle..... A. S., VII., 13.

[3] कापटिकोदास्थित गृहपतिकवैदेहकतापसव्यञ्जनान् सत्रितीक्ष्णरसदभिक्षुकीश्च.—1-10, p. 18, Mysore Ed.

a thorough training in the "institute of espionage."[1] The "असम्बन्धिन:" or those who have no सम्बन्ध or relationship, *i.e.*, orphans and who were अवश्यभर्त्तव्य by the state received special training as apprentices (सत्रिण "संसर्गविद्या"),[2] in the institute of espionage. The spies were duly honoured by the state and they had to take an oath—

("राजानं मांच प्रमाणं कृत्वा यस्य यदकुशलं पश्यसि तत्तदानीमेव प्रत्यादिशति") [3]

This oath did not absolve the state-officials from demanding corroboration of the statements of the spies. According to both Kautilya and the Agni Purana, the statement of a spy must be corroborated from three different sources and if the statements disagreed, then punishment was to be meted out to the spies.

त्रयाणामेकवाक्ये सम्प्रत्ययः। तेषामभीक्ष्णविनिपाते तूष्णीं दण्डः प्रतिषेधोवा ॥[4]

Of these nine classes of spies, the तीक्ष्ण, the रसद, and the परिव्राजिक were called संस्थाराः or "wandering spies." No distinction of caste or creed or sex was observed in the appointment of persons for espionage. Thus says Kautilya:

एतया मुण्डा वृषलीव्याख्याता:[5]

That is, the same rules applied to women with shaven heads as well as to men of the Sudra caste. It is to be observed however that envoys or दूत were, generally speaking, recruited from the Brahmin caste. Learning and literary accomplishments were required of them and Kautilya[6] says that they were, in general, Brahmans.

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[1] तं सचिवः संस्थासपर्यंतः—*Ibid*, 1-12, p. 20, Mysore Ed.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 20, l. 3.

[3] *Vide supra.*

[4] Kautilya: 1. 12, p. 21, l. 11-12, Mysore Ed.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 20, l. 8.

[6] *Ibid*, 1-16, p. 30, Mysore Ed.

"तं ब्रुयात्—दूतमुखा वै राजानस्त्वं चान्ये च। तस्मादुद्भृतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यथोक्तं वक्तारस्तेषामन्तावसायिनोऽप्यवध्याः। किमङ्ग पुनर्ब्राह्मणः।

The wandering spies did not know each other and once out of the institute they were not permitted to enter the precincts of their *alma mater* again.[1]

नचान्योन्यं संस्थास्ते वा विदुः

The same thing is also repeated by the Agni Purana :

"The spies are the king's eyes and men should be employed in espionage and secret service, without letting the public know that they have been so employed and care should be taken to prevent their mutual recognisance."[2]

The institute of spies was not only a training school but a bureau of information and spies conveyed news to this great national espionage-institute.[3] Its organization was perfect, it had a regular hierarchy of officials who invented a regular code of signs and signalling for the purposes of receiving and transmitting messages :

"तं भिक्षुक्यः संस्थास्वपर्येयुः। संस्थानामन्तेवासिनः संज्ञालिपिभिश्चार-सञ्चारं कुर्युः।"[4]

The great 'institute of spies' was an octopus in the state trying to bring under its grasp all kinds of activity in the state. Truly, it finds its counterpart in M. Fouche's school during the First Empire in France, and in the dreaded German espionage colleges of our days.

Long before the galaxy of diplomats, assembled round the "peace" table at Vienna in 1815[5] and long

[1] Kautilya : I. 12.
[2] Agni, CCXX., 17-18
[3] Kautilya : p. 20, Mysore Ed.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 21, l 4-5, Mysore Ed
[5] At Vienna (*according to rank*).
(*a*) Ambassadors and *nuncios*.
(*b*) Envoys, Ministers plenipotentiary.
(*c*) *Charges d'affaires*.

before Vattel classified diplomatic agents,[1] Kautilya had divided diplomatic agents into four classes :—

(*i*)	उद्धृतमन्त्रो दूतप्रणिधिः।	(*i*)	*Duta.*
(*ii*)	अमात्यसम्पदोपेतो निसृष्टार्थः।	(*ii*)	*Nisrishtarthah.*
(*iii*)	पादगुणहीनः परिमितार्थः।	(*iii*)	*Parimitarthah.*
(*iv*)	अर्धगुणहीनः शासनहरः।	(*iv*)	*Sasanaharah.*

The *Duta* corresponded to αγγελος of Greece, the *legatus* of Rome and the ambassador of the modern times ; the *Nisrishtarthah* has been wrongly translated as *charge-d'affaires*, because a *charge-d'affaires* is an inferior kind of diplomatic agent accredited not to sovereigns but to the ministers of foreign affairs[2] and he occupied the lowest rung in the diplomatic ladder both at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Vienna. The *Nisrishtarthas*, on the contrary, are envoys possessing ministerial qualifications. They probably resemble the αυτοκαρορες of Aristophanes[3]—the plenipotentiaries-ambassadors charged with the conclusion of a treaty. The *Parimitartha* can be identified with the plenipotentiaries of a century ago. The *Sasanahara* is an inferior kind of envoy.

The right to send ambassadors both in Greece and in Rome was not regarded as an absolute right. It rested either on treaty stipulations[4] or on an express permission obtained from the state to which the ambassador was to be sent. Secondly, only sovereign states were allowed to represent themselves by diplomatic agents. Likewise, in

[1] Vattel's classification. *Droit-des-gens*, Bk. IV., § 73.
(*a*) Ambassadors.
(*b*) Envoys.
(*c*) Residents.
(*d*) Ministers.

[2] Hertslet : Map of Europe by Treaty, Vol. I , pp 62, 63.

[3] *Pace* 359. *Aves* 1595.

[4] For example, the clause in the Thirty Years Truce : Thuc., IV., 118.
Κπρυκι δεκαι πρεσβεια και ακολουθοις δποσοις αν δοκπ, περι καταλυοεως τουπολεμου και δικων ες Πελοπουνπσον και 'Αθπυοξε οπουδας ειναι ωυοι και απιουοι, και κατα γπυ και κατα θαλασσα.

ancient India, ambassadors represented the might of the state. Thus, we have in the Ramayana :

ब्रुवन्परार्थं परवान्नदूतो वध्यमर्हति ।[1]

Kautilya holds the same view :

तं ब्रुयात्—दूतमुखावै राजानस्त्वं चान्ये च ।[2]

"Messengers are the mouthpieces of kings." The word "**चान्ये च**" meaning "not only of thyself but of all" is probably a courteous way of putting things, because Kautilya observes further on, that an ambassador need not care for the mightiness of the enemy, thereby conclusively proving the equality of all states big or small, so far as interstatal intercourse by means of diplomatic agents was concerned.

वसेदविसृष्टः प्रपूजयानोत्सिक्तः, परेषु बलित्वं नमन्येत ।[3]

The ambassador received instructions from the monarch and armed with his credentials he sought permission to enter the state to which he had been accredited. Instructions of ambassadors were either verbal or written.[4] **शासन** is the word for instructions in Kautilya's Arthasastra.

शासने शासनमित्याचक्षते । शासन प्रधानाहि राजानः, तन्मूलत्वात्-सन्धिविग्रहयोः[5]

"Thus writs are of great importance to kings because treaties and ultimata leading to war, depend on writs." Then again, one class of envoys is called **शासनहरः** because it used to convey royal writs.[6]

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[1] Ramayana : Sundar, LII., 19.
[2] Arthasastra, I., 16., p. 30, Mysore Ed.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Cf.* the Roman custom, Dig, XLVIII, 6 :
"Item quod ad legatos oratores comites ve attienbit.
Si quis eorum pulasse et Sive injuriam fecisse argueteur."
Arthasastra, p. 70, II., 9
[5] *Ibid*, I., 16; also *cf.* सूप्रसिविहितयानवाहनपुरुषपरिवापः प्रतिष्ठेत 'शासनमेव' वाच्यः पवनावचान्येवंस्वेदं प्रतिवाक्यमेवमुतिसन्धातव्यम्."—p. 30., XV., 6.

The reception of an envoy was not an inherent right and therefore envoys must have obtained permission of entry from the sovereign to whose territory he had to go.

परादिष्टानमनुज्ञातः प्रविशेत्। शासनंचयथोक्तं ब्रुयात्।[1]

He was to stay on till he was allowed to depart **वसेनदिसृष्टः**. Only on failure of a mission or when fear of death hung overhead could the envoy return home without permission.

The envoy was to see the minister of foreign affairs as was the custom, at any rate during the time of Kautilya. "The ministers shall have to consider all that concerns the parties of both the king and his army" and the Arthasastra casts upon the sovereign 'surrounded by his council of ministers,' the duty of receiving ambassadors.

"मन्त्रिपरिषदा सामन्तदूतं।[2]

The reception of the ambassador in ancient India, therefore, was an act of state, shrouded by pomp and ceremony. In Athens, ambassadors were received and despatched by the assembly of the people; in Rome, they announced their arrival to the Senate through a prior notification to the prætor at the temple of Saturn; in Carthage, they were first 'presented to the people and afterwards brought before the assembly of the people.' Foreign envoys failing to get permission to enter the state, to which they were accredited as diplomatic agents, were treated unceremoniously. According to Kautilya, they fell under the iron rule of the Superintendent of Passports and on failing to produce passports were liable to the highest fine. In Rome, they were regarded as

[1] Arthasastra, p. 30, XI., 16.

[2] Instructions in Grace were designated *ονωβολα*, in Rome "tesserva hospitales." Arthasastra, p. 45, I., 12, Mysore Ed.

mere spies and punishable as such. Thus, the Illyrians before their final incorporation with Rome failed to get recognition as they failed to report themselves to the Senate and were treated with scant courtesy. The functions of an ambassador have been thus defined by Manu :—[1]

"An ambassador alone makes allies and separates allies; the ambassador transacts that business by which (kings) are united or not." According to Manu, therefore, the functions of an ambassador are those of the traditional diplomat. Kautilya adds to these functions other duties necessitated by the promptings of civilisation and the dictates of interstatal relationship:

प्रेषणं सन्धिपालत्वं प्रतापो मित्रसंग्रहः ।
उपजापसुहृद्भेदो गूढ़दण्डातिसारणम् ॥
वन्धुरत्नापहरणं चारज्ञानं पराक्रमः ।
समाधिमोक्षो दूतस्य कर्म्मयोगश्च चाश्रयः ॥[2]

Thus, his functions were (1) transmission of messages, (2) maintenance of treaties, (3) issue of *ultimatums*, (4) breaking of peace—all the legitimate duties of a modern ambassador. Besides these, intrigue formed a second set of duties—intrigues worthy of the mediæval type of ambassadors like Count Gyllenbourg[3] in London or Prince of Cellarmare[4] at Paris, *viz.*—(*a*) sowing dissension among friends, (*b*) fetching secret force, (*c*) carrying away by stealth relatives and gems, etc.

Even a modern ambassador under the hospitable roof of the "hotel" supported by the theory of "extra-territoriality"

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[1] Manu, VII., 64.

[2] Arthasastra, I., 13.

[3] Count Gyllenbourg, the Swedish Minister in England abetted in 1717 a conspiracy to overthrow George I and to set up the Old Pretender on the throne of England.

[4] The Prince of Cellarmere, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris threw himself into the vortex of a conspiracy to seize the Duke of Orleans and proclaim the King of Spain, Regent of France.

plots in secret, like perhaps the German Ambassador at Washington in 1917 and therefore, an astute politician like Kautilya rightly created distrust in the minds of kings and asked them to be on their guard not merely passively but also actively.

स्वदूतैः कारयेदेतत् परदूतांश्च रक्षयेत् ।
प्रतिदूतापसर्पाभ्यां दृश्यादृश्यैश्च रक्षिभिः ॥

Immunities of Diplomatic Agents.

Everywhere in antiquity, the person of the ambassador was regarded inviolable. Thus, when David's[1] ambassadors were sent back by the people of Ammon with one side of their beards clean shaven, it was felt universally throughout Israel that the limits of international morality had been reached. The attitude of the Greeks and the Persians has been very well illustrated by Herodotus:[2] Just on the eve of the "Persian Wars," Emperor Darius sent heralds to Athens and Sparta "to demand earth and water from them"—probably as a token of nominal subjugation to his power. The Athenians and the Spartans naturally grew very angry. The former threw the Persian heralds into the bathrum and the latter into a well bidding them take earth and water from thence. A thrill of horror seems to have passed throughout Sparta for Herodotus tells us that two Spartan nobles offered their lives in exchange for the lives of the Persian envoys. The Asiatic Darius, however, would not agree and he did not want to imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians in perpetrating an offence against the common laws of mankind.

There seems to be an universal consensus of opinion in ancient India that the person of a Duta was inviolable

[1] Samuel, X., 4.
[2] Herodotus, VII., 136.

and he must on no account be killed. He was the representative of the sovereign who sent him to a foreign court and therefore statecraft and custom both forbade his punishment or death.[1] The Mahabharata[2] is very emphatic in its denunciation of sovereigns who committed the gross offence of killing an envoy. "A king should never slay an envoy under any circumstances. That king who slays an envoy sinks into hell with all his ministers. That king observant of Kshattriya practices who slays an envoy who faithfully utters the message with which he is charged causes the manes of his deceased ancestors to be stained with the sin of killing a fœtus."

ननु हन्यान्नृपो जातु दूतं कस्यांचिदापदि ।
दूतस्य हन्ता निरयमाविशेत् सचिवैः सह ॥
यथोक्तवादिनं दूतं क्षत्रधर्मरतोनृपः ।
योहन्यात् पितरस्तस्य भ्रुणहत्यामवाप्नुयुः ॥

The *Nitivakyamrita* declared that a *duta* should never be killed even if he was a *Chandala*, while the *Nitiprakasa* gave vent to the prevailing sentiment by saying that even if an ambassador was guilty of a grievous wrong he could not be put to death.[3] Kautilya, however, is not so clear about the inviolability of diplomatic agents. Thus, according to him a displeased enemy to whose court an ambassador was accredited, might be told that messengers were the mouthpieces of kings and therefore *dutas* of Brahmin caste should not be killed:

"तं (to a displeased enemy), ब्रूयात्—दूतमुखा वै राजानस्त्वं चान्येच । तस्मादुद्वृतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यथोक्तं वक्तारस्तेषामन्तावसायिनोऽप्यवध्याः । किमङ्ग पुनर्ब्राह्मणः । परस्यैतदवाक्यमेव दूतधर्म्म" इति ।[4]

[1] Ramayāna: Sundar Kandā, ब्रुवन् परार्थं परवान्नदूतोवध्यमर्हति, LII., 19; "राजधर्मविरुद्धञ्च लोकवृत्तेच गर्हितम्," LII., 5-6.

[2] Santi-Rajdharma, LXXXV., 26-27.

[3] Nitiprakasa, III., 64.

[4] Arthasastra, I., 13.

As observed before, the juridical equality of states was recognized in ancient India and a *Duta* has been enjoined upon not to care for the mightiness of the enemy (परेषुबलित्वं न मन्येत). A passage in the *Artha-sastra* leads one to the belief that the *dutas* in ancient India were not liable to be killed but possibilities of punishments in cases of intimating an unfavourable order were not precluded. Thus says Kautilya :

ज्ञात्वा वसेदपसरेद्वा । प्रयोजनमिष्टमपेक्षेत वा । शासनमनिष्टमुक्त्वा बन्धबधभयादपि विसृष्टो ऽपक्लेदन्यथा नियम्येत ॥[1]

The testimony of the Ramayana confirms this statement of Kautilya, that under certain circumstances punishments could be awarded to envoys :

वैकथमङ्गेषु केशाभिघातो मौण्ड्येयं तथा लक्षण सन्निपातः ।
एतान्हि प्रवदन्ति दण्डान् ।

A *duta* in ancient India was therefore regarded inviolable so far as his life was concerned. He might under special circumstances be punished but such treatment was not sanctioned by Dharma just as in our day, national excitement has sometimes offered unmerited insults to ambassadors, *e.g.*, on the outbreak of the last great world war, the British embassy at Berlin was subjected to special maltreatment at the hands of the infuriated mob at Berlin.

We have little knowledge of the *civil* immunities of the *dutas* : probably the fact of their *non-residence* at the courts of foreign kings did not concede any *civil* immunities to them such as are enjoyed by ambassadors and other diplomatic agents of the present times. A passage in Kautilya affords very special immunities to "foreigners importing merchandise." They were

[1] A. S., I., 1. *Cf.* also the Ramayana, Sundar, LII., 15.

exempted from being sued for debts unless they were intimately connected with local associations.

परभूमिजं पण्यमनुग्रहेणावाहयेत्। नाविकसार्थवाहेभ्यश्च परिहारमायतिक्षमं दद्यात्। अनभियोगस्वार्थेष्वागन्तूनामन्यत्र सभ्योपकारिभ्यः।[1]

Such favours were no doubt shown for the advancement of the internal prosperity of a state but commercial intercourse with foreigners must have been regarded as one of the means of maintaining interstatal relationship and probably immunity from civil liability was conceded to diplomatic agents who represented the might of their respective states.

[1] Arthasastra, II., 16.

CHAPTER IV

The Essential Rights and Duties of States

Sovereign states possess certain rights and duties. These are based largely on custom and therefore in ancient Indian polity, based on Dharma; others owe their origin to the independent character of a subject of International Law. Modern jurists have divided these Rights into:

1. The right of self-preservation.
2. The right of independence.
3. The right to exclusive jurisdiction over men and things within the territory of the state.
4. The right to commerce: and
5. The right of legal equality.

All these rights were possessed by the "*prakritis*"[1] of ancient India.

The right of self-preservation includes the right of preserving the integrity and inviolability of its territory with the corresponding duty[2] to commit what would ordinarily be regarded as an infraction of the Law of Nations. The Hindus held **धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां प्राणाः संस्थितिहेतवः** and what was true of the individual was also true of the state.

Hence the desperate efforts for the preservation of the balance of power and the adoption of various policies which owe their origin to self-interest.

"When a king ever so vigilant and assiduous is assaulted by a sovereign stronger than himself, there is no escape for him as there is none for a deer under the claws

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[1] For the doctrine of 'expediency' and 'Justice' *vide ante*.

[2] "Prakritis" were the sovereign-states.

of a lion."[1] It is then that the necessity for self-preservation "becomes instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation."[2] Then the king may have recourse to *Kutajuddha* (कूटयुद्ध).[3] It is then that the "enemy has to be killed in wars whether conducted according to the rules of morality or against them," because, "one should follow *niti*, or moral rules so long as one is powerful. People remain friends till then; just as the wind is the friend of the burning fire."[4] The weak ruler of a soverign state for his very existence and the very life of the state should either (1) conclude peace or (2) take recourse to मन्त्रयुद्ध or (3) कूटयुद्ध. Thus says Kautilya,[5]

"तेषामन्यतममुत्तिष्ठमानं सन्धिना मन्त्रयुद्धेन कूटयुद्धेन वा प्रतिव्यूहेत। .....दुर्गं राष्ट्रं स्कन्धावारं वाऽस्य गूढाग्निरसाग्निभिः साधयेयुः सर्व्वतः पार्ष्णिमस्य ग्राहयेत्। अटवीभिर्वा राज्यं घातयेत्। तत्कुलीनावरुद्धाभ्यां वा हारयेत्।"

"When any one of these (conquerors) is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue, or by a treacherous fight in the battle field.....spies under concealment may capture the enemy's fort, country or camp with the aid of weapons, "poison" or "fire." They may harass the enemy's rear on all sides; and they may devastate the enemy's country through the help of wild tribes."[6]

The second right of a state is *the right of independence*. It flows as a necessary corollary from the

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[1] Kam, X., 47.

[2] Webster in the "Caroline" Case (U.S.A. 1837); see Snows' *Cases*, 177, 178, and Westlake: I., 300.

[3] Sukra, IV., 725.

[4] *Ibid*, IV., 706.

[5] *Ibid*, IV., 376-77.

[6] Arthasastra: Shama Sastri's translation, p. 462.

sovereignty of the state. The political condition of India, the absence of institutions such as the Papacy or the Holy Roman Empire, helped ancient India to realise this right of autonomy to a far larger extent than could have been perhaps possible in such a remote age. Thus, a state in India could maintain any form of government it liked, be it the predominant monarchical type or perhaps an oligarchy or even a republican form of government.[1]

The second characteristic of an independent state is that it exercises *exclusive jurisdiction* over all persons and property *within* its territorial limits and sometimes its jurisdiction is extended by the application of the doctrine of "*extra-territoriality*" over pirates and over its vessels on the high seas. A careful study of Kautilya's Arthasastra leaves the undoubted impression on the mind that the jurisdiction exercised by members of the "family of nations" in ancient India was ample and all-absorbing. Thus (*a*) they maintained absolute control over aliens within their jurisdiction. Amongst the primary duties of the sovereign, "the securing of affection of the foreigners both at home and abroad" finds the foremost place.

ज्ञातस्वपक्षपरपक्षोपग्रहः कार्य्यारम्भान् चिन्तयेत्।[2]

(*b*) Emigration and immigration, two of the surest evidences of inter-statal intercourse, were recognized in ancient India. Thus we find that one of the duties of the "revenue collectors" was to investigate the causes of emigration and immigration through the agency of spies

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[1] See the researches of Mr. Jayaswal (in Mod. Review, 1913). Read also the Carmichael Lectures: Lect. IV. "The Sangha Form of Government."

[2] Does परपक्ष mean foreign faction composed of the native population in a state? *Cf.* for instance, Whibley: The Parties and the Party System in Ancient Greece.

under the guise of householders. Then again, further on we read in Kautilya's Arthasastra :

"विगृहीतस्यान्यतो वा शस्त्रामि जनपदमपवाहयितुम् ।"[1]

(*c*) The state also never failed to exercise its jurisdiction when foreigners intrigued within its territory—they were either exposed or betrayed or killed with weapons, poison or by other means.[2]

Thus, the sovereign states not only controlled emigration and immigration, not only did they punish offenders guilty of treason against the might of the state but they also exercised jurisdiction over merchant vessels. The "superintendent of ships" (the नावध्यक्ष) demanded payment of tolls from all ships touching at harbours on their way :

"संयातीर्नावः क्षेत्रानुगताः शुल्कं याचेत् ।"[3]

(*d*) A foreigner had to protect himself with passports and on failure to do so, he had to pay the highest fine.[4]

समुद्रो जनपदं प्रवेष्टुं निष्क्रामितुं वा लभेत् ।
द्वादशपणमसमुद्रो जनपदो दद्यात् ।
कूटमुद्रायां पूर्व्वःसाहसदण्डः ।
तिरोजनपदस्योत्तमः ।[4]

(*e*) Travellers had also to provide themselves with passports or they were sure to be arrested and their property ran the risk of confiscation.

"दीर्घपथिकममुद्रं चोपग्राहयेत् ।"[5]
प्रत्यन्तेषु तराः शुल्कमातिवाहिकं वर्त्तनीं च गृह्णीयुः ।
निर्गच्छतश्चासमुद्रस्य भाण्डं हरेयुः ॥[6]

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[1] Arthasastra, VIII, 1
[2] *Ibid*, IX., 5
[3] *Ibid*, II., 28
[4] Arthasastra, II., 33.
[5] *Ibid*, II., 28.
[6] *Ibid*, II., 29.

(*f*) Pirates were of course liable to punishment. Pirate ships which were bound even for the country of an enemy, as well as those ships which had violated customs and rules of the port towns were destroyed.[1]

छिन्निका निर्घातयेत्। अमित्रविषयातिगाः पण्यपत्तनचारित्रोपघातिकाश्च॥

It is very probable that pirate ships were destroyed by the ships of a maritime state and the very first duty of the superintendent of ships was to examine the accounts not only of ships on the high seas and on river-mouths but also upon lakes, natural or artificial.

The right of conducting commercial intercourse with foreign states was very frankly recognised : foreigners of reputation were allowed to land on seaports ; weather beaten ships were afforded generous hospitality and foreign merchandise was specially protected.

ज्ञातप्रवेशाः पारविषयिकाः सार्थप्रमाणा च विशेयुः[2] मूढवाताहृतां तां पितेवानुगृह्णीयात्॥[3] परभूमिजं पण्यमनुग्रहेणावाहयेत्। नाविक-सार्थवाहेभ्यश्च परिहारमायतिक्षमं दद्यात्।[4]

This probably related to those natives who imported foreign goods into the country. But a curious passage of Kautilya throws a flood of light on the civil obligations of foreign debtors : Foreigners importing merchandise were exempted from being sued for debts.[5]

अनभियोगश्चार्थेष्वागन्तूनामन्यत्र सभ्यकारिभ्यः।[6]

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[1] *Ibid*, II., 28

[2] Arthasastra, II., 28.

[3] *Ibid*.

[4] *Ibid*, II , 16.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *Cf*. the Agni Purana · CCXX . 17 "Without any regard to their honesty or wickedness the king should hospitably receive the foreigners arrived in his court, with a view to live under his protection. Such newcomers happening to be wicked men should not be trusted at all · but the king should buy their submission with annuities. Detectives should be employed to ascertain the character of all newcomers and foreigners in the state whom the king shall fill with honours in the event of their being deserving recipients."

This record of state-activity approximated modern usage but these rules of international custom might probably have been observed in the great Magadhan Empire of which Kautilya was the prime minister, but it might be contended on the other hand, that the Arthasastra gives expression to the customs and usages of the maritime states generally although probably, the officers on whom the observance of those customs and usages was cast by Kautilya were officers solely of the great Maurya Emperors.

Thus, the elementary rights of a state conceded by the sanctity of international usage are discernible in the sovereign states of India. Infractions, however, of these elementary rights were not uncommon. Such infractions known as "intervention" according to the phraseology of modern International Law took the form **अभिवर्तसनम्** or war. Intervention has been defined by Oppenheim as "dictatorial interference in the affairs of a nation," the essence of which consists in the presence of force or threat of force and in the absence of consent. Interventions in ancient India were by no means unknown and we have instances of (*a*) interventions for preserving the balance of power by the circle of states, against a mighty *madhyama*.

"मण्डलं वा प्रोत्साहयेत्—अतिप्रवृद्धोयं मध्यम सर्व्वेषां नो विनाशाय अभ्युत्थित: सम्भूयास्ययात्रां विहनाम।" इति। तच्चेन्मण्डलमनुगृह्णीयान्मध्यमावग्रहेणात्मानमुपहंहयेत्।[1]

"Or he may incite the Circle of States against the Madhyama by telling them: "This Madhyama king has grown very powerful and is aiming at our destruction: let us therefore combine and put an end to his march. If the circle of states is favourable to his cause then he may aggrandise himself by putting down the Madhyama."

[1] Kam., X, 5.

(*b*) Interventions to ward off an imminent danger accrued from the right of self-preservation above referred to, and were frequently resorted to.

(*c*) Interventions on grounds of humanity [1] have been justified by Sukracharyya.[2]

"Those kings who are devoid of morality and power should be punished, like thieves by the king who is powerful and virtuous."

The same view is held by Kamandaka:[3]

"The want of compassion on creatures, disaffection of the prakriti-mandala . ..... .these and many others have been said to be the (prolific) sources of war."

Interventions at the request of the disaffected people have been justified both by Sukracharyya and by Kautilya.

Thus says Sukracharyya:[4]

"The king should surround and coerce the ruler whose army and friends have been lessened,. .... *who is very much addicted to sense pleasures,* who is the plunderer of people's goods, and whose ministers and troops have been affected."

Kautilya as a great advocate of expediency advised a Vijigisu to march against an enemy whose subjects were being oppressed rather than against an enemy whose subjects were impoverished and greedy. The loyalty of the citizen towards the state has been fully recognised, and though like Aristotle, Kautilya was a great believer in hunger being the most potent factor of a revolution, he pressed his views even against the views of his teachers :

क्षीणलुब्धप्रकृतिमपचरितप्रकृतिं वेति ?—क्षीणलुब्धप्रकृतिं यायात्। "क्षीणलुब्धा हि प्रकृतयःसुखेनोपजापं पीड़ां वोपगच्छन्ति। नापचरिताः

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 18.

[2] Sukra, IV., 845-46. (Sarkar.)

[3] *Cf.* the intervention of European powers, 1860, in the massacre of the Armenians.

[4] Sukra, IV., 498-500. (Sarkar.)

प्रधाना अवग्रहसाध्या" इत्याचार्य्याः। "न" इति कौटिल्यः—क्षीण-लुब्धा हि प्रकृतयो भर्त्तरि स्निग्धा भर्त्तृहिते तिष्ठन्ति। उपजापं वा विसंवादयन्ति, अनुरागेसार्वगुण्यमिति। तस्मादपचरितप्रकृतिमेव यायात्॥

He observes further:

क्षीणाः प्रकृतयो लोभं लुब्धा यान्ति विरागताम्।
विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्त्तारं घ्नन्ति वा स्वयम्॥[1]

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 5.

CHAPTER V

The Theory of the Balance of Power

The theory of the "Balance of Power" is based on the equilibrium of forces. It has been responsible for the maintenance of standing armies, for wearisome negotiations and for incessant wars. In most states of antiquity the principle of the balance of power was understood and often applied in practice. Hume in his Essays[1] traced the history of the theory of the balance of power to the Orient. "It is a question," said he, "whether the *idea* of the balance of power be owing entirely to modern policy, or whether the *phrase* only has been invented in later ages." Hume had before him the historic example of Greece only as perhaps representing the "magic east" and he came to the conclusion that to whatever causes we attribute the shifting of sides in all the Grecian republics, to jealous emulation or cautious politics, the effects were alike, and every prevailing power was sure to meet with a confederacy against it, and that often composed of its former friends and allies. The Peloponnesian league on the eve of the great Peloponnesian War complained not so much against the specific faults of commission or omission of the Athenian Empire as of her rapid growth of power and her concealed desire to undermine the autonomous independence of the Greek[2] City States. The story of the foundation and the decline of the ephemeral Spartan empire in Greece after the peace of Antalcidas only confirmed the proposition laid down by Hume. Demosthenes's oration for the Megalapolitans shows a refined sense of the theory of the

[1] Hume: Of the Balance of Power (Essays, Vol. I, 348-49).

[2] Thucydides: I., 23.

balance of power. Shortly after the peace of Callias, envoys from Megalapolis as well as Sparta reached Athens, each of them urging the Athenians to enter into an alliance with it. The Spartans reminded the Athenians of their old alliance between them against their common foe of Thebes. Demosthenes, however, took the side of the Megalapolitans and laid great stress on the fact that neither Sparta nor Thebes should be allowed to jeopardize the balance of power. "No man," said he, "will deny that it is for the advantage of Athens that both the Lacedæmonians and our Theban neighbours should be weak. But if we may form a conjecture from representations repeatedly made in our assembly, it appears that things are thus circumstanced—the Thebans will be weakened by the re-establishment of Orchomenus, Thespiæ and Platæa: the Lacedæmonians will become powerful again, if we subdue Arcadia and take Megalapolis. We must therefore mind that we suffer not the one people to grow mighty and formidable, before the other has become weak; that the power of Lacedæmon does not increase unobserved by us, in a greater degree than it is well for that of Thebes to be reduced. For we shall hardly say that we would have the Lacedæmonians as our rivals rather than the Thebans. Our solicitude is not concerned with this merely; for we are anxious that neither of them may have the means of injuring us; and so shall we enjoy the best security."[1] Demosthenes's oration failed to convince his countrymen. The result was Chæronea, the empire of Macedon and the end of the *politeia* in *Hellas*. The City State succumbed to the Country State.

In the history of Rome we do not find a clear enunciation of this doctrine of political equilibrium. Rome's advance was sure, her military successes were brilliant,

[1] Demos: Pro Megalapolis, IV-V., tr. Philipson.

her general policy and diplomatic conduct were subtle and all the states of the then civilised world fell a prey to the Roman policy of "divide et impera." The theory of the balance of power however had a feeble illustration in Hiero II, King of Syracuse, and extorted the warm admiration of Polybius.

Wars of the balance of power have devastated the fair countries of Europe many a time; the triple alliance fought Louis XIV successfully. The policy of Ferdinand followed by Richelieu and Mazarin was to remain Catholic at home and Protestant abroad so as to prevent the formation of a coalition against France. Louis XIV in his lust of ambition departed from that traditional French policy and the result was Utrecht and the years of tortuous European diplomacy. Napoleon I and Napoleon III and, lastly, the Kaiser Wilhelm threatened the supposed "finely equiposed" balance of power in Europe and the result is what all the world knows.

The theory of the balance of power held a very prominent place in ancient Indian statecraft. Thus the preservation of the balance of power by an ideal king was strongly advised by Manu.

"On the whole, eight-fold business and the five classes (of spies) on the good will or enmity and the conduct of the circle (of neighbours he must) carefully recollect."[1]

Further on Manu observes:

"By all the (four) expedients a politic king must arrange (matters so) that neither friends, nor neutrals, nor foes are superior to himself."[2]

"Separation," says Sukracharyya, "is the best of all methods or policies of work."[3]

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[1] Manu, VII., 154.
[2] *Ibid*, VII., 177.
[3] Sukra, IV., 592.

Just as Sovereignty is possible only with assistance—as a single wheel can never move,"[1]— so the ideal king was to place himself at the centre to hold the balance of states in his hands.

नेमिमेकान्तराद्राज्ञः क्षत्वा चानन्तरानरान् ।
नाभिमात्मानमायच्छेत् नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥[2]

"Throwing the circumference of the circle of states beyond his friend's territory and making the kings of those states as the spokes of that circle, the conqueror shall make himself the nave of that circle."

Now what is a *mandala* or the "circle of states"? It consists of twelve kings, according to Kautilya.[3] (1) The *Vijigisu* is the fountain of policy. The king whose territory adjoins the territory of the Vijigisu is the (2) *Ari*. Separated by the Ari from the territory of the Vijigisu is situated the territory of (3) मित्रप्रकृति the friend of the Vijigisu. Close to his territory is the state of the (4) enemy's friend (अरिमित्रम्). Next to him stands the (5) Vijigisu's friend's friend (मित्रामित्रं) and next to him the (6) *Vijigisu's* enemy's friend's friend (अरिमित्रामित्रं). Likewise in the rear of the enemy there happen to be situated the territories of (7) a rearward enemy (पार्ष्णिग्राहः), next (8) a rearward friend (आक्रन्दः), then an ally of the rearward enemy *parshnigrahasara* (पार्ष्णिग्राहसारः), (9) and an ally of the rearward friend (आक्रन्दसारः). (10)[4] [5]

"राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिष्ठानं विजिगीषुः। तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यन्तरा अरिप्रकृतिः। तथैव भूम्येकान्तरा मित्र-

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[1] "सहायसाध्यं राजत्वं चक्रमेकं न वर्त्तते" Arthasastra, I., 6.

[2] Arthasastra, VI., 2.

[3] According to Maya the *Vijigisu*, the *Ari*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udasina* are the four principal components of a *Mandala*.

[4] According to Puloma and Indra, the *Vijigisu*, the *Arimitram*, the *Parshnigraha*, the *Madhyama* and the *Udasina* constitute what is known as a *Mandala* of six monarchs.

[5] The *Udasina*, the *Madhyama* and the *Mandala* of the *Vijigisu* taken together

प्रकृतिः। अरिसम्पदुयुक्तः सामन्तः शत्रुः। * * * * तस्माच्चिन्तयेदरिमित्रं मित्रामित्रं अरिमित्रं चानन्तर्येण भूमीनां प्रसज्यते पुरस्तात्। पश्चात् पार्ष्णिग्राह आक्रन्दः पार्ष्णिग्राहासार आक्रन्दासार इति।"[1]

Besides these eight kings who were the "protectorates" of either the *Vijigisu* or the *Ari* there remained two other kings within the circle, who might be regarded as neutrals,—the territory of the one lying close to the territories of both the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari* was the state of the *Madhyama* king, while the twelvth member of the circle had his territories situated beyond the territories of all the other kings within the circle (the *Udasina*).

अरिविजिगीष्वोर्भूम्यन्तरः संहतासंहतयोरनुग्रहसमर्थो निग्रहे च। संहतयोर्मध्यमः। अरिविजिगीषुमध्यानां बहिः प्रकृतिभ्यो बलवत्तरः संहतासंहतानामरिविजिगीषुमध्यमानामनुग्रहे समर्थो निग्रहे चासंहतानामुदासीनः॥[2]

It is difficult to understand the distinction between a **मध्यमः** and a **उदासीनः**! It is certain, however, that the **उदासीन** whose dominions lay beyond the territories of either the **विजिगीषु** or the **अरि** and who was very powerful, capable of helping both and of withstanding each of them individually was identical with what we now call a "neutral" power. The dominions of the Madhyama king, on the other hand, lay contiguous to the states of both the **विजिगीषु** and the **अरि**. He was also a very powerful king like the **उदासीन** but unlike him his interests had greater chances of clashing

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constitute the *Mandala* of the Twelve Kings mentioned by Usanas.

[1] Arthasastra, VI., 2.

अरिर्मित्रमरेर्मित्रं मित्रमित्रमतःपरम्।
तथारिमित्रमित्रञ्च विजिगीषोः पुरःस्थिताः॥
पार्ष्णिग्राहः स्मृतः पश्चादाक्रन्दस्तदनन्तरं।
आसारावनयोश्चैव विजिगीषोस्तु मण्डलम॥

Kam., VIII., 16-17.

[2] *Ibid*, VI., 2.

with the interests of the विजिगीषु and therefore the "theory of enmity by distance" receives firm proof when we read in the Arthasastra that accession of power to the Madhyama must always be regarded with suspicion by the विजिगीषु not simply as a possible future enemy inciting the circle of states but also as a source of impending peril.

"मध्यमस्येद्विजिगीषोः मित्रं मित्रभावि लिप्सेत मित्रस्यात्मनश्च मित्राण्युत्थाप्य मध्यमाच्च मित्राणि भेदयित्वा मित्रस्थापयेत। मण्डलं वा प्रोत्साहयेत्—"अतिवृद्धोऽयं मध्यम सर्व्वेषां नो विनाशाय अभ्युत्थितः सम्भूयास्य यात्रां विहनाम।"[1]

It is very probable that the *Madhyama* is a king who is just neutral but anxious to interfere or mediate. So he must not be allowed to grow very strong. If he curries favours with the third and the fifth states of the *Mandala*, states friendly to the *Vijigisu*—then the *Vijigisu* must be friendly with the *Madhyama*, but if the latter seeks amity with the second, the fourth and the sixth, that is, the enemy states—then the *Vijigisu* must make friends with his allies and try to win the उदासीन or the neutral king.[1]

A *Vijigisu* may also remain in peace by firmly preserving of the balance of power within the "circle of states." Thus says Kautilya:

"परतः प्रवृत्तकर्मारम्भो वा ताभ्यांसंहितः कर्मसु वृद्धिः प्राप्स्यामि; शत्रुप्रतिबुद्धं वा शत्रुणा सन्धिं कृत्वा मण्डलं भेत्स्यामि।"

Then again, the policy of separation underlying the doctrine of the balance of power has been recommended to a king whose possessions lie intermediary to those of two powerful kings. He may first seek protection either of the more powerful or perhaps of the more reliable, king and then he may begin to set one of them against the other.[2]

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[1] Arthasastra, VII., 18.

[2] Bk. VIII., 2.

The theory of the balance of power received the impetus of expediency and like the same doctrine translated into actual usage by Emperor Napoleon III, it became a cloak for further ambitious designs and for further conquests. Hence, by the adoption of the doctrine and by its steady application in practice, the kings in ancient India "endeavoured to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation and thence to progress." [1]

[1] Arthaśastra, Bk. VII, 1.

CHAPTER VI

Treaties and Alliances

Peace formed one of the six attributes of statecraft.[1] It has been defined by Kautilya[2] as an agreement with pledges "**पणबन्धः सन्धिः**." "Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constitute treaty," is Sukracharyya's definition.[3]

"A *Sandhi*," says the Agni Purana,[4] "consists in a compact entered into by two foreign kings regarding a point at issue whereas war means the settlement of a difference at the point of the sword." Peace according to the Hindus was the normal state of interstatal relationship. A great exponent of the principle of expediency like Kautilya says that the acquisition and security of property depend upon peace and industry. "**शमव्यायामौ योगक्षेमयोर्योनिः**."[5]

A classification of treaties is not generally attempted by writers of modern International Law as "such instruments range over the whole variety of international relations"[6] Martens however divided treaties into *political* and *social*. This division though not exhaustive is very suggestive and will be found to correspond to the two great divisions into which the treaties in the Arthasastras

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[1] सन्धिं च विग्रहं यानमासनं च समाश्रयम्।
द्वैधीभावं च संविद्यान्मन्त्रस्यैतांस्तु षड्गुणान्॥
Sukra, IV, vii., 234.

षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रकृतिमण्डलं योनिः
सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावा षाड्गुण्यं इत्याचार्याः
षाड्गुण्यमेवैतदवस्थाभेदात् इति कौटिल्यः।

[2] A. S., VII., 1.

[3] Sukra, IV., vii, 235

[4] Agni, CCXXXIV, 17-11.

[5] A. S, VI., 2.

[6] Hall: International Law, 7th Ed., 371 n.

have been divided.[1] According to Kamandaka there are sixteen kinds of peace.

कपाल उपहारश्च सन्तानः सङ्गतस्तथा ।
उपन्यासः प्रतीकारः संयोगः पुरुषान्तरः ॥
अदृष्टनर आदिष्ट आत्मामिष उपग्रहः ।
परिक्रियस्तथोच्छिन्नस्तथा च परिभूषणः ॥
स्कन्धोपनयः सन्धिश्च षोड़शः परिकीर्त्तितः ।
इति षोड़शकं प्राहुः सन्धिं सन्धि विवक्षणाः ॥

(1) *Kapala Sandhi* has been defined by Kamandaka as peace between two parties having equal resources. कपालसन्धिर्विज्ञेयः केवलं समसन्धितः ।[2] Kautilya, however, takes an almost opposite view. According to him, *Kapala Sandhi* is the opposite of स्वर्णसन्धिः or golden peace (the सङ्गत सन्धिः of Kamandaka). So Kapala, in his opinion, is concluded on the condition of paying immense sums of money.[3]

सुवर्णसन्धिर्विश्वासादेकीभावगतो भवेत् ।
विपरीतः कपालःस्यादत्यादानाभिभाषितः ॥[4]

(2) उपहार is peace concluded by the offer of gifts. According to both Sukracharyya and Kamandaka this is the only form of peace. Thus says Sukra:[5]

एक एवोपहारस्तु सन्धिरेष मतो हितः ।
उपहारस्य भेदास्तु सर्व्वेऽन्य मैत्रवर्जिताः ।

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[1] F. D. Martens - I, §13. Fodéré (II, 920 ff.) divides treaties, considered as to their object, into *general* and *special*. This division seems somewhat arbitrary but it affords a convenient means of summary. Perhaps the most scientific classification of treaties is that which divides them into "executed," "transitory," or "dispositive" treaties on the one hand, and executory, continuing, or permanent treaties on the other. "An executory contract is one in which a party binds himself to do or not to do, a particular thing. A contract executed is one in which the object of the contract is performed and this says Blackstone, differs in nothing from a grant." *per* Marshall, C.J., in *Fletcher* vs. *Peck*, 6 Cranch 136.

[2] Kam., IX., 2-4.

[3] *Ibid*, IX, 5.

[4] A. S., VII., 3.

[5] Sukra, IV., vii., 240-241.

अभियोक्ता बलीयस्त्वादलवद्वा न निवर्त्तते ।
उपहाराहृते तस्मात् सन्धिरन्यो न विद्यते ॥

"There is thus only one kind of peace desired by the people and that is, 'gifts' and without gifts there is no other form of peace." The same sentiment is also expressed by Kamandaka.[1]

एक एवोपहारस्तु सन्धिरेतन्मतं हि नः ।

(3) *Santana Sandhi* is one which is based upon matrimonial relationship, established by the vanquished by giving his daughter in marriage to his adversary.

(4) *Sangata Sandhi* or golden peace is concluded by the settlement of amicable terms by the parties.

(5) *Upanyasa Sandhi* is so called because it brings matters to a conclusion according to a previously formed resolution. स उपन्यासकुशलैरुपन्यास उदाहृतः.

(6) **प्रतीकार सन्धि** is concluded by mutual good understanding and expectation, *e.g.*, the alliance between Sugrīva and Rāma.

(7) *Samyoga Sandhi* means a form of union entered into by two parties enjoying each other's confidence, for the performance of a common object.

(8) *Purushantara* is peace with hostages.

(9) *Adristapurusha Sandhi* is peace which requires the performance of some act without corresponding advantage.[2]

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[1] Kam., IX., 21.

[2] Kamandaka, IX , 9

त्वर्थेकेन मदीयार्थः सम्प्रमाष्यस्त्वमावेति ।
यत्र शत्रुः पणं कुर्य्यात् सोऽदृष्टपुरुषः स्मृतः ।

Kam , IX., 14

Kautilya however explains "अदृष्टपुरुष सन्धिः" as "peace with no specified person to serve." The two writers differ considerably on this kind of peace.

(10) *Adista Sandhi* is peace by cession of territory.

(11) *Atmamisha Sandhi* is one in which a king with the flower of his army has to attend the conqueror when summoned. It is a kind of 'vassalage.'

(12) *Upagraha Sandhi* is one which is concluded by the surrender of everything else excepting the person of the vanquished.[1]

(13) *Pratikriya Sandhi* is peace with price, *i.e.*, when all the elements of sovereignty are set free by the offer of money.

(14) *Uchchinna Sandhi* is destructive peace concluded by large cession of territories.

(15) *Skandhopaneya Sandhi* is peace with indemnity by instalments.

(16) *Paribhusana Sandhi* is "usufructuary" peace—peace obtained by giving up the products of the whole territory.[2]

Kautilya in his *Arthasastra* divides treaties and agreements for peace into various kinds: (*i*) *Atmamisha*, (*ii*) *Purushantara Sandhi*, (*iii*) *Adrishtapurusha Sandhi*, (*iv*) *Parikraya*, (*v*) *Upagraha*, (*vi*) *Swarna Sandhi*, (*vii*) *Kapala*, (*viii*) *Adistha*, (*ix*) *Uchchinna Sandhi*, (*x*) *Paribhushana*, (*xi*) *Avakraya*. (*i*)—(*ix*) are included in the list furnished by Kamandaka. *Avakraya* means treaty by which the kingdom is set free by the payment of a part of the produce of the kingdom.[3]

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[1] Kautilya however explains *Upagraha Sandhi* by peace with subsidy. "When peace is concluded by offering money capable of being taken on a man's shoulder it is called Upagraha. "स्कन्धोपनेयो बहुधा श्रेयःसन्धिरुपग्रहः."—A. S. VII., 3. But Kamandaka: "क्रियते प्राणरक्षार्थं सर्व्वदानादुपग्रहः."—Kam, IX., 16.

[2] Kamandaka, IX., 18. "सर्व्वभूम्युत्थितफलदानेन परिभूषणः." Kautilya considers परिभूषण a kind of peace concluded by the promise of paying more than the land yields: "फलातिभुक्तो भुमिथः सन्धिः स परिभूषणः."—A. S., VII., 3.

[3] The definitions of the various kinds of treaties mentioned by Kautilya are quoted *in extenso* here below. It is to be observed, however, that the whole thing

Of these various forms of peace **आत्मामिष, पुरुषान्तर** and **अदृष्ट** require supply of troops by the vanquished to the conqueror. In the two forms of **आत्मामिष** and **पुरुषान्तर** a woman of high rank has been enjoined upon to be given as hostage. This condition is very humiliating as we gather from our knowledge of nations of antiquity in general. Thus we have it stated on the authority of Tacitus's *Germania* that to the Germans the idea of a woman being led into captivity was intolerable; and hence when the daughters of illustrious families were

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is in rhyme. Is it probably because Kautilya found these forms of treaties sanctified by usage?

स्वयं संख्यातदण्डेन दण्डस्य विभवेन वा।
उपस्थातव्यमित्येष सन्धिरात्मामिषो मतः॥
सेनापतिकुमाराभ्यां उपस्थातव्यमित्ययम्।
पुरुषान्तरसन्धिःस्यान्नत्मनेत्यात्मरक्षणः॥
एकेनान्यत्र यातव्यं स्वयं दण्डेन वेत्ययं।
अदृष्टपुरुषः सन्धिर्दण्डमुख्यात्मरक्षणः॥
मुख्यस्त्रीवन्धनं कुर्यात् पूर्व्वयोः पश्चिमे त्वरिम्।
साधयेत्गूढमित्येते दण्डोपनतसन्धयः॥
कोशदानेन शेषाणां प्रकृतीनां विमोक्षणम्।
परिक्रयो भवेत् सन्धिः एव च यथासुखम्॥
स्कन्धोपनेयो बहुधा ज्ञेयः सन्धिरुपग्रहः।
निरुद्धोदेशकालाभ्यां अत्ययः स्यादुपग्रहः॥
* * *
सुवर्णसन्धिर्विश्वासादेकीभावगतो भवेत्
विपरीतः कपालः स्यादत्यादानाभिभाषितः।
* * *
भूम्येकदेशत्यागेन देशप्रकृतिरक्षणं।
आदिष्टसन्धिस्त्ववेष्टो गूढश्लेषोपधातिनः॥
भूमीनामात्तसाराणां मूलवर्जं प्रणामनम्।
उच्छिन्नसन्धिस्त्वेष परव्यसनकाङ्क्षितः॥
फलदानेन भूमीनां मोक्षणं स्यादपक्रयः।
फलातिभुक्तौ भूमिभ्यः सन्धिः स परिभूषणः॥

A. S, VII, 3.

delivered as hostages, the most effective obligation was thereby engendered.[1] In earlier Roman History women—Roman matrons—were given as hostages. We read in Livy that when the Etruscan Lars Porsena withdrew his troops from Janiculum, and peace was concluded a number of Roman hostages, including maidens, had to be given. According to Livy's story, the camp of the Etruscans having been pitched near the Tiber, a young Roman lady named Cloelia, one of these hostages, deceiving the guards, swam over the river, amidst the darts of her enemy, at the head of a number of virgins, and brought them back all safe to their relations.[2]

Upagraha, *Suvarnasandhi*, and *Kapala* were three forms of peace concluded on the payment of money; while *Avakraya*, *Uchchinna Sandhi* and *Paribhusana* were three kinds of peace based on cession of territories.

Besides the eleven kinds of treaties mentioned above, there were also other kinds of agreements either with or without any binding forms or specific ends. Peace with no specific end is called **अकृतचिकीर्षा** and peace with binding terms is called **कृतश्लेषणम्**. Peace with no specific end besides self-preservation, is a renewed agreement of peace either with equal, inferior or superior powers according as rights of the parties are determined with respect to their respective positions. **अपूर्व्वस्य सन्धेःसानुबन्धैः सामादिभिः पर्येषणं समहीनज्यायसां च यथाबलमवस्थापनमकृतचिकीर्षा।**[3]

When by the employment of friends (at the courts of each other) an agreement of peace is maintained and the terms are strictly observed so that there might not arise any difference of opinion, the peace is called **कृतश्लेषणम्** or peace with binding terms. "**कृतस्य प्रियहिताभ्यामुभयतः**

[1] Tacitus's *Germania*, 8.

[2] Livy, II. 13. *Cf* also Virg · Aeneid, VIII., 6. 51.

Arthasastra, VII., 6.

परिपालनं यथासम्भाषितस्य च निबन्धनस्यावर्त्तनं रक्षणं च 'कथं परस्मान्न भिद्येत इति' क्षतश्लेषणम्" ॥[1]

Treaties have further been divided into (*i*) समसन्धिः, (*ii*) विषमसन्धिः and (*iii*) अतिसन्धिः according as the adoption of a "double policy" (द्वैधीभावः) entails upon kings of superior, equal or inferior power, the payment of a greater, equal or less amount of profit in proportion to the army supplied.[2]

"द्वैधीभूतो वा कोशेन दण्डं दण्डेन कोशं सामन्तानामन्यतमाश्लिषेत्। तेषां ज्यायसोऽधिकेनार्शेन समात्समेन हीनाद्धीनेनेति समसन्धिः। विपर्यये विषमसन्धिः। तयोर्विशेषलाभादतिसन्धिः।"[3]

The above kinds of treaties mark the cessation of hostilities. Besides them, we have instances of treaties of agreement entered into by kings in times of profound peace, such as treaties[4] for the acquisition of land or for colonization. The one is called भूमिसन्धिः, the other is called अनवसितसन्धिः; "त्वंचाहं च भूमिं लभावहै" इति भूमिसन्धिः.[5] Acquisition of territory might be made either from a wandering enemy (चलमित्रात्) or from a stupid king[6] (वालिशात्). The one would be an original mode of acquisition from wild tribes, because, the land in which they effected temporary settlements was in the eye of law mere *res nullius*; the second kind of treaty gave land to the 'conqueror' by that derivative mode of acquisition named, 'cession.' Acquisition of property by colonisation[7] would come under the head of acquisition of *res nullius* by

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[1] Arthasastra, VII., 6.

[2] In this is to be seen the germ of that policy known as the subsidiary policy of Lord Wellesley.

[3] A. S., V., 7.

[4] Arthasastra, VII, 10.

[5] *Ibid*, VII., 10.

[6] *Ibid*, VII., 10: "वालिशात्प्राज्ञाद्वा भूमिलाभ इति? वालिशाद्भूमिलाभःश्रेयान्"

[7] *Ibid* VII., 11: "त्वं चाहं चशून्यं निवेशयावह इत्यनवसितसन्धिः"

occupation. The doctrine of effective occupation[1] seems to have been fully understood by Kautilya because he prefers a small piece of land not far to an extensive piece of land very far.

अल्पा प्रत्यासन्नामहतो व्यवहिता वा भूमिरिति ?

अल्पा प्रत्यासन्ना श्रेयसी सुखा हि प्राप्तुं पालयितुमभिसारयितुं च भवति ; विपरीता व्यवहिता ।

Lands might also be acquired either by (*a*) compulsory sale or (*b*) voluntary sale. The treaty of peace by which a powerful king compels another to sell a portion of his land is called **अनिभृतसन्धिः**—"**गुणवतीमादेयां वा भूमिं बलवता क्रयेण याचितःसन्धिमवस्थाप्य दद्यादित्यनिभृतसन्धिः** ।[2] A king making a voluntary sale of land was to do so after mature deliberation and calm consideration.

"**समेनवा याचितः कारणमवेक्ष्य दद्यात्—प्रत्यादेया मे भूमिर्वेश्मा वाऽनया प्रतिवहः परो मे वश्योभविष्यति भूमिविक्रयाद्वा मित्रहिरण्यलाभः कार्यसार्थकरो मे भविष्यति इति**" ।[3]

The sanctity of treaties and alliances was very fully recognized and Kamandaka advises a wise king not to

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[1] The doctrine of effective occupation is of comparatively recent origin. It was introduced into International Law during the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries. It was a protest against the right of occupation by mere right of discovery by Spain and Portugal. The oft-quoted reply of Queen Elizabeth of England to Mendoza, the Ambassador of Philip II of Spain that she did not "acknowledge the Spaniards to have any title by donation of the Bishop of Rome" may be capped by the mocking questions of Francis I of France to Charles V of Spain: "By what right do you and the King of Portugal undertake to monopolize the Earth? Has father Adam made you his sole heirs, and if so, where is a copy of the will?" (Lawrence).

[2] Arthasastra, VII., 11. "When a king of equal power demands land from another as above, then the latter may sell it after considering 'whether the land can be recovered by me, or can be kept under control; whether my enemy can be brought under my power in consequence of his taking possession of the land; and whether I can acquire by the sale of the land friends and wealth enough to help me in my undertaking."

[3] *Ibid.*

enter into agreements of peace with twenty sorts of persons, *viz.*, (*i*) a young prince, (*ii*) a king in the process of senile decay, (*iii*) a king suffering from disease for a very long time, (*iv*) a king discarded by his relatives, (*v*) a cowardly sovereign, (*vi*) a sovereign surrounded by a circle of cowardly followers, (*vii*) a king full of greed, (*viii*) a king whose officers are greedy and covetous, (*ix*) a king who is under the influence of adverse fate, (*x*) one who has an exaggerated faith in chance, (*xi*) one who is famine-stricken, (*xii*) a king whose army is in mutiny, (*xiii*) a king who is in an unfamiliar land, (*xiv*) a king who has numerous enemies, (*xv*) a king who does not value opportunities, (*xvi*) a king who is devoid of truth and justice, (*xvii*) a king whose *prakritis* are in a state of revolt, (*xviii*) a king who is a great debauch, (*xix*) a king who has no stability of character or fixed resolve and (*xx*) a king who desecrates the gods and the Brahmans.[1]

Ample guarantees were demanded for the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaties and the observance of treaties depended on—

(1) **सत्यशपथः** (oath).
(2) **प्रतिभुः** (securities).
(3) **प्रतिग्रहः** (hostages).

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[1] बाली वृद्धो दीर्घरोगस्तथा ज्ञातिवहिष्कृतः।
भीरुको भीरुकोजनो लुब्धो लुब्धजनस्तथा॥
विरक्तप्रकृतिश्चैव विषयेष्वतिशक्तिमान्।
अनेकचित्तमन्त्रस्तु दैवब्राह्मणनिन्दकः॥
दैवोपहतकर्मा च दैवचिन्तक एव च।
दुर्भिक्षव्यसनोपेतो बलव्यसनसङ्कुलः॥
अदेशस्थो बहुरिपुर्युक्तः कालेन यश्च न।
सत्यधर्म्मव्यपेतश्च विंशतिः पुरुषा अमी॥
Kam, IX., 13-16.

"सत्यं शपथो वा चालसन्धिः। प्रतिभुः प्रतिग्रहो वा स्थावरः" इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः—सत्यं शपथो वा परलोक च स्थावरःसन्धिः, इहार्थ एव प्रतिभूः प्रतिग्रहो वा बलापेक्षः।"
A. S., VII., 17.

"My teacher," says Kautilya, "is of opinion that peace dependent upon honesty or oath is mutable, while peace with a security or hostage is immutable." Kautilya however differed from him and regarded oath as the basis of all treaties. It is for this world only that a security or hostage is required for strengthening the agreement. The value of oath governing the relations of man and man has been richly illustrated by the great epics; the admission of the ethical superiority of the oath not only in this but in the great hereafter by Kautilya, the great diplomat and astute politician as well as the high priest of the gospel of expediency proves conclusively that oath in a certain sense is the underlying basis of the whole body of the ancient law of nations. Honest kings of old according to Kautilya, concluded an agreement of peace merely by saying "संहितास्म."[1] Treaties in Greece as also in Rome were conceived to be under the protection of the gods. Thus, Zeus in the recitals of the Iliad is represented as a witness to the sanctity of treaties. "Zeus, most glorious, most mighty and ye other immortal Gods! Whosoever shall first commit wrong contrary to their pledges, may their brains and their children's be dispersed on the ground, like this wine and may their wives prove faithless."[2]

Ceremonials were indispensable incidentals to a conclusion of peace and in ancient India according to Kautilya, kings made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, the plough, the brick of a fort or wall, the shoulder of an elephant, the hips of a horse, the front of a chariot, a weapon, seeds, scents, wrought gold or bullion gold and by declaring that these things would destroy and desert him who violates the oath.

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[1] A S, VII, 17.

[2] Iliad, III., 298-301.

"तस्यातिक्रमे शपथेन अग्न्युदकसीसाप्राकार लोष्टहस्तिस्कन्धाश्व-पृष्ठरथोपस्थशस्त्ररत्नबीजगन्धरससुवर्णहिरण्यान्यालेभिरे। हन्युरेतानि त्यजयुश्चैनं यः शपथमतिक्रामेत्" इति ॥[1]

An early account of the conclusion of a treaty is also given in the *Iliad*. It was the case of an agreement entered into by the Trojans and the Argives with regard to the combat for Helen between Menelaus and Alexander. First of all, the herald made an announcement in the city of the duel and of the preliminaries that were to ensue, and brought two lambs, some wine in a goat-skin bottle, a bowl and golden cups. "When all were assembled, the lordly heralds brought together the faith-ensuring pledges of the gods and mingled the wine in a bowl, and poured water over the hands of the princes. Then Atreides cut off the hair from the heads of the lambs, which was distributed by the heralds amongst the chiefs of the Trojans and the Achaeans. Atreides raising his hands then offered up this prayer: 'Father Zeus that rulest from Ida, most glorious, most mighty, and thou Sun that beholdest all things, and hearest all things and ye Rivers and thou Earth, and ye that in the underworld punish men deceased, whosoever has taken a false oath; be ye witnesses, and watch over the faith-ensuring pledges.'"

Ζευ πατερ, Ιδηθεν μεδεων, κυδιστε, μεγιστε,
Ηελλιος θ,'ος παντ Εφορας και παντ' επακουεις,
Και Ποταμοι και Γαια, και οι υπενερθε καμοντας
ανθρωπους τινυσθον, οτις κ'επιορκιν ομοσση,
υμεις μαρτυροι εστε, φυλασσετε δ'ορκια πιστα.[2]

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[1] A.S, VII., 17.

Ζευ κ.υδιστε, μεγιστε, και αθανατοι θεοι αλλοι.
οπποτεροι προτεροι υπερ δρκια πημπνειαν,
ωδη οφ' εγκεφαλος χαμαδις ρεοι, ως οδε οινος,
αυτων, και τεκεων, αλοχοι δ'αλλοισι μιγειεν.

[2] Iliad, III., 276-80, tr. Philipson.

In historic Greece we find Cirrah being razed to the ground by the Amphictyonic Council owing to a transgression of sacred law on her part and the following curse was pronounced:

"If any one transgress this, whether city or individual, or tribe, let him be accursed of Apollo and Artemis and Leto and Athenæ; neither may the offenders' land bear fruit, nor their wives bring forth children like unto their parents but monsters, nor their herds yield increase after their kind; and may they suffer confusion in war and trials and in councils, may they be exterminated themselves, and their houses and their race; and may they never sacrifice acceptably to Apollo or Artemis or Leto or Athenæ, nor receive their sacrifices at their hands."[1]

Similarly, "Roman treaties were deemed to be under the vigilant guardianship of the gods. Thus Rome had her *Jupiter Fidius*, as Greece had her Ζευς Πιστιος. Janus is said to have been the protector of alliances; his double face symbolising the two peoples united by the treaty of peace. The conception of *fides* and πιστις and ορκια is at the very foundation not only of ancient treaties in the strict sense but of the whole range of Hellenic and Roman international relationships. Thus in the treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedon (215 B. C.) the oath was taken, says Polybius, in the presence of Zeus, Hore, and Apollo; of the god of the Carthaginians, Hercules and Lobus, of Ares, Triton, Poseidon: of the gods that accompany the army, and the sun, moon and earth, of rivers, harbours and waters.....of all the gods of war that are witnesses to the oath.[2] The first Roman treaty with Carthage affords an interesting example. The Commissioner (*paterpatratus*), writes Polybius, took a

[1] Æschines · Ctesiphon. (Philipson)

[2] Polybius, VII, 9.

stone in his hand and having taken the oath in the name of his country concluded with these words: 'If I abide by this oath may Jupiter bless me; but if I do otherwise in thought or act, may all others prosper in their countries under their laws, in their livelihood, and preserve their household goods and tombs; may I alone be cast out as this stone is now."[1] According to Martin[2] in China too, there were elaborate formalities in connection with the signing of a treaty including solemn confirmation by oath, mingling of the blood of the signatory parties in a cup of wine, laying their hands on the head of an ox to be sacrificed, and the usual imprecation. Thus in a treaty between the Prince of Cheng, and a coalition of princes who invaded his terrirtory, 544 B.C., after the preamble and the recital of the provisions, the conclusion was to this effect: "We engage to maintain inviolate the terms of the foregoing agreement. May the gods of the hills and the rivers, the spirits of former Emperors and Dukes, and the ancestors of our seven tribes and twelve states watch over its fulfilment. If any one prove unfaithful may the all-seeing gods smite him, so that his people shall forsake him, his life be lost and his posterity cut off."[3]

As however time rolled on, the need for ample guarantees for securing treaties besides "oath" arose and "securities" and "hostages" came to be demanded for a due observance of the terms.[4] प्रतिभू: is peace with a

[1] Polybius, III, 25

[2] Martin, *cit.*, p 73

[3] Philipson.

[4] *Cf.* also Æneid, XII, 197-205

"haec eadem, Aenea, terrum-mare sidera juro
Latonaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem
Vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis;
audit haec genitor, qui foedera fulmine sandit.
tango aras medios ignis et numina testor;

security—" ascetics engaged in penance," and "noble men" were offered as securities. The deeply religious nature of the Indians prompted them to offer ascetics engaged in penance as the most efficient means of keeping the plighted word. **प्रतिग्रहः** is peace made with hostages: they might be children, princesses or princes. Kautilya bursts forth in grim humour when he solemnly advises the conquering hero not to accept, if possible, princesses as hostages because they cause trouble to the receiver.

बन्धुमुख्यप्रग्रहः प्रतिग्रहः; तस्मिन्यो दूष्यापत्यं वा ददाति सोऽतिसन्धत्ते। विपरीतोऽतिसन्धीयते। प्रतिग्रहग्रहणविश्वस्तस्य हि परः छिद्रेषु निरपेक्षः प्रहरति।[1]

Kautilya's sage advice is confirmed by the experience of the Romans. With the beginning of the Empire, Rome frequently received women as hostages. In the case of some communities, says Suetonius, "Augustus required a new kind of hostage, *viz.*, women, as he had found from experience that they cared little for men when thus delivered."

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nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
quo res cumque cadent; nec me visulla volentem
avertet, non si tellurem effundatin undas
diluvio miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat."

Thus Latinus looking towards the sky and extending his hands to heaven says: "By these same I swear. O Aeneas, by the Earth, [sea, sky, and the twin brood of Latona and Janus the double facing, and the might of nether gods and grim Pluto's Shrine; this let our Father hear, who seals treaties with his thunderbolt. I touch the altars, I take to witness the fires and the gods between us; no time shall break this peace and truce in Italy · howsoever fortune fall; nor shall any force turn my will aside, not if it dissolve land into water in turmoil of deluge, nor melt in heaven."—Philipson.

[1] *Cf.* the "*Chinabhuktis.*"

"शपथातिक्रमे महतां तपस्विनां मुख्यानां वा प्रातिभाव्यबन्धः प्रतिभूः।"

A. S., VII., 17.

Suetonius: Augustus 21 " . novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod negligere marum pignera sentiebat."

Thus, the institution of hostages obtained universally among nations of antiquity and the practice continued down to comparatively recent times; we hear of it in Europe even so late as the year 1748, when two English peers were sent to Paris as pledges for the fulfilment of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

We have seen the various classifications of treaties, we have examined the various guarantees for peace; now comes the question to the forefront, how far were treaties binding? The international conscience of civilised world has raised the question in an acute form during recent times. Treaties, says Hall, are entered into between parties as binding. "Treaties," says Sir F. E. Smith, "form the contract law of states, and it is in dealing with their enforcement and deviation that International Law conspicuously fails." He observes the distinction between municipal law and International Law specially on the questions of specific performance of a contract: "whereas municipal law will not hold valid a contract obtained by force, many of the most important treaties of the world are the result of the exercise of force, or the threat of it, upon a nation which has no alternative but surrender. To treat force, therefore, as invalidating a treaty would be to strike at the conclusion of a war."[1] And yet, fraud vitiates agreements of all kinds and Phillimore gives an illustration of duress nullifying an engagement: "The resignation of the crown and kingdom, extorted by Napoleon from Ferdinand VII at Bayonne, whither he had decoyed the monarch and his family was clearly—the duress and the condition of the party abdicating being considered—invalid; but the resignation of Napoleon at Fontainebleau was not extorted by treachery or duress, but was the consequence of defeat in open

[1] F. E. Smith: International Law, p. 142.

and legitimate war."[1] This view if pushed to extremes would justify the treaty executed by the German Imperial administration at Brest Litovsk in the year 1917. Woolsey however, takes a different standpoint and observes: "A combination to commit injustice, for example, to conquer and appropriate an independent country, as Poland, is a crime which no formalities of treaty can sanction. This rule it is true, is not one of much political importance or of practical application to the concerns of nations beforehand, for most of the iniquities of nations are varnished over by some justifying plea and the only tribunal in the case is the moral indignation of mankind, while after the crime has triumphed mankind accepts the new order of things rather than have a state of perpetual war." Political philosophers of the German school on the other hand, like Trietsche and Nietsche are of opinion, that peace ought to be maintained—at any rate peace forced on a nation—only so long as the vanquished state does not recoup sufficient strength to retaliate. The bloody battle of Jena and the humiliating terms of peace imposed upon the Germans by Napoleon, engendered a feeling of distrust for treaties in the minds of the German political thinkers of the last century.

Treaties of guarantees, which the European family of nations delights in, 'while imposing them on Belgium or Switzerland or the dismembered Ottoman Empire, do not seem to have been scrupulously observed by the members themselves. Thus in 1871, when the plenipotentiaries assembled were clamouring for the sanctity of international agreements, the powers were engaged in acquiescing in a flagrant violation of the Treaty of Paris in 1856, according to which Russia was forbidden to maintain a fleet in the Black Sea. Then again, Bosnia and

[1] Phillimore: Commentaries upon Int. Law, II., § 49.

Herzegovina were annexed by the late "Dual Empire" in violation of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. In 1831, the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed; it was violated by one of the contracting parties, *viz.*, Germany in 1914; in 1856, the Convention of Paris between Great Britain and France and Austria ensured the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; shortly after, bankruptcy and lawlessness in Egypt evoked English interference, English protectorate and lastly annexation. The conclusion of the last great European War will probably soon see the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire by two of the contracting powers, and the Khalifat day in India will be observed in vain.

This somewhat long preamble is necessary to explain the peculiar theory of peace propounded by the writers of the Arthasastras in Ancient India. They realised full well the truth of the remark **श्रमव्यायामौ योगक्षेमयोर्योनिः**[1] and yet the centralisation and deification of the monarchy led them to promulgate the theory of expediency. To an astute politician like Kautilya, who helped the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty, the installation of the Mauryya Emperors and the acquisition of their vast empire, restlessness appeared to be the only means of success and he therefore upheld the theory of the "good old rule, the simple plan:" "whoever is rising in power, may break an agreement of peace"[2] and "a powerless king should behave as a conquered king" **अशक्यो दण्डोपनतवद्वर्त्तेत**[3] and there cannot be a greater evil to a king than alliance with a considerable power—**महादोषो हि विशिष्टबलसमागमो राज्ञामन्यत्रारिग्रहीतात्।**[4] So a king according to him, was to maintain peace only under certain circumstances.

[1] Arthasastra, VI., 2.
[2] *Ibid*, VII., 17.
[3] *Ibid*, VII., 2
[4] *Ibid*.

Like the politicians and diplomats of modern Europe the writer of the Arthasastras recommended "an armed" peace. Thus says Kautilya:

यदिवा पश्येत्—सन्धौ स्थितो महाकलैः स्वकर्मभिः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामि; महाफलानि वा स्वकर्मान्युपभोक्ष्ये; परकर्माणिवा; सन्धिविश्वासेनवा योगोपनिषत्प्रणिधिभिः परकर्माण्युपहनिष्यामि; सुखं वा सानुग्रहपरिहारसौकर्यैफललाभभूयस्त्वेन स्वकर्म्मणा परकर्म्मयोगावहजनमासावयिष्यामि; बलिनाऽतिमात्रेण वा संहितः परः स्वकर्म्मोपघातं प्राप्नुयति; येनवा विगृहीतो मया सन्धत्ते, तेन अस्य विग्रहं दीर्घं करिष्यामि; मया वा संहितस्य मद्वेषिणो जनपदं पीडयिष्यति; परोपहतो वाऽस्य जनपदो मामागमिष्यति; ततः कर्म्मसु वृद्धिं प्राप्स्यामि; विपन्नकर्म्मारम्भो वा विषमस्थः परः कर्म्मसु न मे विक्रमेत; परतः प्रवृत्तकर्म्मारम्भो वा ताभ्यां संहितः कर्म्मसु वृद्धिं प्राप्स्यामि; शत्रुप्रतिबद्धं वा शत्रुणा सन्धिं कृत्वा मण्डलं भेत्स्यामि; भिन्नमवाप्स्यामि; दण्डानुग्रहेण वा शत्रुमुपगृह्य मण्डललिप्सायां विद्वेषं ग्राहयिष्यामि; विद्विष्टं तेनैव घातयिष्यामि "इति सन्धिना वृद्धिमातिष्ठेत्॥"[1] This is the voice of

[1] A S, VII. 1. Or if a king thinks, "that keeping the agreement of peace I can undertake productive works of considerable importance and destroy at the same time those of the enemy, or apart from enjoying the results of my own works, I shall also enjoy those of my enemy in virtue of the agreement of peace, or I can destroy the works of my enemy by employing spies and other secret means, or by holding out such inducements as a happy dwelling, rewards, remission of taxes, little work and large profits and wages, I can empty my enemy's country of its population with which he has been able to carry out his own works; or being allied with a king of considerable power my enemy will have his own works destroyed, or I can prolong my enemy's hostility with another King whose threats have driven my enemy to seek my protection; or being allied with me my enemy can harass the country of another king who hates me; or oppressed by another king, the subjects of my enemy will immigrate into my country, and I can therefore achieve the results of my own works very easily; or being in a precarious condition due to the destruction of his works my enemy will not be so powerful as to attack me; or by exploiting my own resources in alliance with any two kings, I can augment my resources; or if a circle of states is formed by my enemy as one of its members, I can divide them and combine with others; or by threats or favour, I can catch hold of my enemy and when he desires to be a member of my own circle of states, I can make him incur the displeasure of other members and fall a victim to their own fury"—if a king thinks thus, then he may increase his resources by keeping peace."—Shama Sastri's translation, p. 329.

political expediency prompting a state to the adoption of only one principle, *viz.*, satisfaction of state-interest.[1] Thus, it will be observed that all the activities of the state are subordinated to its supreme interests. Self-improvement, the adoption of an attitude of benevolent neutrality, all questions of naturalisation, immigration, and emigration, the formation of alliances, the preservation of the balance of power are guided by the dominating and all-absorbing passion of self-interest. This theory of peace has been defined by Sukracharyya very briefly :[2]

सन्धिश्चातिबले युद्धं साम्ये यानन्तु दुर्ब्बले।
सुहृद्भिराश्रयः स्थानं दुर्गाभिभजनं द्विधा॥
बलिना सह सन्ध्याय भये साधारणे यदि।
आत्मानं गोपयेत् कालेवह्निमित्रेषु बुद्धिमान्॥

The value of alliances from the "utilitarian" point of view is very great and a king should "like a bamboo remain surrounded by clusters."

सङ्घातवान् यथा वेणुर्निविड़ैः कण्टकैर्वृतः।
नशक्यते समुच्छेत्तुं वेणुः सङ्घातवांस्तथा॥[3]

"Therefore, being attacked by a powerful monarch, a ruler of men having no other remedy should seek peace, delaying as much as possible."[4]

Thus equality of status came to be recognized as the most stable basis of "peace with honour," and a king desiring prosperity was to conclude peace with his equals because "the clash between two unbaked jars destroys both of them."

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[1] *Vide ante*

बलीयसाभियुक्तस्तु नृपोऽनन्यप्रतिक्रियः।
आपन्नः सन्धिमन्विच्छेत्कुर्व्वाणः कालयापनम्॥ Kam., IX., 1.

[3] Peace should be made with the very powerful, war with the equal and expedition against the weak, but to friends should be granted refuge as well as residence within the forts.—Sarkar

[4] Sukra, IV., vii., 244.

"नत्सम्प्रहर्त्तेरतिहर्षिकामः
समेन सन्धानमिहोपगच्छेत्।
अपक्षयोर्व्वा घटयोरवश्य
मन्योन्यभेदी समसन्निपातः॥"[1]

"A weak king," thus ran the advice of Kamandaka, "should patiently bear the thrashing of the enemy, like a tortoise contracting within its shell when beaten; but when the right time comes, the intelligent king should behave like a crooked serpent."

अपरिभ्रश्यमानं हि क्रमप्राप्ते मृगेन्द्रवत्॥
कौर्म्मसङ्कोचमास्थाय प्रहारमपि मर्षयेत्।
काले प्राप्तेतु मतिमानुत्तिष्ठेत् क्रूरसर्पवत्॥[2]

It was this principle of expediency which induced Manu to dictate as follows:

नित्यमुद्यतदण्डः स्यान्नित्यं विवृतपौरुषः।
नित्यं संवृतसंव्वार्य्यो नित्यं छिद्रानुसार्य्यरेः॥
नित्यमुद्यतदण्डस्य कृत्स्नमुद्विजते जगत्।
तस्मात् सर्वाणि भूतानि दण्डेनैव प्रसाधयेत्॥[3]

In all states of antiquity, in the inevitable contest between justice and expediency, the welfare of the state was regarded as the primary consideration of every citizen and the ideas of writers of the Arthasastras agreed with those of Livy who looked upon honour as subservient to utility—*cui utilis quam honesti cura erat*. Law to them, was merely a creature of circumstance and necessity.

Honesta lex est temporis necessitas
Necessitas dat legem, non ipsa accipit.[4]

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[1] Kam., IX., 60.

[2] Kam., X., 34-35.

[3] Let him be ever ready to strike, his prowess constantly displayed, and his secrets constantly concealed, and let him constantly explore the weaknesses of his foe. Of him who is always ready to strike, the whole world stands in awe; let him therefore make all creatures subject to himself even by the employment of force —Manu, VII., 102-03.

[4] Publilius Syras (45 B.C.) Sententiae.

The keen struggle between justice and expediency was felt many a time by the Greeks. Thus, the Corinthian envoys on the eve of the Peloponnesian War reminded the Athenians of the apparent harmony between the two extremes :[1] "Do not say to yourselves," they said, "that one thing is just but that in the event of war another thing is expedient ; for the true path of expediency is the path of right." Thus did the Athenians enunciate the general policy of Athens before Hermocrates of Syracuse : "In each case we must make friends or enemies, according to circumstances and here our interest requires, not that we should weaken our friends, but that our friends should be too strong for our enemies. Do not mistrust us. In Hellas we act upon the same principles, managing our allies as our interest requires in their several cases."[2] Of the view of the supremacy of state interest, and of the practice of subordinating everything else thereto, the Spartans were the most thorough, consistent and uncompromising advocates. Lysander's preference for expediency and strategem to justice and openness is well known. He indeed laughed at those who said that the race of Heracles ought not to make wars by strategem, saying : "when the lion's skin will not protect us, we must sew the fox's skin to it."

οπου γαρ η λεοντημη εφικνειται, πρθσπραητεον ε'κει την αλωπευην.[3]

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[1] Thuc., I., 78 . *καιμη νομιοη δικαια μεν ταδε λεγεσθαι ξυμφορα δε, ει πολεμηυει, αλλα το τε γαρζυμφερον εν ω αν τις ελαχιστα αμαρτανη μαλιστα ετεται .... το γαρ μη αδικειν τους ομοιους εχυρωτερα δυναμις η τω αυτικα φανερω επαρθενταs δια κινδυνωντο πλεον εχειν.*

[2] Thuc., VI., 85 : *προs εκαστα δε δει η εχθρον η φιλον μετα καιρου γιγνεσθαι και ημας τουτο ωφελει ευεθαδε, ουκ ην τους φιλους κακωσωμεν, αλλ ην οι εχθροι δια των των φιλων αδυνατοι ωσσιν απιστεον δεου χρη και γαρ τους εκει ξυμμαχους ων εκαστοι χρησιμοι εξηγουμεθα .. ..*

[3] Plut. : Lysander, 7

CHAPTER VII

War : Character : Grounds

It has been asserted and re-iterated by admirers of modern International Law—conversant with the histories of Rome and Greece—that the ancients lived amidst the ceaseless turmoil of war, that an interminable mutual hostility of nations was their normal and necessary condition, and they held every alien to be essentially and inevitably an ἐχθρος or *hostis*, in the sense of a political or natural adversary. Now, as it will be shown in this chapter, war did not form the normal condition of existence so far as at least the three great Aryan peoples of antiquity were concerned, *viz.*, the ancient Indians, the Greeks and the Romans. According to the Greeks and the Romans, war was admittedly their frequent condition but certain well-defined causes regularized military operations ; while in the case of ancient India, of the six forms of policy, conciliation, gift and separation were given preference to war even in a regular form.

"'If thy endeavours after peace fail, then mayest thou engage in battle,' such was the advice of the dying Bhisma to Yudhisthir. 'The victory that one acquires by battle is very inferior.'[1] Therefore the collision of battle is not at all desirable as long as it can be avoided. The policy of conciliation, of producing disunion and making

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[1] संहृत्य महतीं सेनां चतुरङ्गां युधिष्ठिर ।
सान्त्वेव वर्त्तये: पूर्व्वं प्रयतेथास्यतो युधि ॥
जघन्य एष विजयो यद्युद्धं सामभाषणं ।
याद्दच्छिको युधि जयो दैवेनेति विचारणम् ।
Sant., CII., 16-17

gifts should first be tried; battle, it is said, should come after these"[1]

The Manu Samhita also repeats the same sentiments. A king should first try to conquer his foes by conciliation, by gift and by causing dissension if possible: if all these fail then and then only should he wage war.

सान्त्वादानेन भेदेन समस्तैरथवा पृथक् ।
विजेतुं प्रयतेतारीन् न युद्धेन कदाचन ॥[2]

* * * *

त्रयाणामप्युपायानां पूर्व्वोक्तानामसंभवे ।
तथा युद्धेत संयत्तो विजयेत रिपून् यथा ॥[2]

The Arthasastras were great advocates of the policy of state-interest and yet they looked upon the establishment and continuation of peace as the only means of achieving national progress and national prosperity.[3] Even when the advantages of peace and war are equal one should prefer peace, for war causes loss of power and wealth and is troublesome and sinful.[4] A solvent treasury and sage advice, declared Kamandaka, were much better expedients than mere display of power; he therefore recommended lavish use of gifts.

चतुरङ्गबलं सृष्ट्वा कोषो मन्त्रश्च युध्यते ।
तत् साधुमन्त्रो मन्त्रेण कोषेण च जयेदरीन् ॥
साम दानञ्च दण्डश्च भेदश्चेति चतुष्टयम् ।
मायोपेक्षेन्द्रजालं च सप्तोपायाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥[5]

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[1] सन्निपातो न मन्तव्यः शक्ये सति कथञ्चन ।
सान्त्वभेदप्रदानानां युद्धमुत्तरमुच्यते ॥
Mahabharata-Santi-Raj, CII., 22.

[2] Manu, VII., 198.

[3] *Ibid*, VII., 200.

[4] Arthasastra, VII., 12.
सन्धि विग्रहयोस्तुल्यायां हृद्धौ सन्धिमुपेयात् । विग्रहे हि चयव्ययप्रवासप्रत्यवाया भवन्ति—

[5] Kamandaka, XVII., 2-3.

Conciliations and gifts are of five kinds while there were three forms of the policy of separation. 'The enumeration of services rendered mutually, high praise of the deeds of the enemy, establishment of relationships, display of majesty as well as a peaceful declaration of allegiance—these are the five sorts of conciliation.' Gift of wealth, exchange of commodities, acquiescence in seizure, gift of valuable things and remission of dues were regarded as the various kinds of "gifts." Dissension could be caused by alienation, by causing rivalry and by the expression of threats. Sukracharyya is the great exponent of, and a firm believer in, the efficacy of the power of separation and he held that separation was the best of all methods or policies of work.[1] Victory in war was regarded as uncertain and war was therefore to be avoided as long as possible from the utilitarian point of view:[2] that was the opinion of the writers of the Arthasastras while the Dharmasastras advised abstention from hostilities from a moral point of view.

Similarly, in the histories of Greece and Rome we find expressions of pacific intention of states amidst the prevailing clash of arms. Thus Pericles in his "Funeral Orations" gave vent to his pacific intentions and wanted to make peaceful Athens the "Schoolmistress" of Hellas. Thus Aristophanes[3] supplicated the gods to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and Euripides[4] advised avoidance of war as inconsistent with wisdom; though thoroughly

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[1] Sukra, IV., vii.

[2] Sukra, IV., vii., 189: "शत्रु संसाधनोपायो नान्य: सुबलभेदत:"

सुहृद्धनं तथा राज्यमात्मानं कीर्त्तिमेवच।
युधि सन्देहदोलाग्यं को हि कुर्य्याद् बालिश:॥
Kam., IX., 75

[3] Aves, 1591.

[4] "It behoves him therefore whoever is wise, to avoid war, but if it come to this, it is no crown of dishonour to die nobly for one's city, but to die ignobly is shameful."—Troad.

imbued with purely chivalrous feelings, he did not advocate ignoble or dishonourable death.

φευγειν μεν ουν χρηπολεμου, οστισευ φρονει
ει δες τοδ ελθοι, στεφανος ουκ αισχρος πολει
καλως ολεσθαι μη καλως δε δυσκλεες.

The Roman writers were no less vehement in their denunciation of wars and they agreed with Aristotle in regarding peace as the ultimate goal of all wars (τελοσγαρ ειρηνημεν πολεμου). Thus Silius Italicus emphasizes that peace is the best of all things given to mankind, and that one peace is better than innumerable triumphs.

Pax optima rerum
quas homini novisse datum est; pax una triumphis
innumeris potior.

"Peace with justice and honour," so declares Polybius,[1] "is the noblest and the most advantageous thing in the world; when joined with disgrace and contemptible cowardice, it is the basest and the most disastrous." Hence sang Pindar:

το κοινον τις αστων εν ευδια τι θεις
ερευναισατω μεγαλανορος ησυχιας το φαιδρον φαος

"A quiet haven the ship of the state
Should be the patriot's aim,
And smiling peace to small and great
That brings no shame."[2]

The various definitions of "war" given by the writers of the Arthasastras prove that they regarded war not as a condition but as a result of what Logicians regard as a series of causes. Kautilya defined war as an "offensive operation."[3] War was defined by Sukracharyya as (*i*) the affair of two parties, (*ii*) having inimical relations

[1] IV., 31.
[2] Odes, Philipson.
[3] Arthasastra, Bk. VII., I

with each other, (*iii*) undertaken by means of arms, (*iv*) with the ulterior object of satisfying their rival interests :

आविध्रतोः शत्रुभावमुभयोः संयतात्मनोः ।
अस्त्राद्यैः स्वार्थसिद्ध्यर्थं व्यापारो युद्धमुच्यते ॥[1]

The Agni Purana defines war " as the direct result of injuries done to each other by two hostile monarchs."[2] If we combine the essential ingredients then it will be seen, that the authors of the Arthasastras did not in any way regard warfare as a necessary consequence of existence and that there was probably the nearest approach to the theory of modern International Law that war is an affair between states. It will also be seen later, that the distinction between combatants and non-combatants—a distinction scarcely recognized by international custom of antiquity—was fully recognized and acted upon in ancient India.[3]

A declaration of war is a formal notification on the part of a state that it considers itself at war with another state to which a notification is sent. A universal rule of declaration, preceding commencement of hostilities was the general custom of antiquity. Thus, in ancient India all the great wars in the Epics were begun after declaration. Declarations of war were generally made through the *Dutas*, as for example, Srikrishna, as an ambassador of the Pandavas, delivered his *ultimatum* to the *Kauravas*: in historical times this good old rule was strictly followed, so that issue of

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[1] Sukra, IV., vii., 220.

[2] Agni, CCXL., 15, p. 860, tr.

[3] *Cf.* also Kamandaka, X., 1 :

अमर्षोपगृहीतानां मन्युसन्तप्तचेतसां ।
परस्परापकारेण पुंसां भवति विग्रहः ॥

ultimatums (प्रताप)[1] and breaking of treaties (समाधिमोक्षः) have been mentioned by Kautilya, as the functions of an envoy or *Duta*. Such declarations took the form of an oral delivery of message by the delivery of *Sasana* or royal writ. "Writs," says Kautilya, "are of great importance, in as much as treaties and *ultimata* depend upon writs."[2] Hence, a person possessing the qualifications of a minister, who knows very well the customs and usages of the country, who is smart in composition, whose handwriting is legible and who is sharp in reading should be appointed a *lekhaka*.

शासन प्रधानाहिराजानः तन्मूलत्वात् सन्धिविग्रहयोः[1]। तस्मादमात्य-सम्पदोपेतः सर्व्वसमय विदाशुग्रन्थवार्व्वरो लेखवाचनसमर्थो लेखकः स्यात्॥

In Chapter IV of Book VII, Kautilya deals with Neutrality *after proclaiming war* (विग्रह्यासनं) and marching after *proclaiming* war (विग्रह्ययानं). He states also therein the circumstances under which a king may keep quiet after *proclaiming* war. We observe the triumph of the Kautilyan theory of expediency when we find Kautilya counselling princes 'gaining in strength after proclaiming war,' to march against a helpless enemy:

"विग्रह्यासनहेतुभिरभ्युच्चितः सव्वसन्दोहवर्जं विग्रह्य यायात्"[3]

One thing however remains clear : whether a king desires to overpower a weak neighbour, whether he launches war upon a state for the preservation of the balance of

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[1] प्रेषणंसन्धिपालत्वं प्रतापो मित्रसंग्रहः।
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* * * *
समाधिमोक्षो दूतस्य कर्म्मयोगश्चचात्रयः।—A.S., I., 16.
Cf. also Kam., XII., 8:
"उद्यतेष्वपि शस्त्रेषु यद्दीप्तं शासनं वदेत्"

[2] Arthasastra, II., 10.

[3] Arthasastra, VII., 4.

power, or whether he fights in self-defence, proclamation of war should precede commencement of hostilities. Further on, in Kautilya's definition of "धर्म्मयुद्ध" and "कूटयुद्ध"[1] surprise attack does not form one of the constituent elements, so that we can come to the conclusion that war must have been preceded by a declaration of hostilities. The Greeks and the Romans were also very strict in regard to the observance of certain formalities connected with the declaration of war. But declaration was dispensed with in cases of wars of self-defence[2] as well as in cases of wars against an improperly organised people, or against a nation deprived of independence and freedom, on the ground that legal equality could not obtain in the absence of juridical personality.[3] The Spartans who were notorious for their military proclivities did not care to observe such previous notification. Thus, Pausanias says in reference to their designs on Messenia that they neither declared war by herald, nor openly renounced their friendship. But when Sparta was in her turn attacked by Pyrrhus long afterwards without any previous declaration, the Spartan envoys remonstrated with him and his reply was: "We know well that neither do you Spartans tell any one beforehand what you mean to do."[4]

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[1] Arthasastra, VII., 6 ·

प्रकाशयुद्धं निर्दिष्टो देशे काले च विभमः ।
विभीषणमवस्कन्दः प्रमादव्यसनार्दनम् ॥
एकत्र त्यागघाती च कूटयुद्धस्य मातृका ।
योगभूतोपजापार्थं तूष्णीं युद्धस्य लक्षणम् ॥

but see later; Kautilya distinguishes between धर्म्मयुद्ध and कूटयुद्ध according as hostilities follow declaration of war or not

[2] *Cf.* Livy: XXXVI., 3.

[3] Dig., XXII., 15. 7. 1.

[4] προπεμ ψαντες κηρυκα προτερον πολεμον προερουντα .....

The principle of public declaration of war before actual commencement of hostilities was fully recognised by Greece and Rome. Thus, Herodotus refers to the Greek custom of declaring war before the beginning of belligerent operations—επεαν γαρ αλληλοισι πολεμον προειπωσι..... μαχονται. So, on the failure of arbitration between the Corcyraeans and the Corinthians on the eve of the Peloponnesian war, a herald was despatched to the enemy to proclaim that a state of war existed between the two countries.[1] In Rome, the *Jus fetiale* consisted of certain rules and ceremonies or modes of procedure for declarations of war and ratifications of treaties of peace which were of great antiquity and were intended to satisfy the religious scruples and the sensitive "legal conscience" of the Romans.

There seems to be a great difference of opinion among writers of "modern" International Law as to whether declaration of war is at all necessary. The English and the American publicists have held the view that the date of the first outbreak of hostilities furnishes a better criterion for the commencement of a war than the date of the formal declaration. Their view is perhaps best expressed by Hall:[2]

"An act of hostility, unless it be done in the urgency of self-preservation, or by way of special reprisal, is in itself a full declaration of intention: any sort of previous declaration therefore is an empty formality, unless an enemy must be given time and opportunity to put himself in a state of defence, and it is needless to say that no one asserts such quixotism to be obligatory." The very magnitude of the British empire demands a quick beginning as a condition precedent to success, and

[1] See also *Eologues*. Thucydides, I., 29.

[2] Hall: Sixth Ed., p. 370.

hence the English publicists do not favour an open declaration before war is actually begun. General Maurice of the British army[1] found less than ten cases out of 118 examined, of declarations prior to hostilities between 1700 and 1872.

The majority of the continental jurists have insisted upon the utility or necessity of declaration. Japanese custom does not conform to the practice of beginning war with a declaration. Thus, the Chino-Japanese war began with the capture of the Chinese transport *Koshung*[2] by a Japanese Cruiser. Considerable controversy was also roused by the Russian charge of treachery against the Japanese because of the latter's attack on the Russian fleet at Chemulpo and at Port Arthur two days prior to Japan's declaration of war against Russia.[3] The question was attempted to be set at rest by the second Hague Peace Conference which went back to antiquity and laid down the rule that hostilities between contracting powers "must not commence without previous and explicit warning, in the form either of a declaration of war with the reasons assigned for it or of an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war."[4] This rule seems to have been observed in general by the belligerent powers during the last great European and a practice of universal application in antiquity seems to have been translated for modern acceptance.

Wars have been due to various and manifold causes. They are partly psychological, social, economic or political in origin. "They have their root in human nature, in the passions, appetites, aversions and ambitions of mankind; and in the economic, political, or social conditions

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[1] Hostilities without Declaration, 1883.

[2] Takahashi: International Law applied to the Russo-Japanese War, 23; 602.

[3] See also Lawrence: War and Neutrality in the Far East.

[4] Higgins: Hague Peace Conference, 198-99.

under which men seek for the means of existence and enjoyment. On the one hand, we have to reckon with certain human factors, such as hunger, greed, national jealousy, racial aversion, love of glory or national vanity, and a desire to gratify these passions: and on the other hand, man is often confronted with conditions in his physical, political and social environment which make it difficult to gratify these desires without a resort to violence." [1]

"The causes which usually give rise to a war and the affronts which are usually amended through the arbitration of the sword, are, says the Agnipurana,[2] (*i*) the stealing away of a wife,[3] (*ii*) encroachment upon the capital, (*iii*) the territory, (*iv*) the kingdom, (*v*) or the sovereign right of a king by his adversary, (*vi*) pride, (*vii*) oversensitiveness as to the point of honour, (*viii*) loss of fortune, (*ix*) humiliation suffered by an ally or a friendly monarch, (*x*) the death of an ally, (*xi*) the accretion to the domain of a foreign prince and a disturbance of the balance of power [4] among the monarchs of a circle."[5]

Almost the same ideas have been expressed by Kamandaka—only intervention on moral grounds being considered by him as an additional ground for war:

आत्मनोऽभ्युदयाकाङ्क्षी पीड्यमानः परेण वा ।
देशकालबलोपेतः प्रारभेत हि विग्रहम् ॥

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[1] New York Independent, Vol. 57, 1036

[2] Ag., CCXL.

[3] *E.g.*, the wars between Rama and Ravana; the war of Rome with Veii and Lars Porsena.

[4] The theory of the *Mandala*.

[5] Wars were frequently undertaken by the Romans for offences caused against ambassadors and for refusal to surrender or receive an ambassador. Thus, the Romans early in their career, declared war against Veii for maltreatment of Roman ambassadors. A tribune reproached the King of the Veientians with these words: "Is this the breaker of human treaties, the violator of the law of Nations? This victim will I now slay and I will offer him up to the shades of the ambassadors."—Livy: IV., 58.

राज्यस्त्रीस्थानदेशानां यानस्य च धनस्य च ।
अपहारो मदो मानः पीड़ा वैषयिकी तथा ॥
स्नानार्थधर्म्मशस्त्रीनां विघातो दैवमेव च ।
मिथ्यार्थंचापमानश्च तथा बन्धुविनाशनम् ॥
भूतानुग्रहविच्छेदस्तथा मण्डलदूषणम् ।
एकार्थाभिनिवेशित्वमिति विग्रहयोनयः ॥[1]

In the above list of 'causes' or occasions for war we miss (*i*) wars for the refusal of extradition, (*ii*) wars of religion and (*iii*) wars for offences against diplomatic agents. Probably wars of religion did not disturb the peace of India at such an early period as that of Kamandaka, or perhaps civil wars, as with the Romans, were not reckoned as wars by the Indians.

Wars were divided into various classes according either to (*i*) the weapons used or (*ii*) the methods employed. Sukracharyya divided wars into (1) दैविक, (2) आसुर and (3) मानुष, according to the weapons used. The *daivika* warfare is that in which मन्त्र was used; the आसुर is that in which mechanical instruments were used; and human warfare is that in which *Sastras* and hands were used.

मन्त्रास्त्रैर्दैविकं युद्धं नालाद्यस्त्रैस्तथाऽसुरम् ।
शस्त्रबाहुसमुत्थन्तु मानवं युद्धमीरितम् ॥[2]

Kautilya divided battles into (*i*) open battle, (*ii*) treacherous battle, and (*iii*) silent battle, according to the means employed.

"विक्रमस्य प्रकाशयुद्धं, कूटयुद्धं, तुष्णीं युद्धमिति ।"[3]

Open, treacherous and silent battles have further been defined thus:[4]

प्रकाशयुद्धं निर्दिष्टं देशे काले च विभ्रमः ।
विभीषणमवस्कन्दः प्रमादव्यसनार्दनम् ॥

[1] Kam., X., 2-6.
[2] Sukra, IV., vii., 221.
[3] Arthasastra, VII., 6.
[4] *Ibid*, VII., 6.

एकत्र त्यागघाती च कूटयुद्धस्य मार्दवा ।
योगभूमौपजापार्थं तुष्णीं युद्धस्य लक्षणम् ॥

When a battle is fought in daylight and in some locality, it is termed an "open battle"; bribing a portion of the army and destroying another portion is one of the forms of treacherous fight, while intrigue is the essence of a "silent battle" and desperate attempts were made to win over the chief officers of the enemy by bribery and intrigue. A weak king, according to the precepts of the Arthasastras, should wage both "treacherous" and "silent wars" against a powerful enemy. Silent battles could be started without previous declaration of hostile intention, but it will be evident from a careful perusal of Kautilya that silent battles were fought by the employment of spies. They are not battles at all in the modern acceptance of the term but should rather be regarded as a means of causing dissension in enemy's ranks by secret agencies—a method which has proved so very successful during the last great European war both in Russia as well as in Germany.

Indra, one of the traditional authors of the Arthasastra, divided wars into four classes: (*i*) wars caused by the invasion of one's territory, (*ii*) wars caused by something done by others prejudicial to the exercise of the regal powers, (*iii*) wars resulting from some dispute about boundaries, and (*iv*) wars caused by some disturbance in the *Mandala*.

जातं भूम्युपरोधेन तथा प्रकृतिविघातजं ॥
भूम्यनन्तरजातं तु मण्डलद्वोभजन्मथा ।
चतुर्विधं वैरजातं बहु दन्तोसुतोऽब्रवीत् ॥[1]

Kamandaka[2] divides wars into sixteen classes according to their results, their causes and the parties engaged.

[1] Kam., X., 16-17.
[2] *Ibid*, X., 18-22.

His division does not seem to have a scientific basis at all.

"किञ्चित्फलं निष्फलञ्च सन्दिग्धं फलमेव च।
तदात्वे दोषजननमायत्वाञ्चैव निष्फलम्॥
अपरिज्ञातवीर्य्येण दुष्टेन स्तम्भितोऽपि वा।
परार्थं स्त्रीनिमित्तञ्च दीर्घकालं द्विजोत्तमैः॥
अकाले दैवयत्नेन बलोद्भूतसखेन च।
तदात्वे फलसंयुक्तमायत्यां फलवर्जितम्॥
आयत्यां फलसंयुक्तं तदात्वे निष्फलं तथा।
इतीमं षोड़शविधं नकुर्य्यादेव विग्रहम्॥"

Sukracharyya draws a distinction between युद्ध and कलह with reference to the non-hostile intercourse between states. The cause of "कलह" or quarrel or contention is the exclusive demand for the same thing. When there is no other remedy, says he, war or *Vigraha* should be undertaken.

एकार्थाभिनिवेशित्वं कारणं कलहस्य वा।
उपायान्तर नाशे तु ततो विग्रहमाचरेत्॥[1]

From the above sloka it is clear that कलह meant hostile operations stopping short of actual warfare. In a previous passage also, Sukracharyya while enumerating

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[1] "War against illustrious Brahmans" is futile because all the ब्राह्मण had ब्रह्मतेज। That seems to be the view of Kamandaka. Sukracharyya on the other hand, is not afraid of a fight with the Brahmans; and when they take up arms, enemy character should be extended to them· "The Brahmana who appears with a murderous intent is as good as a Sudra' "There can be no sin in killing one who comes with a murderous intent." Then again: "The sin of killing a Brahmana does not touch the man who treats like a Kshattriya and kills the Brahmana who fights with arms in hand and does not leave the battlefield." Sukracharyya observes further· "When again the Kshattriyas have become effeminate and the people are being oppressed by the lower orders of men, the Brahmanas should fight and extirpate them."—Sukra IV., vii., 254.

the grounds of what we now call intervention on moral grounds says—

"विग्रहः स च विज्ञेयो ह्यन्यस्य कलहः स्मृतं।"[1]

Therefore, such hostile operations might assume various shapes and did certainly include "reprisals" as we understand it from a passage in the Arthasastra of Kautilya.[2]

समश्चेन्न सन्धिमिच्छेत्, यावन्मात्रमपकुर्य्यात्तावन्मात्रमस्य प्रत्यपकुर्य्यात्। तेजोहि सन्धानकारणं ; नातप्तं लोहं लोहेन सन्धत्त इति॥

"When a king of equal power does not like peace, then the same amount of vexation as his opponent has received at his hands should be given to him in return ; for it is power that brings about peace between two kings ; no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron."

These then were the general characteristics of war in ancient India. The Epics and the Dharmasastras would not recognise any kind of war which violated the strict rules of *Dharmajuddha* and this principle has been laid down over and over again by the great Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. It will be seen in the next chapter, that humanitarianism raised the laws of warfare in ancient India to a very high level, so that the distance of centuries vanishes in the mist of time. If humanitarianism therefore raised the tone of interstatal relations and international usage, chivalry also did not fail to discharge its task in ennobling the ideal of warfare

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[1] Sukra, IV., vii., 252

प्रहीनबलमित्वन्तु दुर्गस्थं शत्रुमागतम्।
अत्यन्तविषयासक्तं प्रजाद्रव्यापहारकम्॥
भिन्नमल्पबलं राजा पीडयेत् परिवेष्टयन्।
विग्रहः स च विज्ञेयोह्यन्यस्य कलहः स्मृतः॥—Sukra, IV., vii., 251.

[2] Arthasastra, VII., 3.

and the character of the soldiers engaged in the armed conflicts.

"Blessed are the meek; for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven," says the Bible; "blessed are also they who wield the sword, for theirs is the Valhalla"[1]—that is the burden of the song of Prof. Cramb who vainly sought to establish friendly relations between Great Britain and Germany, "the two chosen people of God," just on the eve of the last great world war. A similar sentiment ruled the ideal of the warrior in ancient India. Retreat, to a Kshattriya, meant eternal shame whereas death in battle was the surest passport to heaven. Such were the prevailing sentiments of the warrior-class in ancient India. "Always exerting himself for the destruction of the robbers and the wicked people, a Kshattriya should put forward his prowess in battle..... Those among Kshattriya rulers who perform great sacrifices, who are possessed of a knowledge of the Vedas, and who gain victories in battle, become foremost of those who acquire many blessed regions hereafter by their merit. Persons conversant with the old scriptures do not applaud that Kshattriya who returns unwounded from battle. This has been declared to be the conduct of a wretched Kshattriya."[2] Thus did Bhisma discourse on the duties of a Kshattriya.

आहवेषु मिथोऽन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तोमहीक्षितः।
युध्यमानाः परंशक्त्यास्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः॥[3]

"Those kings who seeking to slay each other in battle, fight with the utmost exertion and do not turn back, go to heaven" so said Manu. "A Kshattriya

[1] J. A. Cramb · England and Germany.
[2] Mahabharata, Santi-Raj, LX., 12-16.
[3] Manu, VII., 89.

should never cease from hostilities : his death in bed is a sin." [1]

"अधर्म्मः क्षत्रियस्येष यच्छय्यामरणं भवेत्।"

"People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battle. He is purged of all sins and for him is the kingdom of heaven. The fairies in the world above vie with each other for espousing the dead hero as their husband in the next life. Death in battle is therefore penance, virtue and eternal religion. Two persons in this world are entitled to go to heaven—the austere missionary and the man who is killed in battle." The exhortations of Sukracharyya to the military classes are so soul-stirring that they deserve to be quoted in full :—

आहवेषु मिथोऽन्योन्यं जिघांसन्तो महोक्षितः।
युद्धमानाः परं शक्त्या स्वर्गं यान्त्यपराङ्मुखाः॥
आहवे निहतं शूरं नशोचेत कदाचन।
निर्मुक्तः सर्व्वपापेभ्यः पुतो याति सुलोकताम्॥
वराप्सरः सहस्राणि शूरमायोधने हतम्।
त्वरमाणाः प्रधावन्ति मम भर्त्ता भवेदिति॥

[1] Thus King Janaka, we learn from the Mahabharata, used to exhort his soldiers before battle :

योधानां दर्शयामास स्वर्गं नरकमेव च।
अभीरूणामिमे लोका भास्वन्तो हन्त पश्यत॥
पूर्णा गन्धर्व्वकन्याभिः सर्व्वकामदुहोऽक्षयाः।
इमे पलायमानानां नरकाः प्रत्युपस्थिताः॥

Santi, XXIX., 3-4-5.

"Behold these are the regions endowed with great splendour for those that fight fearlessly. Full of Gandharba girls those regions are eternal and capable of granting every wish. There on the other side are the regions intended for those that fly away from battle! They would have to rot there for eternity in everlasting ingloriousness." The ideal of Sukracharyya is higher, because his fairies fight with each other for marrying the hero in the next life while the address of King Janaka resembles the addresses of the early Mahomedan Kaliphs and is echoed in the Quoran

मुनिभिर्दीर्घतपसा प्राप्यते यत् पदं महत्।
युद्धाभिमुखनिहतैः शूरैस्तद् द्रागवाप्यते॥
एतत्तपश्च पुण्यञ्च धर्म्मश्चैव सनातनः।
चत्वार आश्रमास्तस्य यो युद्धे न पलायते॥
नहि शौर्य्यात् परं किञ्चित् त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते।
शूरः सर्व्वं पालयति शूरे सर्व्वं प्रतिष्ठितम्॥
चराणामचरा अन्नमदंष्ट्रा दंष्ट्रिणामपि।
अपाणयः पाणिमतामन्नं शूरस्य कातराः॥
द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्य्यमण्डलभेदिनौ।
परिव्राड् योगयुक्तो यो रणे चाभिमुखंहतः॥

Sukra, IV., vii., 309-17.

A hard-hearted politician like Kautilya "almost oblivious of the great hereafter" also would divide heaven between the austere Brahmins (perhaps like himself!) and the great warriors of old.

यान्यन्नसङ्खैस्तपसा च विप्राः
स्वर्गैषिणः पात्रचयश्च यान्ति।
क्षणेन तानप्यतियान्ति शूराः
प्राणान् सुयुद्धेषु परित्यजन्तः॥

"Beyond those places where the Brahmins desirous of getting into heaven, attain together with their sacrificial instruments by performing a number of sacrifices, or by practising penance are the places which brave men losing life in good battles, are destined to attain immediately."

For such a warrior before whose eyes either the hues of heaven danced or the black of hell dangled there was absolutely no safety in retreat. "Hell yawns before him who flies in terror from a field of battle or who deserts either his ally or his master."

अपसरति यो युद्धाज्जीवितार्थी नराधमः।
जीवन्नेव मृतः सोऽपि भुङ्क्ते राष्ट्रकृतं त्वघम्॥

मित्रं वा स्वामिनं त्यक्त्वा निर्गच्छति रणाच्च यः ।
सोऽग्ने नरकमाप्नोति सजीवो निन्द्यतेऽखिलैः ॥[1]

Not only were the terrors of the life beyond the grave reserved for the cowardly deserter, but he had no place either in the family or society here below.[2] Such were the precepts which gave birth to the Rajput or the Maharatta people. Such was the Aryavarta which exhibited to the world a Rana Pratap or a Sivaji and for such a country was the memorable observation of Yuan Chwang made:

"Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition although he is defeated and his country is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace."[3]

[1] Arthasastra, X., 3. This passage is admitted by Kautilya to be a quotation from the *Vedas*.

[2] Sukra, IV., vii., 328-329.

[3] IV., vii.

CHAPTER VIII

War : The Law relating to Enemy Persons and Enemy Property

"As to the practices in war in the ancient East," says Philipson, "it is on the whole a monotonous story of unrestrained cruelty, ferocity, barbaric treatment, and the entire disregard of all considerations save the attainment of the belligerent's object by whatever means possible." This statement of Philipson is perhaps partially true but he errs grievously when following Laurient he describes the code of Manu as, "*sans doute aussi, les loi de Manou respirent-un Machiavelisme profond.*" He admits, however, that the code of Manu established striking relaxations in the barbarous conduct of warfare but he seems to observe a great divergence between actual practice and idealistic theory and condemns the Hindus "beyond redemption." It will be the object of this chapter to prove conclusively that the ancient Indians entertained a very high ideal of warfare and their practice in general conformed to that noble ideal. On the contrary, the theory of all nations of antiquity besides India, was that declaration of war involved interruption of all relations between belligerents and conferred the right of unlimited violence upon them. The ethical superiority of international custom in ancient India is broadbased on six great moral principles, *viz.* :—

(*i*) The ancient Indians regarded war as a necessary evil to be taken recourse to (as shown in the last chapter) as a last expedient.

(*ii*) Certain well-defined rules guided all wars—rules which were sanctioned by religion and common humanity and were carried out by men ennobled by a sense of

chivalry. The influence of chivalry upon the amelioration of warfare even in the middle ages in Europe has generally been acknowledged.

(*iii*) International usage in ancient India made a distinction between combatants and non-combatants and recognized the modern principle of various grades in enemy character.

(*iv*) The ancient Indians recognized war as a relation between states,[1] *e.g.*, the Agni Purana defines 'war' "as the direct result of injuries done to each other by two hostile monarchs," and the modern theory of the identity of the interests of the state with those of the individuals held good only in the case of a virtuous prince. Thus says Kamandaka :

धार्म्मिकस्याभियुक्तस्य सर्व्व एव हि युध्यते ।
प्रजानुरागधर्म्माच्च दुःखच्छेद्यो हि धार्म्मिकः ॥[2]

The same truth has been forcefully illustrated by Kautilya when he speaks about the various grounds of the defection of an entire people. "When a people are impoverished, they become greedy : when they are greedy, they become disaffected : when disaffected, they voluntarily go to the side of the enemy or destroy their own master."

क्षीणाः प्रकृतयो लोभं लुब्धा यान्ति विरागताम् ।
विरक्ता यान्त्यमित्रं वा भर्त्तारं घ्नन्ति वा स्वयं ॥

[1] *Cf.* Rousseau : "War then is not a relation of man to man but a relation of state to state, in which individuals are enemies only accidentally, not as men nor even as citizens, but as soldiers; not as members of the country, but as its defenders. Finally, each state can have for its enemies only rather states and not men, seeing that between things of a diverse character no true relation can be fixed."

J. J. Rousseau : Du Contrat Social, LI., iv.

Vattel's theory approaches Agni Purana's definition even more closely :

"It is against one sovereign that another makes war and not against the quiet subjects. The conqueror lays his hands on the possessions of the state, while private persons are permitted to retain theirs. They suffer but indirectly by the war; and to them the result is that they only change masters"

Vattel, Bk. III., ch. 9, § 167.

[2] Kam., IX., 44.

(*v*) *Dharma* did not recognize in ancient India, the institution of slavery. It has been repeatedly laid down both in the Dharmasastras as well as in the Arthasastras that an Aryya could never be reduced to slavery.

(*vi*) The dissociation of gods from party strifes mitigated the rigours of warfare in ancient India. All the other nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Jews, the Greeks and the Romans introduced gods as partisans into secular wars. The defeat of one state in ancient India did not necessarily involve the defeat and the suppression of the presiding deity of that state, while Babylonian history tells us that "after six hundred years Sutrakh-nakhante 'seized the hands of Bel.'" The bloody deeds of the Hebrews had likewise the implicit sanction of Divine vengeance. Virgil represents the gods in their anger overthrowing Troy. In Greece we hear of a conflict between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Athens, between Poseidon and Helios as to Corinth and so on. In India, the nations struggled on for territorial aggrandisement, but the gods did not perhaps, except in the Vedic age, fight for the appropriation of various localities. In the Epics and the Puranas we have instances of gods fighting among themselves and very rarely with men, such as Arjuna fighting with Siva ; but victory or defeat of states did not, in general, mean the victory or the defeat of the champion gods of the states. Thus religious rancour and religious fanaticism did not embitter secular warfare in ancient India for a very long time. These briefly are the causes which both *humanized* and *ennobled* warfare in ancient India.

Indian warfare stands in striking contrast to warfare throughout the world and in order to estimate the vastly liberal character of the wars in ancient India it is necessary to draw a picture of warfare not only in ancient but also in

comparatively modern times. Let us take up Egypt first. The description of the battle of Megiddo [1] and the newly discovered inscription of Ahmose [2] will serve our purpose: "The King himself, he led the way of his army, mighty at its head like a flame of fire, the King who wrought with his sword. He went forth none like him slaying the barbarians, smiting Retenu, bringing their princes as living captives, their chariots wrought with gold, bound to their horses [3].....
.....Their champions lay stretched out like fishes on the ground. The victorious army of His Majesty went round counting the spoils, their portions.

"They brought in the booty which they had taken consisting of hands [severed from the slain], living prisoners, of horses and chariots, gold and silver."[4] Thutmoses III, the first great hero in the world according to Breasted, built a wall with human skulls and thus concluded his boast: "Lo! my majesty carried off the wives of that vanquished one together with his children, and the wives of the chiefs who were there together with their children.[5]

The monuments of Assyria and Babylonia as well as the records of the Hebrews bear witness to the barbarity of the Assyrians and certain of the Babylonian monarchs in warfare. The bodies of the slain were often mutilated, and rebel captives were impaled and subjected to the most horrible tortures. Those who escaped, were chained and enslaved. Whole nations were transplanted from one part of the empire to the other. The inscription of Assurnazirpal runs thus: "The nobles as many as had revolted, I flayed: with their skins I covered the Pyramid. Some

[1] Megiddo, fought by Thutmoses III in Asia Minor, 15th Century B.C.
[2] Ahmose, one of the officers of the Egyptian army of the Thutmosids.
[3] Breasted: Records, II., 413.
[4] *Ibid*, II., 616, 640
[5] Breasted: II., 596.

of those I immured in the midst of the Pyramid; others I impaled above the Pyramid on stakes; others round about the Pyramid, I planted on stakes, many at the exit for my own country I flayed; with their skins I clad the fortress walls."[1]

The Persians did hardly mitigate the cruelties of war. Men, women and children were put to death or enslaved, and whole populations were transported. Mutilation of the dead and the torture of the living were freely exercised although there were some lighter shades to this picture.[2]

If we turn our eyes from early Orient, to early Occident we find Greek warfare characterized by great cruelty and severity. Hostilities in the Homeric times assumed the form of indiscriminate brigandage and extermination rather than subjection of the enemy was the usual practice. After Troy was taken, the Greeks did not think of taking possession of Priam's kingdom; the town was simply destroyed and the inhabitants were either enslaved or put to death. In historic times the conduct of the Greeks did not much improve although here and there our eyes meet with flashes of humanity. Athens, the "Schoolmistress of Hellas," brutally put to death all men of military age at Melos, and made slaves of the women and the children. The same story of indiscriminate slaughter and enslavement was told at Corcyra and at Mytiline.

The methods of Roman warfare were probably more humane than those of the Greeks, because life in Greece centred in the *polis* whereas a policy of absorption instead of extermination was forced upon Rome by the ceaseless march of events and yet such acts as the burning of crops, the demolition of houses, the carrying of men and

[1] Records of the Past, II., 134-277.

[2] *E.g.*, the treatment of Themistocles by Artaxares, *e.g.*, Cyrus's refusal to maltreat Greek embassies sent to him.

cattle as spoils were regarded as misfortunes to be borne rather than misdeeds to be complained of—"*esse enim quaedam belli jura, quae ut facere, ita pati sit fas; sata, exuri, derui, tecta, praedus hominum hecorumque agi, misera magis quam indigna patienti esse.*"[1] In the case of towns taken by assault, the leaders and occasionally all male defenders were put to the sword, and the women and children were all reduced to slavery.

Warfare in the middle ages took a hideous form. All considerations worthy of men and good Christians vanished. The following passage taken from a Christian historian, descriptive of the capture of Jerusalem (which was taken by storm in 1099), serves as an illustration of the unrestrained brutality of the crusaders :[2]

"No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen, ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities of cruelty as the wearers of the cross of Christ on the capture of that city. Murder was mercy, rape tenderness, simple plunder the mere assertion of a conqueror's right. Children were seized by their legs, some of them were plucked from their mother's breasts and dashed against the walls or whirled from battlements. Others were obliged to leap from the walls; some tortured, roasted by slow fires. They ripped up prisoners to see if they had swallowed gold. Every one surprised in the temple was slaughtered till the reek from the dead body drove away the slayers. The Jews were buried alive in their synagogues."

The cruel practices of the Swiss and the Italian mercenaries in the middle ages struck terror into the heart of every law-abiding and peaceful citizen. Even the English armies were not free from ferocity. Thus Bernard gives a graphic account of the campaigns of Edward III in France :

"In the summer of 1346, an English army under Edward III landed on the coast of Normandy amongst a peaceful and industrious

[1] Livy : XXXI., 30.

[2] Milman : History of Latin Christianity, IV., 37.

people, who, says Froissart, had never heard a battle-cry, or seen an armed man. They took and sacked Barfleux and Cherbourg and marched on St. Lo.

"Fair and cheerful province, delicious sight to a hungry invader, with its hamlets and church towers, its substantial farms and large sleek cattle, thick orchards and green pastures, sweeping up hill and down dale to the winding margin of the sea! The English scattered themselves over it, and so advanced, burning and destroying —burning and destroying—over the rich flats of Beauvoisin to the suburbs of Paris. Immense booty was taken; yet the English host when it met the power of France at Crecy, was reduced to the utmost extremity of want."[1]

It is refreshing to turn one's eyes from this sickening tale of horrors in Europe to India which inspite of the condemnation of Philipson as "a country beyond redemption" carried on her wars in accordance with strict laws. Thus Bhisma[2] exhorted Judhisthir to be guided by righteous laws:

"A king should never desire to subjugate the Earth by unrighteous means even if such subjugation would make him the sovereign of the whole Earth. What king is there that would rejoice after obtaining victory by unfair means? A victory attained by unrighteousness is uncertain and never leads to heaven."

Bhisma elsewhere observes that a Kshattriya who destroys righteousness and transgresses all wholesome barriers does not deserve to be reckoned as a Kshattriya and "should be driven from society."

"नाधर्म्मेण महीं जेतुं लिप्सेत जगतीपतिः।
अधर्म्मविजयं लब्ध्वा को नु मन्येत भूमिपः॥
अधर्म्मयुक्तो विजयो ह्यध्रुवोऽस्वर्ग्य एव च।
* * * *

[1] Bernard: Growth of Laws and Usages of War, pp. 97-99.

[2] Mahabharata: Santi-Raj, XCVI., 1-3, 10.

यस्तुधर्म्मविलोपेन मर्य्यादाभेदनेन च ।
तां वृत्तिं नानुवर्त्तेत विजिगीषुर्महीपतिः ॥

"This has been declared to be the primeval law for warriors and from this law a Kshattriya should never depart when he strikes his foes in battle."

एषोऽनुपस्कृतः प्रोक्तोयोधर्म्मः सनातनः ।
अस्माद्धर्म्मान्नच्यवेत क्षत्रियोघ्नन् रणे रिपून् ॥[1]

The theory of International Law by which the hardships of war have to a very large extent been modified is foreshadowed in the Mahabharata, where Bhisma counsels abstention from fruitless acts[2] of hostility, from insolence and from haughty speech and recommends humane treatment to the conquered people.

The victorious king should express sorrow at the death of the soldiers of the opposite party and try to conciliate the vanquished by kind treatment.

प्रहरिष्यन्प्रियं ब्रूयात् प्रहरन्नपि भारत ।
प्रहृत्य च प्रियं ब्रूयाच्छोचन्निव रुदन्निव ॥
नमे प्रिया ये स्म हताः संहृष्टाः परेऽपिच ।
नच कत्थनमेवाग्र्यमुच्यमानं पुनः पुनः ॥
अहो जीवितमाकाङ्क्षेद्वेष्टव्यो वधमर्हति ।
सुदुर्लभाः सुपुरुषाः संग्रामेष्वपलायिनः ॥
कृतं ममाप्रियं तेन येनायं निहतोमृधे ।
इति वाचा वदन्हन्तृन्पूजयेत रहोगतः ॥
हन्तृणां च हतानां च पूजां कुर्य्यात् यथार्थतः ।
क्रोशेद्वाहुं प्रगृह्यापि चिकीर्षञ्जन संग्रहम् ॥[3]

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[1] Manu, VII., 98.

[2] प्रियमेव वदेन्नित्यं नाप्रियं किञ्चिदाचरेत् ।—Santi, CIII., 10.

[3] Mahabharata, Santi, CII., 34-38. "Before smiting, O Bharata! and while smiting utter sweet words; after having smitten, show them compassion and let them understand that thou art grieving and weeping for them. Having vanquished an

'A king was not to kill a large number of troops of the foe although he should certainly do that which would make his victory decisive.'

"न सद्योऽरीन्विहन्याच्च द्रष्टव्यो विजयो ध्रुवः।"

This was probably too high an ideal set up before a conquering hero but even the writers of the Arthasastras[1] who were all worshippers in the shrine of Expediency and according to whom the end alone justified the means, counselled generous and chivalrous treatment of a conquered country.[2]

Thus, the Epics allow *Dharmajuddha* only, they do not permit *Kutajuddha*. It is only when we come to the study of the Arthasastras that we find them prescribing *Kutajuddha* under certain circumstances and with certain limitations. The Arthasastras looked upon war from two points of view: (*i*) from the point of utility, and (*ii*) from the point of "state necessity." Thus, according to Sukracharyya, a king should never destroy his army by recklessly undertaking wars—"न नाशयेत् स्वसेनान्तु सहसा युद्धकामुकः"[3] but being once in a quarrel the king was to behave himself in such a way "that the opposed might beware of him." Victory had to be obtained at any cost whether

army, the king should address the survivors saying—'I am not at all glad that so many have been slain by my troops! Alas, the latter though repeatedly dissuaded by me, have not obeyed my directions. I wish they (that are slain) were all alive! They do not deserve such death! They are all good men and true and unretreating in battle, such men indeed are rare! He that has slain such a hero in battle, has surely done that which is not agreeable to me!' Having uttered such speeches before the survivors of the vanquished foe the king should in secret honour those amongst his own troops that have bravely slain the foe. For soothing the wounded slayers for their sufferings at the hand of the foe, the king desirous of attaching them to himself should even weep seizing their hands affectionately."—P. C. Ray, Santi-Raj, p. 328.

[1] CIII., 19.

[2] *E.g.*, Sukra, IV., vii. (see later).

[3] Sukra, V., 7.

one followed the accepted rules of international usage or not. "धर्म्मयुद्धैः कूटयुद्धैर्न्यादेव रिपुं सदा"[1] for, says Sukracharyya, it is folly to lose one's object[2] and therefore, a clever king should even suffer insult and humiliation at the outset to secure ultimate victory.

अपमानं पुरस्कृत्य मानं कृत्वा तु पृष्ठतः।
स्वकार्य्यं साधयेत् प्राज्ञः कार्य्यध्वंसो हि मूर्खता॥

But even Sukracharyya does neither deny the existence of Dharmajuddha, nor does he recommend Kutajuddha in every eventuality. The theory of state-interest triumphs over the inherent superiority of every ethical principle and he recommends कूटयुद्ध only for the weak.

There is no warfare, says he, which extirpates the *powerful*[3] *enemy* so much as कूटयुद्ध—"न युद्धं कूटसदृशं नाशनं बलवद्रिपोः" as one should follow the moral rules so long as one is powerful because people remain friends till then, just as the wind is the friend of the burning fire.

तावत्परो नीतिमान् स्याद्यावत् सुबलवान् स्वयम्।
मित्रं तावच्च भवति पुष्टाग्नेः पवनो यथा॥

The same principle has also been enunciated by Kautilya:[4]

"बलविशिष्ट कृतोपजापः प्रतिविहितकर्त्तुः स्वभूम्यां प्रकाशयुद्धमुपेयात् विपर्यये प्रकटयुद्धम्।"

The overwhelming duty of self-preservation on the part of a state compelled it to take recourse to कूटयुद्ध but a small state before undertaking such wars was

[1] Sukra, IV, vii., 350.
[2] *Ibid*, IV., vii., 363.
[3] *Ibid*, IV., vii, 189.
Cf. also Agni, CCXL., 16.
[4] Arthasastra, X., 3

advised by Kautilya to enter into a subordinate alliance with a powerful state in the relationship of a sovereign and a client state.[1] It is only when outside help was not available that such a method of warfare was to be adopted. Thus says Manu :[2]

यदि तत्रापि संपश्येद्दोषंसंश्रयकारितम् ।
सुयुद्धमेव तत्रापि निर्व्विशङ्कः समाचरेत् ॥

It is almost certain, however, that कूटयुद्ध formed the exception and not the rule as the distinction between combatants and non-combatants was firmly recognized by the ancient Hindus. Thus, though Sukracharyya[3] advocated a policy of "state-necessity," yet he recognized that Dharmajuddha allowed certain privileges both to combatants as well as to non-combatants.

न च हन्यात् स्थलारूढं नक्लीवं नकृताञ्जलिं ।
न मुक्तकेशमासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम् ॥
न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं युद्धमानं परेण च ॥
पिबन्तं न च भुञ्जानमन्यकार्य्याकुलं न च ।
नभीतं नपरावृत्तं सतां धर्म्ममनुस्मरन् ॥
वृद्धो बालो न हन्तव्यो नैव स्त्री केवलो नृपः ।
यथायोग्यं तु संयोज्य निघ्नन् धर्म्मो न हीयते
धर्म्मयुद्धे तु कूटे वै न सन्ति नियमा अमी ॥

The Santiparva of the Mahabharata not only distinguishes between combatants and non-combatants but makes various gradations among combatants. Thus, "one that is walking unprepared in a road," *i.e.*, a mere traveller, or one engaged in drinking and eating, or one

[1] *Vide ante. Ibid*, VII., 15.
[2] Manu, VII., 176.
[3] Sukra, IV., vii., 355-58.

skilled in some special art, *i.e.*, persons admittedly following peaceful walks of life were granted immunities 'from being killed.'[1] Coupled with the general law, *viz.*, that an Aryya could not be reduced to slavery,[2-3] international usage or custom establishes the distinction between combatants and non-combatants. This distinction has been further emphasized by laws relating to what we now call "belligerent occupation" and "blockade," by land.[4] Even persons in the war zone who were mere onlookers could not be killed.[5] Messengers and Brahmans admittedly following their general peaceful lives were also not to be killed.[6]

The Mahabharata recognizes various grades in enemy character. Thus, according to the Mahabharata men who go out of the camp to procure forage or fodder, men who set up camps, and camp-followers as well as those who wait at the gates of the king or his ministers or those who do menial service to the army-chiefs, or those who are chiefs of such servants, shared the immunities of the non-combatants.[7]

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[1] Mahabharata · Santi-Raj, C , 27-29.

[2-3] Vishnu, VI., 5, 151.
Manu, VIII., 412.
Arthasastra, III., 13.

[4] See later.

[5] Manu, VII., 92.

[6] Gautama, X., 18.

[7] Mahabharata . Santi-Raj, C., 27-29 .

प्रसुप्तांस्त्वपितान्यान्तान प्रकीर्णान्नाभिघातयेत् ।
मोचे प्रयाणे चलने पानभोजनकालयोः ॥
अनिच्छिमान्व्यतिच्छिमाग्निदूतान् प्रतनूकृतान् ।
अविसब्धान् कृतारम्भानुपन्यासात्प्रतापितान् ॥
वहिश्चरानुपन्यासान् कृतवेश्मानुसारिणः ।
पारम्पर्यागते द्वारे ये केचिदनुवर्त्तिनः ।
परिचर्य्यापरीहारो ये च केचन वलिनः ॥

Kautilya [1] the arch-apostle of expediency would permit emigration and immigration in times of war but Sukracharyya the ruthless advocate of the doctrine of state-necessity would extend enemy character to many persons enjoying immunity according to the Mahabharata.

From a passage in Kautilya's Arthasastra, it appears that belligerency did not put a stop to commercial intercourse, *ipso facto*, but if the king considered import of enemy's merchandise detrimental to the interests of his country then he could put a stop to such commercial intercourse :

तस्य प्रकृतयो दुर्भिक्षोपहता मामेष्यन्ति ; .....तं मे प्रकृतयो न गमिष्यन्ति ; विष्टिश्च चास्य धान्यपशुहिरण्यान्याहरिष्यामि ; स्वपक्षोपघातीनि वा परपक्षाणि निवर्त्तयिष्यामि ; परवणिक्पथाद्वा सारवन्ति मामेष्यन्ति.....इति परबुद्धिप्रतिघातार्थं प्रतापार्थं च विष्टिरासीत् ॥"[2]

The above conclusions are also confirmed by the evidence of foreigners. Thus says Megasthenes :

"Whereas among other nations, it is usual in contests of war, to ravage the soil, and then to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians on the other hand *by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable*, the tillers of the soil even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow *those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested.* Besides *they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees.*"[3] The same thing has been repeated by Diodoros Sekulos :[4] "Among the

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 1 · "परोपहतो वाऽस्य जनपदो मामागमिष्यति:" *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid*, VII., 4.

[3] Megasthenes, Frag. 1.

[4] The Historical Library of Diodoros Sekulos, II., iii., 73.

ancient Hindus the armies on both sides slaughter one another, yet they never hurt the husbandman, as one who is a servant for their common good and advantage of them all; neither do they burn their enemies' country, or cut down their trees or plants." Thus Yuan Chwang also bears ample testimony to the humanity of Indian warfare—"Petty rivalries and wars are not unfrequent," says he, "but they do little harm to the country at large."[1]

Thus, the ancient Hindus clearly understood the modern international term, "enemy character." Kautilya was however obsessed with the idea of "*la gloire*" and he therefore extended the significance of "enemy character" even to such kings of the "Mandala or the circle of states, whose territories were contiguous to the dominions of the Vijigisu. Thus, Kautilya was guided by the "distance" theory of enmity, but he recognised also the enemy who created disturbances.

भूम्यन्तरं प्रकृतिमित्रं तुल्याभिजनः सहजः। विरुद्धो विरोधयिता वा कृत्रिमः।[2]

भूम्येकान्तरं प्रकृतिमित्रं मातापितृसम्बन्धं सहजं; धनजीवित हेतोराश्रितं कृत्रिममिति।

Likewise friends were divided into (1) natural friends and (2) acquired friends.

Sukracharyya extended further the significance of enemy character. Gautama[3] recommended that persons who acted as messengers and those who declared themselves 'cows and Brahmans' should share the immunities of other combatants wounded or disabled, but Sukracharyya would not grant immunity to anybody who could bear arms. Thus, says he, "a Brahman does not incur sin

[1] Beal, Vol. II.

[2] Arthasastra, VI, 2.

[3] Gautama, X., 18.

even if he fights with arms and weapons in his hands and there is absolutely no sin in killing a man with a murderous intent." A Brahman who appeared with a murderous intent lost all the privileges of his caste. He became as good as a Sudra and the ordinary treatment of a belligerent was meted out to a Brahmana fighting obstinately with arms in his hands in a field of battle.[1]

आततायित्वमापन्नो ब्राह्मणः शूद्रवत् स्मृतः।
नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति कश्चन॥
* * * * * *
उद्यतेषुमथो दृष्ट्वा ब्राह्मणं क्षत्रवन्भवत्।
यो हन्यात् समरे क्रुद्धं यद्यन्तमपलायितम्।
ब्रह्महत्या न तस्य स्यादिति धर्मेषु निश्चयः॥

Even an infant could become tainted if it came upon a man with arms and it might with impunity be killed.

उद्यम्य शस्त्रमायान्तं भ्रुणमप्याततायिनम्।
निहत्य भ्रुणहा न स्यादहत्वा भ्रुणहा भवेत्॥[2]

The ancient Hindus were not merely satisfied with laying down injunctions of religion for the

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[1] Sukra, IV., vii., 325-28

The Brahmans therefore formed a fighting caste as is also testified to by Kautilya although he does not put much faith in the invincibleness or the invulnerability of the Brahman army.

"ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रसैन्यानां तेजःप्राधान्यात् पूर्व्वं पूर्व्वं श्रेयः सन्नाहयितुम्" इत्याचार्य्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः—प्रधिपातेन ब्राह्मबलं परोऽभिहारयेत्। प्रहरण विद्याविनीतं तु क्षत्रियबलं श्रेयः; बहुलसारं वा वैश्यशूद्रबलमिति"—A. S., IX., 2.

Cf. also Sukra, IV., vii, 332-33

सुदुर्वृत्तं यदा क्षत्रं नाशयेयुस्तु ब्राह्मणाः।
युद्धं कृत्वापि शस्त्रास्त्रैर्न तदा पापभागिनः॥
क्षीनं यदा क्षत्रकुलं नीचैर्लोकः प्रपीड्यते।
तदापि ब्राह्मणा युद्धे नाशयेयुस्तु तान् द्रुतम्॥

[2] Sukra, IV., vii., 326.

guidance of the army: nor was their consciousness for the sanctity of long-standing usage relied on, but elaborate rules were framed for keeping the soldiery strictly under control. Thus they were to be regularly inspected by the king[1] and properly officered.[2] The troops were to keep the arms, weapons and *uniforms* quite bright and ready for use.[3] They were held responsible for food, water and vessels in which food might be cooked.[4] They were subjected to daily parades[5] and arrangements were made for roll call[6] every morning and evening. All these salutary provisions increased the efficiency of the army and elaborate rules were laid down by which its treatment of the civilian population was vastly improved. Soldiers were liable to be punished by martial law if they criticised their commanders or if they maintained 'illicit connexion with evil-doers and enemies.'

स्वाधिकारिगणस्यापि ह्यपराधं दिशन्तु नः।
मित्रभावेन वर्त्तध्वं स्वामिकृत्ये सदाखिलैः॥[7]

असत्कर्त्राश्रितं सैन्यं नाशयेच्छत्रुयोगतः[7] Soldiers were required to forsake violence, rivalry, procrastination over state-duties, indifference to injuries of the king, conversation as well as friendship with enemies. They had to take a vow of enforcing the observance of these rules and they meted

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[1] Arthasastra, I., 17 ; *cf.* also Kam., XV., 48.

[2] *Ibid*, II., 4. हस्त्यश्वरथपादातमनेकमुख्यमवस्थापयेत्। "Elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry shall be officered with many chiefs"

[3] सुश्लक्ष्णानि च रक्षेत् शस्त्रास्त्रवसनानि च।—Sukra, IV., vii., 385.

[4] अन्नं जलं प्रस्थमात्रं पात्रं वस्त्रन्नसाधकम्॥

[5] सैनिकैरभ्यसेन्नित्यं व्यूहाद्यनुकृतिं नृपः।—*Ibid.*

[6] सायं प्रातः सैनिकानां कुर्य्यात् सङ्क्रमणं नृपः। जात्याकृतिवयोदेशग्रामवासान् विलक्ष्य च। कालं भृत्यवधिं दैयं दत्तं भृत्यस्य लेखयेत्॥

[7] *Ibid*, IV., vii., 391.

out death to those who violated them. (शासनादन्यथाचारान्[1] विनेष्यामि यमालयम्)

चण्डत्वमाततायित्वं राजकार्य्ये विलम्बनम् ।
अनिष्टोपेक्षणं राज्ञः स्वधर्म्मपरिवर्जनम् ।
त्यजन्तु सैनिकं नित्यं सन्तापमपि वा परैः ॥[2]

The ancient Indian kings did not follow the policy of war supporting the army and ample provision was made for paying off the salaries of the soldiers regularly. Thus full pay was to be granted to those who were trained soldiers and half pay was to be given to those who were under military training.

सैनिकाः शिक्षिता ये ये तेषु पूर्णा भृतिः स्मृता ।
व्यूहाभ्यासे नियुक्ता ये तेभ्यर्द्धां भृतिमावहेत् ॥[3]

The soldiers were to give receipts in full satisfaction to the king in a form specifying wages.

कृतिं दत्तं हि भृत्येभ्यो वेतनं पारितोषिकम् ।
तत्प्राप्तिपत्रं गृह्णीयाद्व्याहेतनपत्रकम् ॥[4]

The troops were stationed near the village but outside it. Soldiers were required to make cash payments for articles bought and they were not allowed to enter the village without a royal "permit."

ग्रामाद्दूरेः समीपेतु सैनिकान् धारयेत् सदा ।
ग्राम्य सैनिकयोर्न स्यादुत्तमर्णाधमर्णता ।[5]
* * * * * *
नृपाज्ञया विना ग्रामं न विशेयुः कदाचन ।[6]

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[1] Arthasastra, IV., vii., 386.
[2] *Ibid*, IV , vii., 382-83
[3] Sukra, IV., vii., 390
[4] *Ibid*, IV., vii , 389.
[5] *Ibid*, IV., vii., 379
[6] *Ibid*, IV., vii., 383.

All these rules inculcated by the military codes of Indian antiquity remind us of the modern days of disciplined barrack life: all these rules taught the soldier to respect law and order and to be particularly dutiful towards innocent villagers; while a liberal scale of pay diminished their rapacity for pillage and booty. These rules did not have their permanent 'habitation' in military codes alone but were communicated to the soldiers evey eighth day ("संशासयेत् स्वनियमान् सैनिकानष्टमे दिने").[1]

It has been observed before, that the ancient Hindus understood the distinction between combatants and non-combatants fully well and laws of war gave various kinds of protection to combatants. Thus, it was one of the paramount duties of the soldiery to give QUARTER to enemy persons. Thus says the Mahabharata:

तेषां च भूमिं रक्षेयुर्भग्नान्नात्यनुसारयेत्।
पुनरावर्त्तमानानां निराशानां च जीविते॥
वेगः सुदुःसहो राजंस्तस्मान्नात्यनुसारयेत्।
न हि प्रहर्त्तुमिच्छन्ति शूराः प्रद्रवतो भयात्॥
"तस्मात्पलायमानानां कूर्य्यान्नत्यनुसारणम्"[2]

"The victor should protect the land newly conquered, from acts of aggression. He should not cause his troops to pursue too much the routed foe. The onset is irresistible of persons that rally after rout and that despairing of safety, assail their pursuers. For this reason,

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[1] Sukra, IV, vii., 387.
[2] Mahabharata, Santi-Raj, XCIX., 12-14.

प्रसुप्तांस्त्वपिवतान्श्रान्तान् प्रकीर्णान्नाभिघातयेत्।
मोक्षे प्रयाणे चलने पानभोजनकालयोः॥
अतिक्षिप्तान्नुतिक्षिप्तान्निहतान् प्रतनूकृतान्।
अविस्रब्धान्कृतारम्भानुपन्यासात्प्रतापितान्।
वहिश्चरानुपन्यासान् कृतवैश्मानुसारिणः।
पारम्पर्यागते हारे ये केचिदनुवर्त्तिनः।
परिचर्यापरोद्वारी ये च केचन वल्गिनः।

Santi-Raj, C., 27-30

O King, thou shouldst not cause thy troops to pursue too much the routed foe. Warriors of courage do not wish to strike them that run away with speed."

Thus Bhisma urges two reasons contradictory in their very nature against the irresistible desire of a victorious army to extirpate its vanquished foe—the one is in accord with a sage counsel of military necessity, while the other is dictated by humanity.

So Bhisma lays down rules according to which *quarter* should be given to the following classes of persons:

"(1) those that are asleep;
(2) those that are thirsty or fatigued;
(3) those whose accoutrements have fallen away;
(4) those who have set their heart on final emancipation;
(5) those that are flying away;
(6) those that are walking along a road;
(7) those that are engaged in drinking and eating;
(8) those that are mad or insane;
(9) those that have been wounded mortally;
(10) those that have been exceedingly weakened by their wounds;
(11) those that are staying 'trustfully';
(12) those that have begun any work without being able to complete it (referring to sacrifices probably);
(13) those that are skilled in some special art;
(14) those that are in grief;
(15) those who go out of the camp for procuring forage or fodder;
(16) those who set up camps or who are camp followers; and lastly
(17) those who do menial services, and who are the chiefs of such servants."

It is clear from the above list that excepting persons wounded, camp followers, and 'those who have lost their coat of mail' all other persons are non-combatants.

Civilised warfare of modern times does not show the least quarter to some of these persons as well as to those who take to flight unless they actually surrender themselves. In the list of persons given by Manu to whom quarter should be shown as well as in the list furnished by Sukracharyya, quarter has been recommended to one who joins the palms of his hands in supplication, to one who flees with dishevelled hair and to one who sits down (as a sign of surrender) or to one who says, "I am thine."

.....न कृताञ्जलिं
न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम् ।[1]

Sukracharyya, an exponent of the principle of expediency, recommended the extirpation of foes when beset with dangers and difficulties, when they are done up with hunger and thirst, when they are oppressed by disease,

[1] Manu, VII., 91-93

न च हन्यात् स्थलारूढं न क्लीवं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।
न मुक्तकेशं नासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम् ॥
न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नायुध्यमानं पश्यन्तं न परेण समागतम् ॥
नायुधव्यसनप्राप्तं नार्तं नातिपरीक्षितम् ।
न भीतं न परावृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥

Cf. also Sukra, IV., vii, 354-59

न च हन्यात् स्थलारूढं न क्लीवं न कृताञ्जलिम् ।
न मुक्तकेशमासीनं न तवास्मीति वादिनम् ॥
न सुप्तं न विसन्नाहं न नग्नं न निरायुधम् ।
नायुद्ध्यमानं पश्यन्तं युद्ध्यमानं परेण च ॥
पिबन्तं न च भुञ्जानमन्यकार्य्याकुलं न च ।
न भीतं न पराहृत्तं सतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् ॥
हन्तो वाली न हन्तव्योनैव स्त्री कैवलो नृपः ।
यथायोग्यं तु संयोज्य निघ्नन् धर्म्मो न हीयते ।
धर्म्मयुद्धे तु कूटे वै न सन्ति नियमा अमी ॥

famine, or when they are asleep or engaged in taking food, etc., but he never denied quarter to persons who actually surrendered.[1]

It is evident from the passages quoted above, that the wounded were not killed nor were they left to die. From a passage in the Agni Purana we learn that one of the duties of infantry soldiers was to carry the dead and the wounded from the battlefield to a place of safety; the car-warriors, on the other hand helped to carry the wounded from a distance.[2]

Prisoners of war in ancient India were treated with humanity. Early custom gave the absolute right of life and death over the person of the vanquished. From a passage in Josephus we learn that Ptolemy Luthyrus overran the territory of Judea, strangled Jewish women and children, and boiled them in cauldrons, thus securing for his country a reputation for cannibalism.[3] Slavery was a mitigation to the lot of prisoners. Justinian's legal conscience was satisfied when he declared slavery a merciful relaxation of the strict rules of warfare which gave the victor a right over the lives of his captives.[4] An enlightened writer like Grotius [5] contented himself simply by advising Christians to remain satisfied with ransom. Even so late

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[1] Sukra, IV., vii., 345·

दीर्घाध्वनि परिश्रान्तं क्षुत्पिपासार्दितश्रमम् ।
व्याधिदुर्भिक्षकरकैः पीड़ितं दस्युविद्रुतम् ॥
पङ्कपांशुजलक्लान्नं व्यस्तं श्वासातुरं तथा ।
प्रसुप्तं भोजने व्यग्रमभूयिष्ठमसंस्थितम् ॥
घोराग्निभयविध्वस्तं वृष्टिवातसमाकुलम् ।
एवमादिषु जातेषु व्यसनेषु समाकुलम् ।
ससैन्यं साधुवृत्तेषु परसैन्यं विनाशयेत् ॥

[2] Agni, CCXXXVI., 44-48: Physicians and nurses took charge of the wounded. *Vide infra.*

[3] Josephus: Antiq., XII., 10; XIII., 6

[4] Justinian: Inst., I., iii., 3.

[5] Grotius: III., vii., 9.

as the Treaty of Versailles, we find England and France entering into an agreement for the ransom of mutual prisoners.

In Greece the person of the defeated enemy was considered to be at the mercy of the conqueror. From a legal point of view, there was but little difference between a slave δουλος and a prisoner of war αιχμαλωτος. Humaner counsel however prevailed and we find constant protests against the sale of Hellenic prisoners of war to Hellenes in that period of criticism in Greece, *viz.*, the fourth century B.C. Thus Plato in his Republic strongly disapproves of the wanton destruction or enslavement of Hellenes to the people of the same race. In the *Heraclidae* of Euripides the struggle between custom and consciousness finds a tragic illustration when a prisoner was brought to Alemena and was told that he must suffer a miserable death, but objections were at once urged that such a practice would be contrary to the custom of the country :

ΑΓΓ ουκ εστ ανυστον τονδε σαι κατακτανειν
Α Λ αλλως αρ αυτον αιχμαλωτον ειλομεν
ειργει δε δη τις τονδε μη θανειν νομος.
ΑΓΓ τοις τησδε χωρας προσταταισιν ου δοκει.
Α Λ τι δη τοδ ; εχθρους τοισιδ' ον καλον κατανειν
ΑΓΓ ουχ οντιν αν γε ζωνθ' ελωσιν εν μαχη.

Grote bestows unstinted praise on Callicratidus, the Spartan Admiral because he declared that as long as he exercised the command no Greek would ever be reduced to slavery—εαυτοι αρχοντος ουδενα Ελληνων εις το εκεινου δυνο τον ανδ ραποδισθηναι. King Aegislaus reminded his Spartan comrades that prisoners of war were men to be kept and not criminals to be punished : thus from out of this humane attitude sprang up the custom of ransom, mitigating the sufferings of those prisoners who could buy their liberty.

Roman treatment of prisoners was much milder than that of the 'refined' Hellenes. The Romans before they entered on a career of absorption and expansion resorted to the malpractices of the Greeks but later on they treated their prisoners well. After the fall of Carthagena, 209 B.C., Scipio allowed Mago and all the other free-born Carthaginian citizens to get back home. On several occasions Caesar liberated his prisoners on condition of their not taking up arms again. The institution of ransom was recognised and prisoners were liberated at times without ransom. Thus Pyrrhus followed the custom of releasing prisoners of war without ransom.[1]

The Indian treatment of prisoners was perhaps much more humane than that of the Greeks and of the Romans.

It was almost a settled custom that no Aryya should be reduced to slavery. Thus says Kautilya:

म्लेच्छानामदोषः प्रजां विक्रेतुमाधातुं वा ।[2]
न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभावः ॥

In the Vedic times, however, the Dasyus or the aborigines, if taken prisoners were reduced to slavery. Thus

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Euri Heraclid., 965 et ffg

Mess Is it not possible for you to put him to death ?
Alc In vain then have we taken him prisoner
But what law hinders him from dying ?
Mess. It seems not well to the chiefs of the land
Alc. What is this ? Not good to them to slay one's enemies ?
Mess No, any one they have taken alive in battle.

tr Philipson.

[1] Nec mi aurum posco, nec mi pretium dederitis ;
Nec componantes bellum ; sed belligerantes,
....

the word *Dasa* has the sense of 'slave' in several passages of the Rigveda :

> Not our own will betrayed us, but seduction,
> thoughtlessness, Varuna! Wine, dice, anger.
> The old is near to lead astray the younger:
> even slumber leadeth men to evil-doing.
> Slavelike may I, do service to the bounteous,
> serve free from sin, the good inclined to anger.
> This gentle lord gives wisdom to the simple:
> the wiser god leads on the wise to the riches.[1]

But neither in the epic era nor in subsequent times do we find any claims advanced on the part of the victors to reduce their captives to slavery. On the contrary, we have the positive testimony of the Agni Purana which enjoined upon monarchs the duty of abstaining from making captives of war. At any rate, if prisoners were made, they were to be set at liberty immediately on the conclusion of peace :

"A king should treat a prisoner of war ransomed and liberated as his own begotten son. A defeated army should not be fought again.. .....The wives of a defeated king do not pass to the victor[2] ....Of five means of appeasing the wrath of a stronger

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[1] R. V., VII., 86, 7. *Cf.* also--

> Yadu and Turva, too, have been two Dasas, well disposed to serve
> Together with great store of kine.

Slavery in the Rigveda might be due to "wine, dice, gambling"--R. Y., X., 62, 10.

It is not the place here to trace the history of the institution of slavery in ancient India. Kautilya's Arthasastra deals with rules relating to slaves and corveé. The slavery in ancient India as depicted by the Arthasastra differed from Roman slavery in three things, (*i*) the slaves in ancient India were not *Aryans* whereas at Rome, slaves were frequently, though not invariably, of Roman or at any rate of Italian origin, (*ii*) the Indian slave had not only the protection of religion but also the (*iii*) protection of law. Thus, violation of a female slave against her will led to punishment Kautilya lays down general rules for masters in Chapter I, Book II, according to which those who did not treat their slaves (*dasas*), hired serfs (*Ahitakas*), and relatives well were to be taught their duty.

[2] Agni, CCXXXVI., 61-65.

adversary by gifts, the fifth one is setting at liberty prisoners captured in war."[1]

The humane treatment recommended by Kautilya and Sukracharyya to enemy person and enemy property in a country conquered or under belligerent occupation leaves no room for doubt that even if prisoners were made in ancient Indian warfare, they were very liberally treated and neither wholesale extirpation nor wholesale reduction to slavery was their lot ; on the contrary they were rarely ransomed and frequently liberated.

Certain means of destroying combatants were also forbidden. This will be treated in the next Chapter.

With regard to enemy property, the evidence of the Greek writers[2] conclusively proves that wholesale destruction or ravaging of the enemy's property was not the general practice in ancient Indian warfare. The question of *booty* however raises some difficulty. It appears, however, that the king took a share of the booty in the Vedic age. The word *Udaja* with its variant *Niraja*[3] has been used to denote the share of the booty taken by the king after victory (संग्रामजिता). According to Manu Samhita, " chariots and horses, elephants, parasols, money, grain, cattle, women, all sorts of goods and valueless metals belong to him who takes them conquering (the possessor)." The Vedas enjoin upon the soldier 'who takes such booty, the duty of going into shares with the king and his comrades.'

रथाश्वं हस्तिनं छत्रं धनं धान्यं पशून्स्त्रियः ।
सर्व्वद्रव्याणि कुप्यञ्च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत् ॥
राज्ञश्चदद्युरुद्धारमित्येषा वैदिकीश्रुतिः ।
राज्ञाचसर्व्वयोधेभ्योदातव्यमपृथग्जितम् ॥[4]

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[1] Agni, CCXL, 15-18.

[2] *Vide ante.*

[3] Maitrayani Samhita, for instance I., 10, 16 ; IV., 3, 1.

[4] Manu, VII., 96-97.

According to Sukracharyya, silver, gold and other kinds of booty belonged to him who won the same. The king was also to satisfy the troops by "giving them those things with pleasure according to the labour undergone":

रूप्यं हेम च कुप्यञ्च यो यज्जयति तस्य तत्।
दद्यात् कार्य्यानुरूपञ्च हृष्टो योधान् प्रकर्षयन्॥[1]

These two passages would lead to the conclusion that the soldiery were given up to unbridled plunder and the king was a sharer in that plunder. Probably the passage in Manu Samhita referred to the practice of the victors during the Vedic age, because it specifically referred to a passage in the Vedic literature according to which not merely gold and silver, *i.e.*, the personal belongings of soldiers slain on the battlefield, but also "money," "grain," "cattle," "women" would belong to the captor. Sukracharyya in the second passage quoted above, does not specifically refer to "money," "grain," "cattle" or "women" but goes further and observes that the king should protect the people of a conquered country like his own children and should realise "revenue" from a portion of the territory or the whole.

विजित्य च रिपूनेवं समादद्यात् करं तथा।
राज्यांशं वा सर्व्वं राज्यं नन्दयीत ततः प्रजाः॥
* * * *
तत् प्रजाः पुत्रवत् सर्व्वाः पालयीतात्मसात्कृताः।[2]

This passage coupled with Kautilya's recommendations for the administration of a newly conquered territory[3] as well as the injunctions laid down by Bhisma[4] as relating to "the maidens captured from the enemy's

[1] Sukra, IV., vii., 372.
[2] *Ibid*, 373-74.
[3] Arthasastra.
[4] Santi-Raj., XCVI.

country, the wealth or the kine," lead us on to the inevitable conclusion that the system of taking booty was allowed although organised plunder was never permitted excepting perhaps in a *Kutajuddha* with the wild tribes of the forest named **आटवीबल** by Kautilya [1]:

तेषां कुप्यभूतममित्राटवीबलं विलोपभूतं वा कुर्यात्।

Inhabitants of captured towns have at all times met with a sad fate. We need not go to the blood-curdling tales of the sack of Elam, the erasure of Babylonia and the destruction of Nineveh: Greece and Rome furnish us with many examples of inhumanity practised in ancient warfare. Thus, towns taken by storm in ancient Greece were liable to destruction—the men of military age were put to the sword, while the other citizens were reduced to slavery and general plunder followed. Roman practice was less barbarous but Polybius [2] held that the sacking of dwelling houses, the seizure of corn and other provisions, the setting fire to much property, the carrying off of the valuable dedicated arms of the porticoes and the destruction of the rest—all this was right and fair by the laws of war. The sack of Magdeburg in the Thirty Years' War rankled in the minds of men for a long time and demonstrated the necessity for International Law. Even so late as the year 1900, the murder of Blagoveschensk benumbed many a modern publicist.

Humanity in ancient India triumphed over the desire of revenge and according to Kautilya the territory of the conquered enemy should be kept so peacefully that all people might sleep without any fear: **कर्शनपूर्वं पर्युपासनं कार्यं। जनपदं यथानिविष्टमभयं स्वापयेत्।**[3] A great exponent of the

[1] Arthasastra, IX, 2.

[2] Polybius, V., 9.

[3] Arthasastra, 13, 4.

Cf. Liv., I., 38: Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque deditionis formulum esse: rex interrogavit "estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo conlatino, ut vos

principle of expediency like Kautilya not only counsels moderation but even urges kings not to use inflammatory and combustible powder when a fort can be captured by other means for, says he, "fire cannot be trusted; it not only offends gods, but also destroys the people, grains, cattle, gold, raw materials and the like." Then his utilitarianism rises up along with his humanity and he urges a further reason against reduction of forts by fire, etc.—"because the acquisition of a fort with its property all destroyed, is a source of further loss."

न त्वेव विद्यमाने पराक्रमेऽग्निमवसृजेत्। अविश्वास्योह्यग्निः दैवपीड़नंच॥ अप्रतिसङ्घातप्राणिधान्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यद्रव्यक्षयकरः। क्षीणनिचयं चावाप्तमपि राज्यं क्षयायैव भवति॥[1]

As in the cases of Greece and Rome, belligerent occupation in ancient India formed one of the means of acquiring property. War, according to Aristotle was a natural means of acquiring property—διο και η πολεμικη φυσεικ τητικη πως εσται..... *Occupatio bellica*, similarly in the case of the Romans was for a very long time considered one of the modes of acquiring property. The same view was adopted also by Kautilya:

त्रिविधाश्च लब्धः—नवो, भूतपूर्व्वः, पित्र्य इति।[2]

The conqueror occupying an enemy's territory invariably followed the imperial policy of Rome so eloquently sung by Virgil in the following famous lines:—

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcera subjectis, et debellare superbos.

---

populumque dederetis? "Sumus." "estne populus conlatinus in sua potestate? "est." deditsne vos populumque colatinum urbem agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem"? "dedimus" "at egio recipio."

[1] Arthasastra, XIII., 4.

[2] *Ibid*, XIII., 5.

The ancient Hindus recognised war as a necessary evil and as soon as the blasts of war had blown away and 'dovelike peace returned' a conqueror never failed to follow the principle of conciliation. Thus says the Mahabharata:[1] "if a hostile king be vanquished by the troops of the invader, the latter should not himself fight his vanquished foe. On the other hand, he should bring him to his palace, and persuade him to stay for a whole year—'I am thy slave'—whether he says or does not say this, the vanquished foe by living for a year in the house of his victor gains a new lease of life. If a king succeeds in bringing by force a maiden from the house of his vanquished foe, he should keep her for a year and ask her whether she would wed him or any one else. If she does not agree, she should then be sent back. He should behave similarly in respect of all other kinds of wealth that are acquired by force. The king should never appropriate the wealth confiscated from the thieves and others awaiting execution..... The kine taken from the enemy by force should be given away to the Brahmans. The bulls taken away from the enemy should be set to agricultural work or be sent to the enemy." According to Sukracharyya, the victorious king should first protect the people as his children, collect revenue from them, grant a portion of the revenue for the maintenance of the vanquished king and his family and he

[1] Mahabharata. Santi-Raj, XCVI., 3-6. Pratap Ray's translation.

बलेन विजितो यश्च न तं युध्येत भूमिपः।
संवत्सरं विप्रणयेत्तस्माज्ज्ञातः पुनर्भवेत् ॥
नार्वाक्संवत्सरात्कन्या प्रष्टव्या विक्रमाहृता।
एवमेव धनं सर्व्वं यच्चान्यत्सहसा हृतम् ॥
न तु वध्ये धनं तिष्ठेत् पितेयुर्वाह्मणाः पयः।
युञ्जीरन्नप्यनड्वहः चलत्यं वा पुनर्भवेत् ॥

Cf. also Agni, CCVXXVI., 22-26.

should then enjoy the remainder of the income.[1] The soldiery must remain outside the village and should not be permitted to enter the village without a royal permit and should on no account oppress the villagers.[2] Not simply that—military rule was not to be followed as Sukracharyya definitely lays it down that soldiers should not be appointed to any other work besides warfare "**युद्धक्रियां विना सैन्यं योजयेन्नान्य कर्म्मणि**" and villagers were not to come into daily contact with the soldiery.

Kautilya's Arthasastra throws a flood of light on the international consciousness of his age when he imposes the strictest injunctions upon a conquering hero not to covet the land, things and sons, or the wives of the king slain by him : on the contrary, he should re-instate in their own estates the relatives of the kings slain. The throne should also be preserved in the dynasty. If a king does not follow these precepts then he runs certain risk of exciting the displeasure of the 'circle of states' which is sure to rise up in arms against him. The passage of Kautilya is so full of wisdom and so "redolent of international odour" that it deserves to be quoted in full :

न च हतस्य भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारानभिमन्येत। कुल्यानप्यस्य स्वेषु पात्रेषु स्थापयेत्। कर्म्मणि हतस्य पुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयेत्। एवमस्य दण्डोपनताः पुत्रपौत्रानुवर्त्तन्ते। यस्तूपनतान् हत्वा वध्वा वा भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारानभिमन्येत, तस्योद्विग्नं मण्डलं अभावायोत्तिष्ठते ये चास्यामात्याः।

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[1] परराष्ट्रं हृते दद्यात् भृतिं भिन्नावधिं तथा। दद्यादर्द्धां तस्य पुत्रे स्त्रियै पादमितां क्वित्।
हृतराज्यस्य पुत्रादौ सदृगुणे पादसम्मितम्। दद्याद्वा तद्राज्यतन्त्र द्वात्रिंशांशं प्रकल्पयेत्॥
हृतराज्यस्य निचितं कोशं भोगार्थमाहरेत्॥
* * * * * *

[2] कृषकार्य्यं विना कश्चिन्न ग्रामं सैनिको विशेत्।
तथा न पीड़येत् कुत्र कदापि ग्रामवासिनः॥
सैनिकैर्न व्यवहरेन्नित्यं ग्राम्य जनोऽपि वा।

Sukra, V., 84-85.

स्वभूमिष्वायुक्तास्ते चास्योद्विग्ना मण्डलमाश्रयन्ते। स्वयं राज्यं प्राणान् वा स्वाभिमन्यन्ते।[1]

स्वभूमिषु च राजानः तस्मात्सान्नाऽनुपालिताः।
भवन्त्यनुगुणा राज्ञः पुत्रपौत्रानुवर्तिनः॥

Actuated by motives of perpetuating dynastic rule, Kautilya, the moral prop of the vast Mauryya Empire, rises to a higher conception of imperialism in his chapter on लब्धप्रशमनम् and lays down rules of administration for a conqueror whose mission it should be to "subjugate the haughty," "to impose the custom of peace" and to lead nations on to a straightforward path of progress. Retain those customs of the vanquished which appear to you good, remove those which are bad, honour their language, customs and manners, reward the learned and the orators, heal the scars of war by releasing prisoners, and please your subjects by remission of taxes: this was the advice given to the Vijigisu by Kautilya—this was the policy followed by the Romans in framing their *pax Romana*; the same policy has also been consistently followed by the British in laying down the foundation-stone of the *pax Britannica*. Deviation from this policy of consolidation and conciliation after conquest spelt the ruin of the Roman Empire and will inevitably lead to the ruin of every empire of the present or of the future. Thus says Kautilya:

नवमवाप्य लब्धं परदोषान् स्वगुणैश्छादयेत्। गुणान् गुणैर्गुण्येन स्वधर्मैकर्मानुग्रहपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिश्च प्रकृतिप्रियहितान्यनुवर्त्तेत। यथासञ्चाषितं च सत्यपक्षमुपग्राहयेत्। भूयश्च क्षतप्रवासम्। अविख्यास्योहि विसंवादकःस्वेषां परेषां च भवति; प्रकृतिविरुद्धाचारश्च। तस्मात्समानशीलवेषभाषाचारतामुपगच्छेत्। देशदैवतसमाजोत्सवविहारेषु च भक्तिमनुवर्त्तेत। देशग्रामजातिसंघमुख्येषु चाभीक्ष्णं

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 16.

सचिवः परस्यापचारं दर्शयेयुः। माङ्गाभाग्यं भक्तिं च तेषु स्वामिनः स्वामिसत्कारं च विद्यमानम्। उचितैश्चैनान् भोगपरिहाररत्नावेक्षणैः भूक्षीत सर्वत्राश्रमपूजनं च विद्यावाक्यधर्म्मशूरपुरुषाणां च भूमिद्रव्यदानपरिहारान् कारयेत्। सर्व्ववन्धनमोक्षणमनुग्रहं दीनानाथव्याधितानां च। चातुर्मास्येष्वधर्मासिकसघातं पौर्णमासीषु च चातुरात्रिकं; राजदेवनक्षत्रेष्वेकरात्रिकं; योनिवालवधं पुंसत्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत्। यच्च कोशदण्डोपघातिकमधर्म्मिष्टं वा चरित्रं मन्येत, तदपनीय धर्म्मव्यवहारं स्थापयेत्। चोरप्रकृतीनां म्लेच्छजातीनां च स्थानविपर्यासमनेकस्थं कारयेत्। दुर्गराष्ट्रदण्डमुख्यानां च परोपगृहीतानां च मन्त्रिपुरोहितादीनां परस्य प्रत्यन्तेष्वनेकस्थं वासं कारयेत्। अपकार समर्थाननुत्रियतो वा भर्तुर्विनाशमुपांशुदण्डेन प्रशमयेत्। स्वदेशीयान्वा परेण वाऽवरुद्धानपवाहित स्थानेषु स्थापयेत्। यश्च तत्कुलीनः प्रत्यादेयमादातुं शक्तः प्रत्यन्ताटवीस्थोवा प्रवाधितुमभिजातः; तस्मै विगुणां भूमिं प्रयच्छेत्; गुणवत्यावतुर्भागं वा। कोशदण्डदण्डदानमवस्थाप्य यदुपकुर्व्वाणः पौरजानपदान् कोपयेत्; कुपितैस्तैरेनं घातयेत्। प्रकृतिभिरुपकृष्टमपनयेत्। औपघातिके वा देशे निवेशयेदिति। भूतपूर्व्वे—येन दोषेणापवृत्तः, तं प्रकृतिदोषंछादयेत्। येन च गुणेनोपावृत्तः, तं तोव्रीकुर्य्यादिति।

पित्रये—पित्रदोषांश्छादयेत्। गुणांश्च प्रकाशयेदिति।
चरित्रमकृतं धर्म्मं कृतं चान्यैः प्रवर्त्तयेत्।
प्रवर्त्तयेच्च चाधर्म्मं कृतं चान्यैर्निवर्त्तयेत्॥

A. S., XIV., i.

CHAPTER IX

The Agents, Instruments and the Methods of Warfare

The agents employed by a state in ancient Indian warfare were twofold: (*i*) the armed forces of the state and (*ii*) the spies. Besides these, wild tribes were frequently employed either to fight the wild tribes similarly used by the enemy, or to harass the march and progress of the enemy in the rear. The armed forces of the state, it has been observed before,[1] were under strict military discipline. They carried arms openly,[2] and were under the orders of officers[3] and carried flags, ensigns[4] and wore distinctive uniforms.[5] According to Kautilya, for every ten members of each of the constituents of the army there must be one commander called *padika*; ten *padikas* were placed under a *Senapati* and ten Senapatis were placed under the command of a *Nayaka*.

"अङ्गदशकस्यैकः पतिः पदिकः; पदिकदशकस्यैकः सेनापतिः, तद्दशकस्यैको नायक इति"।

The armed forces of a state were divided into various classes according (*i*) to the degree of trust that could be imposed on each constituent part, and (*ii*) secondly according to the vehicle used by each.

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[1] *Vide supra.*

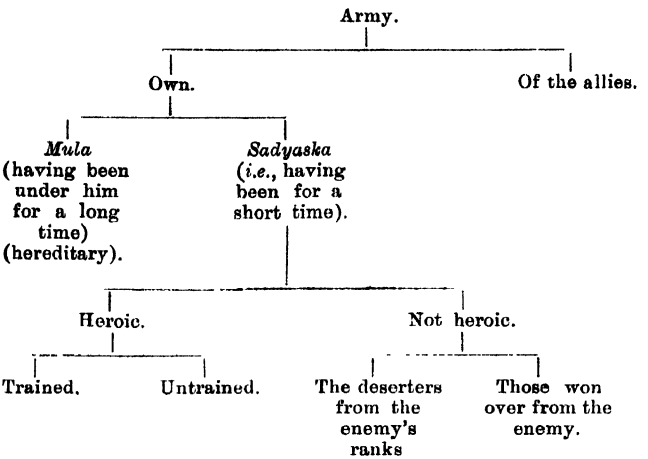
[2] "सर्व्वदेशकालशस्त्रवहनं"—A.S., X., 5.

[3] Arthasastra, X., 6.

[4] "स तुर्यघोषध्वजपताकाभिः व्यूहाङ्गानां संस्थापयेत्"—A. S., X., 6.

[5] Sukra, IV., vii.

Thus, Sukracharyya lays down the following Table :—



Kautilya describes the various kinds of army thus :—

(*i*) *Maula* hereditary army ; (*ii*) hired army ; (*iii*) *Sreni* army ; (*iv*) friend's army ; (*v*) the army composed of wild tribes (or **अटवीबल**). The exact time of recruiting and employing each kind of army has been clearly set forth by Kautilya, but that chapter luminous in the art of warfare does not interest us vitally at this point. It is difficult to understand what the Arthasastras mean by "**श्रेणीबल.**" They are obviously a corporation of soldiers but is the corporation a corporation subject to the control of the state itself ? Or, does the corporation of soldiers form a band of condottieri as in the middle ages ? If the latter, then the passage[1] in Kautilya's Arthasastra which urges the employment of the *Srenibala* when the enemy is desirous of carrying on treacherous fight becomes inexplicable. And yet it is almost certain that there existed corporations also within the state.[2] Kautilya does not seem to look with much favour on the chief of such a corporation and he recommends the

[1] "मौलभृतश्रेणीमित्राटवीबलानामन्यतममबलमदेशकालं"—A. S., VII., 8-9.

[2] "प्रभूतं मे श्रेणीबलं शक्यं मूलि यातयां चाघातुम्" इति, "क्रूरः प्रवासः श्रेणीबलप्रायः प्रतियोद्धा मन्त्रव्यायामाभ्याम् प्रतियोद्धुकामो दण्डबलव्यवहारः" इति श्रेणीबलकालः—A .S., IX., 2.

adoption of various secret measures to discredit him in the estimation of his corporation and even to put an end to his life. Such an attitude of mind is only possible when the chief of a corporation ventures to become a sort of "*imperium in imperio*."

Sukracharyya's list does not contain the name of **अटवीबल** or wild tribes. They do not appear to have been amenable to the rules of International Law for they hankered after plunder and had to be rewarded by raw produce. **तेषां कुप्यभूतमभिलाटवीबलं विलोपभूतं वा कूर्य्यात्**.[1] They do not seem to have been regarded as "regulars" of an army, and they performed the functions of "guerilla troops" of the present times. They were engaged against wild tribes of a similar nature and for the purpose of harassing the rear of an enemy's army.

"मार्गदेशिकं परभूमियोग्यमरियुद्धपतिलोममटवीबलप्रायःशत्रुर्वा विल्वं विल्वेन हन्यतामल्पः प्रसारो हन्तव्यः" इत्यटवीबलकालः ।[2]

Armies were also divided according to the nature of the *vehicle* used for warfare. There were thus four kinds of armies : infantry, car warriors, cavalry and elephant men. Besides these regular forces, there were separate companies of men and animals who were entrusted with the duties of supplying weapons and ammunition to the fighting lines from the stores in the rear and of removing the wounded from the lines. These formed what we now call the 'labour corps.' Thus says Kautilya :

शिविरमार्गसेतुकूपतीर्थशोधनकर्म्मयन्त्रायुधावरणोपकरणयानवहन मायोधनाश्च प्रहरणावरणप्रतिविद्धापनयनमिति विष्टिकर्म्माणि ।[3]

"The examination of camps, roads, bridges, wells and rivers; carrying the machines, weapons, armours, instruments and provisions;

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[1] *Cf.* also जानपदमेकार्थोपगतं तुल्यसङ्कर्षामर्षसिद्धिलाभं च श्रेणीबलं मित्रबलाटव्यः.....

[2] A. S., IX., 2.

[3] Arthasastra, X., 4.

carrying away the men that are knocked down, along with their weapons and armours—these constitute the work of free-labourers."

It has already been observed that specially humane treatment was accorded to the wounded. The army was generally followed by physicians and nurses. From a passage in Kautilya we learn, that some of these nurses were women :

"*Physicians with surgical instruments, machines, remedial oils* and cloth in their hands ; and *women with prepared food and beverage,* should stand behind, uttering encouraging words to fighting men" :

चिकित्सका: शस्त्रयन्त्रागदस्नेहवस्त्रहस्ता:, स्त्रियश्चान्नपानरक्षिण्यपुरुषाणामुत्तर्षणीया: पृष्ठतस्तिष्ठेयु: ।[1]

Thus, women-nurses alleviated the sufferings of the wounded and the dying at least two thousand years before Europe had organised her "Red-Cross" societies.

The army employed a very large number of spies. They were the "eyes and ears" of the king.[2] He was to look through their eyes, for says Kamandaka, "he that does not look through their eyes, stumbles down, out of ignorance, even on level grounds for he is said to be blind."

चारचक्षुर्नरेन्द्र: स्यात्सम्यतेजोन भूयसा ।
अनेनासम्यतग्लौक्ष्यात्पतत्यन्ध: समेऽपि हि ॥[3]

They have been compared to the sun in energy and to the wind in movements, and the qualifications required of them were of an exacting character[4] : They must have been persons skilled in the interpretation of internal sentiments by conjecture and by external

[1] Arthasastra, X., 3.
[2] Kam., XII., 27.
[3] *Ibid*, XII., 30
[4] *Ibid*, XII., 29.

gestures, accurate of memory, polite and soft in speech, agile in movements, capable of bearing up with all sorts of privations and difficulties, ready-witted, and expert in everything.

तर्कङ्गितज्ञः स्मृतिमान्मृदुर्लघूपरिक्रमः ।
क्लेशायाससहो दक्षश्चरः स्यात् प्रतिपत्तिमान् ॥[1]

As already observed, they had to serve their period of apprenticeship in an institute for espionage whose rules were very strict and which did not allow spies to know each other. Spies were employed not simply to gain information or to watch the movements of the enemy but also for the purposes of sowing dissension, for capturing the enemy's fort, country or camp with the aid of "weapons" "poison," or "fire," for [2] the purposes of most brutal assassinations of kings,[3] chiefs of the army, leading citizens, such as the councillors as well as for all purposes of devastation[4] and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. Espionage was not regarded with disfavour in ancient India and the ancient Hindus knew how to look sternly at facts and did not attempt to cloak their respect for humanity by elaborate rules like the civilized nations of the present times. The spies, however, in ancient India were regarded as ordinary 'combatants' and a short swift sentence of death was not generally passed on them. Their patriotism was recognised and nowhere is it laid down in the Dharmasastras or in the Arthasastras that a spy should be put to death instantaneously. An assassin or an arson of course deserved the extremest penalty allowed by law or imposed by necessity, but the spies as a class were not placed outside the pale of humanity.

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[1] Kam., XII., 25.
[2] Arthasastra, XII., 1.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid*, XII., 4.

Instruments.

Weapons, according to Sukracharyya, were divided into two classes: *Astra* and *Sastra*. *Astra* is that which is thrown or cast down by means of charms, machines of fire. Astra is therefore, broadly speaking, of two kinds, charmed or tubular. Sastras are weapons by which cuts could be inflicted. It is not our present purpose to go into details about the large varieties of weapons used in ancient Indian warfare. International Law is concerned more with the prohibitions of the use of certain kinds of instruments in warfare rather than with their utility.

The Manusamhita[1] prohibits the use of certain kinds of instruments in warfare such as those which are *barbed*, poisoned or the points of which are blazing with fire:

न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्याद्युध्यमानोरणे रिपून् ।
न कर्णिभिर्नापिदिग्धैर्नाग्निज्वलिततेजनैः ॥

Let us take up the question of poisoned arrows first. Poisoned arrows were used in early stages of civilisation in almost every country. Thus, when Odysseus had gone to Ephyra to procure a deadly drug for smearing his arrows, Ilus refused to give it to him, on the ground that the gods would not sanction such an act:

φα'ρμακον ανδροφο'νον διζημενος "οφρα οι' 'ε'ιη
ιο'νς χ'ριεσθαι χαλκ'ηρε$^{\alpha}$ς 'αλλ'ο με'ν ο'υ' ο'ι
δωκεν, επει ρ'α θεο'νς νεμεσιζετο αιεν εοντας [2]

Poisoned arrows were certainly used during the Vedic times. Thus, in a hymn of the Rigveda two distinct kinds of arrows are referred to: the one is poisoned (or *alakta*) and has a head of horn (*rur-sirsni*); the other is copper,

[1] Manu, VII., 90.
[2] Odysseus, I., 261-3.

bronze or iron headed (अयोमुखं). Poisoned (दिग्ध) arrows are also mentioned in the Atharvaveda. Thus says the Rigveda:[1]

Now to the shaft with venom smeared, tipped with deer-horn, with iron mouth,

Celestial, of Parjanya's seed, be this great adoration paid.

Loosed from the bowstring fly away, thou arrow, sharpened by our prayer,

Go to the foemen, strike them home, and let not one be left alive.

And Atharvaveda:

From the tip have I exorcised the poison, from the anointing and from the feather socket; from the barb (*spastha*), the neck, the horn, have I exorcised the poison.

Sapless, O arrow! is thy tip; likewise thy poison is sapless; also thy bow of a sapless tree, O sapless one! is sapless.

They who mashed, who smeared, who hurled, who let loose—they all made impotent; impotent is made the poison mountain.[2]

And again,

Like an arrow, smeared, O Lord of men, like an adder, O Lord of cattle—that arrow of the Brahman is terrible; with it he pierces the insulting.[3]

Long before the time when Manu's Code was reduced to writing however, the advance of humanitarianism led to the disuse of poisoned arrows. No grounds of humanity could possibly be urged against arrows blazing with fire unless it were superstition or ignorance (which similarly condemned the use of the fatal 'cross bow' during mediæval times), and therefore their use continued. Thus, in an obstinate siege-warfare, fire-arrows were recommended by Kautilya with one great limitation, *viz.*, that "when a fort could be captured by other means, no attempt

[1] R. V., VI., 75, 15-16, Griffith.

[2] A. V., IV., 6, 7, Whitney.

[3] A. V., V., 18, 15, Whitney. See also V., 31, 4.

should be made to set fire to it." A kind of stick painted with inflammable mixture and wound round with a bark made of hemp, zinc and lead was called a "fire arrow." तेन (by inflammable powder) अवलिप्तः शणवल्कवेष्टितो वाण इत्याग्नियोगः।[1] These arrows were not *generally* used in wars. Evidence of this fact is deducible from the list of the weapons given by Kautilya, to be kept in charge of the Superintendent of the royal armoury.[2] These weapons were probably generally made use of although the possibility for the use of certain delusive and destructive contrivances as mentioned by Kautilya in his chapter on siege warfare, had not been lost sight of and the Superintendent of armoury was advised to stock these latter kinds of weapons along with all new inventions of workmen :

ऐन्द्रजालिकमौपनिषदिकं च कर्म्म कर्म्मान्तानां च ।[3]

The range of arrows in those days must have been very limited and military necessity must have taxed the ingenuity of skilled workmen to find out a device by which persons and things at a distance could be struck. In the list of weapons mentioned by Kautilya *Sarvatobhadra* and *Jamadagnya* have been mentioned—the one was according to the commentator a cart with wheels and capable of rapid revolution; when rotated, it threw stones in all directions. It resembled the "catarpillar" invented by the Assyrian experts of old. *Jamadagnya* was another contrivance for shooting arrows.

It is not the place here to discuss whether the ancient Hindus knew the gunpowder and the gun although the vital interest attached to the subject perhaps requires a passing mention. It has however been one of the articles of faith in military circles, that Europe owes its knowledge

[1] Arthasastra, XIII., 4.
[2] *Ibid*, II., 18.
[3] *Ibid*, II., 18.

of gunpowder to the Saracens, a knowledge which dealt the death-blow to chivalry and ushered in a revolution in warfare, specially in siege warfare. We have several passages in Sukranitisara which clearly prove that the ancient Hindus knew the use of guns. Thus says Sukracharyya:

"People expert in military instruments know of diverse agencies named *astras* and *sastras*, varying according to short or large size and the nature and mode of the sharp edges. The *nalika astra*[1] is known to be of two kinds according to size, large or small. The short or small *nalika* is the cylindrical instrument to be used by infantry and cavalry and having an oblique and straight hole at the origin, the length of five *rittastis* or two cubits and a half, a sharp point both at the forefront and at the origin, which can be used in marking the objective, which has fire produced by the pressure of a machine, contains stone and powder at the origin, has a good handle at the top, has an inside hole of the breadth of the middle finger, holds gunpowder in the interior and has a strong rod. The instrument strikes distant objects according as the bamboo or bark is thick and hollow and the balls are long and wide. The large *nalika* is that which has a post or wedge at the origin or breech, and according to its movements, can be pointed towards the aim, has a wooden frame and is drawn on carriages: if well used, it leads to victory."[2]

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[1] नालिकं द्विविधं ज्ञेयं ह्रस्वं च क्षुद्रविभेदतः ॥
तिर्य्यगूर्द्ध्वच्छिद्रमूलं नालं पञ्चवितस्तिकम् ।
मूलायथोर्ध्वभेदितिलविन्दुयुतम् सदा ॥
यन्त्राघाताग्निकृद् गाढचूर्णधृक्कर्णमूलकम् ।
सुकाष्ठोपाङ्ग्युभङ्ग मध्याङ्गुलविलान्तरम् ।
सान्तेऽग्निचूर्णसन्धातशलाकासंयुतं दृढम् ।
लघुनालिकमप्येतत् प्रधार्य्यं पत्तिसादिभिः ॥
यथा यथा तु त्वकमारं यथा स्थूलविलान्तरम् ।
यथा दीर्घं ह्रस्वनालं दूरभेदि तथा तथा ॥
मूलकीलधमाङ्गल्यसमसन्धानभाजि यत् ।
ह्रस्वनालिकसंज्ञं तत् काष्ठवृन्नविनिर्मितम् ।
प्रवरं शकटाद्यैस्तु सुयुक्तं विजयप्रदम् ॥
सुवर्चिलवणात् पञ्चपलानि गन्धकात् पलम् ।
अलर्धं सविषक्षार्कस्नुह्याद्यङ्गारतः बलम् ॥
शुद्धात् संग्राह्य सचूर्णं सम्मील्य प्रपुटेद्रसैः ।
लाक्षाकोर्णा रसोनस्य शोषयेदातपेन च ।
पिष्ट्वा शर्करवत्तैतदग्निचूर्णं भवेत् खलु ॥
सुवर्चिलवणाङ्गागः षड्वा चत्वार एव वा ।
नालास्त्रार्थाग्निचूर्णेतु मन्थाङ्गारौ तु पूर्ववत् ॥
* * * * * *
अङ्गारस्यैव गन्धस्य सुवर्चिलवणस्य च ।
शिलाया हरितालस्य तथा सीसमलस्य च ॥
हिङ्गुलस्य तथा कान्तरजसः कर्पूरस्य च ।
जतोर्नीव्याश्च सरलनिर्य्यासस्य तथैवच ॥

[2] Sarkar's translation.

Thus evidently the passage quoted here, points to the inevitable conclusion that the author of these lines at any rate knew the gun (the rifle) and the cannon. These weapons, continues the author, may be made of iron or of some other metal and must be kept clean. He also gives a composition of gunpowder : " Five *palas* of Suvarchi salt, one *pala* of sulphur, one *pala* of charcoal from the wood of *arka*, *snuhi* and other trees burnt in a manner that prevents the escape of smoke, *e.g.*, in a closed vessel, have to be purified, powdered, and mixed together, then dissolved in the juices of *snuhi*, *arka* and garlic, then dried up by heat and finally powdered like sugar. The substance is called gunpowder." " Experts," continues the author, " make gunpowders in various ways and of white and other colours according to the relative quantities of the constituents :—charcoal, sulphur, *subarchi*, stones, *ha·ital*, lead, *hingul*, iron filings, camphor, *jatu*, indigo, juice of *sarala* tree, etc." These passages have been regarded as subsequent interpolations. The mention of नालिक occurs only in the passages mentioned above. Sukracharyya does not however, repeat his ideas about " नालिक " in his book. The whole conception of the gun, the cannon and the gunpowder is so very modern, contend the advocates of the 'interpolation theory,' that it could not possibly have found a place in a text book on Nitisastra at such an early date as that of Sukracharyya. Dr. Ray has proved, however, the indigenous origin of Hindu alchemy and it is also in evidence that *saltpetre* was mentioned by Charaka and Susruta. From this it cannot be argued of course, that the Hindus of Sukra's date possessed a competent knowledge of guns and gunpowder.

Kautilya's Arthasastra, however, gives us valuable hints on the point. In his chapter on " siege-warfare," he gives directions for the preparation of various kinds

of inflammable powders. Thus, small balls prepared from the mixture of *Sarala devadaru* (tree), *putitrina* or stinking grass, *guggulu*, *sriveshtaka* (turpentine), the juice of *sarja* and lac combined with dungs of an ass, camel, sheep and goat are inflammable.

सरलदेवदारुपूतितृणगुग्गुलुश्रीवेष्टकसर्ज्जरसलाक्षागुव्विकाः खरोष्ट्राजीवानां लण्डं चाग्निधारणम्। [1]

The mixture of the powder of *prijla*, the charcoal of *avalguja*, wax and the dung of a horse, camel and cow is an inflammable powder to be hurled against the enemy.[2]

प्रियालचुर्णमवल्गुजमषिमधूच्छिष्टमश्वखरोष्ट्रगोलण्डमित्येव क्षेप्योऽग्नियोगः।

Inflammable powders could be used against a besieged enemy by various contrivances. Thus, they could be tied to the tails of various kinds of birds such as the vulture, crow, parrot, *maina*, pigeon, etc., and they could be set at large towards the forts. This could be done only when the besieging army was almost at the very gates of the fort. If the camp of the besieging army, however, was at a distance, then archers from an elevated place might aim "fire arrows" at the fort and thus set fire to it. Now the question naturally arises, how could the balls mentioned above be used? Animals could not very well carry them, neither could they be hurled against an enemy from a distance. Some contrivance therefore, must have existed for the effective use of balls against the fort of the enemy. Was that contrivance the नालिक of Sukracharyya? It is difficult to answer the question from the Arthasastra of Kautilya unless we make bold to identify the 'fire arrow'

[1] Arthasastra, XIII, 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

with a wooden rifle.[1] It is almost certain however, that the mechanical composition given by Kautilya of a second kind of inflammable powder is almost identical with the composition of the second variety of gunpowder mentioned by Sukracharyya. Thus says Kautilya :

"सर्व्वलौहचुर्णमग्निवर्णं वा कुम्भीसीसत्रपुचूर्णं वा पारिभद्रकपलाश-पुष्पकेशमषीतैलमधुच्छिष्टकश्रीवेष्टकयुक्तोऽग्नियोगः ।[2]

So, the ingredients were (*i*) the powder of all the metals as red as fire, (*ii*) the mixture of the powder of *kumbhi*, (*iii*) lead, (*iv*) *trapu* (zinc), mixed with charcoal powder of the flowers of (*v*) *paribhadraka* (deodar), (*vi*) *palâsa* and (*vii*) hair and with oil, wax and turpentine. It will be seen that powdered metals, lead and zinc as well as charcoal powder mixed up with the other substances produce a kind of inflammable powder.

The recipe of Sukracharyya for preparing gunpowder is as follows: (*i*) charcoal, (*ii*) sulphur, (*iii*) *suvarchi*, (*iv*) stones, (*v*) *haritat*, (*vi*) lead, (*vii*) *hingul*, (*viii*) iron filings, (*ix*) camphor, (*x*) *jatu*, (*xi*) indigo, (*xii*) juice of Sarala tree,[3] etc. It will be seen, therefore, that the constituent elements of gunpowder in both Kautilya's Arthasastra and Sukranitisara agree. Even if the passages in Sukranitisara be regarded as interpolations, the passages in the Arthasastra cannot be regarded as "literary fraud" and therefore, the inevitable conclusion is that the ancient Hindus knew the composition of gunpowder and actually used it, in whatsoever rudimentary a form it might be, at least fifteen hundred years before the Saracens introduced it to Christian Europe.

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[1] तेनावलिप्तः शतघ्नपुसीस वल्कवेष्टितौ वाणइत्याग्नियोगः —A. S. XIII, 4.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* also the Mahabharata, Santi, LXIX., 45 : "He should plant on the ramparts of his forts *Sataghnis* and other weapons."

As observed before, these inflammable powders were regarded as इन्द्रजाल and were very sparingly used. Bombardments of besieged towns according to ancient practice were very common but even Kautilya recognized the fact that when a fort could be captured by other means, no attempt should be made to set fire to it. As remarked before, the reasons assigned by Kautilya do credit both to the head as well as the heart of the great exponent of ancient Hindu diplomacy :

नत्वेव विद्यमाने पराक्रमेऽग्निमवसृजेत्। अविश्वास्योऽग्निः दैवपीड़नं च। अप्रतिसङ्घातप्राणिघात्यपशुहिरण्यकुप्यद्रव्यक्षयकरः। क्षीणनिचयं चावाप्तमपि राज्यं क्षयायैव भवति।[1]

Kautilya's Arthasastra conclusively proves also that the ancient Hindus knew very well the composition of many kinds of asphyxiating gases but not even Kautilya advocates their indiscriminate use even in the most stubborn siege-warfare :

" The smoke caused by burning the powder of *putikita* (a stinking insect), fish, *katutumbi* (a kind of bitter gourd), the bark of *satakardama* (a kind of tree) or the powder of *putikita*, *kshudrala* (the resin of the plant) and *hemavidari*; the smoke caused by burning the leaves of *putikaranja*, yellow arsenic, realgar, the seeds of *ganja*, the chaff of the seeds of red cotton *asphota*, *khacha* and the dung and urine of a cow causes blindness.[2] Similarly, the roots of *kali*, *kushtha*, *nada*, *satavari*, or the powder of a snake, the tail of a peacock *krikana*, and *panchkushtha* together with the chaff causes smoke and thereby destroys the eyes of all animals."[3] Similarly, there

[1] A. S., XIII., 4.

[2] Arthasastra, XIII., 4.

[3] *Ibid*, XIV., 1 :

पुतिकीटमत्स्यकटुतुम्बीशतकर्दमधूमेन्द्रगोपचूर्णं पुतिकीटक्षुद्राला हेमविदारीचूर्णंवा वस्तभस्मखुरचर्णयुक्तमन्धीकरो धूमः।—A. S., XIV., 1.

were gases which could cause instantaneous death. All these asphyxiating gases and shells, if used, would have rendered the theatre of war a veritable hell. They were perhaps very rarely used, if ever: and antidotes were known against these hellish devices. Thus a man could render his eyes secure not by masks but by the application of ointments and of medicinal "water-burns." The opening lines of Bk. XIV, however, lead one to the belief that the secret methods of injuring an enemy were used not collectively in warfare but rather individually against certain persons by *Mlechchhas* and such other spies who could assume the disguises of idiots, dumb. deaf and blind persons, etc. Fortunately for civilisation it was difficult to conceive of an army of 'miserable mortals' and therefore, it is quite probable that the institution of four castes, the humanity of the people, the momentum of tradition would revolt against the indiscriminate use of such Machiavellian tactics in warfare.

चातुर्वर्ण्यरक्षार्थमौपनिषदिकमधर्म्मिष्ठेषु प्रयुञ्जीत। कालकूटादिः विषवर्गः अक्षेयदेशविषशिल्पभाजनापदेशैः कुब्जवामनकिरातमूकबधिर-जड़ान्धच्छद्मभिः म्लेच्छजातीयैरभिप्रेतैः स्त्रीभिः पुंभिश्च परशरीरोपभोगेष्वाघातव्यः॥

As regards the methods of warfare, the difference between *Dharmajuddha* and *Kutajuddha* has been pointed out before. A धर्म्मयुद्ध stood for honourable fight guided by all the laws of chivalry. In *Dharmajuddha*, declaration followed commencement of hostilities and the king showed the trust-character of his office, by exhorting his soldiers

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पुतिकरञ्जपत्रहरितालमनश्शिलागुञ्जारक्तकार्पासपलालान्यस्फोटकाचगोयकुद्रशविष्टमन्त्रीकरो धूमः॥

See also pp. 409-410, Arthasastra, Mysore Ed. It is difficult to identify the constituent elements, but these chapters in Kautilya's Arthasastra testify to the great advance that some people, at any rate, in ancient India made in the science of alchemy.

just on the eve of the battle thus : "I am a paid servant like yourselves ; this country is to be enjoyed together with you; you have to strike the enemy specified by me."[1] The कूटयुद्ध on the other hand, resembled the "heraldless and truceless wars" among the Greeks ηθλεμος ακηρυκτος και ασπονδος and actual operations began with the commencement of hostilities : पूर्व्वे च प्रहरणकालाः कूटयुद्धहेतवः. Political expediency dictated the adoption of this form of warfare in all cases by a king "when he did not possess a strong army, when he did not succeed in his intrigues or when he could not secure a position favourable to himself." It was then that the grim doctrine of "state necessity" applied :

"बलविशिष्टः कृतोपजापः प्रतिविहितकर्त्तुः स्वभूम्यां प्रकाशयुद्धमुपेयात् विपर्ययेशकटयुद्धं"[2]

The methods chiefly employed in a कूटयुद्ध could be classified under, (*i*) Devastation, (*ii*) Stratagems, (*iii*) Assassination, (*iv*) Poison. All these methods received their sanction from political expediency and not from international or interstatal morality.

Devastation in a limited form has been sanctioned by International Law at all times according to the military exigencies of the army. Thus, according to Grotius,[3] only such ravage is tolerable as in a short time compels the enemy to seek peace and even this restriction on the theory of unlimited destruction was hedged round by further limitations. Vattel [4] authorised unlimited destruction of a hostile territory in two cases, firstly, against the onrush of a nation of barbarians and, secondly, when the

[1] Arthasastra, X, 3. सांग्रामस्तु निर्दिष्टदेशकालो धर्म्मिष्टः संहत्य दण्डं ब्रूयात्— "तुल्यवेतनोऽसि, भवद्भिः सह भोग्यमिदं राज्यं, मयाऽभिहितः परोऽभिहन्तव्यः।"

[2] Arthasastra, X., 2.

[3] Grotius, III., 12.

[4] Vattel : III., §167-68.

need "for making a barrier for covering a frontier against an enemy who could not be stopped in any other way," was imperative. The Hague Regulations allow destruction of enemy's property only when "such destruction is imperatively demanded by the necessities of war." The same theory with regard to devastation was held in ancient India. Thus says the Mahabharata: "A king should (on the approach of the enemy) set the inhabitants of the woods on the highroads (these are the अटवीबल), and if necessary, cause whole villages to be removed, transplanting all the inhabitants to minor towns or the outskirts of great cities.....He should himself withdraw all stores of grain. If that becomes impossible, he should destroy them completely by fire. He should set men for destroying the crops on the field of the enemy. Failing to do this, he should destroy these crops by means of his own troops. He should destroy all the bridges over the rivers in his kingdom. He should bale out the waters of all the tanks in his dominions, or if incapable of baling them out, cause them to be poisoned .....He should destroy all the smaller forts of his kingdom. He should also cut down all the smaller trees excepting those called Chaitya. He should cause the branches of all the larger trees to be lopped off, but he should not touch the very leaves of those called Chaitya."[1] Kautilya in his Arthasastra recommends the devastation of the enemy's country through the help of wild tribes,[2] and if the enemy aided by his friend shut himself up in an impregnable fort, then his neighbouring enemies might be employed to lay waste his territory.[3]

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[1] Mahabharata: Santi-Raj, LXIX., 35 et ffg. tr. Pratapchandra Ray.

[2] A. S., XII., 1.

[3] Arthasastra, XIII., 3:

मित्रेणाश्रितमेव वा रयात्रे स्थातुमिच्छेत्, सामन्तादिभिः मूलमस्य हारयेत्; दण्डेन वा वातुमिच्छेत्। तमस्य घातयेत् तौ चेन्न भिद्येयाताम् प्रकाशमेवान्योन्यस्य मूल्यां पणेत॥

Conquerors, according to Kautilya are of three kinds, (*i*) a just conqueror, (*ii*) a demon-like conqueror, and (*iii*) a greedy conqueror. The just conqueror remains satisfied with mere obeisance. The greedy conqueror hankers after gain in the shape of dominions or of wealth. The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the very life of the conquered himself.[1] Stratagems as ruses practised on the enemy were frequently resorted to specially in the मन्त्रयुद्ध or the 'battle of intrigues' proving the truth of the general maxim that war is a conflict of wits as much as it is a conflict of arms. Such stratagems were generally practised by तीक्ष्ण spies but they did not extend to the breach of sacred obligations such as would correspond, for instance, to the violation of flags of truce in modern times.

Assassinations for public purposes by spies were regarded with approval in ancient as well as in mediæval times. Grotius justified such assassinations if carried out *boná fide*. Kautilya recommended cold-blooded murder of kings, chiefs of the army, chiefs of corporations and other councillors. These assassinations were however committed by spies who were liable to the extremest penalty of law when actually caught. Wholesale poisoning was frequently resorted to. As already pointed out, the use of poisoned arrows or the practice of poisoning of wells was not approved. The Mahabharata prohibited the poisoning of wells and tanks and "suspicion in respect of the seven branches of administration."[2]

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[1] एषोऽभियोक्तारो धर्म्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति। तेषामश्वपक्ष्या धर्म्मविजये तुष्यति।..... परेषामपि भयात् भूमिद्रव्यहरणेन लोभविजयी तुष्यति..... .....भूमिद्रव्यपुत्रदारप्राणहरणेन असुरविजयी ॥—A. S, XII., 1.

[2] Mahabharata · Santi-Raj, CIII., 10. From another passage of the Santiparva, LXIX, it would appear however, that poisoning of tanks was one of the means of

Poisoning of individuals or the cattle of the enemy was however not prohibited by the Arthasastras. Thus spies under concealment might capture the enemy's fort, country or camp with the aid of weapons, poison, or fire.[1] Kautilya's Arthasastra lays down elaborate rules for the administration of poison by spies with almost matchless precision and cold-bloodedness. Thus, spies residing in enemy's country as traders could sell poisoned liquors to soldiers.[2] Spies under the garb of servants might sell poisoned grass and water and thus kill the enemy's cattle, horses and elephants.[3] Prostitute-spies might entice away young princes, chiefs of corporations or of the army, who frequently paid the wages of their sin in the shape of ignominious death. Spies under the disguise of cooks could mix poison with food and thereby cause death. All these counsels are perhaps counsels of perfection in black art, because, no state would permit the universal administration of poison within its territory by the spies of its enemy; and yet a publicist is astounded by the liberal treatment accorded to the spies by kings in ancient India. They were not branded as a class, nor were they put to death the moment they were recognised Thus states on the eve of a war swarmed with spies and Bhisma[4] advised the expulsion of beggars, cartmen, eunuchs, lunatics and maimed persons so that they might not be employed for such nefarious purposes. In places of public resort, in *tirthas*, in assemblies and in the

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devastation. Such contamination of water does not seem to be prohibited even by the Hague conferences. Such contaminations took place both during the Boer War as well as during the recent European War. See General Maurice's book on the Boer War.

[1] A. S., XII., 1.

[2] [3] A. S., XII., 4.

[4] Mahabharata: Santi-Raj, LXIX., 49-51

houses of the citizens the king set on foot competent spies.[1] Thus was attempted a partial check on the weird activities of a disciplined system of universal espionage in ancient India.

[1] *Cf.* Arthasastra, XIV., 1.

Cf. also Arthasastra, XIII., 1.

चातुर्वर्ण्यरक्षार्थमौपनिषदिकमधर्मिष्ठेषु प्रयुञ्जीत। कालकूटादिः विषवर्गः अन्नेषदेश्यवेषज्ञिल्य-भाजनापदेशैः कबन्धवामनकिरातमूकबधिरजडान्धकुब्जभिः म्लेच्छजातीयैरभिप्रेतैः स्त्रीभिः पुंभिश्च परशरीरोपभोगैश्चाधातव्यः ॥—A. S., XIV., 1.

CHAPTER X

Neutrality

There is an almost universal consensus of opinion among publicists that nations in antiquity had no clear cut ideas about Neutrality. "Since in antiquity, there was no notion of an International Law, it is not to be expected that neutrality as a legal institution should have existed among the nations of old. Neutrality did not exist even in practice, for the belligerents never recognised an attitude of impartiality on the part of other states.[1]" One of the grounds for this mistaken notion is that in antiquity as well as in mediæval times there was a total absence of a proper vocabulary of neutrality. The Romans spoke of neutrality as *medii, amici* or *pacati*. Grotius devoted very little attention to neutrality. He established only two rules relating to neutrality in the chapter entitled *De his, qui in bello medii sunt*. The first rule related to the justice or injustice of the causes of the belligerents and neutrals were advised not to help a belligerent whose cause was unjust. The second rule again dealt with distributive justice or equality of treatment towards both the belligerents. Bynkershoek does not use the term neutrality but calls "neutrals" '*non-hostes*' and describes them as belonging to no party. In the seventeenth century, "the terms neutral and neutrality occur in a Latin and a German dress as well as in English, but they had to be adopted into the French language before their use became general." Vattel writing in 1758, spoke of *neutre* and *neutralite*.

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[1] Oppenheim: International Law, II., 347.

Modern researches have, however, led to discoveries which might almost discredit the theory of publicists like Oppenheim. Thus, in Greece the terms commonly used to express neutrality were ησυχιαν αγειν, ησυχαζειν (to keep quiet), μηδετερος μηδετερος (to be of neither party) and οιδια μεσον, εκτου μεσου καθησθαι (the party occupying an intermediate position). These words, of course, merely imply abstention from hostilities but do not imply the positive and the negative aspects of neutrality. The doctrine of neutrality did not find a congenial soil in the all-absorbing ambition of Rome. Her customary attitude was expressed by one phrase "either for or against"; no intermediary position was conceded or even admitted. Thus says Livy[1]— "*media.....nulla via est.....Romanos aut socios aut hostes habeatis oportet.*"

In ancient India *Asana* or neutrality formed one of the six forms of state policy. *Vatavyadhi* declared that peace and war were the only two forms of state policy: Kautilya, however, voted in favour of the six and defined neutrality as उपेक्षणमासनं[2] or indifference. In the Kautilyan circle of states the two kings who did not identify themselves with the विजिगीषु or the अरि or their client states, were the मध्यम king and the उदासीन king. The word मध्यम occurs in one passage of the Rigveda[3] and in another passage of the Atharvaveda.[4] There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the meaning of the word but the most accepted interpretation is that of an "arbitrator," although the

[1] Livy, XXXII., 21.

[2] Arthasastra, VII., 1.

[3] R. V., X., 97, 12.

[4] A. V, IV., 9, 4. "Of whomsoever, O ointment, thou creepest over limb after limb, joint after joint, from thence thou drivest away the *yaksma* like a formidable *madhyamaci*." Roth assigns the meaning *intercessor* to *madhyamaci*; Zimmer accepts it in the sense of a 'mediator.' Whitney considers this meaning "implausible" and suggests "midmostman." *Cf.* also Kam., VIII., 16, and Manu, VII., 158.

definition of a Madhyama king in Kautilya would lead one to agree with Geldner in translating **मध्यम** as a "neutral" king. Thus Kautilya defines a **मध्यम** king as one occupying territory close to both the Vijigisu and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both of them, or resisting either of them individually.

अरिविजिगीष्वोर्भूम्यन्तरःसंहतासंहतयोरनुग्रहसमर्थोनिग्रहे चासंहतयोर्मध्यमः ।[1]

A Madhyama king is the head of a sovereign state having under its control 'the client states.'[2] A **उदासीन** king on the other hand, is one whose dominions lie beyond the territories of the other kings of the circle of states and who is very powerful, capable of helping the sovereign states such as those under the *Vijigisu*, the *Ari* and the *Madhyama* king "either taken together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually."

अरिविजिगीषुमध्यानां बहिः प्रकृतिभ्योः बलवत्तरः संहतासंहतानामरिविजिगीषुमध्यमानामनुग्रहे समर्थो निग्रहे चासंहतानामुदासीनः ।[3]

Thus, from the definition of the **मध्यम** and **उदासीन** it will be seen that the ancient Indian conception of neutrality made a nearer approach to the mediæval conception of neutrality of Grotius and Rachel rather than the developed ideas of neutral attitude in modern times but it is not true to say that the ancient Indians did not understand an attitude of neutrality at all. If we trace the development of the idea of neutrality in mediæval times in Europe we shall be in a position to understand the Hindu idea of neutrality. According to Grotius' views neutral states were bound to abstain from active participation in the hostilities

[1] A. S., VI., 2.
[2] *Vide supra.*
[3] A. S., VII., 12.

between the belligerents. The idea was also abroad in the middle ages of Europe that a neutral state must be either weak or mean-spirited. The same views seem to have been held by Kautilya "न मां परो नाहं परमुपहन्तुं शक्तः" इत्यासीत्।[1] But this was not all. Self-interest guided the ancient Hindu theory of neutrality. Neutrality according to the same author should be observed by a king when he considered himself equal to his enemy in prowess, or when he thought that his interests would be served better by observing neutrality rather than by taking part in actual hostilities.

यदि वामन्येत—"न मे शत्रुः परं कर्म्माण्युपहन्तुं; नाहं तस्य कर्म्मोपघातोवा; व्यसनमस्य ध्रुवराद्धयोर्विवक्षे वा स्वकर्म्मानुष्ठानपरो वा वर्द्धिष्ये" इत्यासनेन बुद्धिमातिष्ठेत्॥

Thus the idea seems to have been entertained that realization of self-interest, sometimes at any rate, demanded the observance of neutrality: this was a substantial step in advance in the growth and development of the idea of neutrality. Thus says Kautilya once more:

सन्धिविग्रहयोश्चेत् परकर्म्मनात्मोपचयं वा नाभिपश्येत्, ध्यायानध्यासीत्॥[2]

According to ancient Hindu ideas, neutrality was of three kinds: (*i*) *sthana* keeping quiet; *asana* (withdrawal from hostilities) and *upekshana* (negligence). Keeping quiet, after maintaining a particular kind of policy is *sthana*; withdrawal from hostile actions for the sake of one's own interests is *asana*; and taking no steps against an enemy is *upekshana*.

स्थानमासनमुपेक्षणं चेत्यासनपर्य्यायाः। विशेषस्तु गुणैकदेशे स्थानं; स्वबुद्धिप्राप्त्यर्थं आसनमासनं; अपायानमप्रयोगः उपेक्षणमिति.[3]

[1] Arthasastra, VII., 1.
[2] *Ibid*, VII., 3.
[3] A. S., VII., 4.

Thus according to the classification made above, *sthana* and *upekshana* would be the two forms of neutrality corresponding to "neutrality" of the present times.

Neutrality, according to Kautilya, might be preserved even after the declaration of war[1] under certain exceptional circumstances. A study of the Arthasastra would lead us to the belief that observance or non-observance of neutrality at any particular juncture was dictated by considerations of state-interest or national policy, rather than by the promptings of moral or juridical consciousness. This view gains support from the desperate attempts made by the *Vijigisu* and the *Ari* in the 'circle of states' to catch hold of a neutral king and from a passage in Kautilya's Arthasastra it would appear that a Madhyama king was regarded with great disfavour by a Vijigisu.[2]

"मध्यम त्वरिविजिगीष्वोर्लिप्समावयोर्मध्यमस्य पार्ष्णिं गृह्णतोः लब्धलाभावगमने यो मध्यं मित्रादियोजयति, अमित्रं च मित्रमाप्नोति, सोऽतिसन्धत्ते। सन्धेयश्च शत्रुरुपकूर्व्वाणो न मित्रं मित्रभावादुत्क्रान्तम्॥

The theory of "enmity by distance" propounded by Kautilya makes a *Madhyama's* position almost unbearable but the theory of the balance of power conclusively proves that neutrality in ancient Indian polity was to a large extent prompted by juridical consciousness.

मण्डलं वा प्रोत्साहयेत्—"अतिप्रहृष्टोऽयं मध्यमः सर्व्वेषां नो विनाशाय अभ्युत्थितः सम्भूयास्य यात्रां विहनाम" इति।[3]

Thus, if the Madhyama king attempted to overthrow the balance of power within the circle of states then the Vijigisu could incite the whole circle against him. From

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[1] *Vide* VII., 4.
[2] A. S., VII., 13.
[3] A. S., VII, 10.

the dawn of civilisation, neutrality has stood in the way of unbridled conquest unless the conqueror could by disregard of all laws or rules of morality convert the neutral into either a friend or a foe. A conquering king was advised by Kautilya to seek the protection of the *Madhyama* king and the *Udāsina* king when they were both esteemed by the circle of states.

A Madhyama king is neutral like the *Udasina*, but the former is on the point of joining the fray while the latter through negligence—as the name signifies it—or through state-interest is desirous of maintaining a neutral attitude.

A ruthless conqueror panting for a world-empire like an Alexander, a Caesar, a Louis XIV, a Napoleon or a Wilhelm would not stop when the 'way is long and the gate is narrow,' or when rules of International Law stand in his way. They are all cast aside and the conqueror marches on with ceaseless fury. It was for such a conqueror that Kautilya wrote his Arthasastra and with a cold cynicism unparalleled for boldness he recommended "a conqueror first to seize the territory of the enemy close to his country, then that of the *Madhyama* king"; "this being taken, he should seize the territory of the neutral king. This is the first way to conquer the world."[1]

एवं विजिगीषुरमित्रभूमिं लब्ध्वा मध्यमं लिप्सेत्। तस्मिन्नुदासीनम्। एष प्रथमो मार्गः पृथिवीं जेतुम्॥

Such then in brief, are the ancient Hindu ideas of neutrality. These ideas were much more developed than those of the classical Greeks and the Romans and even those of the European nations before the French Revolution. The elaborate rules regarding neutrality framed by

[1] Arthasastra, XIII., 4.

modern International Law are the triumph of the last two centuries. Inspite of these rules the last great war clearly demonstrated once more the truth of the remark that weak states cannot maintain an attitude of neutrality in a great world-conflict. Violations of neutrality were very frequent during the last war. Thus was Belgium violated; so was Chinese territory violated; so did Chili protest against the violation of her neutrality before the naval battle off Valpariso; so was Greece compelled to espouse the cause of the *Entente*. The ancient Indians did not frame elaborate rules for intercourse between neutral states and belligerents partly because they lived thousands of years before the triumph of modern civilisation and to a very large extent because, war with them did not absolutely put an end to all intercourse even between the belligerent states. Trade and commerce went on almost uninterrupted[1] and therefore we do not meet with elaborate discussions in the Arthasastras about the rights and obligations of neutral powers.

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[1] *Vide ante. Cf.* also:

यस्य वा स्वदेशादन्यदेशाद्वा पण्यानि पण्यागारतया गच्छेयुः तान्यस्य "यातव्यालब्धानि" इति सन्निधायारयेयुः बहुलीभूते शासनमभिव्यक्तेन प्रेषयेत्—"एतत्ते पण्यं पण्यागारं वा मया ते प्रेषितं; सामवायिकेषु विक्रमस्व, अपगच्छ वा ततः पण्यशेषयराप्स्यसि" इति। तत्सन्निधिः परेषु याचयेयुः—"एतदरिप्रदत्तम्" इति॥ अनुप्रख्यातं वा पण्यमविज्ञातं विजिगीषुं गच्छेत्। तदस्य वैदेहक व्यञ्जनाश्चानुमुख्येषु विक्रीणीरन् तत्सन्निधिः परेषु याचयेयुः—"एतत्पण्यमरिप्रदत्तम" इति।

A. S., IX., 6.

ANCIENT
ROMIC CHRONOLOGY

BY

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of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law

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PREFACE.

IN 1916 I published in London, through Messrs. Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Ld., a little book entitled "The Secret of Egyptian Chronology."

Instead of "Egyptian," I now adopt the word "Romic," an adjective coined from Romiū, the name by which the original inhabitants of Khem called themselves.

On 2nd July, 1919, at the monthly Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, I had the honour of "reading" a paper on Ancient Romic Chronology, which was the outcome of further investigations that I had been making. It was "communicated" to the Society through the kindness of that very distinguished son of Bengal, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, *Kt.*, without whose unfailing encouragement it is possible that my investigations would have languished, if not ceased.

In that paper I worked out my problem on the basis of the Year being one of 365 days, with further manipulations to bring my results—approximate only—into line with correct Solar or Natural Time.

Here I adopt the more direct course of working on the basis of a Year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. The outcome is in every way more satisfactory.

With the paper read to the Asiatic Society I submitted a few illustrations, showing how I apply my principles and methods to the data that so far have come to light.

In the following pages such illustrations are more numerous. Indeed, except for periods in respect of which

we possess no data whatever, I practically cover the entire field of ancient Romic history. I work out my case—a series of cases, in fact—under the very eye of the reader, who can himself test every submission that I make, either of fact or of inference, as the argument proceeds, except that, not being in possession of my Lists, he will probably be rather handicapped.

This present statement of my system, and of my results, supersedes, of course, everything not consistent therewith contained in "The Secret of Egyptian Chronology" or any other publication of mine.

BENGAL CLUB,
CALCUTTA:
25th July, 1919.

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

ANCIENT ROMIC CHRONOLOGY.

THE Natural or Solar Year has 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 48 seconds. That is, it has 365·242, or $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, all but 11 minutes, 12 seconds. This $365\frac{1}{4}$, taken as years and multiplied by 4, gives us 1461 Years: and on the exacter basis which I am now adopting we get 1461 Years, all but 11 days, 8 hours, 32 minutes, 0 seconds.

For purposes of calculation it is convenient to neglect the odd days, hours and minutes, and to proceed on the footing of a Year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and a Cycle of 1461 Years.

The Year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days I divide up spheroidally thus—

360	periods of	$1\frac{7}{480}$
90	,,	$4\frac{7}{480}$
12	,,	$30\frac{7}{16}$
3	,,	$121\frac{3}{4}$.

These divisions of the Year are also naturally divisions of the Cycle of 1461 Years, and of these latter we may speak under the following nomenclature and abbreviations:—

1. The Quadratures of the Cycle = $365\frac{1}{4}$ Years each, totalling 1461 Years. — Great Panegyrical Year, or 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th G. P. Y.
2. Each 12th part of the Cycle = $121\frac{3}{4}$ Years = the basis of the Hunti Heb, or Festival. — Great Panegyrical Month, or G. P. M.
3. Each $\frac{1}{4}$th part of the G. P. M. = $30\frac{7}{16}$ Years = the basis of the Sed Heb. — Great Panegyrical Quarter-Month, or G. P. Q.-M.
4. Each 30th part of the G. P. M. = $4\frac{7}{120}$ Years. — Great Panegyrical Day, or G. P. D.
5. Each ultimate unitary division of the Cycle, or $\frac{1}{4}$th part of the G. P. D. = $1\frac{7}{480}$ Years. — Great Panegyrical Sub-Division, or G. P. S.

All these terms are, of course, quite arbitrary.

Next, I construct a Table or List of all possible Sed Hebs, or Festivals, of the G. P. Q.-M. periods of $30\frac{7}{16}$ Years, starting it from 0 (*Zero*)—which we may call Conventional B.C. 4004—and bringing it up to date, and even beyond. This will, of course, include all the Hunti Hebs of the G. P. M. periods of $121\frac{3}{4}$ Years, for they are merely quadruples of the Seds.

There is reason to believe that these Sed and Hunti Heb periods were connected with the revolutions of the Little Bear Constellation (Anūbis, Jackal, Cynosura) round the Pole, to which it is represented as attached by the "tail." Each quadrature may be regarded as corresponding to the quadrature of the Cycle: and thus, in some obscure way, this constellation was supposed to indicate, not only the time of the day and night in the course of every 24 hours, but the seasons of the year, and, doubtless, also the stage reached by the 1461-Years Cycle.

Egyptologists have long been puzzled by the notices regarding these Sed and Hunti Hebs. It has been suggested that Sed, or Set (which simply means 30, just as Hunti, or Henti, means 120), signified "Tail," and was a Festival held in honour of the coming of age of the Crown Prince, and his appointment as Heir to the Throne, he being fancifully spoken of as the "Tail" of the "Lion," or Pharaoh. Others, *e.g.*, Breasted, imagine that the Sed was a Festival personal to the reigning monarch, and usually celebrated by him after he had been reigning for 30 (some say 28) years. All these doubts and imaginings may now be definitely set aside. Of course, as meaning 30 or 120, Sed and Hunti were merely appellative, not descriptive, terms, really referring to the $30\frac{7}{16}$ and $121\frac{3}{4}$ Years periods—the fractions, because understood, being popularly disregarded. Indeed, for their ordinary, every-day affairs, the ancient Romiū had a Year or Spheroid of 360 days or degrees, with sub-divisions of 120, 30, and so forth.

A specially interesting effect of the above-mentioned division of $4\frac{7}{120}$ Years, or G. P. D., is this, that for every date in the ordinary Calendar the Annual Manifestation or Rising of the star Sōthis, or Sirius (the Dog-Star), occurs 4 times successively, the quartettes thus passing steadily through each ordinary month of the year in a period of $121\frac{3}{4}$ Years—the G. P. M.

If, then, we take our Calendar from 1 Thoth to 30 Mesorē, and start it at 0 (the Autumnal Equinox, or 22/23 September = the

4th day of the Natural Year), and carry it right round the circle or spheroid till we arrive again back at 0, we shall find that thereby *we have been writing down the dates of all the Annual Sōthic Risings since the beginning of Civilisation at intervals of* $4\frac{7}{12}$ *years, in sets of* 4 *for each date.*

We need no more than one such written-down List *for all Time*: because all we have to do, when trying to reduce a datum to True Time, is to make our calculations for any particular point on the spheroid, and then add 1, 2, or more Cycles of 1461 Years, according to the number of such Cycles that has already elapsed.

The so-called Official or Priestly Reports from which we obtain some of our data, are commonly referred to as Reports of the Rising of Sōthis. As a matter of fact, however, they are Reports of the Feasts held in celebration of the Risings. It is important to note that they are based on the plan of starting Progressive 1 Thoth (the Calendrical indicator) not from the Autumnal Equinox, or 0, but at a point (1 Epiphi $= 1218\frac{247}{480}$—$1221\frac{268}{480}$) 2 months earlier on the Spheroid, or Fixed Clock. This makes Official Time exactly 2 months ahead of Cyclical or True Time, which is only 4 days removed from Natural or Solar Time.

Nevertheless the Priests did not proceed on this footing. They went on the basis of 1 month 28 days ahead = the difference of 58 days lying between the opening and closing dates of the 2 months, Epiphi and Mesorē. The explanation, I imagine, is that, as already noted, what the Officials reported was really not the Risings, but the Feasts held in celebration of them.

Thus, for the Sōthic Feasts, we must calculate on the basis of Official Time being 1 month 28 days ahead of True Time. But for the Risings and all other purposes, we may take Official Time as having been exactly 2 months ahead of True Time, just as F. 1 Epiphi was exactly 2 months in advance of F. 1 Thoth.

Every Annual Sothic Rising happened, not at F. 1 Thoth, as some writers seem to state, but at the point known as F. 1 Epiphi on the Spheroid or Fixed Clock, *i.e.*, 10 months after the opening of the year at the Autumnal Equinox, or 0.

I have made a List, for one complete Cycle, showing all the Annual Risings that have occurred: and I have written it out in 2

columns—on the one side the Official Calendar, and on the other the Cyclical or True Calendar.

I have also made a List showing how the ordinary Egyptian Calendar equates with our own ordinary Calendar—starting it with the fact that our 22/23 September equated with their 0–1 Thoth, our 24 September with their 2 Thoth, and so on.

It would appear that in actual practice the ancient Romiū used a Year of 360 days (represented by 360 degrees on the spheroid), though well knowing that the Natural Year was longer; and harmonised the one year with the other in a fanciful, complicated way of their own, even in the person of Hōrus reaching the conception of the ¼ year, or little tongue that uttered the kosmical truth, but producing at one time a full artificial year of only 365 days.

Were we to use such a Year, instead of one of 365¼ days, we would have to divide up our spheroid differently, thus :—

360	periods of	$1\frac{1}{72}$
90	,,	$4\frac{1}{18}$
12	,,	$30\frac{5}{12}$
3	,,	$121\frac{2}{3}$.

This would give us a Cycle of 1460 Years, with quadratures of 365 years each, and minor divisions of $30\frac{5}{12}$ Years for the Seds, $121\frac{2}{3}$ for the Huntis, and $4\frac{1}{18}$ Years as the interval on the basis of which to construct our List of Annual Sōthic Risings in their several quartettes.

I did at first work out my calculations on this basis (*see* paper read at Meeting of Asiatic Society of Bengal on 2nd July, 1919): but to all my results an extra year had, of course, to be added for every preceding Cycle; for, at the end of every Cycle of 1460 Years only, a whole year is lost as compared with Natural Time. The necessity for this is obviated, and our results are more exact, by using a Cycle of 1461 Years straightaway. It is from the (to us) impossible Cycle of 1440 years, with its 360 degrees, or days, that we really get the 4 years' shift, and the round numbers 30 and 120, to which all our Egyptologists seem so wedded in thought.

Further, as the Romic Year of 365 days was shorter than Natural Time as recorded permanently on the Spheroid, or Fixed Clock, Progressive 1 Thoth, the indicator of the revolving or epicyclical Calendrical Clock, slowly travels round the Fixed Clock in its

progress along the Cycle. Thus, once and only once during every Cycle of 1461 Years, P. 1 Thoth reaches and equates with F. 1 Epiphi, or Spheroidal Points $1218\frac{247}{480}$—$1221\frac{268}{480}$. When it does this there takes place what is called a Real Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis.

Between this and the next similar Cyclical event there elapses a period of 1460 (1461) Years—corresponding to the length of the Cycle in which it occurs. This period is what Egyptologists have usually thought of as the Sōthic Cycle. In my opinion it was not the true Sōthic Cycle. The true Sōthic Cycle was the Cycle within which the above-mentioned Real Hēliacal Risings occurred as incidents. Possibly the other was what the Romiū used to call the Phœnix.

My List of Annual Sōthic Risings, beginning from A.M. 0 (*zero*), opens thus—

0–1 Thoth = 0–4 $\frac{7}{120}$
2 „ = 8 $\frac{14}{120}$
3 „ = 12 $\frac{21}{120}$

and so on. But the List is really made up in *quartettes*, or sets of 4 years—one quartette for each day of the month. Thus, the first entry, appearing as 4 $\frac{7}{120}$, must be taken to represent the fuller :—

0–1 Thoth A.M. 0–1 $\frac{7}{480}$
„ 2 $\frac{14}{480}$
„ 3 $\frac{21}{480}$
„ 4 $\frac{28}{480} = \frac{7}{120}$

So the second really represents—

2 Thoth A.M. 5 $\frac{35}{480}$
„ 6 $\frac{42}{480}$
„ 7 $\frac{49}{480}$
„ 8 $\frac{56}{480} = \frac{14}{120}$

and so on.

The following is a List of the Real Hēliacal Sōthic Risings that have occurred and will yet occur :—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$1218\frac{247}{480}$		$2785\frac{233}{480}$
$1219\frac{254}{480}$		$2784\frac{226}{480}$
$1220\frac{261}{480}$	=	$2783\frac{219}{480}$
$1221\frac{268}{480}$		$2782\frac{212}{480}$

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$2679\frac{247}{480}$		$1325\frac{233}{480}$
$2680\frac{254}{480}$	=	$1324\frac{226}{480}$
$2681\frac{261}{480}$		$1323\frac{219}{480}$
$2682\frac{268}{480}$		$1322\frac{212}{480}$

A.M.		A.D.	
$4140\frac{247}{480}$	$141\frac{233}{480}$ (fr. 23 Sept.)	– $142\frac{240}{480}$	(to 22 Sept.)
$4141\frac{254}{480}$ =	$142\frac{240}{480}$,,	– $143\frac{247}{480}$	,,
$4142\frac{261}{480}$ =	$143\frac{247}{480}$,,	– $144\frac{254}{480}$	,,
$4143\frac{268}{480}$	$144\frac{254}{480}$,,	– $145\frac{261}{480}$	,,
$5601\frac{247}{480}$	$1602\frac{233}{480}$,,	– $1603\frac{240}{480}$	,,
$5602\frac{254}{480}$ =	$1603\frac{240}{480}$,,	– $1604\frac{247}{480}$	,,
$5603\frac{261}{480}$ =	$1604\frac{247}{480}$,,	– $1605\frac{254}{480}$	,,
$5604\frac{268}{480}$	$1605\frac{254}{480}$,,	– $1606\frac{261}{480}$	,,
$7062\frac{247}{480}$	$3063\frac{233}{480}$,,	– $3064\frac{240}{480}$	,,
$7063\frac{254}{480}$ =	$3064\frac{240}{480}$,,	– $3065\frac{247}{480}$	,,
$7064\frac{261}{480}$ =	$3065\frac{247}{480}$,,	– $3066\frac{254}{480}$	,,
$7065\frac{268}{480}$	$3066\frac{254}{480}$,,	– $3067\frac{261}{480}$	,,

(And so on, at intervals of 1461 Years.)

Most Egyptologists are wont to speak of the second of the above series of quartettes (A.M. $2679\frac{247}{480}$—$2682\frac{268}{480}$) as having been what is called the Era of Menophēs. This I regard as erroneous. The traceable beginnings of Romic Civilisation are centred round Thinis near Abydos, under the rule of Mēnēs and his descendants. He appears to have instituted Chronology by decreeing that Time should be taken as starting from the arbitrary spheroidal point 0 (*Zero*) with a Cycle of 1460 Years, based on a Year of 365 days. On this footing his own regnal period appears to have commenced from A.M. 1095 (Summer Solstice) = according to our conventional chronology, Conv. B.C. 2909. Thus his first regnal year was Conv. B.C. $2907\frac{1}{12}$, if the Year be taken at 365 days. If it be taken, as I now take it, at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, his reign began from A.M. $1095\frac{3}{4}$, his first regnal year having been A.M. $1096\frac{247}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2907\frac{113}{480}$.

The seat of government, then and in the days of the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th Dynasties—this last flourishing during Conv. B.C. $2309\frac{328}{480}$—$2121\frac{412}{480}$—was at the "White Wall." In the days of Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty (A.M. $1728\frac{415}{480}$—$1749\frac{75}{480}$), the

name of Pepi's pyramid, "Men-Nofer," *i.e.*, "Good or Perfect Mansion," became, according to Breasted, the recognised name of the city, being afterwards corrupted by the Greeks to Memphis; and "White Wall" survived only as an archaic and poetical designation (*Hist. of Eg.*, pp. 132–3). It may be doubted whether this was the derivation of "Memphis."

Meanwhile the first quartette of the Real Hēliacal Sōthic Risings had been taking place in A.M. $1218\frac{247}{480}$—$1221\frac{248}{480}$. Probably, therefore, in and from the days of Pepi I, this epoch became recognised as the commencement of the Era of Menophēs, which is obviously but a later Hellenised form of Men-Nofer. The quartette of Risings, usually called the Era of Menophrēs by Egyptologists and generally associated with R. S. Poole's "B.C. 1322," was thus merely the first recurrence of that first quartette.

The foregoing List of Real Hēliacal Sōthic Risings is on the basis of the Rising always taking place at spheroidal point F. 1 Epiphi, whether in the case of these Cyclical events or in the case of the ordinary Annual Risings. This, however, it does not in fact do. Indeed, according to Lt.-Col. Conder (*The Hittites*, p. 180), the Rising now occurs about $2\frac{1}{2}$ minutes *later*, each succeeding year, which means a shift of say $2\frac{103}{192}$ days every Cycle of 1461 Years: but he adds that about 2,900 years ago the rate of retardation was nearly five times as great. The same movement must, of course, affect the position on the spheroid of the Summer Solstice, and is doubtless caused by the Precession of the Equinoxes. If so, like the Equinox and the Solstice, the Rising would remain in one arc of the spheroid corresponding to the G. P. M. for a period of exactly $2155\frac{2}{3}$ years, after which it would pass on to the next month, thus completing the entire round of the spheroidal circle in 25,868 years. For present purposes, however, we may neglect this slow side-step or shift. To take it into account here would enormously and needlessly complicate and embarrass our calculations.

Sometimes Seds and Huntis are referred to in the Official Reports, on the Monuments, or in the Papyri. When this is so, we *may* haply find, by simply looking up my Heb List above-mentioned, that Heb-Dates and Rising-Dates or rather Feast-Dates, precisely tally—the former occasionally even falling in, to a hair, with the latter, and thus operating as Clinch-Dates, or a Chronological

Control. There cannot, of course, be a Heb-Date for every Rising, seeing that the latter are annual occurrences, but for every Heb-Date there will be found a Rising-Date. Only very rarely, however, is this coincidence *noticed* in the data that we possess. Such a notice, when we get it, is invaluable. The reign of Thothmēs III is fortunately distinguished by two of them.

I invite attention to the fact that, by discovering the constant relation subsisting between the Officially Reported Data and the Spheroidal Divisions of the Cycle as starting from the Autumnal Equinox at 0, and from nowhere else, an exact and certain Chronology—provided, of course, that our arithmetic is sound—is now for the first time made available. The bearings of this upon future research are obvious. So are its probable revolutionary effects upon such archæological knowledge as we think we now possess. The magnitude of its possible effects in the way of opening up further realms of discovery, I must leave to the imagination of the reader.

I now proceed to make a practical application of my principles and methods to the elucidation of ancient Romic History—in the guise in which it has come down to us through the records that we possess.

If and when we acquire more data, we shall be in a position to make further progress.

Our first step is to ascertain the correct dates of the Risings so far as they have become known to us through the so-called Official or Priestly Reports, which, however, are really Reports of Feasts, not of Risings.

The List—mostly supplied by Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie—is as follows:—

1. "15th day of the 8th month," in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th Dynasty, and in the 120th year of that Dynasty. *See* the *Kahūn Papyrus*. Also *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed.
2. 9 Epiphi, in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I of the 18th Dynasty.
3. 14 Epiphi, in the reign of Thothmēs I of the 18th Dynasty—regnal year not given.
4. 21 Epiphi, in the 16th regnal year of Queen Hatshepsūt of the 18th Dynasty = the 3rd regnal year of Thothmēs III.

5. 28 Epiphi, in the 33rd regnal year of Thothmēs III.
6. 7 Mesoɪē, in the reign of Amenhotep II—regnal year not given.
7. 14 Mesoɪē in the reign of Amenhotep II—regnal year not given.
8. 21 Mesoɪē—no more data.
9. 28 Meso.ē, in the reign of Tūt-Ankh-Amen of the 18th Dynasty —regnal year not given.
10. 7 Thoth—no more data.
11. 14 Thoth—no more data.
12. (?) in the 5th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II. A Sed.
(?) in the 33rd regnal year of Rāmēsēs II. A Sed.
22 Thoth, in the 41st regnal year of Rāmēsēs II.
(?) in the 64th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II. A Hunti.
13. 29 Thoth, in the 2nd regnal year of Meren-Ptāh.
14. 1 Thoth, in the reign of Rāmēsēs III of the 20th Dynasty. (*See* Poole's *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, p. 31.)
15. 1 Tybi, in the 11th regnal year of Thakelath II of the 22nd Dynasty. (*See* Conder's *Hittites*, p..179.)

Now let us see whether we can put these data on our Cycle of 1461 Years.

We may look upon the possible kinds of Time as 4 :—

1. Real Natural or Solar Time, based on the commencement of the Natural Year at 19/20 September, thus making the Autumnal Equinox at 0, the 4th day of the Natural Year = our 23 September.

2. What I am calling Cyclical or True Time, as indicated by the Fixed Clock, with its Year starting from the Autumnal Equinox, or 0, *i.e.*, from the 4th day of the Natural Year.

3. Progressive Time, as indicated by Progressive New Year's Day, *i.e.*, P. 1 Thoth, as it shifted or revolved slowly round the spheroidal divisions of the Fixed Clock throughout the Cycle of 1461 Years.

4. Official or Priestly Time—a revolving indication, like Progressive Time, but starting with F. 1 Epiphi, *i.e.*, Spheroidal Point 1095¾, instead of with F. 1 Thoth, *i.e.*, from 0, or *Zero*.

We must remember that, in connection with the data regarding Feasts held in celebration of Sōthic Risings, Official Time was always 1 month 28 days ahead of Cyclical or True Time : but for all other purposes it was 2 months ahead.

Note also that Progressive Time was always the same remove *backwards* from F. 1 Epiphi as True Time was *forwards* from the Autumnal Equinox at 0.

After Real Hēliacal Sōthic Rising 1 Epiphi A.M. $1221\frac{268}{480}$, ordinary Annual Risings occurred regularly as follows—

		$1221\frac{268}{480}$
2 Epiphi–1 Mesorē	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}121\frac{360}{480}\\ \hline 1343\frac{148}{480}\end{array}\right.$
2 Mesorē–1 Thoth	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}121\frac{360}{480}\\ \hline 1465\frac{28}{480}\end{array}\right.$
2 Thoth–1 Paophi	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}121\frac{360}{480}\\ \hline 1586\frac{388}{480}\end{array}\right.$
2 Paophi–1 Athyr	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}121\frac{360}{480}\\ \hline 1708\frac{268}{480}\end{array}\right.$
2–16 Athyr ..	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}60\frac{420}{480}\\ \hline 1769\frac{208}{480}\end{array}\right.$
17 Athyr ..	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{r}4\frac{28}{480}\\ \hline 1773\frac{236}{480}\end{array}\right.$

This last quartette may also be set down in detail thus—

17 Athyr ..	.. ..	$\left\{\begin{array}{l}1770\frac{215}{480}\\ 1771\frac{222}{480}\\ 1772\frac{229}{480}\\ 1773\frac{236}{480}\end{array}\right.$

If, now, we subtract 1461 from these for the 1st Cycle, we get, as falling in the 2nd Cycle, the following quartette:—

$$309\frac{215}{480}$$
$$310\frac{222}{480}$$
$$311\frac{229}{480}$$
$$312\frac{236}{480}$$

And, on reference to our List of all Risings since A.M. 0, we find that these are exactly the figures in the standard Cycle for the date F. 17 Athyr. Therefore the 4 years A.M. $1770\frac{215}{480}$—$1773\frac{236}{480}$ are the Cyclical or True Time for the Rising that occurred in the course of the 2nd Cycle on 17 Athyr by the Fixed or Spheroidal Clock. Official Time for it (2 clear months ahead) must have been F. 17 Tybi. What, then, was the corresponding Progressive Time? F. 17 Athyr, True Time, was 2 months 17 days forwards from the

Autumnal Equinox at 0. Therefore Progressive Time must have been 2 months 17 days backwards from F. 1 Epiphi. This indicates 14 Pharmūthi = what I would call the 14th day of the 8th month from *Zero*.

Now, in his Report of the Sōthic Feast held in celebration of this Rising, which occurred in the 7th regnal year of Senwosri III of the 12th Dynasty, and in the 120th year of that Dynasty, the Priest referred to in the *Kahūn Papyrus* speaks of "the 15th day of the 8th month." What exactly did he mean by that? He was not speaking of Cyclical or True Time. Nor was he speaking of his own Official Time; for, according to that (1 month 28 days ahead of True Time), the date was 15 Tybi. Yet for the Priesthood not Tybi but Mekhir was the "8th month," *i.e.*, counting from F. 0–1 Epiphi. The Priest must, therefore, have been speaking in terms of Progressive Time, understood as I am explaining it here. This as regards the month. But, as regards the day of the month, he seems to have been obsessed with the idea of "the 15th," as in 15th Tybi, his substitute for 17th Athyr, True Time. Really he should have calculated thus—2 months 15 days back from F. 1 Epiphi = 16 Pharmūthi. He did not do this. He had "the 15th" in his thoughts, and to get it he allowed 2 months 16 days back. There may be some other explanation, but this is how the matter strikes me.

Now, the True Time for this datum works out at F. 17 Athyr. I look this up in my List of Annual Risings, and I find that it means spheroidally Point $312\frac{59}{120} = 312\frac{236}{480}$. Well, we know that in this case we are dealing with some time in the 2nd Cycle. Therefore, to this $312\frac{236}{480}$ I add 1461. This gives me A.M. $1773\frac{236}{480}$. I accordingly see that I have obtained as a result the following quartette of years:—

A.M.
$1770\frac{215}{480}$
$+ \quad 1\frac{7}{480}$
$1771\frac{222}{480}$
$+ \quad 1\frac{7}{480}$
$1772\frac{229}{480}$
$+ \quad 1\frac{7}{480}$
$1773\frac{236}{480}$

The year we want (the year fulfilling all the conditions mentioned in our data of knowledge in this case) must, therefore, be one in this quartette of years. As a matter of fact, it is A.M. $1771\frac{222}{480}$. But how that is arrived at, is a little extension of the problem which introduces Senwosri I aforesaid and matters recorded about him.

This enables us to make the following re-construction of the 12th Dynasty, with regard to whose period Professor Breasted and other leading Egyptologists have hitherto been content to nestle confidingly in the bosom of Teutonic authority—

The 12th Dynasty.

Amenemhat I (Sehetep-ab-Rā)	18 yrs.	..	A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$–$1667\frac{468}{480}$
Senwosri I	45 „	..	„ $1667\frac{468}{480}$–$1712\frac{296}{480}$

(In his 3rd regnal year, A.M. $1670\frac{2}{480}$, Senwosri I decided to build a Temple to the Sungod at On, or Hēliopolis).

Amenemhat II	35 yrs.	..	A.M. $1712\frac{296}{480}$–$1747\frac{54}{480}$
Senwosri II	19 „	..	„ $1747\frac{54}{480}$–$1765\frac{180}{480}$
Senwosri III	38 „	..	„ $1765\frac{180}{480}$–$1802\frac{439}{480}$

(Reported Sōthic-Rising Feast in A.M. $1771\frac{222}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. 2232 $\frac{258}{480}$, in his 7th regnal year, and 120th year of the Dynasty. Date, "15th day of the 8th month" = F. 17 Athyr, True or Spheroidal Time.)

Amenemhat III	48 yrs.	..	A.M. $1802\frac{439}{480}$—$1850\frac{288}{480}$
Amenemhat IV	9 „	..	„ $1850\frac{288}{480}$—$1858\frac{344}{480}$
Sebeknefrūrē	4 „	..	„ $1858\frac{344}{480}$—$1861\frac{365}{480}$

Period: A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$—$1861\frac{365}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2353\frac{131}{480}$—$2142\frac{115}{480}$ = $211\frac{16}{480}$ spheroidal years.

Note.—By the above figures the required result works out exactly, namely, that Senwosri III's 7th regnal year (A.M. $1771\frac{222}{480}$) was the 120th year of the Dynasty. Also it consists with the information we get from the Obelisk regarding the completion of Senwosri I's "foundation-work" (begun in his 3rd year) at the time of the Sed Heb for A.M. $1674\frac{1}{16}$. Add 119 to A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$, and it makes A.M. $1771\frac{222}{480}$: not, it is true, by ordinary years, but on the basis of our years being spheroidal years of $1\frac{7}{480}$

each. Hence, this 119 must be taken as 119 times $1\frac{7}{480}$ = $120-\frac{353}{480}$. Thus—

	A.M.	$1650\frac{349}{480}$
+	,,	$120\frac{353}{480}$
	,,	$1771\frac{222}{480}$

Breasted assigns Amenemhat 30 years. But, on the grounds above referred to, connected with the Senwosri I records, I submit that we cannot now allow him more than 18 years, at least as associated with this 12th Dynasty.

No other date hitherto assigned by any Egyptologist for this Senwosri III Rising satisfies all the above imperious conditions as my figures do—or indeed at all.

Moreover, in A.M. Before *Zero* 553, or, as we may say, Conv. B.C. 4557, the Sun, theretofore in Constellation Gemini, entered Constellation Taurus (Meṣ-Rā, or *Abir* = the Young Bull), and it remained therein, and the Cult of Meṣ-Rā accordingly came into vogue, till Conv. B.C. $2401\frac{1}{3}$ = A.M. $1602\frac{2}{3}$, when it entered Const. Aries (Ammon, Amon, or Amen = the Ram): and thereupon the right to divine honours, as the supreme Solar Deity throughout Tomeri, or Khem, passed from Meṣ-Rā, the Bull, to Ammon-Rā, the Ram. This was over a generation ($48\frac{229}{480}$ years) before the accession of Sehetep-Ab-Rā as Amenemhat I, founder of the 12th Dynasty. Indeed, it was thus, *i.e.*, *by his change of name* on his accession, that under him and the auspices of the new Dynasty, Ammon-Rā was first *officially* recognised. It is noteworthy, however, that there had already been an individual named Amenemhat (Vizier of Mentū-Hotep III of the 11th Dynasty) some 54 years before the accession of Amenemhat I in A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$.

Breasted's German date for the Senwosri III Rising—namely, *cir.* Conv. B.C. 1880, based on the calculations of K. Sethe and Eduard Meyer—may now be definitely discarded.

Before leaving the age of the 12th Dynasty, I have some further remarks to make. In *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 20–25, R. S. Poole speaks of a Tropical Cycle of 1,500 Years known to the ancient Egyptians (Romiū?) and beginning at F. 1 Khoiak, the day after the Winter Solstice. He adduces evidence to show that in Conv. B.C. 2005 the New Moon of April fell on the 8th (civil) of that

month, and the Vernal Equinox on the 7th. That same year, he says, the commencement of the First Tropical Year and the 1st day of the Vague (or Progressive) Year coincided on 7th January. Also, he says, in Conv. B.C. 506 the New Moon of March fell on the 28th of that month, and the Vernal Equinox on the 27th. Next year, therefore, in B.C. 507, there was another Coincidence of the Tropical with the Vague Year. This, he adds, was when Egypt was a province of the Persian Empire under Darius Hystaspēs. Interval between the Coincidences, 1,500 Years.

These statements seem all right. But Poole goes on to say that the First Coincidence happened some time during the reign of Amenemha (Amenemhat) II of the 12th Dynasty, whose period, he says, was somewhere between Conv. B.C. 1950 and Conv. B.C. 2050. Also he tells us that Champollion and Rosellini had mistakenly placed the Sesertesens (Senwosris) and Amenemhas (Amenemhats) in the 16th and 17th Dynasties.

Now, Amenemhat II's regnal period was really A.M. $1712\frac{296}{480}$ —$1747\frac{54}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2291\frac{184}{480}$—$2256\frac{426}{480}$. And Conv. B.C. 2005 (= A.M. 1999) was not in Amenemhat II's time at all! It was some time early in the little known period of the Hyksōs Domination. The reference, therefore, is either to some Hyksōs ruler's time, or to the time of one of the numerous Romic Dynasts who were vassals to the Hyksōs, and were continually at war with them and with the then sprouting House of Thebes and their faithful allies of El Kab. Hence, Champollion and Rosellini were only wrong in that—according to Poole—they thought that the "Sesertesens and Amenemhas" flourished in the days of these Hyksōs Overlords and vassal Romic dynasts. The idea that that (and not the true period of the 12th Dynasty) was the epoch in which the abovementioned Coincidence between the Tropical and Vague Years occurred, is a correct idea: and Poole's assertions or submissions are wholly baseless.

If we carry the alleged Coincidence back one Cycle higher than the date associating it with the age of the early Hyksōs, we get A.M. 499 = Conv. B.C. 3505, which was centuries before the days of the 12th Dynasty as fixed in this paper.

We are now set immovably on the Cycle of 1461 Years which started *ex hypothesi* from 0 (*Zero*).

Continuing with our List of Annual Sōthic Risings, we get the following:—

Our last date was— A.M. $1773\frac{236}{480}$

		A.M.
18-30 Athyr	$52\frac{364}{480}$	
	$1826\frac{120}{480}$	
1-30 Khoiak, 1-30 Tybi, 1-30 Mekhir, 1-30 Phamenoth, 1-30 Pharmūthi	$608\frac{360}{480}$	
	$2467\frac{224}{480}$	
9 Pakhons	$4\frac{228}{480}$	
	$2471\frac{252}{480}$	

Or the last quartette may be set down in detail thus—

A.M.

$2468\frac{231}{480}$
$2469\frac{238}{480}$
$2470\frac{245}{480}$
$2471\frac{252}{480}$

Then comes—

	A.M.
10 Pakhons	$2472\frac{259}{480}$
	$2473\frac{266}{480}$
	$2474\frac{273}{480}$
	$2475\frac{280}{480}$

Here we halt: for according to Official Report a Feast was held in celebration of a Sōthic Rising in the 9th regnal year of Amenhotep I of the 18th Dynasty. The date given is 9 Epiphi, Official Time. 2 months behind that = 9 Pakhons, True Time, which was probably the date of the Rising. But, as regards the Feast, 1 month 29 days (going by the Senwosri III Feast day) gives us 10 Pakhons = a quartette of years ending A.M. $2475\frac{280}{480}$. 1 month 28 days behind (which I prefer and adopt) gives us 11 Pakhons, True Time = the following quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$2476\frac{287}{480}$		$1527\frac{193}{480}$
$2477\frac{294}{480}$	=	$1526\frac{186}{480}$
$2478\frac{301}{480}$		$1525\frac{179}{480}$
$2479\frac{308}{480}$		$1524\frac{172}{480}$

It was therefore in one of these 4 years that the Feast under notice was held. And that one would have been Amenhotep I's 9th regnal year. Which of them is it most likely to have been?

We possess 2 Clinch-Dates in Thothmēs III's reign, on the basis of which we can try to reckon back: but our conclusion can only be approximate; as we do not know precisely how many years Amenhotep I, Thothmēs I, and Thothmēs II reigned. I work it out that they reigned 21, 21, and 16 years, respectively. That means that Amenhotep I acceded, say, in A.M. 2469 = Conv. B.C. 1535: whence it follows that his 9th regnal year was A.M. 2477, *i.e.*, the first year of the quartette of years set out above.

Whence, again, it follows that the regnal period of Aahmēs I, the Founder of the Dynasty, was about A.M. 2445–2469 = Conv. B.C. 1559–1535.

The next reported Sōthic Feast was one said to have been held on 14 Epiphi, Official Time, in the reign of Thothmēs I, 18th Dynasty —regnal year not stated. As regards True Time, 2 months behind this = 14 Pakhons. This we may put aside. 1 month 29 days behind = 15 Pakhons, indicating the quartette of years—

A.M.

$2492\frac{399}{480}$
$2493\frac{406}{480}$
$2494\frac{413}{480}$
$2495\frac{420}{480}$

in which case the Feast was held in Thothmēs I's 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th regnal year: for he acceded about A.M. 2489. 1 month 28 days behind = 16 Pakhons, indicating the quartette—

A.M.

$2496\frac{427}{480}$
$2497\frac{434}{480}$
$2498\frac{441}{480}$
$2499\frac{448}{480}$

in which case the Feast was held in his 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th year. This I adopt. How does it appear on the Cycle as we are writing it down? Our last item was—

A.M.

10 Pakhons .. .. $2475\frac{280}{480}$

11–15 „ .. .. $\left\{\begin{array}{r} 20\frac{140}{480} \\ \hline 2495\frac{420}{480} \end{array}\right.$

16 „ .. .. $\left\{\begin{array}{r} 4\frac{28}{480} \\ \hline 2499\frac{448}{480} \end{array}\right.$

It works out exactly. For 16 Pakhons, True Time, the corresponding Progressive Time was 15 Paophi.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 21 Epiphi, Official Time, in the 16th regnal year of Queen Hatshepsūt of the 18th Dynasty, which, we shall find, corresponded with the 3rd regnal year of Thothmēs III of the same Dynasty.

This will be a test case of my principles and method.

From the inscriptions we learn that in this same year a Sed Heb (or Sed-Period of $30\frac{7}{16}$ years) was celebrated by Hatshepsūt and Thothmēs III *jointly* on 30 Mesorē, and a commemorative Obelisk was erected at Karnak. Hence, the year-date of this Festival and that of the Sōthic Feast or Rising *ought* to be identical. Are they identical? Referring to our Heb List, we find that there was a Sed Heb for A.M. $2526\frac{5}{16}$. Was this the year-date of the Sōthic Feast now under notice?

2 months behind 21 Epiphi, Official = 21 Pakhons, True, which gives us the quartette of years—

A.M.

$2517\frac{87}{480}$
$2518\frac{94}{480}$
$2519\frac{101}{480}$
$2520\frac{108}{480}$

This we may at once set aside. So 1 month 29 days behind = 22 Pakhons, True, which gives us the quartette of years—

A.M.

$2521\frac{115}{480}$
$2522\frac{122}{480}$
$2523\frac{129}{480}$
$2524\frac{136}{480}$

This is also plainly unsuitable, and, moreover, clearly shows us that the "1 month 29 days ahead" method is erroneous.

On the other hand, 1 month 28 days (our old way) = 23 Pakhons, True Time, and gives us the quartette of years—

A.M.

$2525\frac{143}{480}$
$2526\frac{150}{480}$
$2527\frac{157}{480}$
$2528\frac{164}{480}$

Here, at last, in A.M. $2526\frac{150}{480}$, we find the year corresponding to the year in the Heb List, A.M. $2526\frac{5}{16}$: for $\frac{5}{16}$ is just the same as $\frac{150}{480}$. We are thus confirmed in our original conviction that, so far at least as their Sōthic Feasts were concerned, the Priests for the purposes of their Official Time took that Time as being 1 month 28 days ahead of True Time.

For 23 Pakhons, True Time, the corresponding Progressive Time was 8 Paophi.

On the Cycle, as written steadily down, we arrive at the same result in due course. Our last item was—

			A.M.
16	Pakhons	..	$2499\frac{448}{480}$
17–22	,,	..	$\frac{24\frac{168}{480}}{2524\frac{136}{480}}$
23	,,	..	$\frac{4\frac{28}{480}}{2528\frac{164}{480}}$

Here, I submit, we have a Clinch-Date. On this alone, by dead-reckoning, we might build up very satisfactorily a considerable portion of ancient Chronology.

But we are equally fortunate in our data for the next Sōthic Feast, which is reported as having been held on 28 Epiphi, Official Time, in the 33rd regnal year of Thothmēs III. This is another test case.

From the inscriptions we learn that in this same year, on 30 Mesorē, Thothmēs III celebrated a Hunti Heb, or Quadruple Festival, *i.e.*, a Heb of the kind that was celebrated every $121\frac{3}{4}$ Years, corresponding to the G. P. M. of the Cycle, and probably an entire round of the Little Bear (Cynosura). Hence, the year-date of this unusual kind of Heb and that of the Sōthic Feast now under notice ought again to be identical. Of course, also, it is easy to see that if our last case was soundly argued, and Thothmēs III's 16th regnal year was A.M. $2526\frac{150}{480}$, his 33rd must be A.M. $2556\frac{340}{480}$.

Looking at our Heb List, we find that one—a true Hunti Heb as the occasion requires—fell as completed in A.M. $2556\frac{3}{16}$. Was this also, in fact, the year-date of the Sōthic Feast ?

1 month 28 days behind 28 Epiphi, Official Time = 30 Pakhons, True Time. If, now, we refer to our List of Rising-Dates, we shall

find that 30 Pakhons $= 1095\frac{90}{120}$ on the spheroid. This + 1461 for the previous Cycle, gives us A.M. $2556\frac{90}{120}$, which is, of course, exactly identical with A.M. $2556\frac{1}{16}$, the year-date of the Hunti Heb standing in its place in the Heb List. Thothmēs III's 33rd regnal year, therefore, was clearly what it ought to have been, *i.e.*, A.M. $2556\frac{360}{480}$, and no other.

For 30 Pakhons, True Time, the corresponding Progressive Time was 1 Paophi.

Again, we reach this same A.M. $2556\frac{360}{480}$ in due course by quietly proceeding on our way round the Cycle. Our last item was—

		A.M.
23	Pakhons	$2528\frac{164}{480}$
24–30	„	$28\frac{196}{480}$
		$2556\frac{360}{480}$

Or thus—

		A.M.
		$2528\frac{164}{480}$
24–29	Pakhons	$24\frac{168}{480}$
		$2552\frac{332}{480}$
30	„	$4\frac{28}{480}$
		$2556\frac{360}{480}$

Or thus in more detail—

		A.M.
30	Pakhons	$2553\frac{339}{480}$
		$2554\frac{346}{480}$
		$2555\frac{353}{480}$
		$2556\frac{360}{480}$

This is my second Clinch-Date and Chronological Control. Round this and A.M. $2526\frac{150}{480}$ we may build up our adjustments with perfect confidence, and also gaze eagerly into that future which, we trust, will in all good time present us with further data.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 7 Mesorē, Official Time, in the reign of Amenhotep II of the 18th Dynasty. But in what regnal year? That is not stated. Nevertheless we can obtain it—at least within a choice-limit of 4

years. We cannot this time get the exact year, because no kindly datum exists on the monuments, nor is there any notice of any kind referring to any Sed or Hunti Heb, which might have operated as an indicator or control.

1 month 28 days behind 7 Mesorē, Official = 9 Paoni, True Time. That, spheroidally, is $1132\frac{33}{120}$ in our List of Annual Rising-Dates. Adding 1461 for the previous Cycle, we get the quartette of years—

	A.M.
	$2590\frac{111}{480}$
	$2591\frac{118}{480}$
	$2592\frac{125}{480}$
	$2593\frac{132}{480}$

The Feast, therefore, was held in Amenhotep II's 13th, 14th, 15th or 16th regnal year.

Now let us trace this on the Cycle. Our last item was—

			A.M.
30	Pakhons		$2556\frac{360}{480}$
1–8	Paoni	$32\frac{224}{480}$	
		$2589\frac{104}{480}$	
9	„	$4\frac{28}{480}$	
		$2593\frac{132}{480}$	

Or thus in detail—

			A.M.
9	Paoni		$2590\frac{111}{480}$
			$2591\frac{118}{480}$
			$2592\frac{125}{480}$
			$2593\frac{132}{480}$

For 9 Paoni, True Time, the corresponding Progressive Time was 22 Thoth.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 14 Mesorē, Official Time, also in Amenhotep II's reign. Here too the regnal year is not stated. But we work it out on the same lines as those followed in the immediately preceding case.

1 month 28 days behind 14 Mesorē, Official = 16 Paoni, True Time. In the Annual Rising-Dates List that appears spheroidally as

$1160\frac{32}{120}$. Add 1461 for the preceding Cycle, and we get A.M. $2621\frac{228}{480}$ as the last of the following quartette of years—

A.M.
$2618\frac{307}{480}$
$2619\frac{314}{480}$
$2620\frac{321}{480}$
$2621\frac{328}{480}$

The Feast, therefore, was held in the 41st, 42nd, 43rd, or 44th regnal year of Amenhotep II. Progressive Time here was 15 Thoth.

Traced on the Cycle this date appears thus. Last item—

		A.M.
9	Paoni	$2593\frac{132}{480}$
10–16	„	$28\frac{198}{480}$ / $2621\frac{328}{480}$

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 21 Mesorē, Official Time—no regnal year given, and not even any Pharaoh's name. Yet—assuming, of course, that we are still in the same Cycle as on the last occasion—we easily ascertain all we want to know. The same process suffices. 21 Mesorē, Official = 23 Paoni, True Time. In the Annual Rising-Dates List that appears spheroidally as $1189\frac{11}{120}$. Adding 1461 for the previous Cycle, we get the following quartette of years—

A.M.
$2647\frac{23}{480}$
$2648\frac{30}{480}$
$2649\frac{37}{480}$
$2650\frac{44}{480}$

Whence we gather that the Feast was held in the 15th, 16th, 17th, or 18th regnal year of Amenhotep III (Nimmuriya = Neb-Mā-Rā), who acceded in A.M. $2632\frac{405}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1371\frac{75}{480}$.

Traced on the Cycle, the date appears thus. Last item—

		A.M.
16	Paoni	$2621\frac{328}{480}$
17–23	„	$28\frac{198}{480}$ / $2650\frac{44}{480}$

Corresponding Progressive Time was in this case 8 Thoth.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 28 Mesorē, Official Time, in the reign of Tūt-Ankh-Amen. 1 month

28 days behind this = 30 Paoni, True Time. But inasmuch as there is every reason to believe that the event here reported was one of a very remarkable character—in short, the Feast held in celebration of a Sōthic Rising that occurred only once in every Cycle of 1461 Years, and then always on 1 Epiphi, True Time—we may assume that the reporting Priest, or somebody else, made a mistake, and when he wrote 28 Mesorē ought really to have written 29 Mesorē. Because it is 1 month 28 days behind 29 (not 28) Mesorē, Official, that equates with 1 Epiphi, True Time.

Of course it is possible that the Report was in fact referring to the ordinary Annual Rising of 30 Paoni, True Time, the Feast, for which would have been held in due course on 28 Mesorē, Official Time: but, having regard to the close proximity of the great Menophric Occurrence, this is not likely.

In my List of Annual Rising-Dates, 1 Epiphi, True Time, appears spheroidally as $1221\frac{67}{120}$. Adding 1461 for the previous Cycle, we get the following quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$2679\frac{247}{480}$		$1324\frac{233}{480}$
$2680\frac{254}{480}$		$1323\frac{226}{480}$
$2681\frac{261}{480}$	=	$1322\frac{219}{480}$
$2682\frac{268}{480}$		$1321\frac{212}{480}$

This, then, was one of the rare so-called Real Hēliacal Risings of Sōthis. Poole and others allude to it as their "B.C. 1322." Also, it is often referred to by Egyptologists as the Era of Menophres. In this, however, they appear to err. I respectfully submit that that Era began 1461 years before, in A.M. $1218\frac{247}{480}$. This was its second epochal Occurrence.

Tūt-Ankh-Amen acceded *circ.* A.M. $2680\frac{254}{480}$. Therefore this particular Feast was held in his 1st, 2nd, or 3rd regnal year. Progressive Time was 1 Thoth.

Traced along the Cycle as I am here writing it down, the epoch appears thus. Our last item was—

		A.M.
23	Paoni ..	$2650\frac{44}{480}$
24–30	,, ..	$\frac{28\frac{196}{480}}{2678\frac{240}{480}}$
	Epiphi ..	$\frac{4\frac{28}{480}}{2682\frac{268}{480}}$

In his *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 32, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie mentions 2 Risings (probably Feasts) that he says were "(unrecorded)"—one on 7 Thoth, and the other on 14 Thoth. The former he assigns to Conv. B.C. 1294, and the latter to Conv. B.C. 1266. I presume he is speaking of Official Time. I also assume that the events referred to belong to the same Cycle that we are now dealing with. These points understood, 1 month 28 days behind 7 Thoth, Official = 9 Epiphi, True Time. And 1 month 28 days behind 14 Thoth, Official = 16 Epiphi, True Time. Reverting, now, to my List of Annual Rising-Dates, 9 Epiphi indicates the following quartette of years—

A.M.
$2711\frac{471}{480}$
$2712\frac{478}{480}$
$2714\frac{5}{480}$
$2715\frac{12}{480}$

Whereby it appears that that particular Feast was held in the 10th or 11th (last ?) regnal year of Hor-Em-Heb, last king of the 18th Dynasty, or in either of the 2 regnal years of Rāmēsēs I of the 19th Dynasty, *i.e.*, A.M. $2712\frac{478}{480}$ and $2714\frac{5}{480}$, or even perhaps early in the reign of Seti II. This means one of the following Conv. B.C. years—

Conv. B.C.
$1292\frac{9}{480}$
$1291\frac{2}{480}$
$1289\frac{475}{480}$
$1288\frac{468}{480}$

Petrie's date—B.C. 1294—is therefore "there or thereabouts."

So, in my List of Annual Rising-Dates, 16 Epiphi, True Time, appears spheroidally as $1282\frac{52}{120}$. Adding 1461 for the preceding Cycle, we get the following quartette of years—

A.M.
$2740\frac{187}{480}$
$2741\frac{194}{480}$
$2742\frac{201}{480}$
$2743\frac{208}{480}$

Whence it appears that this particular Feast was held in the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th regnal year of Rāmēsēs II of the 19th Dynasty,

who appears to have acceded in A.M. $2734\frac{145}{480}$. And this means one of the following Conv. B.C. years—

Conv. B.C.
$1263\frac{293}{480}$
$1262\frac{287}{480}$
$1261\frac{280}{480}$
$1260\frac{273}{480}$

Hence, Petrie's date—B.C. 1266—is only out by some 2–5 years.

The Progressive Time dates for these two Feasts were, in the first case, 22 Mesorē, and, in the second case, 15 Mesorē.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 22 Thoth, Official Time, in the 41st regnal year of Rān ēsēs II. Counting from the time of his accession, A.M. $2734\frac{145}{480}$, that of course ought to be A.M. $2774\frac{425}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1229\frac{55}{480}$. Let us see, then, how the data work out.

In the Annual Rising-Dates List 24 Epiphi (which is the corresponding True Time, 1 month 28 days behind Official Time) appears spheroidally as $1314\frac{108}{480}$. Add 1461 for the preceding Cycle, and we get A.M. $2775\frac{432}{480}$ as the last of the following quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$2772\frac{411}{480}$		$1231\frac{69}{480}$
$2773\frac{418}{480}$		$1230\frac{62}{480}$
$2774\frac{425}{480}$	=	$1229\frac{55}{480}$
$2775\frac{432}{480}$		$1228\frac{48}{480}$

Thus our problems all prove themselves with beautiful precision. Hitherto the beginnings of the 19th Dynasty—to which Rān ēsēs II belonged—have been very hazy, and it has therefore been somewhat difficult to construct the chronology for that particular period on a satisfactory foundation. Now, however, we *can* build it up, with some approach to accuracy, *i.e.*, within a choice-limit reduced to no more than 4 years, if always that. In the absence of data on which to work, this is unavoidable. Let us hope, however, that in this respect future archæological research, aided by good luck and generous Government subsidies, will supply our deficiencies.

For 24 Epiphi, True Time, the corresponding Progressive Time was 7 Mesorē.

The next reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 29 Thoth, Official Time, in the 2nd regnal year of Meren-Ptāh of the same 19th Dynasty, Rāmēsēs II's immediate successor, and the repulser of the first great Sea-and-Land Raid, brought against the western *rūd* of the Delta by the Libyans.

He acceded in A.M. $2802\frac{134}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1201\frac{346}{480}$, and reigned 20 years till A.M. $2821\frac{274}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1182\frac{206}{480}$. His second year was therefore A.M. $2803\frac{141}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1200\frac{338}{480}$.

Let us see how this case works out. 1 month 28 days behind 29 Thoth, Official = 1 Mesorē, True Time = 30 Epiphi, Progressive Time. In the Annual Rising-Dates List 1 Mesorē, True, appears spheroidally as 1343_{120}^{37}. Adding 1461 for the preceding Cycle, we get A.M. $2804\frac{148}{480}$ as the last year of the following quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$2801\frac{127}{480}$		$1202\frac{353}{480}$
$2802\frac{134}{480}$		$1201\frac{346}{480}$
$2803\frac{141}{480}$	=	$1200\frac{339}{480}$
$2804\frac{148}{480}$		$1199\frac{332}{480}$

The year we want—A.M. $2803\frac{141}{480}$ —appears as the 3rd in this quartette.

The last reported Sōthic Feast is one said to have been held on 1 Tybi, Official Time (at least I presume that it is Official), in the 11th regnal year of Thakalath II of the 22nd Dynasty. 1 month 28 days behind this date = 3 Athyr, True Time. In the List of Annual Rising-Dates that appears spheroidally as 255_{120}^{81}. We are now, however, another Cycle on. On this occasion, therefore, we have to add 2922 for 2 preceding Cycles of 1461 Years each. This gives us A.M. $3177\frac{324}{480}$ as the last year of the following quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$3174\frac{303}{480}$		$829\frac{177}{480}$
$3175\frac{310}{480}$		$828\frac{170}{480}$
$3176\frac{317}{480}$	=	$827\frac{163}{480}$
$3177\frac{324}{480}$		$826\frac{156}{480}$

Is this supported by the Cycle as we have been writing it down? It is. The last item noticed was—

			A.M.
1	Epiphi	..	.. $2682\frac{268}{480}$
2–30	„	..	.. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}117\frac{332}{480}\\2800\frac{120}{480}\end{array}\right.$
1–30	Mesorē	..	.. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}121\frac{360}{480}\\2922\end{array}\right.$
1–30	Thoth	..	.. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}121\frac{360}{480}\\3043\frac{360}{480}\end{array}\right.$
1–30	Paophi	..	.. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}121\frac{360}{480}\\3165\frac{240}{480}\end{array}\right.$
1–3	Athyr	..	.. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}12\frac{84}{480}\\3177\frac{324}{480}\end{array}\right.$

In this case the corresponding Progressive Time was 28 Pharmūthi.

Professor Breasted speaks of a Rising that occurred in the reign of Aahmēs I (See *Ancient Records*, Vol. II, p. 709): but, as no details are given, no calculations or deductions can be made from it.

Thus, right up to the end, in every case that I set out to deal with, I have made good my claim; my figures trooping up precisely as and when they are wanted, and falling easily and naturally into their proper places with meticulous exactitude.

There is, however, one more matter that it seems desirable to allude to. In *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, at p. 31, Mr. R. S. Poole states as follows:—

"Rāmēsēs III, the fourth legitimate successor of Rāmēsēs II, records, in a calendar of festivals inscribed on the great temple erected by him in western Thebes (the Rameseum of Medeenet-Haboo), that in his reign 'the Manifestation of Sōthis' took place on the first day of Thoth, the first month; although, from the interval between the reigns of Rāmēsēs II and Rāmēsēs III, it is obvious that Sōthis could not have risen visibly before the sun on the first day of Thoth in the reign of the latter king; yet I have no doubt that the Calendar of Medeenet-Haboo is one of a Vague Year; and it appears that the Panegyry of 'the Manifestation of Sōthis' (the rising one hour before the sun) continued to be celebrated on the first day of Thoth as long as the phenomenon occurred in the course of that month; this, for the space of 120 Julian years."

I doubt very much whether it was Rāmēsēs III who recorded this. I also demur to the terms of the record itself, as explained by Poole. If, by "first day of Thoth" is meant 1 Thoth on the Fixed Clock or Spheroid, this could not possibly have happened till Progressive 1 Thoth (the calendrical indicator), in the course of its cyclical tour, had reached the day after the Autumnal Equinox at 0, *i.e.*, spheroidal point A.M. 2922 = Conv. B.C. 1082.

This excludes all idea of the age of Rāmēsēs II or that of Rāmēsēs III. Rāmēsēs II's regnal period was A.M. $2734\frac{145}{480}$—$2802\frac{134}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1269\frac{335}{480}$—$1201\frac{346}{480}$. And Rāmēsēs III's regnal period was approximately A.M. 2846—2877 = Conv. B.C. 1158—1127. On our present data it is impossible to provide him with another 45 years of life.

In short, A.M. 2922 was the age of Rāmēsēs XI. It must therefore have been in *his* reign or in that of Rāmēsēs XII—in the year Conv. B.C. 1082—that "'the Manifestation of Sōthis' took place" as stated in the inscription above referred to.

Between Rāmēsēs II and Rāmēsēs III there was a stretch of some 46 years. To say that the 'Manifestation' could have been *celebrated on the same date* by both these Pharaohs is to suggest an impossibility. True, the 'Manifestation' occurs in the same month for a period of $121\frac{3}{4}$ years (representing Poole's inaccurate 120 Julian years): but it does not occur *on the same day of the month* all that time! It occurs on the same day of the month successively *for only 4 ordinary years* (representing the spheroidal division $4\frac{7}{120}$), but then it passes on to the next day of the month. Thus 46 years means about 12 such shifts. From Rāmēsēs II to A.M. 2922 there was a stretch of some 121 years. That meant about 33 such shifts.

From all the foregoing data and calculations we are now in a position to construct the following revised

Table of Reported Sōthic Feasts.

On the basis of each Annual Rising occurring 10 months after F. 1 Thoth at Spheroidal points $1218\frac{247}{480}$—$1221\frac{268}{480}$ = F. 1 Epiphi.

Official Time always 2 months (1 month 28 days for Feasts) ahead of Cyclical or True Spheroidal Time.

Progressive Time always the same remove *backwards* from F. 1 Epiphi as True Time is *forwards* from 0 (*Zero*), at the Autumnal Equinox.

A.M.	Progressive Clock Time.	Official or Reported Time of Feasts.	Cyclic or True Time of Risings.
$1771\frac{222}{480}$ Senwosri III. 7th yr.	14 Pharmūthi.	"15th day of 8th month." Really 15 Tybi.	17 Athyr.
$2476\frac{360}{480}$ Amenhotep I. 9th yr.	21 Paophi.	9 Epiphi.	11 Pakhons.
$2496\frac{427}{480}$ to $2499\frac{448}{480}$ Thothmēs I. 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th yr.	15 Paophi.	14 Epiphi.	16 Pakhons.
$2526\frac{150}{480}$ Thothmēs III. 3rd yr.	8 Paophi.	21 Epiphi.	23 Pakhons.
$2556\frac{360}{480}$ Thothmēs III. 33rd yr.	1 Paophi.	28 Epiphi.	30 Pakhons.
$2590\frac{111}{480}$ to $2593\frac{132}{480}$ Amenhotep II.	22 Thoth.	7 Mesorē.	9 Paoni.
$2618\frac{307}{480}$ to $2621\frac{328}{480}$ Amenhotep II.	15 Thoth.	14 Mesorē.	16 Paoni.
$2647\frac{23}{480}$ to $2650\frac{44}{480}$ Amenhotep III.	8 Thoth.	21 Mesorē.	23 Paoni.
$2679\frac{247}{480}$ to $2682\frac{268}{480}$ Tūt-Ankh-Amen.	1 Thoth.	28 (29?) Mesorē.	1 Epiphi.

A.M.	Progressive Clock Time.	Official or Reported Time of Feasts.	Cyclic or True Time of Risings.
$2711\frac{471}{480}$ to $2715\frac{12}{480}$ Hor-Em-Heb, or Rāmēsēs I, or Seti I.	22 Mesorē.	7 Thoth.	9 Epiphi.
$2740\frac{187}{480}$ to $2743\frac{208}{480}$ Rāmēsēs II.	15 Mesorē.	14 Thoth.	16 Epiphi.
$2775\frac{432}{480}$ Rāmēsēs II.	7 Mesorē.	22 Thoth.	24 Epiphi.
$2803\frac{141}{480}$ Meren-Ptāh. 2nd yr.	30 Epiphi.	29 Thoth.	1 Mesorē.
2922 Rāmē-ēs XI ?	F. 1 Thoth.	F. 1 Thoth.	F. 1 Thoth.
$3174\frac{3\bullet3}{480}$ to $3177\frac{324}{480}$ Thakalath II.	28 Pharmūthi.	1 Tybi.	3 Athyr.

We now sit entrenched along what I affirm is an Impregnable Line. Based on the Cycle of 1461 Years as above conceived, and relying on the afore-mentioned Heb List, and the foregoing Table of Reported Sōthic Feasts and Risings, and also on the afore-mentioned Table of Annual Rising-Dates, we get the following broad results. For the present they are merely a summary.

1st Dynasty.

R. S. Poole imagined that Amenemhat II of the 12th Dynasty flourished about Conventional B.C. 2005 (= A.M. 1999), at which time, he says, there was a Coincidence between the Vague Year and the First Tropical Year. But, as a matter of fact, Amenemhat II's regnal period was A.M. $1712\frac{226}{480}$—$1747\frac{54}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2291\frac{184}{480}$—$2256\frac{426}{480}$; and A.M. 1999 was really an early

stage of the long-drawn-out Hyksōs Domination in Khem, when, all over the country, there were numerous Romic dynasts, vassals of the Hyksōs—all struggling against them and with each other, especially against one of themselves, the House of Thebes, who were ever supported by their staunch friends of El Kab.

From the premisses he adopts, Poole argues that Conv. B.C. 2717 was the Era of the Commencement of the Egyptian (Romic?) race, and that of Mēnēs (*Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 62 *et seq.*).

Taking the 1461-Years Cycle as beginning at A.M. 0 (*Zero*), this conclusion of Poole's means that what I call the Commencement of the 1st G. P. Y. of the 2nd Cycle was the Commencement of the Era of Mēnēs. Also that what I call the Commencement of the 2nd G. P. Y. of the 2nd Cycle was the Commencement of the Era of Khūfū.

This I beg to deny. I affirm that the Commencement of the 4th G. P. Y. of the 1st Cycle was the true Commencement of the Era of Mēnēs: and I further say that the Commencement of the 1st G. P. Y. of the 2nd Cycle was the true Commencement of the Era of Khūfū.

Hence we get—

Era of Mēnēs: A.M. $1095\frac{360}{480} + 1\frac{7}{480}$ = First Year A.M. $1096\frac{367}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2907\frac{113}{480}$.

Later on occurred the first happening of the rare event known as the Real Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis, or Sirius (Dog-Star),—rare because it occurs only once in every Cycle of 1461 Years. Of course it had happened countless times before: but it is *called* the "first happening" because Mēnēs instituted the Cyclic Calendar, beginning arbitrarily with A.M. 0.

The particulars of this "first happening" are—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$1218\frac{247}{480}$		$2785\frac{233}{480}$
$1219\frac{254}{480}$		$2784\frac{226}{480}$
$1220\frac{261}{480}$	=	$2783\frac{219}{480}$
$1221\frac{268}{480}$		$2782\frac{212}{480}$

In the days of Pepi I of the 6th Dynasty (say A.M. $1728\frac{415}{480}$ —$1749\frac{75}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2275\frac{65}{480}$—$2254\frac{405}{480}$), the Era thus distinguished appears to have become known as the Era of Men-Nofer, subsequently Hellenised into Menophrēs.

4th Dynasty.

For the most part this period is wrapped in obscurity. Having arrived, however, at a decision regarding the Era of Khūfū, I venture to submit the following very rough construction, which is, however, practically "clinched" by Shepseskāf's Sed Heb.

Era of Khūfū: A.M. $1461 + 1\frac{7}{480}$ = First year A.M. $1462\frac{7}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2541\frac{473}{480}$.

Hence, adopting Breasted's list of names and length of reigns—

	Yrs.	A.M.	Conv. B.C.
Khūfū	.. 23	.. $\left\{\begin{matrix}1462\frac{7}{480} \\ \text{to} \\ 1484\frac{161}{480}\end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix}2541\frac{473}{480} \\ \text{to} \\ 2519\frac{319}{480}\end{matrix}\right\}$	
Dedefrē	.. 8	.. $\left\{\begin{matrix}1484\frac{161}{480} \\ \text{to} \\ 1491\frac{210}{480}\end{matrix}\right\} = \left\{\begin{matrix}2519\frac{319}{480} \\ \text{to} \\ 2512\frac{270}{480}\end{matrix}\right\}$	
Khafrē	.. x	?	?
Menkūrē	.. x	?	?
———	.. x	–(1658) ? =	–2346
——— ..	.. 18	(1658–1675) ? =	2346–2329
Shepseskāf	.. 4	(1675–1678) ? =	2329–2326

(He celebrated Sed Heb for A.M. $1674\frac{1}{16}$, and was therefore a contemporary of Senwosri I of the 12th Dynasty.)

	Yrs.	A.M.	Conv. B.C.
(Aimhotep) ?	.. 2	.. (1678–1680) =	2326–2324

Period:—A.M. $1462\frac{7}{480}$—1680 = Conv. B.C. $2541\frac{473}{480}$—2324 = $218\frac{473}{480}$ years. According to Breasted the known minimum of duration was 150 years.

Zodiacal Eras.

As the Tauric Era (so far as I can reckon) was Conv. B.C. 4557 —$2401\frac{1}{3}$ ($\frac{160}{480}$), the 1st Dynasty must have commenced $505\frac{273}{480}$ years before the close of that Era. So the 4th Dynasty must have commenced $140\frac{153}{480}$ years before the close of the Tauric Era, and overshot it by going into the first $77\frac{2}{3}$ years of the Ariēs Era.

I arrive at the Tauric Era thus—

The First Point of *Sign* Ariēs retrogresses through the entire 12 *Constellations* of the Zodiac in a period of 25,868 years, remaining in

each *Constellation* for $2155\frac{2}{3}$ years, and in each Degree of each *Constellation* for $71\frac{77}{90}$ years. It is now somewhere in the 30th Degree of *Const.* Aquarius, which it seems to have entered in *circ.* A.D. 1910, and which it will not leave till *circ.* A.D. $1981\frac{77}{90}$. It therefore moved through—

1st Deg. of *Const.*	Gemini	during Conv. B.C.	$4628\frac{77}{90}$ to 4557
,,	Taurus	,,	$2473\frac{77}{90}$ to $2401\frac{1}{3}$
,,	Ariēs	,,	$317\frac{77}{90}$ to $245\frac{2}{3}$

The above would permit of a great part of *Sign* Ariēs having coincided with *Const.* Ariēs in the lifetime of Hipparchus (B.C. 190—120), though just after Conv. B.C. $173\frac{77}{90}$ the First Point of *Sign* Ariēs would have been entering the 29th Deg. of *Const.* Piscēs.

The 3 Zodiacal Eras just mentioned would have been—

Gemini ..	Conv. B.C.	$6712\frac{2}{3}$ to 4557	= A.M.	(Before *Zero*	$2708\frac{2}{3}$ to 553)
Taurus ..	,,	4557 to $2401\frac{1}{3}$	= ,,	(Before *Zero*	553 to $1602\frac{2}{3}$)
Ariēs ..	,,	$2401\frac{1}{3}$ to $245\frac{2}{3}$	= ,,		$1602\frac{2}{3}$ to $3758\frac{1}{3}$

In *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy*, at p. 340, Proctor the astronomer states that the Great Pyramid was built at the time when the Pleiadēs were at their highest above the horizon at noon, *i.e.*, made their noon culmination, and when together they and the Sun (the latter in Taurus) opened the year with commencing spring. Alpha of the Dragon was then the Pole-Star, and was due north below the Pole, *i.e.*, was at its subpolar meridional passage, and thence shone directly through the long tunnel or corridor extending downwards aslant from the northern face of the pyramid. This epoch,

he says, was somewhere between B.C. 2200 and B.C. 2100—say B.C. 2170.

Now, the builder of the Great Pyramid is supposed to have been Khūfū of the 4th Dynasty, whose regnal period, according to my chronology, was A.M. $1462\frac{7}{480}$—$1484\frac{161}{480}$ = B.C. $2541\frac{473}{480}$—$2519\frac{313}{480}$.

Moreover, I make the Tauric Era roughly B.C. 4557—$2401\frac{1}{3}$. Possibly this is about $95\frac{2}{3}$ years too high—thus reducing the Era to say B.C. $4461\frac{1}{3}$—$2305\frac{2}{3}$.

B.C. $2305\frac{2}{3}$ would have been the period just before the time when the Sun was passing out of Taurus into the 30th degree of Ariēs. Hence, Proctor's B.C. 2170 was seemingly not in Taurus at all, but in Ariēs, say somewhere in its 29th degree, and nearing its 28th degree. This, of course, is calculating on the basis of the Autumnal Equinox being at its conventionally recognised point.

But, when Jesus Christ was born, the Equinox was *not* at that point. Owing to Precession it had come down lower. It is now (A.D. 1919) somewhere in the 30th degree of Aquarius, which it entered at about say A.D. 1910. Therefore it entered 30th degree of Piscēs from Ariēs about say B.C. $245\frac{2}{3}$. Hence, when Christ was born the Autumnal Equinox was really somewhere about the 27th degree of Piscēs.

Therefore, to get a True B.C. date for the Pleiadic Epoch, we must subtract $245\frac{2}{3}$ from the above B.C. $2305\frac{2}{3}$. That gives us B.C. 2060, *i.e.*, about 110 years short of Proctor's B.C. 2170.

If, on the other hand, we retain my above figure, B.C. $2401\frac{1}{3}$, as fairly correct, and from that subtract this $245\frac{2}{3}$, we get B.C. $2155\frac{2}{3}$—which is only short of Proctor's epoch by $14\frac{1}{3}$ years; and as we are dealing, not with exact estimates, but only with approximate periods, this slight difference is really negligible.

Now, if these considerations be sound, what are we to deduce from them? Do they not seem to suggest that some later king than Khūfū was the builder of the Great Pyramid? B. C. 2170 = A. M. 1834, really indicates the period of Pepi II (Phiops—Cp. Cheops) of the 6th Dynasty. It is noteworthy that Amenemhat III of the 12th Dynasty (another builder) was for some time his contemporary.

The same apparent interchangeability or confusion between *P* and *Ch* is met with in *Pelethites* and *Chelethites*, or *Cherethites*, in

connection with the original name of the Philistines. The old Romic "Shutter" sign for *P* was very like the oldest Phœnician, Greek and Latin signs for *Kh*. This may explain the muddle.

5th Dynasty.

Another nebulous age. We know, however, that an Official named Sabū, or Ibebi, flourished not only in the reign of Unis, the last king of the 5th Dynasty, but also in that of Teti, first king of the 6th Dynasty (*Anc. Rec.*, Vol. I, p. 131). Moreover, according to Breasted, the 5th Dynasty endured about 125 years (*Ib.*, p. 40). Now, by my calculations Teti's regnal period was A.M. $1694\frac{177}{480}$—$1723\frac{380}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2309\frac{303}{480}$—$2280\frac{100}{480}$. If that figuring be right, the period of the 5th Dynasty was approximately A.M. $1568\frac{267}{480}$—$1694\frac{177}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2435\frac{213}{480}$—$2309\frac{303}{480}$ = over 3 centuries later than the age roughly reckoned out for it by Breasted: or say about the time of Gūdea of Lagash and his successors. The middle of this 5th Dynasty period would have been *circ.* A.M. 1633 = Conv. B.C. 2371.

In his *Hist. of Egypt*, opp. p. 46, Breasted gives a reproduction of the Palermo Stone, showing annals of the earliest kings from pre-dynastic times to this middle of the 5th Dynasty, "when the copy was made." And at p. 46 (see also p. 14) he speaks of "the more than four hundred years during which the first two dynasties ruled." Breasted gives B.C. 3400 as the date of the accession of Mēnēs and Beginning of the Dynasties—approximate, of course. My date, however, for that is Conv. B.C. $2907\frac{113}{480}$. Further, we have just seen that the 5th Dynasty began about Conv. B.C. 2436. If, therefore, the 4th Dynasty lasted some 219 years, and the 3rd Dynasty (as Breasted says) 80 years—together 299 years—there remain, according to my reckoning, only about 173 years for the duration of the first two Dynasties, *i.e.*, assuming that Dynasties III and IV followed Dynasties I and II like caterpillars on the march! Probably, however, they did not. Indeed, R. S. Poole says outright that Dynasties I and II were for the most part contemporary with Dynasties III and IV (*Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, pp. 82, 103, 108).

Owing to the *liaisons* between Dynasties I and II and Dynasties III, IV, V, and VI, we cannot possibly put back the Calendar by another full Cycle of 1461 years, as some people seem to suggest.

6th Dynasty.

Much turns on a correct interpretation of the data that we possess regarding this important period.

In *The Secret of Egyptian Chronology*, in connection with the story of Ūna, or Ūni, and his exploits at Hatnūb for his royal master Merenrā I, at pp. 76 *et seq.*, I have explained how I first arrived at the conclusion that Merenrā I's accession-date fell at A.M. $1747\frac{17}{18}$ (I was then working on the basis of a year of 365 days), and Pepi II's period at A.M. $1751\frac{17}{18}$—$1841\frac{17}{18}$ + x. I now propose to show how the problems of the period can be solved and even better elucidated by working straightaway on the basis of a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. Also, a few little difficulties which I had not then surmounted will now be cleared up.

Pepi II is reported to have lived at least 100 years, during most of which he was on the throne: and Breasted remarks that there is no reason to disbelieve the tradition. It need not therefore surprise us when we discover that he must have celebrated no fewer than 3 Hebs, or Festivals, of which we shall find that 2 were Seds ($30\frac{7}{16}$ years) and one was a Hunti ($121\frac{3}{4}$ years).

We are told by Manētho that Pepi II (whom he calls Phiops) began to reign when he was 6 years old; and R. S. Poole states that he celebrated many "Royal Panegyries, or Jubilees": though his ideas regarding these "Jubilees," like those of most Egyptologists, were rather woolly and distorted (*Horæ Ægyptiacæ*, p. 135).

All this fits in well with my chronology and adjustments: for the Hebs that Pepi II celebrated were obviously—

Sed Heb	for A.M.	$1765\frac{6}{16}$
Sed Heb	„ „	$1795\frac{3}{16}$
Hunti Heb	„ „	$1826\frac{4}{16}$

Of course they appeared differently in my earlier calculations, made on a different basis.

As regards the first of these Hebs, Professor Petrie mistakenly ascribes it to Pepi I. Moreover, it is said to have occurred in Pepi I's 18th year. In fact it was in the 18th year of Pepi II: but the 18th year of his *life*, not of his *reign*! So with respect to the others also.

The way I work things out is as follows: Assuming that Pepi II celebrated the Sed Heb for A.M. $1765\frac{6}{16}$ in the 18th year of his

life, he must have been born in A.M. $1748\frac{6}{16}$. On calculations which need not be set out here, the exact date was A.M. $1748\frac{68}{480}$. Then, as he was 6 years of age when he acceded, his accession must have been in A.M. $1753\frac{68}{480}$, *i.e.*, on a spheroidal-year basis, A.M. $1753\frac{103}{480}$.

Next we learn that another Sed Heb was celebrated by Pepi II "at the time of the 25th Numbering." It seems that a kind of stock-taking of the royal possessions throughout the land was made periodically by the Treasury Officials. These fiscal measures were known as "Numberings," and, as Breasted informs us, they served as a partial basis for chronological reckoning. In those early days they were made every two years, though eventually they became annual.

The Sed here referred to must have been that for A.M. $1795\frac{3}{16}$. If, so far as Pepi II's records are concerned, the first of such 2-yearly "Numberings" took place in the year of his birth, A.M. $1748\frac{68}{480}$, the 24th would have fallen in A.M. $1794\frac{320}{480}$. The next year was A.M. $1795\frac{397}{480}$ (the year of Sed Heb A.M. $1795\frac{3}{16}$) and the "25th Numbering" would have been due in the following year, A.M. $1796\frac{474}{480}$, which would have been Pepi II's 49th year. This, therefore, seems quite near enough to warrant the conclusion that we have hit upon the right chronology. It must be remembered that we are not told that the 2nd Sed Heb was in the same year exactly as "the 25th Numbering."

The next Heb noticed—Hunti or Quadruple for A.M. $1826\frac{4}{16}$—must have been celebrated by Pepi II in his 78th year, A.M. $1826\frac{227}{480}$, on a spheroidal-year basis, but A.M. $1825\frac{68}{480}$ if taken in ordinary years. I therefore construct the Dynasty thus—

	Yrs.	A.M.	
Teti	30	$1694\frac{177}{480}$–$1723\frac{380}{480}$	
Aty	6	$1723\frac{380}{480}$–$1728\frac{415}{480}$	
Pepi I	21	$1728\frac{415}{480}$–$1749\frac{75}{480}$	
Merenrā I	5	$1749\frac{75}{480}$–$1753\frac{103}{480}$	
Pepi II	90 + x	$1753\frac{103}{480}$–$1843\frac{246}{480}$	+x
Merenrā II	1	?	
Men-kā-rā		?	
Neter-kā-rā (Nitōkris) ..	12	1870 –1883 ?	

Period:—A.M. $1694\frac{177}{480}$—1883 = Conv. B.C. $2309\frac{303}{480}$—2121 = about 189 years. Breasted gives 150 years as the known minimum.

From the foregoing adjustments I deduce roughly the probable period of the 5th Dynasty, *supra*.

Lastly, note that in the reign of Pepi I it began to be customary to call the Era distinguished by the happening of the First Real Hēliacal Rising of Sōthis (A.M. $1218\frac{247}{480}$—$1221\frac{248}{480}$) the Era of Men-Nofer—afterwards corrupted by the Greeks into Menophrēs.

The 11th Dynasty.

We can only attempt the re-construction of this Dynasty approximately and with gaps, thus—

	Yrs.	*Cir.* Conv. B.C.
Intef I	50 + x	$2514\frac{284}{480}$–$2464\frac{421}{480}$
Intef II	?	
Mentūhotep I ..	?	
Mentūhotep II ..	?	
Mentūhotep III ..	2 + x	$2408\frac{29}{480}$?
Mentūhotep IV ..	46 + x	$2408\frac{29}{480}$–$2352\frac{194}{480}$
Mentūhotep V ..	8 + x	$2352\frac{194}{480}$–$2345\frac{145}{480}$

Period:—*Cir.* A.M. $1489\frac{196}{480}$—$1658\frac{335}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2514\frac{284}{480}$—$2345\frac{145}{480}$. According to Breasted at least 160 years. It thus commenced $204\frac{426}{480}$ years before the 6th Dynasty!

Note.—Mentūhotep III, whose Vizier was named Amenemhat, must have flourished at least some 54 years before Conv. B.C. $2353\frac{131}{480}$ (commencement of 12th Dynasty), which takes us back to Conv. B.C. $2408\frac{29}{480}$.

Sign Ariēs (Ram) was passing out of *Constellation* Taurus (Bull) into *Constellation* Ariēs just after Conv. B.C. $2401\frac{1}{3}$, *i.e.*, over a generation (say $47\frac{29}{480}$ years) before the accession of Sehetep-ab-rā as Amenemhat I of the 12th Dynasty. Hence, the Vizier's name, as the first known name compounded with Ammon, Amon, or Amen, the Zodiacal Ram, was some 8 years earlier than the epoch of change from the Taurus Era into the Ariēs Era—later on officially recognised by Amenemhat I of the 12th Dynasty.

Breasted states that in after centuries Mentūhotep IV was regarded as the great founder and establisher of Theban supremacy.

The 12th Dynasty.

(See particulars and remarks, *supra.*)

Hyksōs Domination.

Between the fall of the 12th Dynasty about A.M. $1861\frac{365}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2142\frac{115}{480}$ and the founding of the renowned 18th Dynasty by Aahmēs I, *circ.* A.M. $2444\frac{70}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1559\frac{410}{480}$, there is a stretch of $582\frac{105}{480}$ years—a conclusion probably not unwelcome to some schools of Egyptology.

It seems that in A.M. 1999 (= Conv. B.C. 2005), the 1st day of theRomic Vague Year and the 1st day of the first Romic Tropical Year fell together, at what astronomers say was our 7th January. Ordinarily the Tropical Year began at 1 Khoiak, the day after the Winter Solstice = our 22 December. 7th January would ordinarily = 17 Khoiak. Be this as it may, R. S. Poole (mistakenly, as I submit) represents the year Conv. B.C. 2005 as having been the time of Amenemhat II of the 12th Dynasty. It was not. It was an early stage, comparatively, of the Hyksōs Domination in Khem. Throughout the land there were then many vassal Romic dynasts (inclusive of the House of Thebes and their friends of El Kab), all struggling against their overlords and with each other, and especially jealous of Thebes.

In this connection mention must be made of a stēlē of Rāmēsēs II, dated in the 400th year of "the King of Upper and Lower Khem, Set-Aa-Pehti, son of the Sun (*i.e.*, *ab-Rā*), Nūbti Set, Beloved of Horākhti" (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 244; Vol. III, p. 74; *Revue Archéologique*, XI, pl., IV, trans. in *Records of the Past*, IV, 33). Rāmēsēs II claimed descent from this Set-Aa-Pehti, and, if I remember aright, his vizier Seti is depicted rendering him worship. Rāmēsēs II's regnal period is about A.M. $2734\frac{145}{480}$—$2802\frac{134}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1269\frac{335}{480}$—$1201\frac{346}{480}$. 400 years before this was A.M. $2334\frac{145}{480}$—$2402\frac{134}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1670\frac{335}{480}$—$1601\frac{346}{480}$. This means from about 336 to 404 years after Conv. B.C. 2005, and from about 111 to 42 years before the founding of the 18th Dynasty by the expulsion of the Hyksōs.

Some writers have thought that Set-Aa-Pehti was a Hyksōs king. That is not my view at all. I suggest he was one of the above-mentioned vassal Romic dynasts—that is, one of them who had particularly distinguished himself, and even become heroic in the eyes of his countrymen. Very probably he was a Theban.

The name Set (Sūtekh), though it was Hyksōs, does not necessarily imply a Hyksōs lineage. In those days the Romic vassal dynasts alluded to might easily have borne such a name. Moreover, Rāmēsēs II is much more likely to have had an ancestor in one of them than in a Hyksōs king.

Who the Hyksōs really were, is still an unanswered question. They were undoubtedly of the stock represented by the subsequent Kings of Kadēsh-on-Orontēs. These must have been principally Amoritic, and therefore Rhodo-Leukochroic: but very likely there were strong strains in them of Mitannian (*i.e.*, Rhodo-Tūrānian) and Hittite blood. Also it must be remembered that for several centuries the *'Abr*-Aamū, *'Ibr*-Aamū, Abramū, or Abramites of Hebron (the real and *only* Hebrews), and the Amorites of the same district, had been confederates (*Genesis* xiv 13). Probably, indeed, we see in them the genuine *Khabiri*—quite different, both etymologically and ethnically, from the *Abiri*. It is by no means impossible that they were the hated rulers of Khem (or were represented amongst those rulers) in the long period of the so-called Hyksōs Domination.

The 18th Dynasty.

The 12th Dynasty started its career in A.M. $1650\frac{349}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2353\frac{131}{480}$, *i.e.*, about $47\frac{29}{480}$ years after the close of the Tauric Era. It came to an end about A.M. $1861\frac{365}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $2142\frac{115}{480}$. It was thus very long anterior to the days of the famous Set-Aa-Pehti, whoever he may have been. The House of Thebes was a development out of the dissolved elements of the old Dynasty. It was out of this House of Thebes that the genius arose who was destined eventually to expel the Hyksōs intruders from Khem, and to restore the Romiū to their "place in the Sun" as an independent nation. This was Aahmēs I, son probably of Kemēs, and first king and founder of

the renowned 18th Dynasty, which I now venture to re-construct as follows—

Ahmēs I .. { 25 yrs. .. A.M. $2444\frac{70}{480}$–$2468\frac{238}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1559\frac{410}{480}$–$1535\frac{242}{480}$.

Amenhotep I .. { 21 yrs. .. A.M. $2468\frac{238}{480}$–$2488\frac{371}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1535\frac{242}{480}$–$1515\frac{109}{480}$.

Thothmēs I .. { 21 yrs. .. A.M. $2488\frac{371}{480}$–$2509\frac{31}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1515\frac{109}{480}$–$1494\frac{449}{480}$. (See *Note* regarding his death, *infra.*)

Thothmēs II .. { 16 yrs. .. A.M. $2509\frac{31}{480}$–$2524\frac{136}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1494\frac{449}{480}$–$1479\frac{344}{480}$.

(Hatshepsūt .. 22 yrs. .. A.M. $2511\frac{45}{480}$–$2532\frac{192}{480}$.)

Thothmēs III (Manakhbiria = *Mēn-Kheper-Rā*). .. 53 yrs., 10 months, 26 days. A.M. **2524** $\frac{136}{480}$–**2578**$\frac{27}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. **1479** $\frac{344}{480}$–**1425**$\frac{453}{480}$. Acceded 4 Pakhons, Official Time = our 24 May: = 4 Phamenoth True Time = our 25 March. Queen Hatshepsūt died in her 22nd = Thothmēs III's 9th, regnal year = A.M. $2532\frac{192}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. **1571** $\frac{288}{480}$. Thothmēs III himself died 30 Phamenoth, Official Time = 30 Tybi, True Time = Our 19 February. He was the great military genius who smashed the Hyksōs and founded Khem's Northern Empire in Khūrū, Zāhi, and Nāhārin. Also really the "Yāhveh" who gave Khārū to the half-Romic "People of Mes-Rā," "People of the Abir, or Zodiacal Bull," Children of I-Sarah-El, or Josephites, as Romic Colonists, by way of inheritance for ever, but on conditions. No "Judah" in existence, or even heard of, then.

Amenhotep II .. { 46 yrs. .. A.M. $2578\frac{27}{480}$–$2623\frac{342}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1425\frac{453}{480}$–$1380\frac{138}{480}$.

Thothmēs IV ..	10 yrs. .. A.M. $2623\frac{342}{480}$–$2632\frac{405}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1380\frac{138}{480}$–$1371\frac{75}{480}$.	
Amenhotep III (Nimmurīya=*Neb-mā-Rā*)	31 yrs. .. A.M. $2632\frac{405}{480}$–$2663\frac{135}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1371\frac{75}{480}$–$1340\frac{345}{480}$.	
Amenhotep IV (*Nefer-Kheper-Rā.*)	17 yrs. .. A.M. $2663\frac{135}{480}$–$2679\frac{247}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1340\frac{345}{480}$–$1324\frac{233}{480}$.	He was Akh-En-Aten. Also known in the North as Naphkhūria.
Rā-Smenkh-Kā ..	2 yrs. .. A.M. $2679\frac{247}{480}$–$2680\frac{254}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1324\frac{233}{480}$–$1323\frac{226}{480}$.	
Tūt-Ankh-Amen ..	11 yrs. .. A.M. $2680\frac{254}{480}$–$2690\frac{324}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1323\frac{226}{480}$–$1313\frac{156}{480}$.	
Āy	13 yrs. .. A.M. $2690\frac{324}{480}$–$2702\frac{408}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1313\frac{156}{480}$–$1301\frac{72}{480}$.	
Hōr-Em-Heb ..	11 yrs. .. A.M. $2702\frac{408}{480}$–$2712\frac{478}{480}$ =	
	Conv. B.C. $1301\frac{72}{480}$–$1291\frac{2}{480}$.	

Note.—It is the death of Thothmēs I that is referred to in the following passage—

> "And it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died" (*Exodus* ii, 23).

In the Authorised Version, instead of "in the course of those many days," we find "in process of time." These renderings, and other expressions of a like vague nature, are Translators' mistakes, appearing throughout the Bible (both Testaments), for the intercalary period at the end of the Hebrew Calendar (which the Translators evidently did not understand), when the Ancient Hebrew Solar Cycle of 15 Lunar Years, every 3rd year, after what would be our 19—20 September, added an extra month of 34 days—called *Vē Adar*—to harmonise Lunar with Solar or Natural Time. It must be remembered that *Exodus* was composed in "Jewry."

We have just seen that Thothmēs I died in A.M. $2509\frac{31}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1494\frac{449}{480}$, *i.e.*, in A.M. 2510. By the Romic Calendar the date was 21 Epiphi, Official Time. True Time for it was 21 Pakhons = our 10 June. Progressive Clock Time (*i.e.*, the kind that was similar to Official Time, but that reckoned from the Autumnal Equinox at 0) was 10 Paophi = our 1 November.

On the Ancient Hebrew Solar Cycle (which is what Ezra was thinking of when he penned the passage above quoted) A.M. 2510 was what was called in "Jewry" a "3rd year." Accordingly, after what would be our 19—20 September, *Vē Adar* had to be intercalated. Ezra, therefore (or whoever that name stands for), clearly wished us to understand that Thothmēs I died towards the end of this *Vē Adar*.

Hence, from the above obscure little passage in Scripture, hitherto regarded as quite unimportant, we get, when thus interpreted and analysed, the following interesting conclusions—

1. The so-called "Pharaoh of the Oppression"—that "new king over Egypt (Khem) which knew not Joseph," who is said to have arisen (*Exod.* i, 8)—must have been Thothmēs I.
2. The so-called "Pharaoh of the Exodus" must have been Thothmēs II.
3. The date of the Exodus (whatever that was in fact—I say it was merely the departure for Khārū under Official Romic auspices, of the half-Romic Meṣrāyim, or Josephite Colonists) was A.M. 2513 = Conv. B.C. 1491. By Hebrew reckoning it occurred on the 15th day of the 7th sacred month = Nisān, or Abīb = our April = Romic Phamenoth, True Time = Pakhons, Official Time = Khoiak, Progressive Time. No such people as those afterwards called *Judah*, and still later called *Jews*, ever took part in the Exodus, or had ever been "oppressed" in Khem. Indeed, they never dwelt there at all, and did not even exist then.

The 19th Dynasty.

This I re-construct as follows—

Rāmēsēs I .. 2 yrs. .. A.M. $2712\frac{478}{480}$–$2714\frac{5}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1291\frac{2}{480}$–$1289\frac{475}{480}$.

Seti I .. 21 yrs. .. A.M. $2714\frac{5}{480}$–$2734\frac{145}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1289\frac{475}{480}$–$1269\frac{335}{480}$.

Rāmēsēs II .. 68 yrs. .. A.M. $2734\frac{145}{480}$–$2802\frac{134}{480}$=Conv. B.C. $1269\frac{335}{480}$–$1201\frac{346}{480}$. To this reign belongs the Stēlē of 400 years, *i.e.*, dated in the 400th year of Set-Aa-Pehti. The Hebs that actually fell due in this

Rāmēsēs II.—*contd.*

reign were Sed Hebs for A.M. $2739\frac{6}{16}$ and A.M. $2769\frac{13}{16}$, and Hunti (Quadruple) Heb for A.M. $2800\frac{4}{16}$. The first would have been celebrated in Rāmēsēs II's 6th regnal year, A.M. $2739\frac{180}{480}$; the second in his 36th year, A.M. $2769\frac{360}{480}$; and the third in his 66th year, A.M. $2800\frac{120}{480}$. Anything else must have been some special harmonisation of the calendar, or else what are called Royal Hebs, or else Sōthic-Rising Feasts for A.M. $2740\frac{187}{480}$–$2743\frac{208}{480}$, celebrated on 16th Epiphi, True Time, in his 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th regnal year, and A.M. $2775\frac{432}{480}$, celebrated on 24th Epiphi, True Time, in his 42nd year.

In *Horæ Ægyptiacæ* at p. 73, R. S. Poole speaks of some inscriptions belonging to Rāmēsēs II's reign sculptured at Jebel-es-Silsileh in Upper Khem to the following effect—

Year 30, 1st
34, 2nd
37, 3rd
40, 4th
} of the Royal Hebs.

Poole calls them "Royal Panegyries." It will be noticed that they are at intervals of 3 years.

Year 30, by my chronology, would have been A.M. $2763\frac{348}{480}$; year 34 = A.M. $2767\frac{376}{480}$; year 37 = A.M. $2770\frac{397}{480}$ and year 40 = A.M. $2773\frac{418}{480}$.

These apparently were personal to Rāmēsēs II, and in that sense may be put down to "vanity," as some charge. All the other Hebs were as above stated.

Meren-Ptāh .. .. 20 yrs. .. A.M. $2802\frac{134}{480}$–$2821\frac{274}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1201\frac{346}{480}$–$1182\frac{206}{480}$.

In his 3rd regnal year, A.M. $2804\frac{148}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1199\frac{232}{480}$, he "desolated" Asr-A-Al = probably *Jezreel* near Etam, in the Hebro-Amorite country in Southern Khārū, and therefore *no* "Israel."

In his 5th regnal year, A.M. $2806\frac{162}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1197\frac{318}{480}$, he repelled the big Libyan attack on the western *rūd* of the Delta.

Meren-Ptāh is generally (but wrongly) regarded as the "Pharaoh of the Exodus"—an event which had happened in A.M. 2513 = Conv. B.C. 1491 = 290 years before his accession!

Seti II .. .. 13 yrs... A.M. $2821\frac{274}{480}$–$2833\frac{358}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1182\frac{206}{480}$–$1170\frac{122}{480}$.

Amen-mēs-ēs .. 1 yr... A.M. $2833\frac{358}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1170\frac{122}{480}$.

Tewosret .. .. 4 yrs... A. M. $2833\frac{358}{480}$ – $2836\frac{379}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1170\frac{122}{480}$–$1167\frac{101}{480}$.

Sa-Ptāh .. .. 6 yrs. .. A.M. $2836\frac{379}{480}$–$2841\frac{414}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1167\frac{101}{480}$–$1162\frac{66}{480}$.

Anarchy and reign of a Syrian, say } 5 yrs. .. A.M. $2841\frac{414}{480}$–$2845\frac{442}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $1162\frac{66}{480}$–$1158\frac{38}{480}$.

Note.—This uncertain close of the 19th Dynasty—to which Set-Nekht may really have belonged—and the absence of any data regarding Sōthic-Rising Feasts in the 20th Dynasty, save for one apparently in A.M. 2922 = Conv. B.C. 1082, which would indicate Rāmēsēs XI's or Rāmēsēs XII's reign—render it impossible to arrive at more than an approximation to the period of Rāmēsēs III, in whose time the Great Sea-Raids took place. However, we can obtain a very workable idea of it—probably quite near to the exact time.

The 20th Dynasty.

(In ordinary years.)

(Set-Nekht, say .. 1 yr. .. A.M. $2845\frac{442}{480}$–2846 = Conv. B.C. $1158\frac{38}{480}$–1158).

Rāmēsēs III .. 32 yrs. .. A.M. 2846–2877 = Conv. B.C. 1158–1127. The Great Sea-Raids Period would then pan out approximately thus—

5th yr. .. A.M. 2850 = Conv. B.C. 1154. Big invasion of Western Delta by Libyans under Didi and other chiefs.

8th yr. .. A.M. 2853 = Conv. B.C. 1151. Biggest invasion of all. Led by the Pūlā-Sathū, Pūrā-Satiū, or Philistines (old Keftiū of Kilikia). Hittite Empire in Nāharīn ("Rivers-Land") broken up. Amorites expelled from Yādai ("Country of Yāh"). Land and Sea Victory by Rāmēsēs III. In those days the Airyavō-Danghavō ("People of Airyān") were settled in Airyavō-Vaēja ("Airyānian Homeland"). The Āryas (same Rhodo-Leukochroic, *i.e.*, Rosy-Blond stock) were settled in Zarah-Lake Land (Sēistān). Rāmēsēs III's Victory in the "Rivers-Land" drove bodies of the Pūrā-Satiū, Amorites of Yādai, Hittites, etc., from the "Rivers-Land" eastward. Alarm of Āryas, who migrate to the Indus Valley, not then so-called. Pūrā-Satiū, Yādai Amorites, Hittites, etc., arrive in regions forsaken by Āryas, bringing with them memories of the "Rivers-Land" in the West, *i.e.* Nāharīn. Whence Hapta-Hendū, on seeing the country they had arrived in. They then follow the Āryas into the

further East, appearing in history as the "Five Races" or *Pāñcha-Manūsya-Jātani*—Pūrūs or Pūrāvās, Yādūs or Yādavās, Tūrvasas ("Clothed like the Tūr"), Anūs, and Drūhyūs. Dahyūs (or Central Asian Tokhs, *i.e.*, Kassi) also went with them, and in Sapta Sindhavaḥ (transplanted Hapta Hendū) became known as the *Dasyūs*. These 5 Races and the Dasyūs mixed freely with the black aboriginal Niṣādas. The Āryas did not. The 5 Races and all the mixed multitude then seceded from the Āryas, moved east, founded Madyā-dēsa, and instituted Caste and Brāhmanism. The Āryas remained in the Punjāb and were regarded by the Madhyā-dēsans as *Bāhlikas* or *Vāhikas* = "Excluded." They were pure blonds (*Svityam, Sūkla*). The Caste (*Varna*) peoples were dark or otherwise coloured (*Śvāva, Kṛṣṇa, Dhūmra*). These Caste peoples eventually assumed the name Āryas, though not themselves of Āryan stock.

11th yr. .. A.M. 2856 = Conv. B.C. 1148. Another attack by the Libyans on the Western Delta. This time they had no northern allies, and the peril to Khem was not so great.

The remainder of the Dynasty I re-construct roughly thus—

		Yrs.	.. A.M.	Conv. B.C.
Rāmēsēs	IV ..	.. 6	.. 2877–2882	= 1127–1122
„	V ..	.. 4 + x	.. 2882–2885	= 1122–1119
„	VI ..	.. ..	..	..
„	VII ..	.. 15 + x	.. 2885–2899	= 1119–1105
„	VIII ..	.. ..	..	..
„	IX ..	.. 19	.. 2899–2917	= 1105–1087

Rāmēsēs	X ..	..	1 + x ..	2917–2918 = 1087–1086
„	XI	say	5 + x ..	2918–2922 = 1086–1082
„	XII ..	..	27 + x ..	2922–2948 = 1082–1056

Note.—Breasted gives a minimum period of 110 years for the whole Dynasty. He makes it end about Conv. B.C. 1090.

Saul's suzerain—the "Yāhveh" of 1 *Samuel*—would seem to have been Rāmēsēs IX, about whom we know practically nothing.

As already remarked, I suggest that it was either at the end of Rāmēsēs XI's reign or at the beginning of Rāmēsēs XII's reign that the Sōthic Rising referred to by R. S. Poole occurred on the 1st day of Thoth in the 1st month.

Rāmēsēs XII was ousted by Hrihor, High Priest of Amon-Rā at Thebes.

The 21st Dynasty.

(According to some extent to Breasted, but adapted to my chronology, though in ordinary, not spheroidal years.)

		Yrs.	A.M.	C. B.C.
Nesubenebded Hrihor	:	x ..	2927–2953 =	1077–1051
Pesibkhenno I	..	17 + x ..	2953–2969 =	1051–1035
Paynozem (In Tanis)	..	15 ? ..	2969–2983 =	1035–1021
Amenemopet ..	..	49 + x ..	2983–3031 =	1021– 973
Siamon ..	..	16 + x ..	3031–3046 =	973– 958
Pesibkhenno II ..	..	12 + x ..	3046–3057 =	958– 947

Minimum :—120 years, according to Breasted.

Period :—Conv. B.C. 1077–947 = 130 years.

Note.—Paynozem is said to have reigned 40 years. But he was really a Theban (not a Tanite) prince; and the bulk of his time should reasonably be associated with Thebes. Sheshanq I of the 22nd Dynasty married his son Ūāsarkon to the daughter of Pesibkhenno II, thus regularising Ūāsarkon's eventual position. Probably, therefore, Pesibkhenno retained his Tanite throne merely by grace of Sheshanq I.

Solomon, king of Israel, was born in A.M. 2970½. He "made affinity" with Pharaoh (1 *Kings* iii. 1). As he is supposed to have been just over 20 years old at that time, he must have wedded Pharaoh's daughter in A.M. 2990 = Conv. B.C. 1014. This seems to indicate Amenemopet as having been the Pharaoh referred to.

The 22nd Dynasty.

The re-constructions attempted for the last two Dynasties (the 20th and the 21st) are only rough approximations in ordinary years.

In this case, however, the re-construction is again on the basis of each year being regarded as a spheroidal year of $1\frac{7}{480}$ ordinary years.

Sheshanq I .. 22 yrs. A.M. $3025\frac{171}{480}$–$3046\frac{318}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $978\frac{309}{480}$–$957\frac{162}{480}$.

Ūāsarkon I .. 36 yrs. A.M. $3046\frac{318}{480}$–$3082\frac{83}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $957\frac{162}{480}$–$921\frac{397}{480}$.

Thakalath I .. 26 yrs. A.M. $3082\frac{83}{480}$–$3107\frac{258}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $921\frac{397}{480}$ – $896\frac{222}{480}$.

Ūāsarkon II .. 29 yrs. A. M. $3107\frac{258}{480}$–$3135\frac{454}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $896\frac{222}{480}$–$868\frac{26}{480}$.

(In his 29th year, he celebrated Sed Heb for A.M. $3135\frac{1}{16}$.)

Sheshanq II .. 29 yrs. A.M. $3135\frac{454}{480}$–$3164\frac{170}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $868\frac{26}{480}$–$839\frac{310}{480}$.

Thakalath II .. 25 yrs. A.M. $3164\frac{170}{480}$–$3188\frac{338}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $839\frac{310}{480}$–$815\frac{142}{480}$.

(In his 2nd year, A.M. $3165\frac{177}{480}$, he celebrated Hunti Heb for A.M. $3165\frac{1}{2}$.)

(In his 11th year, A.M. $3174\frac{240}{480}$, he celebrated Feast for Sōthic Rising A.M. $3174\frac{303}{480}$–$3177\frac{324}{480}$.)

Sheshanq III .. 53 yrs. A.M. $3188\frac{338}{480}$–$3241\frac{222}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $815\frac{142}{480}$–$862\frac{258}{480}$.

Pamāy .. .. 6 yrs. A.M. $3241\frac{222}{480}$–$3246\frac{257}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $862\frac{258}{480}$–$757\frac{223}{480}$.

Sheshanq IV .. 37 yrs. A.M. $3246\frac{257}{480}$–$3283\frac{29}{480}$ =
Conv. B.C. $757\frac{223}{480}$–$720\frac{451}{480}$.

(Co-regencies, at least 23 years.)

Note.—It was to Sheshanq I that Jeroboam fled from the wrath of Solomon (1 *Kings* xi. 40 ; xii. 2). Solomon died in A.M. $3029\frac{1}{2}$ = Conv. B.C. $974\frac{1}{2}$, the 5th regnal year of Sheshanq I, and about the 47th regnal year of Amenemopet of the 21st (Delta) Dynasty.

Jeroboam's connection with Khem is good evidence to show who really was the "Yāhveh" who, at will and pleasure, granted and took away again all sovereign rights and honours in Palestine.

Tabular Statement

Of approximate synchronisations for the 22nd–25th Dynasties, including what is known as the Ethiopian (though it was really a Kāssite) Supremacy. These suggested adjustments are a mere sketch.

22nd Dyn.	23rd Dyn.	Sāite Dyn.	24th Dyn.	25th Dyn.	Judah, Israel, & Assyria.
Sheshanq IV acc. A.M. 3246 257/480	Pedūbast acc. A.M. 3238	Tefnakht acc. ?			
		ETHIOPIAN SUPREMACY.			
		(Kāshta *cir.* ? and Piankhi *cir.* A.M. 3242–3274 29/480.)			
Submits to Piānkhi. 3262 = B.C. 742	Ūāsarkon III acc. 3260 Sub. to Piānkhi. 3262 Psammus acc. 3266	Sub. to Piānkhi, A.M. 3262 Dies .. 3269 205/480	Bakenranī succ. Tefnakht. 3269 205/480		
	Zēt acc. .. 3276		Burnt alive by Shabaka. 3274 240/480	Shabaka succ. Piānkhi. A.M. 3274 29/480 Rec. Emb. fr. Hosea (2 *Kings* xvii. 4). ,,	Hosea acc. 3275½ Reign ends.
Death & end of reign. 3283 73/480				Rāphia .. ,, Shabaka acc. 3285 106/480 3rd yr. .. 3287 120/480	Samaria falls. 3284 B.C. Sargon's reign begins. 720 Reign ends 3293
	Reign ends .. 3306			Taharqa acc. 3300	

Note.—The adjustments appearing in the foregoing Statement are based to some extent on a view of mine that A.M. $3287\frac{120}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $716\frac{360}{480}$, is the last of a quartette of years, one of which was the "3rd Regnal Year of Shabataka" referred to in Breasted's *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, p. 29, § 43; Vol. IV, p. 452, § 887—which date I submit as preferable to Eduard Meyer's B.C. 700.

I arrive at it thus:—

We start, realising that we possess no data whatever regarding any Sōthic-Rising Feast, such as those which have helped us hitherto. But we are told that, at the time of the Inundation, 5 Mesorē by the Calendar, as marking that annual event, coincided with 5 Phamenoth = the 5th day of the 7th month, counting from F. 0 (the Autumnal Equinox), but called by the priests "the 5th day of the 1st month of the 3rd season."

This, I take it, means that at the Inundation, 5 Mesorē on the Epicyclical or Revolving Clock was pointing to 5 Phamenoth on the Fixed Clock, *i.e.*, F. 5 Phamenoth.

In other words, Progressive 1 Thoth (*i.e.*, 1 Thoth on the Revolving Clock) was then pointing to 1 Pharmūthi on the Fixed Clock. Therefore F. 1 Pharmūthi was Progressive Time at the Inundation. Further, it is 3 months *backwards* from F. 1 Epiphi, the point that always indicates the Annual Sōthic Risings. Therefore True or Cyclical Time = 3 months *forwards* from F. 0 (Autumnal Equinox).

That means F. 30 Athyr, which gives us:—

Point	.. $365\frac{120}{480}$
Add for 2 Cycles of 1461 Years each	.. 2922
	$3287\frac{120}{480}$.

Which = the quartette of years—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$3284\frac{99}{480}$		$719\frac{381}{480}$
$3285\frac{106}{480}$		$718\frac{374}{480}$
$3286\frac{113}{480}$.	=	$717\frac{367}{480}$
$3287\frac{120}{480}$		$716\frac{360}{480}$

This result can only be right if it consists with the Rising-Dates

List as I have heretofore been writing it down continuously. Let us then test it. Our last item was:—

			A.M.
1-3	Athyr	.. ..	$3177\frac{324}{480}$
4-30	„	.. ..	$109\frac{276}{480}$
			$3287\frac{120}{480}$

The same figure exactly! Thus we find that the method works out to a hair, although our last notice of the Cycle had reference to a time over a century previously!

Further Adjustments.

On the footing of the foregoing chronological results the following further adjustments are obtained:—

A.M.	
$3285\frac{120}{480}$	Conv. B.C. $718\frac{360}{480}$. Taharqa "Viceroy of the North" (probably meaning up in Syria as far as the Euphrates) for the newly acceded Shabataka, whose "3rd regnal year" has just been ascertained, at least within a choice-limit of 4 years.
3296	Conv. B.C. 708. Taharqa wars with Sennacherib (2 *Kings* xix. 9).
3300	Conv. B.C. 704 Taharqa overthrows his suzerain Shabataka, and accedes. He is defeated by the Assyrians at Lachish.
3317	Conv. B.C. 687. Death of Sennacherib, and accession of Esarhaddon (2 *Kings* xix. 37).
$3317\frac{11}{16}$	Taharqa celebrates Sed Heb—Conv. B.C. $686\frac{150}{480}$.
3328 (*Cir.*)	Conv. B.C. 676. Esarhaddon invades Egypt, and Taharqa flees to Napata in southern Kūsh (Kāssite country). Nile Valley overrun by Assyrians as far as the 1st Cataract, and Egypt organised into 20 Vassal Principalities.
3329	Conv. B.C. 675. Esarhaddon dies, and is succeeded by Ashur-bani-pāl. Taharqa rebels.
3330	Ashur-bani-pāl defeats Taharqa.
3332	Taharqa re-takes Thebes, but retreats to Napata on advance of combined Assyrian and Native Egyptian army under Nekau I.

A.M.

3333 (*Cir.*) Conv. B.C. 671. Taharqa dies, and is succeeded by Rūt-(sometimes called Tanūt-) Ammon who captures Memphis and puts Nekau I to death.

3338 (*Cir.*) Conv. B.C. 666. Ashur-bani-pāl defeats Tanūt-Ammon, and destroys Thebes. Egypt administered by Assyria for 10 Years.

3376½ Conv. B.C. 627½. Kyaxārēs defeated by the Sākhi. Nineveh captured, looted, and burnt by the Sākhi, or Sākh-Gelōths, of Sākhland (*Māt-Sākh* = Mesech, or *Māt-Gāgi* = Magog), *temp.* Ashur-etil-ilani. Gāgi (Gog) not to be confounded with Gūgū (Gyges) of Lydia. Sākhi masters of Western Asia for 28 years.

3395 Conv. B.C. 609. Josiah, king of Judah, defeated and slain at Megiddo by Nekau II (2 *Chron.* xxxv. 20).

3398 Conv. B.C. 606. Nineveh (much enfeebled) captured by Nabū-Pāl-Ūzūr of Babylon and Kāi Ūvakshatara (Kyaxārēs) of Media, *temp.* Sin-sārra-ūzūr. Generally (both in literature and popularly) confused with the preceding much more important event in Conv. B.C. 627½. Accession of Nabū-Kūdūri-Ūzūr (Nebuchadrezzar) as king of Babylon. He completely overthrows Nekau II at Karkhemish in Nāharīna.

3406½ Conv. B.C. 597½. Capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, and Deportation of Jehoiachin, the Queen, and the principal Officials, together with the Temple and Palace Treasures, the flower of the army and the *élite* of the inhabitants to Babylon.

3416¾ Conv. B.C. 587¼. Jerusalem again occupied. Deportation of Zedekiah and the rest of his subjects, except the poorest classes, to Babylon. End of the Kingdom of Judah (2 *Kings* xxiv, xxv; 2 *Chron.* xxxvi). A year or two later Jerusalem was sacked and partially destroyed.

3434 Conv. B.C. 570. Defeat of Ūā-Ab-Rā's (Hophra's or Apries's) General, Aahmēs or Amasis, by Nebuchadrezzar in the latter's 37th regnal year.

A.M.

3434 Complete and final Overthrow of Egypt, and wholesale Deportation of the Romiū, Neo-Meṣrāyim, and Egyptians to Babylonia. By Neo-Meṣrāyim I mean those mixed Romiū, Libyans, etc., who were left in the Delta, especially the western *rūd*, after the departure of the original "People of Meṣ-Rā," or "People of the Zodiacal Bull," *i.e.*, the Abiri, Josephites, or Children of I-Sarah-El, in Conv. B.C. 1491. By Egyptians I mean the people more especially identified with the eastern *rūd* of the Delta, who for the most part consisted of those Ephraimites and Manassites who had fled from Northern Palestine and taken refuge in the Delta during the time of the great Assyrian Scare throughout, say, the 8th century B.C. and of whom we read thus—

> "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan and swear to the Lord (Yāhveh) of Hosts; one shall be called, The city of Hērēs" (*Isa.* xix. 18),

said to mean "Destruction." It was really On, or Ān, "the Sun," in the ancient sense of *Āb-Ālāh-On*, "Mighty Father On." Also the same as Aven = probably *Āb-On*. Since the establishment of the Pūlāsathū on the coast of Canaan, the entire country had acquired the name of Philistine-Land, for that is the meaning of Palestine. But the Philistines were also known in the Delta as the Ai-Keftiū, or "Remnant of the Keftiū"; and Palestine was generally and vaguely referred to as Ai-Keft, "Country of the Remnant of Keft." As the Ephraimite and Manassite refugees above-mentioned hailed from there, they also in the Delta were loosely called *Ai-Keftians*—whence Egyptians and Egypt, afterwards attached to the Delta itself and its inhabitants.

3438 Ūā-Ab-Rā put to death. Amasis, the General, installed as Pharaoh Aahmēs II.

A.M.

3438 to 3479 Conv. B.C. 566–525. Prosperous reign of Aahmēs II.

3452 Conv. B.C. 552. Invasion of Media by Kyrus, *temp.* Ishtūvīgū or Astyagēs.

According to Mr. J. B. Dimbleby (for whom this year was B.C. 544, on the basis of *Zero* being regarded as B.C. 3996), a Sōthic Rising was observed—in the lifetime, he says, of Hēsiod. By my present calculations the date 6 Mekhir, True Time, for that Cycle, indicated the following quartette of years:—

A.M.		Conv. B.C.
$3450\frac{339}{480}$		$553\frac{141}{480}$
$3451\frac{346}{480}$	=	$552\frac{134}{480}$
$3452\frac{353}{480}$		$551\frac{127}{480}$
$3453\frac{360}{480}$		$550\frac{120}{480}$

Apparently, therefore, there is something in Mr. Dimbleby's statement. Official Time for the Rising would have been 6 Pharmūthi. Corresponding Progressive Time would have been 25 Tybi.

3455 Conv. B.C. 549. Overthrow of Astyagēs by Kyrus, who effects the Peaceable Acquisition of Media.

3466 Conv. B.C. 538. Capture of Babylon by Kyrus, *temp.* Nabū-nahīd and Belshazzar.

3459 to 3475 Conv. B.C. 545–529. Re-appearance in freedom of the deported Romiū, Neo-Meṣrāyim, and Egyptians in the wilderness regions of Airyo-Tūrān, as the Wanderers of Mas—afterwards by the Greeks and others rendered Mas-Sagetai, or Mas-Sagetae (an etymological evolution from Sāgh or Sākh, and akin to Skūthai—*Sāk-ūthai* = "Descendants of Sākh"). Mas-Sagetai has commonly been written *Massagetai*, and, by European and especially English scholarship, is nearly always wrongly regarded as consisting of the parts *Massa* and *Getai*.

3479 Conv. B.C. 525. Accession of Psamtek III in Egypt. He reigned 6 months. Conquest of Egypt by Kambūjīyeh (Kambysēs) of Persia.

A.M.

3497 Conv. B.C. 507. This year, according to R. S. Poole, there was a Coincidence between the Egyptian Tropical Year and their old Vague Year, similar to one that had happened 1500 years before in Conv. B.C. 2005.

(*Note.*—All the foregoing re-constructions are merely preliminary and tentative.)

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The recorded Official observations by the old Romic Priesthood of the Hēliacal Risings of Sōthis (Cyclical and Annual), and their celebrations of Feasts in connection therewith and of the periodically recurring Sed and Hunti Hebs, indicate that the age-long civilisation of Tomeri or Khem (nearly always mis-called *Egypt*), had been flourishing under a particularly enlightened, strong and settled government, whatever dynastic form or forms it took from time to time.

It is therefore worthy of note that the last Sōthic-Rising Feast for which we possess data is that which occurred in the reign of Thakalath II of the 22nd Dynasty in A.M. $3174\frac{303}{480}$ = Conv. B.C. $829\frac{177}{480}$—or at any rate in a quartette of years containing that date. But, between that and its next predecessor—a Rising in A.M. 2922, probably late in the reign of Rāmēsēs XI, or else early in that of Rāmēsēs XII—there is a blank of over 252 years! And between that again and its next predecessor—one in Meren-Ptāh's reign, A.M. $2803\frac{141}{480}$—there is another gap of some 118 years!

As for the Hebs, the last traceable is that which fell in the reign of Taharqa of the 25th Dynasty, in A.M. $3317\frac{11}{16}$ = Conv. B.C. $686\frac{5}{16}$. But they practically ceased $182\frac{10}{16}$ years before then, with the Sed celebrated by Ūāsarkon II of the 22nd Dynasty in A.M. $3135\frac{1}{16}$ = Conv. B.C. $868\frac{15}{16}$.

The Twenty-Second Dynasty, therefore, seems clearly to mark some dread Epoch which ushered in for theretofore peaceful and orderly old Khem, a period of *violent changes and widespread disaster and confusion.*

What could that Epoch have been?

Obviously the epoch which witnessed the establishment of the so-called Ethiopian Supremacy (of Kāssite origin, be it noted)—followed by the terrible Assyrian and Babylonian Invasions and wholesale Deportations—with regard to which, however, it seems fashionable in some learned circles to allege that the grand dramatic *finale* never occurred at all! When is that old, old *ex silentio* argument going to get its *quietus?*

There can be no doubt that, though hitherto conventionally regarded as ethnically "Semitic" (in King and others' wholly wrong sense of Amoritic), these Assyrians (also in some vague way associated with an Arabian origin) were really of mixed Rhodo-Tūrānian and Melanochroic descent, with, however, a strong dash of barbarous Kāssite blood in their veins.

The so-called Ethiopians were certainly the descendants—more or less mixed—of the old African stream of Kāssite dispersion.

As for Nebuchadrezzar and his Chaldaean (*Kaldā, Kardā, Kasdā*) Babylonians, they were practically pure Kāssites, though doubtless to some extent blended with Melanochroian stock.

In any case it was Barbarism—highly *kultured* Barbarism of the genuine, changeless, incorrigible Kāssite brand—before which cultured old Khem or Tomeri went down in the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C.

Let our gaze range where it lists in the realm of history, ancient or modern—everywhere (whether in Asia, in Africa, or in Europe), and in every age—it will come across the Mark of the Kāssite Beast, *semper eadem!*

H. BRUCE HANNAH.

P.S.—Of the various Lists above referred to, which it is necessary to have for the practical application of my discovery to our existing and any future data of knowledge, I have as yet published none. I may publish them later on.

H. B. H.