ARYATARANGINI
The Saga of The Indo - Aryans
VOLUME TWO

A. KALYANARAMAN

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N. B. The author's share of the gross proceeds of this publication is to be devoted to charity.
FOREWORD

The author, A. Kalyanaraman, was a distinguished Member of the Indian Audit Service. Since his retirement, he has devoted his leisure to research in a subject which was long dear to his heart, namely, the Origin and Early History of the Indo-Aryans. The author's thesis broadly is that the Indo-Aryans are as much "native to India as the Himalayas" and that the theory of an Aryan "invasion" of our sub-continent is based on inadequate foundation.

In the first volume of Aryatarangini, the author has argued his thesis, incidentally re-inforcing the plea for considering the Vedas to be much older than they are considered to be by western historians. He has also depicted in that volume the peregrination of the Indo-Aryans to the west of India, taking them up to the Mediterranean coast where they set up, according to him, a flourishing Hindu Empire (that of the so-called Hittites) for several centuries.

In this second volume, the author, continues the saga of Indo-Aryans to the East of our land. According to him, the adventurous Indo-Aryans colonised the whole of Polynesia and even went into the New World where they built up the first "welfare state" known to history in Peru under the Incas.

The Saga of the Indo-Aryans has attracted all students of ancient history. Students who have worked on this subject have contradicted each other to their heart's content. At one time, I too, played with the idea that the Aryans were autochthon.

The author has applied the methods of historical research and linguistic expertise to this insoluble subject. To this is added the narrative skill of the author. Some of his suggestions relating to the Aryan march towards the East should be examined with the care and consideration which they deserve.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chaupatty Road, Bombay-7, October 31, 1969.

K. M. Munshi
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PREFACE

Emerson wrote that "a nation without a cultural heritage is like an orphan who has nothing to feed upon". Fortunately, Bharat is heir to a rich civilization going back many hundreds of years into the dim vistas of Sapa Sindhu. The modern Hindu has perhaps travelled far from the climate of the Vedas ("many light years", the pessimist will say) but his ancient moorings do not seem to be completely lost. In religion and philosophy, in ritual and domestic routine, in personal habits and beliefs, he retains much of what was taught by our seers over three or four thousand years ago. He deviates, frequently indeed, from his samskaras and skips many of the spiritual duties set by the ancients; but the average paterfamilias, in his household prayers, festival observances, temple worship and communal religious celebrations, keeps the fires of our ancient faith still burning. Much of this spiritual vitality is due to the pervasive influence of Sanskrit, which has been the cultural vehicle of India all through the years. Till the Middle Ages, it was the language of government and the means of communication of the learned. Later still, it remained the medium of literature and discourse, and great poetry, drama, philosophical and legal expositions flowed forth in that tongue.*

But all over the world old values are changing and established institutions are being rudely shaken. The din and fury of a society somewhat at war with itself is afflicting the global scene. The

* "Sanskrit is a language amazingly rich, efflorescent, full of luxuriant growth of all kinds and yet precise and strictly keeping within the framework of the grammar which Panini laid down 2600 years ago...... Even its grammar, its philosophy, has a strong poetic content...... Our modern (Indian) languages are children of Sanskrit...... even Urdu (an Indo-Aryan language) contains 80% words derived from Sanskrit. Even the Dravidian languages of the South have borrowed and adapted such masses of words from Sanskrit that nearly half their vocabulary is nearly allied to Sanskrit." (Nehru: Discovery of India.) It may be added that much of the colour, plasticity of thought and phrase, sweetness and plaintive appeal in Dravidian (especially Tamilian) poetry is due to the infusion of Sanskrit nomenclature and imagery.
world-stage is crowded with beatniks and sputniks; one planning
an assault on traditional morality and the other stifling the evoca-
tions of the spirit by putting a thick materialist gloss on human
values. India has not escaped the impact of these forces, which
are aggravated by our own national problems. A frightening
currency inflation,* and grave administrative lapses, have brought
our national economy to the brink of a breakdown. A spirit of leth-
argy is almost universal in the nation; the honest and conscientious
worker is nearly extinct. This public malaise has naturally corroded
the spiritual life of our people. After the lapse of many centuries,
atheism stalks abroad with confident strides and indeed under the
panoply of official power. It is not like the polite persiflage of
Sramana agnosticism, or the tolerant raillery of the Charvakas; it
is the terrifying menace of aggressive disbelief in God, heightened
by an undertone of anti-clericalism. A frenzy of indiscipline and
violence (at various levels) threatens to burst asunder the bonds of
our society. A wave of pessimism is also sweeping over the
country, leaving in its wake doubt, despondency and defeatism.†

It is in this context that we have to view the picture of our old
Aryan traditions and the rich legacies of our cultural history. A
knowledge and appreciation of our achievements in the past is
bound to mitigate to some extent the oppression of the present.
At the risk of being labelled fantastically optimistic, I venture to
suggest that a lively sense of the magnificent role which our
progenitors played on the stage of ancient history will help restore
our emotional equilibrium and induce a heartening trust in that

* Bharat's uncovered note-issue is now (1969) about Rs. 3500 crores against
Rs. 150 crores for (combined) India in 1940. Inflation in our land has passed
from the severe to the creeping, and therefrom to the galloping stage. (It is yet to
become 'run-away.' ) Our rulers have forgotten that inflation is a form of taxation
and the most iniquitous one, since it hits hard the poor and the helpless. If one
single cause has contributed most to our political and economic ills, it is unrestrai-
ned 'deficit financing', to use a tragic euphemism. While other governments
hold 'councils of war' to fight inflation if prices rise by even five per cent, our
leaders talk glibly of 'holding the price line', when faced with the nightmare of an
unceasing price spiral.

† Public, as well as organised private, service has now bred new types of
employees: the defiant malcontent (addicted to bandhs and gheraos) and the
inefficient courtier, who, missing in all the cylinders and thus lacking forward
motion, yet raises himself to heights of undeserved preferment by blowing a lot of
hot air! But there is one saving grace; we no longer hear the boast that India is
one of the ten best-governed countries of the world!
perennial philosophy which shed its warm glow over not only India but also many a far-off land. We may venture to hope that a knowledge of this Indo-Aryan Saga may persuade our rebellious youth to slacken their march towards vague and violent quests. A realisation of the achievements of our forefathers in the fields of religion and philosophy and of moral and material science may perhaps rend the shackles which threaten to bind us to new-fangled ideologies, to weird economic doctrines blowing in from far-off lands.

In the first Volume, I have dealt with the movement of the infant Indo-Aryan nation to the west of Sapta Sindhu. I have tried to picture their onward march into Iran and the Near East, where they introduced the horse chariot in the second millennium B.C. and later on, the war-elephant. The Fertile Crescent saw the birth and the growth of Aryan kingdoms whose influence penetrated even Egyptian royal circles and affected the spiritual beliefs of the latter. I have also dealt with acquisitive dissenters and militant schismatics among the early Aryans (the Vratya Panis and the Asuric Parasikas). The Indus culture (which seems to be an elusive mystery to many) has also been touched upon. The reader is then introduced to the Aryan Fighter as he flourished from the Vedic times down to the dawn of history. The book ends with a chapter on Aryan contributions to Art and Science, including mathematics, medicine and astronomy, in which our ancestors showed commendable originality and an inspiring intellectual vigour and resourcefulness.†

In the present volume, I invite the reader to go with me on a 'grand conducted tour' to the east of Aryavarta, over the many tracts and climes traversed by the intrepid Aryan adventurers.

* The author named Kikuli who wrote a treatise on horse training for the Mittani princes may have borne an Indian gotra name. There is a Vedic rite called Kaukili and its performer is called Kokili (see Kane's *History of Dharma Sastras* page 1224). It is well known that some gotra names are based on Vedic ceremonials.

† I have earlier cited some instances of the skill on the part of our old mathematicians, particularly Bhaskara II. The reader may be astonished to know that the theorem $61x^2 = y^2$ was solved by Bhaskara in an elegant and simple manner. The same problem was proposed by Fermat in 1655, but was solved by Euler only in 1732 by the complicated 'continued fraction' method. The answer in both cases (in the smallest integrals) is $x = 226153980$, $y = 1766319049$; (see Dutta and Singh, *Hindu Mathematics*).
To some of these vacant lands they came as hardy colonisers; to others, sparsely occupied by people not far removed from savagery, the wanderers came as benign purveyors of culture, religion and administrative expertise.

The Indo-Aryans went early to Burma and Malaya, perhaps as early as the time of Valmiki, and they called the area "the golden land" (swarnabhumi). China and Tibet received Indian missionaries and got converted to the religion of the Buddha, whose pragmatic philosophy greatly influenced the doctrines of Confucius, while his contemporary, Lao Tse, apparently imbibed the creed of tapomarga, familiar to orthodox Hinduism. In the succeeding chapters, I have dealt with the Kingdoms of Champa and Kamboja, which held aloft the banner of Aryan rule for several hundred years. While Champa paid court to the Han emperors, Kamboja never bent its knee even to the terrible Kublai Khan. In Angkor Vat and in Angkor Dham this puissant Aryan State created epic poems in stone which are still the wonder of the world. I have shown how Thailand drank deep at the fountain of Aryan learning and philosophy, which it retains today with much of its original Indian flavour intact.

Travelling further, we see that Java, Sumatra and Bali were the happy recipients of Aryan cultural benefaction in the dim days of pre-history, as Valmiki's praise of Yavadvipa attests. Here grew up great colleges of Hindu and Buddhist learning; emporia of trade and commerce, and eventually flourishing monarchies which rivalled in extent and glory the Celestial Kingdom itself. In Boro Budor, Java created one of the greatest Buddhist monuments in the world, unmatched for its sublimity of conception and exquisite delicacy in execution. In the delightful island of Bali—a "little Bharat" on the edge of the Pacific—the reader will look through a shop window revealing the matchless panorama of Aryan culture as it developed through the ages, in India and elsewhere, since the legendary days of Agastya.

On to Polynesia will the reader then journey, along with the intrepid mariners (appropriately called the Vikings of the East) who peopled the empty Oceanic isles, spread over millions of square miles of watery waste, at the cost of much physical suffering and heavy cultural regression. Everywhere he will notice the unmistakable Aryan touch, in delightful Tahiti, in the well-favoured Sandwich Isles, and in the coldly brilliant Maori-land
with its rich traditions of Aryan chivalry and inhibitions*. And the reader will note that everywhere the incoming Aryans made their colonies bloom into little vales of rustic charm and pastoral felicity. Where the later European freebooters, with their diseased mind and physique, merely created slave-plantations and inhuman dens of exploitation, the immigrants from Aryavarta showed themselves devoted evangelists and economic uplifters. As warm culture-bearers, they filled the lands they traversed with music, mime and measure; as administrators they made the deserts bloom and filled the valleys with lush crops and golden townships. The truth of this assertion will be realised by the reader as he peruses the closing pages of this book.

Easter Island, after the landing of these ancient mariners there, became a spot of mystery and the riddle still remains unsolved. I have commented in some detail on the weird theories of Heyerdahl of Kon Tiki fame, who, with his wonted persistence, set sail recently on a papyrus boat (called RA) from Africa to Brazil, only to have his boat capsize in the Atlantic†. The mystery of the Easter Island script also remains unresolved, as indicated in the attached Note.

* Including Draupadi worship and the fire-walking ceremony. Incidentally, the reader will guess why the sweet potato was called 'kumara' all over Polynesia and even in distant Peru. Was not the *sarkara-valli* tuber born of the love of God for a mortal woman, and was it not God Kumara, who fell in love with Valli, the beauteous village belle of Tamilakam? (Vide Ch. VIII within.)

Everywhere the Aryan spirit of hospitality is in abundant evidence. A king of Hawaii ruled that "the householder's bowl must become greasy with the food cooked for the passing traveller"—[cf. *apastamba* (II.6.15), who says that food to be offered to guests should be sprinkled over with ghee or milk]. The Maoris, fighting a bitter war against the White aggressors, actually sent food to the starving enemy, "so that the fight may be more equal". [cf. Mahabharata—Shantiparva, 136.5] which says that even an enemy who comes as a guest at meal time should be offered hospitality, "even like a tree which does not refuse its shade to a woodcutter who comes to fell it."

† Recently, Francis Maziere (a Frenchman) has, in his Mysteries of Easter Island, given life to some legends current among the natives of the Island, which point to "a tall yellow race coming to the Island from the Americas". But Maziere has been accused of plagiarism and exaggeration, except when he talks of the brutalities perpetrated by Whitemen. (Sample: In 1811, an American whaler-captain lured some Easter Island girls to his boats and after misusing them, forced them to swim naked to the shore; when they were thus swimming, the captain and his drunken men fired buckshot on the bare backs of the girls.)
The Indo-Aryan thrust into the New World is dealt with in the concluding chapters of the book, in which I have endeavoured to depict the White man's inhumanity to man, which resulted in the destruction of some great cultures—one of them the embodiment of a noble dream, viz., the creation of a Welfare State on this globe. I have described how the Dons spread terror, bloodshed and rapine over vast areas in the two Americas. They ravaged the noble cities in orgies of lechery and greed; they filled the tidy villages with the horrors of the bludgeon and the bloodhound. After the Spanish Conquest, the verdant terraces which had resounded with songs of welcome and victory echoed only to the music of the lash and the wailings of the enslaved peasantry. While the Incas personified the Kshatriya warrior's code, Mexico produced a noble line of kings, one of them a veritable Manu-neeti Mannan, whose story reads like a romantic episode out of Vikramaditya-charitram.

In the Appendix, the reader will find a brief account of Aryan Jurisprudence, that rather gentle body of laws whose origins go back to Manu the Legist and whose main principles breathe an astonishingly modern spirit. Absolute equality before the law for the Brahmin and the Chandala, the prince and the pauper, separation of judicial and executive functions, trial by assessors, verbatim record of proceedings, the substitution of restitution for retribution—, all these lifted the ancient "Code of the Gentoos" far above not only all contemporary legislation but also those obtaining in other 'civilised' countries, till comparatively recent times*. I should like to end this Preface on a brief personal note. I have not blazed a new trail; I have merely trodden a path rendered smooth by the feet of more distinguished men.† I have not tried to make out the Indo-Aryans as a Master Race, as Herrenvölk or as a Chosen People. I have shown their foibles as

* For instance, under early Roman law, there was no provision for imprisonment, on the plea "that a man who had declared war on society had no right to belong to it and was better out of the way... Society was not called upon to pay for maintaining him..." (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. VI, p. 704)

† Among them I should include Dr. Buddha Prasad and Prof. K.A.N. Sastri. The former holds that the Indus Culture is Vedic in character. Prof. Sastri has now come round to the view that "the Rig Veda is much older than the Indus civilization and that the latter is related to the Atharvan". (See Buddha Prasad: Rig Veda and Indus Valley Civilization; Prof. K.A.N. Sastri: New Light on the Indus Civilization.)
well as their achievements. The *raison d'être* of the *Aryatarangini* lies in the historical injustice which has been done to the Indo-Aryan civilization by Western historians, who have called the nation horse-nomads, reckless vandals, unlettered barbarians and beer-swilling* destroyers of great cultures. I have endeavoured in these writings to show that the above picture is the reverse of truth. To quote from the Introduction to Volume I: "Taken by and large, the contribution of the Indo-Aryans to the progress of mankind (material and spiritual) is *non-pareil*. It is true that much of their greatness is now lost in the mists of time and in the detractions of prejudice; but enough of it remains to cast a halo of loving regard around this pristine race which played such a vibrant and heroic role on the stage of ancient history. The Aryan song is long over but its beauty still lingers over the earth; while the music had played its last sweet note centuries ago, the melody of it still haunts the human ear."

* The beer is, of course, the juice of the soma lauded in Veda as the moon-plant and conjecturally identified by Indologists with the sugar-cane, the milk-weed, grape-vine and (lately) with a Siberian mushroom called 'fly-agaric'. The reader will be interested to know that "even in the Rig Veda the plant had become mythical" (Kane: *History of Dharma Sastra*, p. 1202). In the time of the *Brahmanas* it had become practically unobtainable and was replaced by the phalguna, dub, and the kusa leaves, and by putika grass. These are non-inebriant and the analogy of beer is misleading.

† In true Aryan tradition there was no imposition of religion under pressure. Says C. E. M. Joad (Counter Attack from the East): "Hinduism developed from the first a wide tolerance. Hindus do not proselytize; they do not lay exclusive claim to salvation and they do not believe that God will be pleased or by the wholesale slaughter of those of His creatures whose beliefs are mistaken. As a result Hinduism has been less degraded than most religions by the anomaly of creed wars."
NOTE TO THE PREFACE

In an influential Bombay weekly, a critic reviewing Volume I of *Aryatarangini*, kindly remarked: "Please also examine the recent breakthrough in deciphering the Indus Valley script. It does not support either your chronology or your thesis of the Aryan Valhalla."

The breakthrough mentioned by the kind reviewer apparently refers to the publications of Messrs. A. Parpola, S. Koskenniemi, S. Parpola and P. Aalto relating to the decipherment of the (proto-Draavidian) inscriptions of the Indus civilization. These publications have since been seen by me and this note is an appreciation of the results achieved by the learned Finnish authors, with some criticisms thereon, followed by certain alternative suggestions of my own.

At the outset a tribute must be paid to the professional skill and pioneering enterprise revealed in these short monographs, and any criticism of the views of the learned authors must be

* This Note may perhaps open with a few useful definitions:

Pictograph: writing in which pictures are used as symbols — picture-writing.

Logogram: a conventional abbreviated symbol for a word of frequent occurrence.

Logosyllable: a conventional abbreviated symbol for a word of frequent occurrence, with regard to a syllable of a word — a syllabary.

Ecological or geomorphological changes:

Syllabary: a set of graphic symbols, each of them representing a syllable in the language to be written.

Homophones: elements which yield the same spoken sound, though spelt differently (e.g. heir, air).

Ligature: stroke or bar connecting two letters; a combination of two or more letters, both vowel and consonant.

Diphthong: a blend of two vowel sounds in one syllable, whether written with two letters or with a single letter.

Rebus: a picture representation of a word suggesting the word elements; for example, a mountain-cum-girl sign will mean "Parvata Putri" or Parvati, in Sanskrit.

Boustrophedon: writing alternately running from right to left and left to right.
tempered by the appreciation of this fact. It is true that the Russians have also essayed the same task with the help of the Computer, but their views have not been publicised, although the Finnish authors have referred to the Proto-Indica of Moscow and to the Harappa and the Dravadians issued from Russia, which seem to support, in some respects, the Finnish reports.* The authors have pressed into service that modern miracle of science, the Digital Computer.† For this purpose, the Indus script has been transcribed into 'machine-readable form by assigning to each different sign a number ranging from 001 to 999, suitably to a provisional sign-list prepared by the authors. Cards have been punched on this basis to be fed into the computer; the latter has thereupon recorded the results, mainly as below:

(a) how many times a sign stood next to another specified sign or a series of signs; and
(b) classes or groups of signs according to their behaviour and according to the general concept that "the chain of a written language must be governed by physiological sound laws that are measurable". More precisely, the sounds are identified by a species of grammatical analysis based on sign-frequencies (total, initial, and final) as well as pair-wise combinations of the signs. Since even the Computer is ineffective for language decipherment without a lingual base, the present-day Dravidian tongues of India are assumed as the script-base. The reasons for this assumption, as indicated by the authors, are briefly these:

(a) The language cannot be Sanskrit, as the Aryans "came into India 300 years after the Indus script was abandoned" in Gujerat (about 1800 B.C., according to C-14 tests)‡.

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* This applies especially to the identification of the sign with Tamil "aru min", six fishes or stars in the Pleiades, according to the Finns.

† It is not, however, infallible; it can make out a cheque for $150,000 where only $150 are due; it can cause indescribable chaos by jamming at critical moments. It cannot solve riddles and there is, therefore, no risk of the Sphinx throwing herself down from her pedestal; nor are our aroodum specialists likely to be put out of circulation by the computer.

‡ More recently, Indus culture remains have been found in South Gujerat near Surat.
(b) the baths, drains, etc., "point to precautions against pollution; ideas against pollution dominate Hindu caste system and the taboos are particularly strict in South India, today";

(c) The Brahuis (a small community in Baluchistan) speak a language apparently similar to that of the Dravidians of the South ("a Dravidian outlier");

(d) The skeletal remains at Indus Valley sites show some affinities with "Dravidic types", which have supposedly Mediterranean characteristics;

(e) the seafaring ability of the early "Dravidians" in historical times (presumably in Greater India) coincides with the highly oceanic commercial life of the Indus people; and

(f) most important of all, experts like Sir H. Mortimer-Wheeler and Dr. Burrow strongly canvass the view that the Indus script is probably proto-Dravidian, since the Tamils had traditions of a literary age (in the Sangam periods) going back to thousands of years before Christ.

The learned authors of these brochures realise that "while linking pictures......with their verbal counterparts......the chances of fanciful results are great......and the inscriptions could in fact be read in any language" (page 15 of I). They are persuaded, however, that the language behind the script is undoubtedly Dravidian, with possibly Sumerian loan words, "but Indo-Aryan loans must be excluded". While using the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary of Burrow and B. Emeneau with confidence, the authors are aware that its general classification of vowel sounds is defective, thus possibly leading to incorrect readings.†

* Apropos of the Dravidian migration theory, Prof. A.L. Basham has observed that "there is no Dravidian race and no Aryan race. The two terms are used only in linguistic or cultural contexts".

† The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (1961) reveals that the number of vocables in the Dravidian tongues is comparatively small, if Indo-Aryan loan words are excluded. The authors admit that the Dravidian alphabetical system is closely modelled on Sanskrit, especially as regards vowels. The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, even as it is, contains a large number of words with Sanskrit parallels, but these are indicated as loans into Sanskrit from Dravidian by remarks like "cf. Skt". An examination of the Dictionary shows that the listed words are mostly of a colloquial type quite unlike the rich and highly refined vocabulary of Vedic Sanskrit. In a number of cases, words derived from
The Indus script was initially considered by the authors to be logographic (a writing system based on the so-called rebus principle), each sign representing a whole word having one or more syllables; subsequently, the authors termed it logo-syllabic (vide II). This means that each word (or syllable) is represented "by a clear picture-writing, which may be of quite a different thing, but having the same phonetic value." The writing is, in the authors' opinion, from right to left and also probably boustrophedon. "As in contemporary scripts there are also ligatures or combinations of two or more basic signs......by adding diacritics in the form of strokes or lines. The script did indeed possess precocious maturity but not in the sense of phonetic maturity."* To achieve correct phonetic interpretation, the authors have tried to look at the objects (i.e., signs) with the eyes of the ancients and to grasp clearly the "mechanics of the script.......implying recognition of recurring words or syllables. Precious hints as to the content.......are given by parallel specimens.......in other ancient civilizations". The texts are viewed in most cases as independent

Sanskrit have not been so indicated. An illustrative list of such words (from the Tamil group) is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tamil</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akalam : width</td>
<td>akala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valhu : separate, distribute</td>
<td>vihita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubbu : become fat</td>
<td>upabram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koppam : a pitfall</td>
<td>kupa; gudakupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vakkhu : speech</td>
<td>vach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ucham : crown of head</td>
<td>uccha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uzhakkhu (azhakkhu) :  a small measure</td>
<td>adhaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala : various</td>
<td>pala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kottan; kottanam : a mallet</td>
<td>kut = to crush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyar : go up, rise</td>
<td>upar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parach : praise</td>
<td>prasamsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camba : fine rice</td>
<td>champa (ka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kottai : fort</td>
<td>kotah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akka : elder sister</td>
<td>akka (mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tippile : long pepper</td>
<td>pippala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pannakam : leaf like</td>
<td>parnaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani : nail, lynchpin</td>
<td>arani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acatu : stupid</td>
<td>cata ; jata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka : cook, burn</td>
<td>pach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aru, aruga : become cool, soft</td>
<td>ardra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Compound letters (ligatures and diphthongs) are essential to Sanskrit; in Tamil, ligatures are unknown.
of the connected pictorial representations on the seals, which are considered to be amulets like their counterparts in Sumeria, "because religious scenes are depicted on them and they were evidently suspended from the neck". Some tablets are, however, deemed to be votive offerings to deities, "but the idea of their being money should be ruled out".

"In the event the language of the inscriptions has turned out to be Dravidian," assert the authors, who thankfully draw support from the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, in their search for "genuine Dravidian words", occurring in all known modern Dravidian languages.* They feel that "both the words sought for (the word that stands for the picture, and the word that stands for the meaning) should be genuine Dravidic words.......one success (in finding such identical words) cannot be a mere coincidence; two or more make the decipherment absolutely certain".

The authors' *modus operandi* is to fix certain signs as *suffix signs* (or inflections), through their frequency and position in the scripts. The table of these suffix signs figures as below, in their findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>[Diagram]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td><img src="image1" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image2" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td><img src="image3" alt="Diagram" /></td>
<td><img src="image4" alt="Diagram" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, two signs denoting gender are identified as below by the authors, who also hold that the signs may mean (independently) man and woman, son and daughter, brother and sister, etc.

* Principally, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Gondi, Brahmi, and Tulu.
Normal ‘reduplication’ of a word is by a repetition of the symbol like

Where there are repetitive signs, they are considered to indicate plurals. For instance, if two cart wheels appear together, they are supposed to represent a pair of wheels. As regards numerals, the authors consider that in the Indus script numerals are represented by sharp vertical strokes (||||||). They, however, find an abrupt change in the frequency of the vertical strokes above the number seven. “This is in total harmony with the octonary system (mixed with a decimal one) used in the weights of the Indus people........... It is no mere coincidence that the Dravidian languages bear close testimony to the use of an octonary system of the Dravidians in ancient times.” Sometimes, below the vertical strokes are found curved signs (__) “apparently representing Tens”. The following signs are given interpretations as shown against each:

(Only a representative list is given for want of space.)

: Priest

: Priestess
: Head Priest

: Female organ/Woman

: Mountains or foreign country

: Ploughman

: Scribe

: Washerman

: Merchant

: Scholar
Apart from indications in the archaeological remains, the following inferences are drawn by the authors from the script, about the Indus society. There were obviously Kings or Chiefs in authority and they were assisted by a body of priests and priestesses. The Indus people practised an "astral religion" well stocked with sky divinities and they were addicted to highly hygienic habits of life, including domestic and ceremonial bathing. There is a slight suggestion of temple worship, and belief in a number of gods is universal. The well-known Siva (Pasupati) seal is commented upon thus, in the brochures:

"The identifications of 'proto-Siva'=Siva=Murugan*, and of the Mother Goddess (Amba)=Parvati/Kali are of course now beyond any doubt and of the greatest importance for the history of Indian religion, and the religious phenomena depicted on the Indus seals can be judged in the light of later Dravida religious beliefs and practices. But the establishment of a prominent astral aspect of the religion of a maritime people that has hitherto been only vaguely suspected will also have profound implications for the study of Vedic astrology. It is perhaps no coincidence that personal names of astral origin are unknown in the earliest Vedic literature, but begin to appear later on."†

In the second volume of the series, the authors, while correcting some of their earlier assumptions, have generally

* In Vol. II, the authors recognize that Murugan (=young man, in Tamil) is the son of Siva, same as Kumara in Sanskrit.

† In early Vedic literature, names based on nakshatras were considered to be secret and hence were not mentioned. (vide History of Dharma Sastra, p. 248). Apastamba lays down the rule that at birth a nakshatra name should be given to a child but that it should be kept secret (15-2-8).
adhered to the conclusions expressed in the first volume. They are confirmed in the view that the Dravidians primarily worshipped the stars, notably the planets, as gods and that Astronomy and Astrology occupied a very prominent place in the Indus civilization as they do in present-day Hinduism, particularly in the South. By analysing the character of Rudra, as depicted in the Vedic literature, they infer that Rudra “must have been the foremost God of the non-Aryan population and by some compromise got a subordinate place (italics mine) in the Vedic pantheon”. This non-Aryan origin is supposedly confirmed by the fact “that the offerings to Rudra were merely deposited in a place where the deity was known to reside and that even the flesh of slaughtered animals was offered raw in the shape of bali”. The authors consider the term ‘pooja’ to be non-Aryan, subsequently incorporated in the Vedic language. Similarly, they consider the principal gods of the present-day Dravidians, Skanda, Ganesa, Kubera, and Virupaksha, “which are all presented as followed by a host of demons”, as all traceable to the Indus culture. In the words of the authors, “It now seems more than probable that this popular demoniac form of religion derives from the religion of the Indus culture. The Indus people worshipped stars and especially planets which are comprehended as malignant demons causing evil on earth. The navagrahasanti ceremonial of modern Hinduism is but a reflection of this dread of the stars and the planets and the attempt to propitiate them.” The various santis outlined in Vedic and post-Vedic literature seem thus to be derived from the Indus tradition.

The authors lay special emphasis on the Siva concept in Aryan literature. In their opinion, the identification of Siva with Rudra in later Hinduism can be traced to the Indus scripts. In the Dravidian tongue Siva (i.e., ciwappu) means red and this accords with the fiery red aspect of Rudra in the early Aryan songs. Essentially, Siva or Rudra is the red planet Mars, which in Tamil is called ceuvai. “Almost all the words denoting Siva’s attributes in Sanskrit seem to derive etymologically from Dravidian, thus corroborating his Dravidian origin.”

In the same manner as for Siva/Rudra, Krishna is traced back to the Indus inscriptions. “Siva’s identification with the red planet, Mars, is corroborated by the identification of Krishna, the other of the two great gods of Hinduism. We would now link
the Hindu God Krishna with that malignant black planet Saturn." The common Sanskrit name for Saturn is Sani and the Tamil name for Saturn is Mai Min, i.e., black star. The authors think that the town of Mathura, the favourite residence of Krishna, could have been originally a "Dravidian city the old name of which (Madurai) has been taken over, modified by the Aryans".

The authors connect the discus, the favourite weapon of Krishna or Vishnu, with the chariot-wheel script of the Indus Valley. They also find that the association of vahanas or divine vehicles with the gods is a non-Aryan concept. They quote with approval the following passage: "It must of course be readily conceded that in many cases the close association of a deity and an animal impresses us as un-Aryan or pre-Aryan in origin.............

Thus, Skanda and his peacock might be supposed to be Dravidian, or in any case, a southern pair. Similar remarks might be made in connection with Durga and her lion.† (J. Gonda: 'Change and Continuity in the Indian Religion')

While dealing with Dravidian astronomy and astrology, the authors state: "It is a well-known fact that the Sanskrit Astronomical texts which are relatively old in date were strongly influenced by Hellenistic Astronomy but we have records from the late 18th and early 19th century (A.D.) of a Tamil tradition which may go back right to the date of the Indus civilization..... Dravidian Astronomy which can be traced in canonical and non-canonical Pali texts contains numerous references to planets, eclipses, etc."

† (That there is no reference to planets in any of the ancient Vedic writings, as alleged by Kaye, is attributed by the authors to Brahminic censorship.) The Dravidians designated stars as Min and planets as Kol, but occasionally the planets were also called Min. "It seems to us", say the authors, "that Sanskrit 'graha' is the translation of the old Dravidian term, namely, Kol = to seize, to hold, to plunder...... The Vedic calendar consisting of 27 lunar asterisms has most probably been taken over

* According to Gonda, the mouse of Ganesa, the bull of Siva, the peacock of Skanda, the lion of Durga, the garuda of Vishnu, are all derived from non-Aryan legends.

† Eclipses are mentioned in the Vedas but they are poetically ascribed to malefic asuras. Long before the rest of the world, the Indo-Aryans knew the real causes of solar and lunar eclipses, and were able to predict them much in advance.

A—II
by the Aryans from the Dravidians on account of the precession,*
which was already out of date in the second millennium B.C."

Having stated briefly the view of the learned Finnish authors,
it seems necessary to assess its value and to offer any criticism that
may be called for, not in a spirit of disparagement but in a
constructive endeavour to establish the truth regarding the Indus
script. According to the authors, the Dravidians (who in this
view probably came from the Mediterranean region) were defeated
and dispersed by the invading Aryan hordes somewhere about
1800 B.C. The authors admit that there is a gap of 300 years
between the dispersal of the Dravidians and the supposed entry of
the Aryans into India, but they offer no clear elucidation of this
difficulty. In my Volume I, I have dealt with this question in
some detail and I have adduced evidence to show that there is no
indication of any wholesale destruction of the population of the
Indus cities; and the Finnish authors themselves admit that
geographical and climatic reasons might be responsible for the
decay of the Indus community and their civilization. The
question which arises is how, even assuming a destructive total
war initiated by the incoming Aryans, the Dravidian peoples could
have moved down to the Deccan and beyond about 3500 years ago
in such large numbers and after traversing most forbidding
mountainous terrain covered by forests and filled with wild
animals. As I have indicated elsewhere in this book, the Aryan
acculturation of South India must have started in the 2nd millen-
nium B.C. and made considerable progress by 1000 B.C., to which
date may be attributed the arrival of the historic Agastya into the
Tamil-speaking region. A further question is as regards the
people who were dwelling in the Deccan and the deep South
before the Dravidians allegedly arrived there. It is known that
the land was occupied, not very sparsely, by the Adivasis and the
hill tribes, who were presumably subjugated by the Dravidians
when they moved south to escape the Aryan terror. What was the

* Ayanamsa or Precession of Equinoxes was well known to Vedic writers.
The *Vedanga Jyotisha* says that in its time the winter solstice was in the
beginning of Danihsa (star B Delphini). It is calculated that the winter solstice
should have coincided with the beginning of Danihsa in 1333 B.C. which should
also be the date of the *Vedanga Jyotisha* (see article by Sri N Sundara Rajan in
briefly against the so-called Greek contribution to Indian Astronomy.
language spoken by these people, particularly in the Tamil country? There is evidence to show that some form of the Tamil language was spoken by these Adivasis, and if at all, the Dravidians must have borrowed this language and adopted it as their own tongue, perhaps three or four thousand years ago, if the theory of a Dravidian invasion of South India be correct. The true Dravidian tongue would then be that of the Adivasis and it would not resemble that of the former inhabitants of the Indus Valley.*

The Finnish scholars claim that, after having lived in a high degree of civilization with conspicuous urban facilities and with a highly evolved language and script, the Dravidians lost all contact with the script when they dispersed into the Deccan and the South; at the same time, they are presumed to have retained their religion, language, and a good part of their culture. The authors suggest that there was a parallel case of a lost script, apropos of the Greek people in Crete who allegedly were acquainted with the pictographic (or the so-called Linear-B)† script of the Island but lost contact with it after some time and had to borrow their alphabet anew from the Phoenicians circa 800 B.C. It is not clear that this parallel is well-founded since the Linear-B script is attributed to an unknown people of perhaps Asiatic origin (called Mycanean) whose script was temporarily adopted by the incoming Greeks who were themselves unlettered. Subsequently, in the Greek mainland, the Phoenician script was pressed into service, as it was less clumsy than Linear-B and was a true alphabet.‡

It is difficult to assume that a people who had been so well acquainted with a highly evolved written language would lose all knowledge of it when they moved elsewhere. It is now generally conceded that, when the Aryans came down to the extreme south, they found the people in a comparatively low state of culture, and without much learning or books and other accessories of knowledge. Agastya (a friend of

* There are traces of Tamil words in the speech of the Australoid peoples of New Guinea and Australia.
† Linear-B has been deciphered. Even Linear-A has been read in part by Prof. Gordon, as I have mentioned in *Aryatarangini*, Vol. I, page 139.
‡ The Phoenician script (like the Egyptian, the Sumerian and the Hebrew) had no vowel signs. Of all the ancient scripts of the world, Indo-Aryan was the only one with a full set of vowel characters.
both varnas' runs his eulogy in the Vedas), the original sponsor of Dravida Munnetram, is believed to have written the first book on Tamil Etymology and Grammar, which unfortunately is now lost. Tolkappianar's (the name means 'ancient writer') Tamil Sutras are attributed to the 4th or 5th century B.C. and, reading the internal evidences in them, one is led to the conclusion that the original inhabitants of Tamil Nadu possessed only the rudiments of culture and learning. The legend of the so-called Sangam literature going back to several thousand years before Tolkappianar is now generally discounted. Tamil language progressed towards maturity after Tolkappianar, and its grammar and vocabulary developed probably under the auspices of learned Aryan writers (some of them Jain or Buddhist) in the early centuries before Christ.* It is now generally accepted that the Tamil script evolved out of southern Brahmi, the Grantha, and other scripts following the latter. The present Tamil script is not much older than a thousand years.†

In the circumstances, it is difficult to concede the argument that the Indus script was the original discovery of the Dravidians but was 'lost in transit'. Again, if the Aryans had overwhelmed and driven out the Indus people with their well-developed linguistic apparatus, one would expect that the newcomers who spread themselves deep over the very country (calling it Punyabhoomi and Bramhadesa), would have resorted to bilingual inscriptions, at least for administrative reasons.‡ It is futile to contend that the Aryans in 1500 B.C. did not know the art of writing, etc. In Volume I of Aryatarangini, this point has been argued in considerable detail.

* It is not always necessary for literary output to precede grammatical works. Some 'Dravidian' languages like Gondi, Malto, Brahui, have now dictionaries, although they have no literature worth the name. In Polynesia also, the same was the case till recently. Where the art of writing was not widely practised, grammar usually preceded literature. Generally, the grammatical work was authored by an outsider.

† I have narrated in this book elsewhere how the Indo-Aryans took their knowledge of writing with them even into Polynesia and the New World, despite great regression in civilization.

‡ It may be mentioned in this context that in other countries, particularly Persia, Egypt, and Anatolia, records in bilingual script have been found, to the great benefit of paleographers.
and ample evidence given to show that the Indo-Aryans were no strangers to the arts of writing or numeration.*

Coming to details, the following observations will be of interest to the reader:

1. The authors identify Melahha or Meluhha (occurring in some Mesopotamian inscriptions) with Sanskrit mlechha. It is doubtful if this identification is correct, since mlechha in Sanskrit means a barbarian, especially a foreign one. The Sumerians could not have called the refined peoples of the Indus valley, mlechha. In Volume I (page 114) I have pointed out that Meluhha probably refers to Western India, including the Indus delta. This region was known as Uhana in ancient times.

2. It is said by the Finns (page 5-I), that Rudra held a very subordinate position in the Vedic pantheon. Against this, it may be mentioned that Rudra is described as the supreme deity even in the Rig Veda, and in the Taittiriya Samhita there is a sublime eulogy of Rudra. In the sacrifice called sulagava, Rudra is worshipped as the supreme deity.† The transformation of the fierce Rudra into the benign Siva is traceable even in the Vedas. The theory that the Siva concept originated with the Dravidians seems to be highly speculative. Reference is invited, in this connection, to my observations in Volume I (page 127).

* The Finnish writers credit the Indus Dravidians with the knowledge of the decimal system. It is difficult to accept this claim. Some ‘Dravidians’ like the Gonds will be surprised to learn that they are credited with a knowledge of astronomy, astrology, decimal mathematics, and writing 4000 years ago! On the other hand, Vedic literature contains profuse astronomical data. Very large numerical figures are also frequently mentioned (e.g. koti = 10 million and parardha = thousand million million). As I have pointed out in extenso, in Arya-taranini, Vol. I, all the artifacts of the Indus region are congruent with the picture presented in the Vedas of ancient Indo-Aryan civilization. It is true that evidence of Aswamedha sacrifice is not conspicuous; but this may be due to the fact that this spectacular rite had by then fallen into disuse. (The Taittiriya Samhita and the Satapatha Brahmana both mention that this ostentatious (and somewhat coarse) rite had become utsanna (i.e., gone out of vogue). The Atharvan echoes this view (XI-7-7-8). The horse was not unknown in the Indus Valley. To quote Wheeler: “It is likely enough that camel, horse and ass were, in fact, all a familiar feature of the Indus Civilization.” (The Indus Civilization, P. 65)

† The Sata Rudriyam might be familiar to the reader. It contains the famous rik beginning with “Tryambakam yajamahe...”
3. Rudra is called Tryambaka in the Vedas, not in the sense of 'having three mothers,' but of 'being three-eyed.' The word Amba, equated with mother or goddess by the authors, is certainly not of Dravidian origin. In the Veda, Rudra's wife is Amba and his sister is Ambaka. The word is found in other Aryan-acculturated lands like Egypt and the Middle East (Ammon, Amma, etc). The Mother-goddess concept is profusely evident in Vedic literature.

4. The suggestion that traces of matrilineal succession allegedly found in the Indus Valley could be located in South India (presumably in Kerala) is not supportable. Even in Kerala, it is recognised by legislators that the aliasantana practice is a regression from an earlier patriarchal system.

5. It is stated that an important factor connecting the Dravidians with the Indus culture is their high reputation as seafarers. I suggest that the reputation of South Indians in maritime activities is probably the result of the Aryan leadership foisted on them. There is no strong evidence to show that, before the sixth or seventh century B.C., South India was the home of much maritime enterprise. The Koundinya-Agastya legends connected with Greater India evidence the spear-heading by Indo Aryans of the overseas activities of those early epochs, culminating in the benign colonialism of the Pandyas, the Pallavas and the Cholas*.

6. The authors describe the word manchī ("a large single-masted cargo boat with a raised platform used in coasting trade") as Dravidian. The word is obviously of Sanskrit origin, since mancha means raised platform, couch, etc., in that tongue.

7. The baths and the drainage system of the Indus cities are stated to be evidence of precautions against pollution, "the ideas of which dominate the Hindu caste system particularly in South India". I suggest that the idea of pollution is not confined to South India, and if anything such vestiges of orthodoxy are stronger in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The Aryan formulae of pollution were observed in the distant Hittite empire (vide Aryatarangini, Vol. I, page 189). In any case, the

* The Pallavas of Kanchi belonged to the Bharadwaja gotra, as stated in their inscriptions. The Pandyas and Cholas were Kshatriyas, adopting the Manasa-tila-Paururava gotras, as laid down in the texts.
idea seems to have arrived in the South India with the Indo-Aryans, as revealed in the *Srauta Sutras* of very ancient date.*

8. The linguistic evidence of Brahui† is cited in support of the argument that Dravidian might have been the source of numerous loan words in Sanskrit and this theory is in high favour with the authors of the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary. This proposition is, however, quite difficult of acceptance, since there is no proof of the existence of any large number of loan words taken over from the other local or foreign tongues, in the ‘purified’ Sanskrit language. Ancient writers on Grammar and Etymology like Yaska, Panini and Patanjali, would have mentioned such loan words from native tongues, but their silence is significant.‡ Loan words pertaining to nationalities like Yava, Huna, Saka, Turushka, etc., do exist; but their presence is due to obvious historical factors. Modern Dravidian speech is heavily interlarded with Sanskrit, rather more so than what the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary would admit. Same is the case in Greater India (e.g. Thailand, Cambodia, Java, Bali); Polynesia and the New World have not escaped this linguistic admixture, as I have narrated elsewhere in this book. It is not possible to explain away in every case, Sanskrit words occurring in Tamil, etc., as ‘loans’ from Dravidian. Such ‘loan-words’ occurring in widely separated speeches like Gondi and Malayalam are more easily understood if they are traced to a common source, i.e., Sanskrit, which has a claim to be the grandmother vach of many civilised tongues of the world.

9. The above remarks about loan words will apply to the following expressions as deciphered by the learned authors (only a few instances have been mentioned here):

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* These Sutras condemn some practices peculiar to South India like cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages and the eating of stale food. Yaska also refers to childless widows in South India succeeding to their husbands’ estates. Incidentally, this last comment shows that Aryan practices (and deviations) had become noticeable even in the 9th century B.C., in South India.

† The small Brahui tribe in Baluchistan is held by Dr. Buddha Prakash (*Rig–Veda and Indus Civilization*, p. 18) to be of Turco-Iranian origin; their language had been affected by South Indians imported into the Indus region by Kushan kings, to act as frontier guards, according to the author.

‡ Patanjali mentions a few loan words from the Parasikas, e.g. *halahala* (deadly poison).
(a) This sign is read as khala. The word khala is supposed to express both ‘ship’ and ‘sailor’, represented by the sign. Khala in Sanskrit means a place, site or floor; hence marakkalam in Tamil, meaning a boat or raft (of wood).

(b) The pestle and mortar sign is interpreted by the authors as kuru (to pound in a mortar) and as kuri (to mark or sign or write). It may be pointed out that the Tamil kuru is probably derived from Sanskrit verb kut (to pulverise) and kuttaka (pulveriser).

(c) The sign shown here (considered to be a drum) is equated with tambat(ta) = drum and tampa(la) = temple priest, in Dravidian. The word seems to be derived from Sanskrit pataha, with prefix dam added for phonetic reasons.

(d) This sign (described as a pot) is interpreted as mata and matta = large pot and as madi = ceremonial purity, as also a washerman. It may be pointed out that mata and matti are corruptions of Sanskrit mrit and mritti (made of earth; Prakrit: matti). Madi, occurring in Tamil, came to mean ‘ceremonial purity’, at a late date.

(e) Similar remarks will apply to the word min (=fish) which is equated with this sign. The sign is also deciphered as min (=star, noble, etc). It need scarcely be emphasised that the word meena, meaning fish, is decideoly Sanskrit in origin, and is a loan word to the Dravidian languages.

* Regarding the min = star identification, the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary says (Introduction, p. XVII): “It has been judged that ‘fish’ words which have been connected with...... lightning, star, can only be so connected by an act of faith and the semantic development is very much ad hoc and has not convinced us.”
(f) Concerning the attached signs which are interpreted as ila(va) in Tamil (silk cotton tree) and also ilai (leaf or petal) and also il (house), it may be mentioned that in Sanskrit ila means region, residence, house; and the sign may also be interpreted as signifying the trefoil leaf of the vilva tree.

10. In the Preface to Brochure II, this sign has been read as aru min in Tamil, meaning six stars, indicating the Tamil name for the Pleiades or the seven daughters of Atlas. I may mention that this star group represents in Vedic literature the Krittika constellation, and the Tamil word is merely a translation of the Sanskrit expression, sapta kanya (less one missing).

11. This sign is read as ko-il, meaning a temple or palace in Dravidian. There is here obviously a borrowing from Sanskrit, since go in Sanskrit means heaven, sky, etc. (cf. gopuram, meaning temple gate or town gate).

12. This sign = sickle is read as = koy, to reap, cut, etc., and identified with kuya(van) = potter. I may suggest that Tamil kuyavan is a corruption of Sanskrit kulala = potter. (In the same way, Sanskrit karmara = blacksmith, has become karuman in Tamil).

Having stated the views of the learned Finnish authors and having made some corrective comments on them (with due diffidence and circumspection), I now venture to offer my own suggestions and interpretations of the Indus seals, supplementing the remarks which I have already made in Volume I of Aryabarangini, Chapter VIII. At this stage, I must once again repeat that I am no professional paleographist or historian and that my suggestions should be taken as merely the tentative opinions of an enthusiastic amateur.
The authors have already referred to divergent opinions; as, for example, that of M. V. N. Krishna Rao of the Archaeological Survey of India, who reads the inscriptions in Sanskrit (by using acrophonic principles, i.e., by ascribing the opening syllable of a sound-word to the conventional sign)*. Rev. Father Heras has, in his learned treatise, advocated the view that the South Tamils were the progenitors of the Indus people and that they were composed of various Tamil tribes, Kozhiers, Paravaiars, Minars, Nanduvars, etc. Herr Dietar Schrapel has also written on the subject to the effect that while the inscriptions are in Dravidian, the seals have direct connection with the sorcery texts of the Atharva Veda. In *Aryatarangini*, Vol. I, I have extensively quoted from the book of Dr. Hrozny (*Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete*) in which he has advocated the view that the Indus civilization was connected with a people whom he calls proto-Indians (as opposed to Sanskrit-speaking Indians) and who were destroyed by the incoming Dravidians, about 1800 B.C.; some of the Harappa seals he has deciphered in terms of Sanskrit terminology. Dr. Waddel on his part has read the seals in the Aryan tongue. The Russians in the meanwhile are reported to have discovered seals and terracotta figures similar to those of Harappa, in South-East Russia. They have also used the computer to decipher the seals, but their final views have not been adequately publicised. An Indian, S. K. Ray (Watamul Award winner in Archaeology in 1964), has also been assiduously trying to unlock the mystery of the Indus seals. According to him, the Indian system uses the root-signs or bijaksharas like ka with its accentuated forms; and the same method is found in the Indus script. The seals have got also conjuncts or yuktaksharas, i.e., compound letters, as in Sanskrit. He considers the brahmi script to be "a disturbed tradition" of the Indus script, which is definitely Aryan, according to Ray.

In dealing with the Indus script, two important caveats have to be kept prominently in view (as indicated by the eminent Finnish authors themselves). One is, that the material available is only in the form of small seals which do not form the basic

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* For example, Rao reads the famous Pasupati seal as 'makanasana', being a name for Indra as the destroyer of demon Makha (or Asuramakha or Arumagha of the Asura or Parsi tradition).
source for connected narratives or long citations*. The second is that we must look at the seals through the eyes of the ancients, i.e., the Indus people, who apparently used these seals for important purposes. In Volume I of Aryatarangini, page 281, I have suggested that the tablets should be considered to be special seals used for stamping the priestly records kept bound in wooden boards or in parchment. It is possible that these tablets were amulets or votive offerings, as suggested by the learned Finnish writers. With regard to the animal motifs, the Finnish experts have taken the view that there is no connection between the script and the animal figures. In my earlier writing, I was inclined to think that the script might follow the animal representation; but this view has now to be reconsidered in the light of my following remarks.

The seals, in my humble opinion, represent scenes or events connected with sacrifices. The animals appearing in the seals are not necessarily the sacrificial animals envisaged in the signs, since creatures like the rhinoceros, the elephant and the tiger, were not used in Vedic rites (except symbolically in the Aswamedha). The pictographs appearing above the animal are suggestive, in my opinion, of the sacrificial steps or incidents connected with the particular sacrifice engraved on the seal symbolically.

It is possible that, even on this assumption, the animal figures may be connected with deities worshipped at the sacrifices and may exhibit them pictorially under various names.† As already indicated, the connected script probably confines itself to a depiction of the sacrificial scenes visualised by the artists engraving the seals which would be familiar to the participants therein.

Coming to details, I suggest the following interpretations for some of the logographs or pictographs appearing on the seals:

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* In Egypt, and to some extent in Sumeria and Anatolia, the position is different. In the hieroglyphs on temple walls, in papyrus records and in the Sumerian tablets, long stories or narratives could be read; also in the tablets at Bhogaz-keui, as I have explained in Vol. I.

† For instance, the single-horned animal or ekasringa may represent Vishnu, who bears this name; the bellowing bull may represent Rudra, who is usually described as entering the sacrifice roaring and shouting (vide Aryatarangini, Vol. I, pp. 275-76).
1. (asthi-kumbha). This pictograph is supposed by the learned authors to represent the 'boat of death' mentioned in the Vedic literature. I suggest that it is the representation of the post-funeral burial urn on which painted scenes often appear in the Harappa ceramic ware. Here Agni is represented by his four tongues, and the bird sign is representative of the journey of the soul towards its heavenly destination (cf. the suparna songs in the Veda). *

2. (veevadha). This sign (a man carrying a pole with ropes and loads at each end) is, in my opinion, the most significant of all the pictographs. The Sakamedha ritual is concluded with the Tryambaka Homa. After the sacrificial cakes, along with clarified butter, are offered to Rudra, some portions which remain are disposed of as below (I quote from the History of Dharmasastra of Dr. P. V. Kane, pages 1104-1105):

"The portions of the cakes that remain are thrown up in the air by the yajamana so high that a cow (or bull) with upturned mouth cannot reach them and he catches them in his hand one after another... They are then placed in two woven baskets (half and half), which are then hung from the two ends of a bamboo pole or the beam of a scale or a pole made of a sacrificial tree and he fastens them on two sides of a tree trunk, or a tree or a bamboo or ant-hill, in such a way that a cow or a bull cannot reach them."

3. Connected with the Tryambaka Homa is another pictograph (akhu or kanika) which has been somewhat doubtfully suggested to be an ape (tailed monkey) by the Finnish authors. I suggest, however, that it is the representation of a rat which is considered to be the 'beast of Rudra', vide Taittiriya

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* When did the Dravidians lose their practice of cremation? In the Indus Valley, cremation was well known; among the Dravidians of ancient times, inhumation was universal. Cremation and funeral ceremonies permeated into South India with the Indo-Aryans. To quote Dr. Mackay (Indus Valley Civilization): "The Indus Valley people cremated their dead near the river and the ashes were thrown in the river. Fractional burials were few. The cemeteries, which should have been enormous, are non-existent."
Samhita, 1.8.6.1* If my presumption is correct, the appearance of this symbol would imply that the latter is connected with the Sakamedha sacrifice culminating in the Tryambaka Homa.

4 This sign (ukha) is described by the Finnish experts as an indication of the genitive case in the singular. I suggest, however, that this is the representation of the ukha (the fire-pan), which is one of the most essential utensils connected with sacrificial rites. The two lateral strokes on the top of the sign represent Agni. The yajamana carries the ukha fire-pan for 3, 6 or 12 days as per the rules.

5. The learned authors interpret this sign as indicating the male gender.

6. In the same way, they attribute the feminine gender to a corresponding sign shown here, on the assumption that it pictures the comb used in female toilet. I suggest, however, that this so-called male sign represents the yajamana of the sacrifice and the corresponding female sign shown herewith may represent the yajamanā or patni. The 'comb' symbol is probably the shadhala (multiple plough) used for preparing the vedi.

* I quote from the History of Dharmasastra, page 1104: "All priests and relatives go to a spot nearby in the north-east and lay down one cake on earth dug out by the rats from a hole, with the words: 'O Rudra! The rat is thy beast' (i.e., thy food)."
The yajamana sign appears in combination with certain other symbols as shown below:

7. The Finnish writers interpret this sign as a merchant. I suggest, however, that it refers to the well-known episode in the Vajapeya sacrifice where a kshatriya is required to shoot an arrow, as indicated in the following quotation from the History of Dharmasastra (page 1208):

“A kshatriya shoots an arrow from the space between the catvala and utkara and notes the spot where it falls, from which he shoots an arrow a second time. This is done seventeen times. On the spot where the arrow falls at the 17th shooting, he plants a post of udumbara wood as the goal for the chariot race.”

8. This sign is interpreted as a ploughman by the learned Finns. I feel, however, that it represents the adhvaryu carrying the yupa or the sacrificial pole, or the marking post for the chariot race, in the very manner indicated in the Vedic rule already quoted.

9. This similar sign is deciphered by the Finns as denoting a scribe. I would suggest that it represents the adhvaryu symbolically handling the pestle and mortar as required in the ritual formulae which I quote below [History of Dharmasastra pp. 1027-28]: “Holding the mortar (ulukhala) by the left hand he pours into its mouth the sacrificial materials (unhusked grains of rice or barley) thrice. He takes the miniature pestle (musala) with the mantra ‘Thou art a stone (hard like a stone), though produced from a tree; mayst thou so strike this sacrificial material for the gods that it will be enjoyable to them!’ He then beats the grains in the mortar thrice. He then puts with his hand the beaten grains into the winnowing basket with ‘May (the surpa) know thee’ (the grains as its own).” The bamboo winnowing basket or surpa also appears in the seals with the appropriate sign as below:

* cf. Ulakkai and Ulukku in Tamil.
10. The attached sign is interpreted as ‘washerman’ by the authors. It appears to me, however, that it should mean the unneta handling the drona or the drona-kalasa, an important vessel connected with sacrificial rites.

11. This important sign where the yajamana is shown as standing on two chariot wheels has not been clearly deciphered by the authors, although they do concede that the chariot wheel (like the potter’s wheel) is an Aryan invention. I suggest that this pictograph is representative of the Vedic formulae which require the yajamana to join the chariot race in the Vajapeya sacrifice. I quote below the relevant passage in the *History of Dharmaśāstra* (page 1208):

“17 chariots are got ready........one of them is the sacrificer’s chariot.......when the race starts the Brahma priest fixes the udumbara chariot wheel and ascends that wheel with a suitable mantra.......the yajamana then occupies the chariot and 17 drums are beaten to urge on the horses. The chariot of the sacrificer is in the front and others follow his, but do not overtake it.” (The chariot was called ratha.)

12. These two signs are connected by the authors with the supposed ceremonial purity and observance of pollution by the Indus Dravidians. I suggest, however, that

*The animal-drawn chariot (horse, bullock, camel, etc.) with spoked wheels is generally admitted to have been first introduced into use by the Indo-Aryans, and they are supposed to have propagated its use in the Middle East and in Egypt (vide also *Aryatarangini*, Vol. I, page 178). It is intriguing to find that in the Indus culture the animal-drawn chariot is prominently in evidence. It is somewhat doubtful if the Dravidians could be credited with this accomplishment. As I have pointed out in *Aryatarangini*, Vol. I, the Indus culture shows high evolution, including use of ornaments in gold and silver; jewellery set with precious stones; mirrors and razors; unguents and cosmetics of various types; ivory dice pieces and chessmen for gaming; tables and chairs; excellent glazed pottery and glazed and vitreous pastes for building purposes.*
these two signs signify the ritual in which one or more cows are brought into the sacrificial ground and milked in the dohana vessel (which has a wooden or metallic lid) by a person other than a dvija (vide pages 1101 and 1102, ibid.). The low standing of the milkmen is perhaps reflected in the depiction of the human beings.

13. These signs (khara) are interpreted by the Finns as being mountain or foreign country. I suggest, however, that they refer to the pravargya ritualistic mounds of sand called khara (vide page 1150, ibid.). The other similar sign is indicative perhaps of the three small mounds in the Vedi hall on which the three Agnis are raised.

14. This symbol (chamasa) probably represents the yajamana holding the chamasa or kapala, i.e., the flat pan in frequent use in the sacrifices.

15. This sign seems to indicate the spade made of khadira wood prescribed for sacrifices and called vighanam or khanitra.

16. This sign seems to represent not an arrow as assumed by the experts, but probably the sruc (small wooden ladle) used in the rites.*

*This frequently seen sign represents probably the drum beaten at the sacrifices, especially the Vajapeya. Thus the History of Dharmastra, p. 1208: "All the seventeen drums are beaten......to urge on the horses." One of the drums was the famous 'bhoomi-dundubhi' or earth drum. This sign is deciphered as nandu=crab, in Tamil, by Father Heras.
17. This is the flag, called ketu, dhwaja or pataka, which is attached to the ratha in the aswamedha.

18. This is perhaps the yajamana who ascends the chariot and plants the flag as an emblem of royalty.*

19. This represents the juhu or the beaked ladle, used in pouring the sacrificial oblations. We see the priest using the ladle in some signs.

20. This is probably a sign for the leaf of the arka plant (Tamil: erukku) tied to a long stick and used for serving ghee into the fire.

21. These are perhaps signs for the vedi or the sacrificial ground†. Or they may symbolise the chamasa and graha vessels.

22. This sign seems indicative of a strung bow with three arrows.‡

* See *History of Dharmasāstra*, page 1209, for a detailed description of this scene.

† "The ground for the uttaravedi on which the altar is to be constructed is ploughed with an udumbara plough and the ropes are made of munja. Six, twelve or twenty-four oxen are yoked to the plough." (*History of Dharmasastra*, page 1112).

‡ "The adhvaryu gives a strung bow with three arrows to the sacrificer... the sacrificer holds up his arms and strides in the quarters." (*Ibid*, p. 1217) The oft-repeated sign \( \wedge \) is comparable to the 'central ridge of a shed from which... two thatches spread slantingly downwards'. (*Ibid*, p. 1240 f.n.) The sign represents the Vishuvat.
23. This is a chariot wheel, about which some comments have already been offered. Where the sign appears alone, it probably represents the design of the ṭayana or the fire-altar. The Taittiriya Samhita mentions that the altar may be of various designs like a cart wheel, a drona, a hawk (syena), heron (kanka), eagle (suparna), etc., etc.

24. Perhaps this signifies the dasapavitram or the woollen strainer used in Soma sacrifices. Or it may signify the net which is placed on the head of the patni at the time of the diksha. The net was called kumbha-kurira.

25. Perhaps this represents the small wooden spit with the ends projecting, used in the sakamedha sacrifice. It was called vapashrapani.

26. This sign represents perhaps the round lotus leaf which is required to be spread on the sacrificial ground where the horse first places its foot. (History of Dharmasastra, p. 1250). In the centre of the leaf a small golden disc is also required to be placed.

27. This sign has been interpreted as a fish by the Finnish scholars. I suggest, however, that it represents the tortoise* (kurma, kacchapa, or kasyapa) which is requisite for building the fire altar, vide quotation below (History of Dharmasastra, p. 1251). "The tortoise is anointed with a mixture of ghee, honey and curds, is enveloped in moss, covered with a net and made motionless by means of pegs. When depositing the

* The Matsya and Kurma avatars figure in Vedic literature. I quote Dr. Kane: (ibid: page 718.)

"The elements of the avatar of Matsya are probably suggested by the story of Manu who was saved from a flood by a great horned fish to whose horn Manu tied the rope of his ship when the flood rose.

"The Tortoise avatar was probably suggested by the legend that Prajapati, having assumed the form of a tortoise created living beings and that, as the words Kurma (tortoise) and Kasyapa mean the same object, all creatures are said to be descended from (or belong to) Kasyapa."
tortoise, it is invoked with three verses which express the wish that the tortoise may go to the deep waters, that the sun and fire may not torment it by heat, that it may reach heavenly worlds and that divine rain may follow. Even in modern times, a tortoise is so built up into the altar." The net symbol shown here may be connected with this ritual and the three (II) lines may represent the pegs holding the tortoise.

Here are some more suggested identifications of the signs appearing on the Indus seals:

(a) This may represent the yajamana who is supposed to strut about with raised arms over the sacrificial ground, at the Vajapeya ritual.

(b) This sign probably refers to the multiple plough used in preparing the sacrificial ground.

(c) This sign of a bird [which has been interpreted as a cock (i.e., kozhi) by Father Heras] probably represents the kapinjala or tittiri bird which is associated with the aswamedha sacrifice.

(d) This sign seems to represent the high stool or couch called asandi on which the soma plant is to be placed inside the agnidhra shed (History of Dharmastra, page 1160).

(e) This sign seems to represent the trident symbol associated with some deities, particularly Siva.
(f) This sign can be interpreted as referring to the harp (vana or vallaki) which is supposed to be played at the sacrificial ground at night to keep the yajamana awake.

(g) Certain signs like these represent crab, fish, etc. A number of aquatic animals figure in the Aswamedha ritual.

(h) This symbol seems to represent the scene where the sacrificer places his staff on his shoulder and struts about.

(i) This sign bears apparent reference to the udumbara stool on which the adhvaryu sits.

The number of symbols and their interpretations can be added to substantially. It seems, however, unnecessary to proceed on these lines further; it is presumed that enough evidence has been given above to strongly indicate that:

(a) the seals do not contain a readable language script in the form of syllabaries or logograms;

(b) the signs probably refer to events or scenes connected with Vedic sacrifices in the same way that the animal representations bear reference to such sacrifices; and

(c) the suggestion that the signs should be read in terms of modern Dravidian languages (particularly Tamil) should be carefully re-examined.
Symbols found on Ceylon coins of first millennium B.C.
Symbols found on Ceylon coins of first millennium B.C.
This note may conclude with two significant references, namely, to the symbols found on old Ceylon coins, and the signs shown in the ‘speaking boards’ of Easter Island.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon*, Volume 34, p. 90 (1937), Father Heras refers to the cast and struck copper coins of Ceylon. Concerning the suggestion of Babu Durgaprasad about the remarkable similarity of some punch signs in the coins of Upper India to the Indus script, Father Heras has remarked that the signs appearing on the coins are “placed in such an apparent, perhaps real, disorder that they cannot be put in a continuous way to form a phrase. They seem to have an independent, and perhaps a purely symbolic or heraldic, meaning”. With regard to the copper coins found in Ceylon, Father Heras remarks: “I was most agreeably surprised when I realized that the signs found in all the early cast and struck coins of Ceylon were purely Mohenjo Daro signs (having, however, some small and accidental differences). Moreover, after having deciphered all the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions, it was not difficult to find that those signs are not independent symbols, but characters of an inscription which make a perfect meaning.” While finding close resemblance between the Indus script and the Ceylon coin symbols, Father Heras reads the latter in Tamil. He ascribes the date of early first millennium B.C. to these coins and considers them to be pre-Buddhistic.

His explanation for the striking similarity of the two sets of symbols is worded thus: “Finally these inscriptions once more prove that the race that produced the marvellous civilization of the Indus Valley was spread over India down to Ceylon. The marks on potsherds of the pre-historic tombs of the Hyderabad State, the signs on rocks of the Nilgiris and the signs on other pieces of pottery found in the Tinnevelly District are only steps in the long journey from the Indus Valley down to Ceylon.” In other words, Father Heras is convinced that, like the Indus Valley inhabitants, the authors of the punch-marked coins of Ceylon were Tamilians who had spread out into Ceylon long before 1000 B.C. (But did they carry their script with them?)

I have given* some of the symbols found in the Ceylonese coins, and the reader will no doubt, be convinced of the identity of many of the symbols with those found in the Indus Valley. As

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* Vide pp. xxxvii and xxxviii
against Father Heras's theory of a Tamilian origin of Ceylon symbols, it may be pointed out that there are strong traditions of a migration of Aryan peoples from the mouth of the Indus to Ceylon in the first half of the first millennium B.C. and that, when the Aryans came to Ceylon, they found the land occupied only by primitive communities of the Vedoid type. The voyage of King Vijaya in historical times (5th Century B.C.) must have been preceded by a number of earlier movements of Aryan peoples from North India to Ceylon along the West Coast. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the symbols found in the punch-marked coins of Upper India* and of Ceylon bear a close resemblance to each other and to the Indus Valley signs because they are the continuation of the same Aryan tradition and symbolism.

Concerning the signs found in the 'speaking boards' of Easter Island, considerable research has been done by Dr. Heine-Geldern. He finds great similarity between some of the Indus signs and those appearing on the 'speaking boards', vide plate herewith attached. According to Dr. Heine-Geldern, it was the Indus Valley script which was carried to Easter Island by ancient sea-farers.

In the face of the above evidences, it is for the reader to judge whether the Indus civilization and the Indus script should be attributed to a southern people speaking a Dravidian language or to Indo-Aryans who flourished in Saptasindhu about 6000 years back and sang the songs of the Veda in the very same area where Mohenja Daro and Harappa once flourished.

* The punch-marked and cast coins of India, going back to the sixth century B.C., also carry symbols, many of which resemble those found on the Indus seals on the one hand, and the Ceylonese coins, on the other. These symbols are: the rayed solar wheel; the six-armed figure composed of taurines (i.e., rishabhas); umbrellas; tusked elephant; four fishes in a rectangular tank, with a central pillar; patterns in foliage; frog; steel yard (scale?); caduceus; groups of three human figures; crescent moon on a hill; taurines (bulls) in a four-chambered quadrangle; crab and other aquatic animals; four-chambered squares (vedis?); peacock on hill; swastika with a central dot; three spears (trisula); an oval table on two legs; triskelion (three legs) with central boss; vajradanda and trisula proper.

It is not clear if the Indus symbols had any meaning other than religious. If the Indus seals typify 'dakshina' (priestly remuneration), it is possible to read numbers in the signs, in a rhetorical manner, since it is well known that the Indo-Aryans used rhetorical language in their numerology (vide pages 389 et seq. of A.vatarangini, Vol I.) The signs may also be intended to be read acrophonically; this will support the derivage of Brahmi from the Indus signs.
De Hevesy's comparison of Indus Valley symbols with Easter Island script.
Signature of two Maori chiefs who signed the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) - Symbols numbered resemble those on Indus seals.
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ERRATA

(The author regrets that despite his best efforts, mistakes requiring correction have crept into the book. Minor printing lapses have not been listed here.)

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THE HOMELAND OF INDO-ARYANS.
CIRCA- 500 B.C.
Chapter—I

THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST: CHINA AND TIBET

It would be appropriate to open this chapter with a quotation from a speech delivered by the late Lord Meston before an American audience in 1930, as an instance of the congenital racial prejudice exhibited by European minds, however cultivated they might be, and however much they might have “eaten the salt of the Orient”:

“Our conception of bygone India must he that of a country singularly isolated and absorbent, with few entrances and practically no exits. In Europe, the ancient world was one of much racial migration and movement; the medieval (Western) world was busy with the comings and goings of soldiers and adventurers, travellers and scholars, for whom national boundaries were of no consequence. Not so with India. (Here) there was no continental interchange of men and thought. Its land frontiers were great mountain masses, the loftiest and densest in the globe, while elsewhere the unknown terrors of the ocean guarded. It lived in seclusion, in itself and for itself, churning over and over for centuries under enervating skies. No cleansing winds of outside thought swept through the galleries of the (Indian) mind.”

The phrase “unknown terrors of the ocean” is especially laughable and intriguing, since it would reduce the ancient Aryans to the status of inferior landlubbers, always hugging the terra firma and afraid to venture into the kalapani, wherein unknown perils and tribulations doubtless existed to overwhelm the venturesome. We have seen (vide Vol. I) how untrue this picture of the ancient Hindus is, in the light of the many daring excursions by sea they had made into the West, when the rest of the world was locked in the dead slumber of barbarism and ignorance. Malabar, Ceylon, the Coro-
mandel, the Red Sea (Persian Gulf), the Mediterranean, had all been visited scores of times by the sons of India in their powerful galleys driven by wind and muscle. In due course the Pillars of Hercules were passad, and Britain reached in daring sea-voyages. Even Africa was circumnavigated some 2000 years before the Portuguese sailors did so.*

If what is stated above is dismissed as vague pre-history, let us examine what the situation was in historical times. We have seen that Indian soldiers fought in Xerxes's army in the 6th century B.C., and Seleucus employed large contingents from Aryavarta. Hannibal had doubtless taken his trained elephants from India, and it is on record that, in the 1st century B.C., the Caesars employed Indian mahouts to look after the Roman elephantry.† There were Indian units in the Roman army, and there is evidence of one such unit having served in Britain under the Romans. In the Cirencester museum there is a 1st century A.D. statue of an Indian cavalry man with the following legend: “Dannicus Eqes Ala Indiana TVR Albani” (Indian Trooper, Dannica of the Ala Indiana, of the Regiment Albanus) who had served 16 years, and had died in England. About the same time it is known that the Procurator of Britain,

* Dr. Fick (Social Organisation in Northern India) states that the Indians, like the Phoenicians, used direction - finding birds (disa - kaka) for locating land. Pliny, citing Cornelius Nepos, refers to Hindu sailors having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, venturing into the Atlantic and being driven by storms into the coast of Germany. Dr. Sayce (Hibbert Lectures) maintains that commerce between India and Babylon must have existed as early as 3000 B.C., when Ur Bagas ruled over Ur of the Chaldees. Shalmaneser IV of Assyria (circa 725 B.C.) received presents of Indian elephants, conveyed by sea. The Bavera (Babylon) Jataka treats of voyages between India and the Red Sea (i.e. Persian Gulf). In the Mahabharata, Yudhishthira is stated to have received presents from mlechcha kings of the Lohita (Red) Sea Coast, i.e., Persian Gulf.

† Conversely, Roman guards, described as “powerful Yavanas of terrifying looks, dumb mlechchas wearing long coats”, were employed by Pandyan Kings. Ancient Tamil works mention Roman colonies, and Yavanas importing Roman wine, lamps, lead and vases. It may be mentioned here that after the death of Alexander, his successors in Asia came to rely heavily on trained war-elephants, controlled presumably by Indian mahouts. In the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), between Cassander and Antigonas, it is said that Seleucus, who sided with Cassander, deployed 480 elephants against Antigonas, who had only 70 of these animals. “......the victory (of Cassander) is memorable in military history as an outstanding triumph of the war elephant.” (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1957, Vol. XII, P. 584).
Julius Classicarius, had an Indian wife called Julia Pacata Indiana, whose father was Julius Indus, a cavalry officer from India, whose regiment earned the title of “Pia Fidelis”* in circa 80 A.D. Buddhism and Jainism had travelled all over the Near East and taken root even in Greece. Al Biruni says, “In former times Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the countries up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic”. I have mentioned elsewhere that the two well-known Greek Zenos were only Jainas or followers of Mahavira, and that Athens was the home of Indian Sophists. So many Buddhists were converted into Christianity that it was found useful to canonise Buddha himself as a Christian Saint—the St. Jehoshaphat of the Roman Calendar of Saints.† There were also many Indians professing the Vedic religion in this Near East area. In the 2nd century B.C., there were Hindu chiefs in Syria (as Zenob mentions) who rebelled against their overlord and ultimately found refuge in Armenia—where they founded a town and built temples for Gisane (Krishna) and installed idols which they had brought from India. The rebel chiefs were subsequently murdered, but their descendants continued to hold their fiefs and control the Hindu temples till about 300 A.D., when St. Gregory invaded their territories and destroyed the temples and the idols, despite the heroic resistance put up by the priests. Many Hindus were forcibly converted or killed on this occasion, and many more, numbering a few thousands, sent into slavery. The influence of Indian thought on Christianity is widely acknowledged. Asceticism, celibacy, etc., were traceable to Indian practices, “as also relic worship, the use of the rosary, and even the act of crossing oneself.”‡ Certain Christian

* ‘beloved and faithful’.
† In pre-Christian times, there were Buddhists in Alexandria and Clement studied with them in the 2nd Century A.D. His tutor, Pantaenus, travelled to India and expressed the opinion that “the Greeks stole their philosophy from the barbarians” (i.e., Hindus). The Alexandrine Buddhists called themselves Therapeutics, i.e., Thera - puttas in Pali. It is claimed that the Essenes were really Jainas. Mahaffy the historian says, “The Buddhist missionaries were the fore-runners of Christ”. Many of the teachings of the Essenes are reflected in early Christian literature. We do not know if Jesus was an Essene, but some scholars feel that he was at least influenced by them. (See A History of the Bible, by Gladstone Bratton, P. 68.)
‡ The Albigenses (a Christian heretical sect) believed in ahimsa and strict vegetarianism as did, to a certain extent, the later Hussites, the Quakers, etc. The Mormons of America have adopted some Hindu ideas via the Origenists. The
‘heresies’ freely borrowed Indian ideas. For example, Manichaeanism borrowed Buddhist ideologies, while Gnosticism reveals unmistakable Hindu influences. * Certain early Church-fathers believed in transmigration of souls (e.g. Origen, 185 A.D.) †. Apart from the traffic in religion and rituals, there was much commerce in goods and peoples. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (1st century A.D.) mentions numerous Indian ports engaged in trade with Persia, Syria and the Mediterranean. Even African ports saw many vessels constructed at Barygaza (i.e. Barukaccha), according to the author of this book. ‡

According to the distinguished British proconsul whose views I have cited, Ancient India ever lived at the importing end of art, learning, and industry, and its outward commerce in these commodities was negligible; an effete and introspective isolation was the role of India in World History! I am afraid, the noble Lord, a flower of the great administrative cadre created by Imperialist Britain, could not have gone off the track more. In the light

modern Unitarians, who borrowed heavily from Arianism, come rather close to Hindu ideas of Godhead.

* “Gnosticism was an Oriental system of speculative belief emphasising esoteric knowledge or mystical illumination” (A History of the Bible by F. Gladstone Bratton Page 121).

† Vincent Smith admits that ‘some orthodox forms of Christian teaching owe some debt to the lessons of Gautama’. Winternitz agrees with this view and points out some admixture of Buddhist thoughts and legends in the Gospels.

Schelling, Mansel, etc., attribute the ‘parable style’ of the Bible to the Buddhist *Jatakas*; the divine birth of Christ bears some comparison to that of Buddha, who also had a miraculous conception, with a star appearing at the appointed place, and a prophesy (Asita’s) indicating the birth. Comparing the story of a pious disciple of Buddha walking on water, with a similar tale in the Gospels, Max Muller remarks that the coincidence can only be the result of historical contact and transference. The story of the Prodigal Son is anticipated almost in the same form in the Buddhist work *Suddamma Pundarika*. The Russian explorer Lutovitch discovered an old manuscript in Tibet describing Christ’s alleged journeys in India for 12 years. Recently, extensive Buddhist relics have been found in Russian Armenia, including a reclining statue of Avalokiteswari or the ‘Lady of the mountain’. (Readers may recall that Mirza Gulam Ahmed of Qadiyan claimed that Christ came to India after the so-called Resurrection, and was finally buried at Srinagar).

‡ The Periplus mentions the following Indian Ocean ports: (1) Messalia (Masulipatam); (2) the Gangae (i.e., Gangetic ports); (3) Barygaza (Broach); (4) Chryse (Malaya Peninsula); (5) Komari (Kanya Kumari) in Limuriki Dramilaka or Tamil Country; (6) Palaisi Mondu and Toprabane (Ceylon).
of the known historical facts of the Aryan peoples in East Asia alone, his animadversion sounds almost like a cruel joke perpetrated on the unsuspecting American audience (who were probably more familiar with the domestic copper-hued Indian than with his vis-a-vis from across the broad oceans, who gave his cognomen to the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere). We have seen in the previous chapters how signal and enduring have been the Aryan contributions to the civilisation and culture of the West, viz., Egypt, the Near East, and Europe from the very remote past going back to 3,500 B.C. We shall now have a look in the other direction and visualise the great service rendered by Ancient India to human progress in the East, i.e., China and South-East Asia, the Pacific Islands, and even far-off New Zealand and South America.

The researches of scholars like Aurel Stein and Hudson have unlocked some of the ancient secrets of Eastern China and Turkestan. In the Far East, much valuable work has been done by archaeologists and epigraphists like Göëdes, Kern, Krom, Brandes, Stutterheim, Quatruch-Wales, G.H. Luce, Stern, Sylvain Levi, not to mention the far from negligible efforts of Indian historians like Sarkar, R. C. Majumdar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, J. Gouda (a brilliant Sanskritist) and the distinguished Chabra of the Indian Archaeological Department. Mention must also be made of the veteran proconsul Raffles, an early historian of no mean order, who wrote a History of Jawa on a comprehensive scale, "from the earliest times till the arrival of the British forces in 1811". His contemporary, Crawfurd, was a typical sun-dried bureaucrat of the complacent condescending type, passing most sweeping and superficial judgments on the culture and art of the "Indian islands", as he called the East Indies. Both the Hindus and the East Indians were, of course, 'natives' to him, to be assessed with a critical superciliousness born of a keen sense of the White Man's burden in this "darkest Asia". He frequently and most irritatingly contrasts the "generous and manly genius of the European nations" with the "feebleness, incapacity, and puerility of the Asiatics".

Indonesians themselves have taken a hand, belatedly it is true, at the writing of their own ancient history: prominent among these are Poerbatjaraka, Mohd. Yamin, and R. Goris (the last specialising in Balinese). Among the local scholars there is
an understandable reaction against Indian research, which is alleged to have laid too much stress on Indian elements in Indonesian culture; even amongst some European writers this tendency is noticeable. Krom always gave due emphasis to the Hindu contribution to Javanese history and civilisation; the opening sentence of his *magnum opus* is quite significant: “The History of the countries which would ultimately become Netherlands East Indies starts with the arrival of the Hindus”. On the other hand, Stutterheim was inclined to underplay the Indian role in the composite culture, and even accused Krom of trying to give credit to “the Asiatic foreigners” on the least provocation.

Two great factors should be consistently kept in mind by all students of history while dealing with the South-East Asian problems. With the exception of Burma, all the peoples of these regions (Malay, Sumatran, Javanese, Sundanese, Dayak, Phillippino, Annamese, Cambodian) belong to the same racial stock and speak a tongue (Malay) which, despite numerous dialectical differences (there are over 250 dialects), has the same structure and morphology all over the area; within reasonable limits, a person of one territory can understand a conferee hailing from another Malay country. [Meanwhile, Indonesia is trying to develop a common language, based on Malay, called ‘Bahasa (Basha) Indonesia’]. Moreover, a common lingo (or bazaar-Malay) had been in use throughout this region, and this was the universal medium of speech all over the archipelago from time immemorial. The second important factor is that all these areas have been strongly permeated, from the beginning of history, with Indian influence, with the result that there are many common features of culture, civilisation, art, architecture, and religion, throughout this vast region. Significantly, the new Indonesian flag carries the (Old Javanese) slogan “Binneka tungal eka”, i.e., “one, despite differences”; there is deep historical import in this motto.

Till about a hundred years ago, the story of Greater India was practically unknown to the world. In India, naturally, little was done by the alien rulers to foster the study of greater-Indian activities, which might possibly have political repercussions of a nationalistic type. In South-East Asia also, little historical research was undertaken on the part of the ruling powers, whether European or indigenous. Only of late has there been a keen national desire to write, or rewrite, the story of the peoples com-
prising this part of the world; however, there is still some reluctance to embark on full-fledged historiography, and archaeological effort is spasmodic and rudimentary in many areas. (For example, in Laos, most of the historical records are still in the temples and there is little attempt at collation; in the popular mind, the large temples in ruin are attributed to the work of the gods!) Luckily, the inscriptions, the monumental remains and, most of all, the Chinese chronicles augment the all too scanty efforts of the local historians. The universal substratum of Indian language/literature, besides being a strong leavening influence, is also conducive to correct historical appreciation. Over a thousand years ago, a Hindu ruler of Java arranged for a summary, in Javanese, of the 18 books of the Sanskrit Mahabharata to be made, and this attained great popularity. Many Sanskrit works, mostly theological and epic, were also translated straight into Old Javanese. Most prominent among these is the Bhattacharya, a standard book of learning in Indonesia. Old Javanese poetry also borrowed heavily from Sanskrit, both in manner and in matter. For instance, the Arjuna Vivaha and the Nagarakretagama are highly popular local masterpieces based on Sanskrit models. The situation is similar in other parts of South-East Asia, particularly Siam and Indo-China.

Hitherto, the gentle reader has had his peregrinations towards the lands of the setting sun. I now invite him to go on a grand conducted tour of the countries heavily subjected to Aryan influence in the early epochs of our history, in South and South-east Asia and beyond.

To the north of Sapta Sindhu lie the countries now known as Tibet and China; but in ancient times the former was known as Mahacheena and the latter as Cheena. There is a little controversy regarding the origin of the name Cheena or China. Some would hold that the name is derived from the TS'in dynasty of China (247 B.C.) and that prior to this date the country was known by other names. The Arthasastra of Kautilya (circa 300 B.C.) and the Buddhist tales name the country as 'Cheena' and hence the above theory is not supportable, as Jacobi has pointed out. He thinks that the name originated in India, not China, and that the reference to "Abhūtapūrvam Jana-padam" in the Arthasastra would mean that Indo-China must have been colonised even before the 3rd century B.C. (Blagden is
inclined to agree with Jacobi, but Finot and Pelliot are not.) The reference to Suvarnabhūmi (Sumatra) as colonised by Asoka, found in the Ceylonese Mahavamsa, supports Jacobi’s view that ‘Cheena’ was an early Indian coinage. The Periplus calls China, ‘Thina’.

In addition we have the writings of Pankou, a Chinese author of the first century A.D. (or earlier), who describes sea-voyages from the Gulf of Tonkin to a place which he calls Houang-Tche and which is equated phonetically with Kanchi in South India. The author states that this place was two months’ journey by sea from Pagan (in Burma) and that Chinese government officials traded with the merchants of Kanchi, exchanging gold and silk for pearls, glass, precious stones,† and other rare goods. The country was stated to be very hospitable, but the foreign boats which carried the Chinese were none too pleasant to travel by, because of the great tempests en route and the predatory habits of the boatmen. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, basing himself mainly on this evidence, thinks that there was active maritime trade between Canton and South India “from the II century B.C. onwards, at least.” He finds support for his surmise in the discovery of a Chinese coin of the II century B.C. in Mysore. He feels that the Hindus must probably have been in contact with China by the sea route, much earlier than even the II century B.C.

By the overland route, of course, the Indian intercourse with Tibet and China must have started several centuries earlier, since Manu (circa 1000 B.C.) refers to China, which is also mentioned in the Mahabharata (6th or 7th century B.C.).†

* South India was famous in olden times for these costly commodities. Buch (Economic Life in Ancient India) refers to the legend that the Kohinoor diamond was found in South India, was worn by one of the heroes of Mahabharata (the King of Anga); this would place it about 5000 years ago. Nothing more is heard of the diamond till it appeared as the property of Vikramaditya. In the Mahabharata, Chola and Pandya kings bring many gems of great value and brilliancy” (as presents).

† China is mentioned in the Ramayana as the land of Kosa Karas (i.e., silkworms). Raw silk was obtained originally from China by Hindu weavers, (mainly: South Indian). Later on, silk rearing was practised at home, as mentioned in some Jataka tales. Prof. Lacouperie thinks that sea trade between South India and China dates from about 680 B.C., “when the sea-traders of the Indian Ocean, whose Chiefs were Hindus, founded a colony called Langa (Lanka Sukha) which was subsequently merged in the Kingdom of Cambodia (Kamboja).”
(Arjuna is said to have gone to Tibet, preceding the Aswamedha sacrifice.) In the historical period we find Hindu merchants travelling in their caravans to the Pamirs and beyond, through the highest mountain passes in the world.* In the north-west they traversed the Hindu Kush and the Sulaiman mountains to trade in Bactria, which was a great emporium in ancient times, where the trade routes from India, China and Persia converged. It is said that Indian cargoes were put on rafts and sent down the Oxus (the Yaksu of the Vedas) to the Caspian sea and thence to the Euxine. Similar cargoes went east, across the Pamirs and the Gobi desert, to the outer regions of the Celestial Empire. Pelliot has shown that, at least from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, there was a regular overland route from East India to China, via Upper Burma and Yunnan. The famous Ledo road of the II World War had been anticipated 2000 years ago.

We have already seen that in the Vedic and post-Vedic ages the frontiers of Aryavarta extended, in the north, far beyond the political frontiers of present-day India. Sapta Sindhu comprised within itself, in those days, the whole of Afghanistan and large parts of Western and Eastern Turkestan and the Pamir plateau, where Gosthana (or Khotan) and Kamboja and Prakanya (Perghana) were flourishing Aryan colonies. Tibetan and Khotanese tradition is strongly indicative of Aryan predominance in this area, going back to the 2nd millennium B.C. Aurel Stein found evidences of Indian rule in Turkestan and Khotan, where the coins and inscriptions indicate the use of an Indian language in administration, up to the 3rd century A.D. The names of officials were Indian, like Bhima, Nandasena, etc., as also their designations, e.g. chara (spy), lekhaharaka (letter-bearer), duta (messenger). (These names recall those found in the Arthasastra.) An Indian type of government was also seen firmly established in Upper Pamirs to the north of Tibet, in the early centuries of the Christian era. There was a strong overcast of Indian religion, art and culture in the area, where the Indian language and literature had also taken firm roots. Both the

* I have cited elsewhere Panini's description of the Uttara Patha, or the North Road which connected the Bay of Bengal with the Caspian Sea. This road was in existence even by the 9th or 8th century B.C. and it carried the international traffic with Tibet and China on the one hand, and the Near East on the other.
Kuchaens (on the border of the Gobi desert*) and the Khotanese used a form of the Gupta script borrowed from India. Indian influences were so strong in this region that Aurel Stein was led to feel that he was almost on the frontiers of the Punjab, instead of amidst ruined cities a thousand miles to the north. In his book *Ser-India = Innermost Asia*, Stein firmly establishes the basically Indian character of the culture, language and government over vast regions of Central Asia, right up to the inner borders of the Celestial Empire. This Indian domination lasted well into the time of Hieun Tsang, who gives a detailed account of the state of religion and culture in Turkestan and Central Asia. He mentions the areas known to him as Yenki and Kuchat† (both over 1500 miles from the Indian border) where the modified Indian script was in use and where the Buddhistic faith, as practised in India, was scrupulously adhered to. Books in Indian languages were included in the curriculum of religious studies in these far-off places, thus indicating familiarity with Indian \textit{lipi} on the part of the students.

It is a permissible inference, therefore, that contact between India and China had been established through Central Asia, perhaps as early as the 2nd millennium B.C. Aryavarta and China had a long common border, and the high mountains proved no barrier to intercourse for peoples accustomed to lead big caravans through mountain passes covered in perpetual snow. As regards the commerce in pre-Buddhist times, we have unfortunately no clear authorities. Panini knew of China as the land from which silk was imported, but he provides no more details.

A little research into the origins of Chinese culture may be useful here. The Father of Chinese History (Su Ma Chien, \textit{circa} 149 B.C.) refers to a tradition that the swamps of Central China were reclaimed by a legendary hero called "Yu the Great", presumed to have lived prior to the Shang-Hsia period. It was implied in the legend that Yu, the Great Land-Reclaimer (probably a mythical counterpart of the great Sage Kasyapa, who

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*This area was also known in ancient times as Tukhara (land of the Tukhars), and Kucha, Turfant, Karashahr were its principal cities. The people were Buddhists and Sanskrit was the common language of culture. Through Tukhara, Indian civilisation permeated into China, long before the Christain times.

† The famous Bower M.S. (400 A.D.), containing a Sanskrit summary of the Charaka and Susruta Samhitas, was found in a monastery of Kucha.
is stated to have drained the Kashmir Valley, \textit{circa} 5000 B.C.)• was the founder of the Chinese civilisation. This official legend, which had been maintained for over 2000 years, "has now been exploded, partly by the archaealogical discoveries and partly by the more critical examination of ancient Chinese literature. It would appear that this Yu was not really a human being (even of a legendary type) but a God, who had created the solid earth, after making the flood waters recede." (Toynbee). The great writer on Sinology, H. Maspero, was, however, misled into thinking the legend to be quasi-historical; on his authority, subsequent writers have perpetuated the error and linked the Chinese legend (on grounds of analogy) with the settled facts of history concerning other River-valley civilisations on the Indus, the Nile, etc. Toynbee mentions that, of late, Maspero’s theories have been under fire and that it has been suggested, on valid authority, that the reclamation of the swamps in the Hwang-Ho region occurred rather late in Chinese history. In Toynbee’s words, "The origins of the civilisation in China, on their technological and economic side, are more like its origins in Europe than like its origins in the valleys of the Indus, the Twin-Rivers, and the Nile”.

According to the revised thinking on the subject, Chinese civilisation starts with the culture of the Shang dynasty (\textit{circa} 1500 B.C.), whose achievements appear, on first discovery, to be full-blown and distinctive, without traces of earlier gradual development within China itself. As Toynbee observes, "The Shang culture might have come to birth under the stimulus of an older civilisation whose influence we cannot detect". Shang metal industry is so skilful and artistic that it must have had a training of centuries;† similarly, the Shang script, as seen in the "oracle bones";‡ is not crude or primitive; it is well formed and has reached almost the stage of its modern Chinese counterpart,

• Hence the name Kashmira, i.e., Kasyapamarga.
† Says Grahame Clark (\textit{World Pre-History}, P. 198), "It seems highly unlikely that (this) bronze metallurgy was invented independently in the valley of the Hwang-Ho (Anyang); and the probability is that this, like the basic elements of farming and possibly the painting of pottery, spread in this area from much earlier centres in Western Asia”.
‡ There were pieces of bone or tortoise-shell on which questions were inscribed to ancestors or to gods, in the hope of obtaining answers by applying heat and watching the course of the ensuing cracks in the bones!
i.e., being fully ideographic, without being completely phonetical. No trace of an earlier less-developed script has been found in the area; nor is there any sign of a mature metal industry leading up to the Shang art. On this evidence, Toynbee is inclined to think that "the elements of (Shang) culture had seeped into the birth-place of Neolithic and Bronze-age culture of China, from the South as well as from the West, some time in the III millennium B.C. This southern source of culture is mysterious in the present state of our knowledge. To the south and south-west the nearest centre of civilisation was the Indus Valley, but the obstacles to the radiation of culture by an all-tropical route, south of the Tibetan plateau, were enormous."

The great historian feels that cultural contact between India and China via the Himalayan passes and Nepal and Tibet could not have occurred before a few centuries preceding the Christian era, and that therefore the Shang culture could not have come direct from the Indus valley. He finds, however, that the origin of this Chinese civilisation remains a "baffling problem". *

To sum up the views thus far adumbrated:

(1) There is no evidence that the Chinese claim for a civilisation and a great dynasty of kings earlier than the Shangs is based on historical data. In the words of Sir L. Woolley, "It is true that the orthodox Chinese tradition talks of a Hsia dynasty of 17 or 18 kings supposed to have ruled over China from 2205 B.C. to 1765, when it was overthrown by 'T'ang the successful', who founded the Shang dynasty, which continued in power until it, in its turn, was overthrown in 1122 B.C. by the Chou (dynasty). But there is no material evidence whatsoever to prove the existence of a Hsia dynasty."

(2) The Shang dynasty seems to have ushered in a civilisation, round about 1500 B.C., which seems to have been borrowed in a developed condition from abroad and whose earlier growth is not traceable on Chinese soil.

(3) This new 'full-blown' civilisation was apparently imported from the south-west of Anyang (= foreign?), the Shang capital, but there is no trace of a Sumerian intrusion.

* The Shangs started their rule about 1500 B.C.; they were overthrown by the Chous circa 1100 B.C. The Chous were less civilised than the Shangs, who absorbed the barbarous intruders.
(4) Some doubt is felt by orthodox historians if the traffic in culture could have been from the Indus-Valley (whose origins admittedly go back to 3500 B.C.) because of the "great Himalayan barrier".

(5) The unproved Chinese tradition referred to above further holds that the Shang kings, who set up their capital at Anyang (modern Yin), were not natives of this region but immigrants who had settled in this area after various wanderings, but the tradition fails to indicate their original home.

Because the civilisation was introduced into the Hwang-Ho basin "ready-made", one may be inclined to think that the Shangs might be some aristocratic tribes hailing from lands far west of China, perhaps even from the Mediterranean basin, who imposed themselves on the native (Chinese) population. This suggestion, however, does not hold much water, in view of the "serious difficulties in chronology and derives no support from archaeological material." (Woolley). Absolutely no evidence of any Mediterranean culture has been found either at Anyang or at the older sites of Chengchou and Loyang. On the contrary, Dr. Li Chi (a leading Chinese authority) finds, in the words of Woolley, "an astonishing resemblance between Anyang clay vessels and similar vessels discovered at Mohenjo-daro, and at Jamdat Nasr in Mesopotamia".

It is obvious that there could have been no conquest, or even an organised intrusion, of Sumerian peoples in the Hwang-Ho basin. We have already seen that the ancient Sumers themselves were 'foreigners' to Mesopotamia and in all probability hailed from the Indus Valley. Their further tribal movements, if any, were towards the west, perhaps in the direction of Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral. The geographical and other factors render it extremely unlikely that a migration towards the Chinese heart-land could have occurred, with Mesopotamia as its base, some time about 2000 B.C. There might have been a spread of ideas, but even this is against the probabilities of the case, since the original source of the Sumerian culture itself (e.g. the seals and the pottery) came from the Indus-Valley, which is much nearer the Yellow River basin than Iraq. Woolley would, in this connection, postulate that "bearing in mind that the search for metal ores suddenly became so precious, China could have sent prospectors wandering far and wide.........We may
imagine a tribe in Western China, having even indirect contacts with the Middle East, might learn the possibility of using pictorial signs to represent sounds and invent its own set of characters accordingly". In other words, Woolley, while ruling out a Sumerian inroad into China, would contemplate the possibility of a Chinese Cultural Mission going to Sumeria and returning home with all the equipment of a higher civilisation, ready for use.

I am afraid the difficulties posed by Sir Leonard against an Indian origin for the Anyang Culture arise mainly because of the learned savant's chronic under-estimation of the age of the Vedas and of the enterprise and vigour shown by the Aryan nations in the early phases of their history, as evidenced by the Vedic and allied literature. We have already seen that Saptasindhu really consisted of large slices of territories which now form part of China. Further, the Vedic civilisation was much older than the so-called Indus-valley culture, which, if anything, was an offshoot of the Rig-Vedic culture, but later in age. On this basis, I suggest that the following assumptions naturally follow:

(a) There was a culture in India, much older than that of Anyang (of about 1500 B.C.), which could have been the source of the Chinese post-chalcolithic civilisation.

(b) This Indian culture was not confined to the Indus Valley at all; it spread far beyond the Himalayas in the north and had reached up to Khotan and Kucha, i.e., over a thousand miles farther towards the Polar region.

(c) The Vedic Aryans were in intimate geographical contact with China, the Himalayas posing no problem at all to the enterprising Aryan peoples, who were great travellers by land and by sea, and who easily negotiated the mountain passes both to the east and to the west of Saptasindhu.

(d) There is therefore strong room for suggesting that the "ready-made" culture which both Toynbee and Woolley think came to China from the South-west should have originated in Saptasindhu. The subsequent facile spread of Buddhism, Indian language, Aryan script and literature into China, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era (as mentioned previously) is
perhaps a confirmatory indication of the intrusion of Aryan peoples into the Anyang area some time before 1500 B.C. There are other evidences also which deserve mention: for instance, wheat and rice seem to have been brought into China rather late (i.e., in the time of the Shangs) and this may point to the propagation of these grains from India. Similarly, the Chinese script (in the “oracle-bones” of Anyang) might have been derived from the Indus-Valley script, as I have mentioned elsewhere. The contemporary astronomical knowledge of the Chinese (e.g. the records of eclipses), and the offering of sacrifices to propitiate the deities on those occasions, show close parallelism with India. That Chinese philosophy and statecraft owe much of their spiritual heritage to India is now commonly accepted.

In the words of Dr Majumdar, “the commercial and political influences of India in the north resulted in almost a complete cultural conquest of the region. It will be no exaggeration to say that vast regions in Central Asia owed their civilisation principally to India.” As I have pointed out, the influx of Indian culture started in prehistoric times, perhaps about 2000 B.C. (which marks the reign of Sri Rama of Ayodhya). The traditions of this culture remained strong and active right into historical times. Even as late as the 7th century A.D., the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found it in full play, as mentioned elsewhere. Through Central Asia the culture permeated China, and in due course, the countries further east, like Korea and Japan.*

In the first millennium B.C., the wisdom of the Upanishads had its impact on Chinese higher thought, in the same fashion that it had surged west into Syria and Anatolia, as described earlier (vide Vol. I). The great Chinese philosopher, Lao Tse (600 B.C.), bases his theories on the Advaita. His ‘Tao’ (usually translated as the “hard way” or Tapo Marg) is equatable with the imperishable soul or Atman. He emphasises passivity in

*Buddhism came to Japan circa 562 A.D., when a King of Korea sent a mission to Japan, incidentally recommending Buddhism to the latter’s attention as the “religion of the civilised world”, and sending an image of the Enlightened One. Subsequently priests and philosophers came over to Japan in large numbers from India, Kamboja and Burma. By the 7th century A.D., the Sramana religion was strongly established in Japan.
terms of Sri Krishna's "active inaction". Tao, like the Egyptian Maat (Mahat), and Greek Logos (or Sabda), animates and pervades all reality. It is the light which lighteth every being and is akin to Divine Power. In the words of Tomlin,* "Thus Atman becomes Brahman. The Tao of many an innermost self will turn out to be that which existed before heaven and earth, motionless, formless, fathomless, alone and never changing". Taoism is still a living force in China and claims nearly 50 million adherents, despite the onslaughts of dialectic materialism.

The story of Buddhism in China is a fascinating one, but its main importance from a historical point of view is the cultural and economic contacts which it fostered between India and the Celestial Empire. Confucius (born in 551 B.C.) seems to have heard of Buddha and imbibed some of his philosophy.† Without specifically denying God, he emphasised good conduct and morality as above all religious speculation or ritualism. He advocated methods of rational enquiry and refused to subscribe to the Yogic practices which had made great inroads into the Chinese religion of the time. The cultivation of Samadhi (or trance-state) according to Yoga principles was something to which, after some early experiments, he refused ever to apply himself, thus showing a striking similarity with Siddhartha. "I have spent the whole day without food and a whole night without sleep in order to meditate. It was of no use. It is better to learn," said Confucius. In the words of Tomlin, "When questioned about matters beyond immediate human experience, he answered in terms more downright than even Buddha". He set about reforming government, society, and personal morality, and according to Chinese tradition, he achieved such remarkable successes that his period of authority as Prime Minister of the Lu State (500 B.C.) is still regarded as the Golden Age of Chinese history. "Dishonesty and dissoluteness," it is recorded in the chronicles, "were ashamed and hid their heads. Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of man, chastity and docility, those of women." (In fact, the records read like a page from Valmiki's Ramayana.) It is stated that the direct descendants of Confucius still live in

* Great Philosophers of the East

† Confucius styled himself "a transmitter, not an originator; one who regards antiquity with trust and affection." He was essentially a humanist and something of an agnostic.
China, but what a China! The Prophet of good form, decorum, and social grace, must no doubt have turned in his venerated grave many times, since Mao Tse Tung came to power.*

There is a Chinese tradition that in the 3rd century B.C. a band of Buddhist monks from India (numbering 18) went over to China on a proselytising mission. There are no records to prove this, but it is well known that, in his zeal to propagate the Dharma, Asoka Vardhana spared no pains or expense in subsidising foreign missions, and the Chinese tradition may well be concerned with a Mauryan enterprise. Moreover, Takshasila and Mathura were in those days great centres of Buddhist learning and numerous foreign students (particularly, Cheenas) were resident there. It is very likely these Chinese students might have induced Indian missionaries to accompany them to China. The spread of the Yue Chi (or Kushan) peoples into Aryavarta from the 2nd century B.C. onwards accelerated the political and cultural contacts between the two countries. Kanishka opened communications with not only the Roman Empire in the West but also China in the East. The Mahavibasha, composed at the instance of Kanishka by the Kashmir General Assembly of Buddhists in the 1st century A.D., is still alive in the Chinese translation, although the Indian original has been lost. Diplomatic missions from China visited the Kushan kingdom and the compliment was faithfully returned, as mentioned in Chinese chronicles, which also record the coming over to China of the Indian sages Kasyapa, Matanga, and Dharmaratna, in the 1st century A.D., to compose Buddhist canonical works in Chinese. To facilitate free intercourse, commercial and religious, between the two great peoples, and to make the trade routes secure, the Chinese Emperor arranged some military surveillance over the areas. From the beginnings of the Christian era, quite a large number of Indians visited China on teaching and text-writing missions. The 5th and 6th centuries A.D., particularly, saw the climax of this evan-

* It was reported in January 1967 that the Red Guards (a militant organ of the Communist Youth, passionately devoted to Mao) had wrecked the monuments at the birthplace of Confucius.
gelical work. Kumarajiva, along with a team of collaborators, stayed in China for several years from 412 A.D., and translated over a hundred Indian treatises into Chinese. This was followed by such a large stream of Aryan visitors to the Chinese empire that substantial Indian colonies grew up at the capital and many other towns.

The colourful episode of Bodhidharma is of great significance in this connection. This saintly Buddhist monk, a scion of a princely family of Kanchi, became the hierarchical head of the Sangha in India. Like all spiritual leaders, he felt impelled to foster a mission to far-off lands still unlit by the warm glow of the Faith. He embarked for South China in A.D. 520, and was received kindly by the Emperor of Canton, to whom he discoursed on the life and teaching of Buddha; but he could not induct the Potentate into the Sangha, despite his eloquence and profound scholarship. In great disappointment Bodhidharma started from Canton for India, ignoring the fact that the Canton river on the way was in great flood. According to the Chinese chronicles (which are supplemented by many pictorial representations of ancient date), the Indian monk, refusing the offer of water transport by the Emperor, actually walked lightly over the floodwaters of the Canton river with his disciples, to the chanting of appropriate mantras. Struck with amazement, the Emperor and his court, who were watching the miracle from the river-bank, immediately crossed the river by boat, and prostrating themselves before Bodhidharma, implored him to stay on at Canton and “turn the wheel of the Law” in China. The Indian saint reluctantly consented, and resided for 12 years at Canton. He even transferred the world headquarters of the Buddhist Sangha to that city, so that from that date China became the centre of the Faith, instead of India. Many distinguished

*Kumarajiva was a prince of Tokharistan (Chinese Turkistan), of which Kucha was the capital and a great centre of Sanskrit learning even up to the time of Huen Tsang. The Kuchan alphabet was Indian. The neighbouring state of Khotan also boasted of much Sanskrit culture and learning up to the 8th century A.D. Numerous ancient Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered in this Central Asian region, including a large library of many thousand scrolls found hidden in a subterranean cave. Sir Aurel Stein discovered here many frescoes inscribed with Brahmi characters and leaves (paper) covered with Brahmi writing.*
Patriarchs (both Chinese and Indian) followed Bodhidharma in the leadership of the Sangha. The embalmed body of one of them (an Indian named Jijnānasēva, 7th century A.D.) is still kept at an important monastery near Canton. The dark complexion and Indian features of this great Patriarch are unmistakable.

India in its turn played host to Chinese intellectuals seeking higher learning and religious instruction. Nalanda became a famous centre of attraction for these foreign students, and in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. it achieved an international reputation for learning and enlightenment, which was unparalleled in that age. The alien scholars, who drank deep from the springs of Indian erudition, usually returned to their homeland with heavy loads of books in translation. Beal calculated, long ago, that the number of Indian texts translated into Chinese amounted to about 700 times the size of the Bible! This figure is likely to be an underestimate, if we include the literary borrowings by countries other than China. In the words of Majumdar, “It is difficult to cite another instance where the literature of one country has been used to this extent by the people of an altogether different race”.

We may now turn to Tibet or Maha-Cheena as it was known to our ancients, in which the evidence of Indian penetration is overwhelming, despite the obstacles posed by the Himalayas. The religion, philosophy, social customs and manners, and principles of administration in that cold and mountainous land were closely modelled on Indian examples from very ancient times. In the early centuries preceding the Christian era, Hindu religion must have made considerable headway into Tibet. There are references to Tibet in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and in Panini’s time one of the trade routes with China passed through Tibet. Buddhist influences came comparatively later, via Nepal and perhaps China, in the 6th century A.D.

Following the death of Harsha (648 A.D.), there was a tragic incident (fortunately a solitary instance of its kind), in which there was a clash of arms between the Indian army and the Chinese forces. Students of Indian history might recall that, when Harsha passed away, the Magadhan throne was usurped by Arjuna, a minister of Harsha, who apparently insulted and mishandled the Buddhist ambassador from China. The latter called on the kings of Nepal and Tibet for assistance, and with a force of cavalry supplied by Srong Tsan Gampo, the famous
Buddhist king of Tibet (who was the son-in-law of the Chinese Emperor), the Chinese envoy invaded Magadha, defeated Arjuna, and took the usurper as a prisoner to China. The storm, however, blew over, and friendly relations were apparently restored between India, Tibet and China soon afterwards, to the eternal credit and good fortune of these great neighbours.

A large stream of Sugata missionaries entered Tibet in the 8th century, at the invitation of the king of Tibet. It would be a truism to say that, in the cultural development of Tibet, the Indian missionaries played even a larger part than was the case with China. The Tibetan chronicles are full of praise for the virtues and achievements of the Aryan leaders. In this context, the origin of the Tibetan alphabet is an interesting study, since, prior to the advent of Buddhism, writing was unknown in Tibet. According to the Tibetan records, the king of Tibet sent his representatives with costly presents to Indian professors at Nalanda and elsewhere with invitations to go to Tibet. The initial efforts were unsuccessful, but ultimately, circa 650 A.D., a Brahmin named (quite appropriately) Lipidatta was induced to journey to the Forbidden Land and teach the art of writing to the Tibetans. In this manner was writing introduced into Tibet, the basis of the script being, naturally, Indian. In the 8th century A.D., the head of the Nalanda University, Santa-Rakshita, paid a visit to Tibet, received a royal welcome, and was given the title of ‘Acharya Bodhisattva’ and appointed High Priest of Tibet. The origins of Tibetan Lamaism are traced to this great personage, who was ably assisted by a monk named Kamala Sila, a brilliant dialectician, who vanquished all opponents in debate and became the Chief Theologian of Tibet. The following decades saw further inrush of Indian preachers into the Frozen Country. King Ralpa-Chan (817 A.D.) invited learned pandits into his kingdom to translate Sanskrit texts into Tibetan. Indian weights and measures were introduced along with Indian coinage, in his reign.

In the Tibetan annals, the name of Atisa or Dipankara Srijnana ranks in importance second only to Siddhartha’s. He arrested the decline of Tibetan Buddhism and stabilised the Lama hierarchical system. Born circa 1000 A.D., Atisa became a great adept, especially in the Dharma Sastras. Hearing of Chandra Kirti of Swarnadwipa (Java), reputedly the greatest scholar of his age, Atisa went over to Java to study under the sage for 12 years.
On his return to India, he was appointed the head of the Vikrama-sila monastery. The king of Tibet sent a special envoy to Atisa Dipankara with large presents, requesting his presence in Tibet. Dipankara declined the gifts but agreed to visit Tibet, after being strenuously pressed. He was received with signal courtesy in Tibet, and allowed to travel all over the land and discourse to the people. He wrote over 20 books and delivered numerous lectures, which are still preserved in Tibetan. As mentioned, he re-organised the religious hierarchy and removed many abuses which had crept into the body spiritual owing to laxity on the part of the ruling classes. He died at Lhasa at the age of 73.

Aryan contribution to Tibetan learning and art did not stop with Dipankara. Indian pandits (both Hindu and Buddhist) poured into the Land of the Eternal Snow in literally thousands every year, and their activities are attested by two huge collections of books, known locally as Kanjur and Tanjur and containing valuable tomes on art, religion, literature, science and sociology. (M. Henri Codier gives a list containing several hundred books written by Indian authors.) Many of these works are translations of Indian compilations which have since been lost in their original, and Tibet is now helping India by rediscovering our own lost manuscripts in a foreign tongue. Meanwhile, Tibetan Buddhism continued to develop on lines peculiar to that mountain kingdom. It gradually became a benign theocracy, in which practical religion, as represented by powerful Lamas, became the most potent factor in political and social life. In due course Tantric forms of Hindu mysticism seeped into the land from Bengal and Assam, and these were grafted on to the 'Little Vehicle' creed which had been the original gift of India to her northern neighbour.

From the facts given above it will be seen how absurd is the charge that India ever lived in economic and spiritual isolation, hemmed in by its natural frontiers, and enervated by the alleged apathy and lack of enterprise of its people. If anything, the Indo-Aryans plunged into action as readily as they did into thought. But they were essentially Good Samaritans rather than greedy swashbucklers. To them the world was not an oyster to be opened with a sword. It was more like a golden book of good deeds teeming with benign adventure and religious fulfilment. This chapter may fittingly close with a quotation from
Dr. Majumdar: "From the remotest times India maintained intercourse with the outside world by way of trade and commerce. As a corollary to this, Indian civilisation also spread far beyond its frontiers. Gradually by its superiority, Indian civilisation transformed the less advanced peoples. The wide regions of Asia to the North, South-East and West, offered a rich and fruitful field for missionary and cultural enterprise and the Indians were not slow to take advantage of it. In the West, Indian influence declined early owing to the impact of Christianity and Islam. In other directions it was greater in extent and more enduring ....... India thus radiated its cultural influence across mountains and seas far beyond the frontiers which nature had set up for her; India played a larger part in civilising Asia than perhaps even Greece or Rome did in respect of Europe".
Chapter—2

THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST:
BURMA AND YUNNAN

Ptolemy called South-East Asia "India beyond the Ganges". Although the mouth of the Ganga and the regions of the Brahmaputra were reached by the Aryans perhaps as early as the 2nd millennium B.C., their march further east, into Burma, Yunnan, and Indo-China, probably did not take place till a thousand more years had passed. From archaeological and other evidence, and from strongly established tradition, it would appear that the migration towards the Rising Sun, started some time in the early half of the 1st millennium B.C. Two routes were followed by the marching Aryan peoples: one was overland, via Burma and Yunnan, and the other was by sea, from various ports long established in Peninsular India, on the eastern and western coasts. The Jataka tales of circa 300 B.C. (Maha Janaka and Samudda Vanija) mention Tamralipti (Tamluk) and Gopalpur as ports of embarkation for Swarnabhumi (Java?). Ptolemy refers to voyages from the Kalinga coast, while the Periplus mentions also Barukaccha and Masulipatam, as starting-off points for Indian traders. Ptolemy stresses the South Indian country (called Limuriki by him) in which were situated the ports of Mouziris (Cranganore), and Tampabane (Ceylon).

The overland route seems to have been in use from very early times. It lay across the upper courses of the great rivers, the Iravathy and the Salween, and passed through Bhamo to the ancient city of Nan Chao (Kunming), and farther on to Canton. That this route was frequently traversed by the Indians is borne out by the fact that several colonies set up by them on the route bore Indian names. As is well known, when enterprising nations send out settlers abroad, the latter often name the new colonies
after localities familiar to them at home (cf. New York, New England, Nova Scotia, New Zealand, etc.). Accordingly, we find several Hindu kingdoms along this overland route. Yunnan (now in South China) was called Gandhara, presumably because of its northern location and mountainous terrain. (Rasiduddin, writing in the 13th century, states that the population of Yunnan, which he calls Gandhara, was mixed Indian and Shan.) The king of this country was called Maharaja, and the people used an alphabet of Indian origin. According to local legends, the great Bodhisatva, Avalokiteswara, came to Yunnan from Central India, to propagate the Faith. Pelliot has indicated a number of factors which strongly suggest predominant Indian influence over this area. It is recorded that, in the 8th century A.D., Indian admirers prevented the Buddhist king from letting in Chinese authority into Yunnan. The Buddhist creed had taken firm root in the land, and all the characteristic emblems of the religion—the Bodhi tree, the stupa relics of Indian saints, etc.—are found in profusion in the neighbourhood of Nan Chao. Hindu scholars were often employed in the kingdom; for example, a Sanyasi named Chandragupta held high office in the State in the 6th century A.D.

Between Nan Chao and the Indian border, there were other Hindu kingdoms. To the east of Manipur was the principality of Ta T’sin (Dakshin ?) ruled over by a Brahmin family. Further east beyond the Chindwin river was another Brahmin kingdom with its capital at Ngan-si. It will thus be seen that, right up to the Chinese border (Yunnan was not then considered part of China), there were established Indian rulers in the early centuries of the Christian era, professing either the Hindu or the Buddhist religion. To the east of Yunnan there were other Hindu states, of which we shall learn in the following chapters. One was the country now called Laos, but called by the Hindus Malavadesa (after Malwa). Its eastern part was known as Dasanna, in imitation of Eastern Rajaputana, which was then known as Dasarna. Travelling further east, we find other Hindu states well known in South-East Asian history, viz., the kingdoms of Champa and Kamboja (modern Vietnam and Cambodia). In fact, the whole area was studded with place-names reminiscent of the Aryan homeland (like Kausambi, Ayodhya, Dharavati and Kalinga) and with strong traditions of living contacts with the
motherland. In the words of Gerini (a distinguished philologist): “From the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin-Gulf we can trace a continuous string of petty states ruled by scions of the Kshattriya (or Brahmin) race, using either Sanskrit or Pali in official documents, after the Indu (Hindu) style and employing Brahmana priests for the propitiatory rites connected with the Court and the State”. The learned author mentions, in addition to those indicated by me, the following Indian kingdoms, viz., Tagon (or Upper Burma), Pagan and Senwi in Central Burma, Maung Hang and Maung Khwan in Indo-China (Laos), and Agranagara in Hanoi. Some of these states have left no records of their history.

It is clear from the above description that the Aryans must have travelled overland to these land-locked territories, traversing some of the most difficult terrain in the world, as the students of the recent Burma military campaigns (also of the terrible story of the Indian refugees trekking overland through Burma, in 1942, following the Japanese attack) will vividly recall. But travel by sea was not precluded; we have already seen that streams of emigrants must have left Indian ports, travelling towards the eastern seas in search of disciples, trade, or mere adventure. In fact, there was a double stream of Aryan movement, headed towards the Orient: one across difficult rivers and mountains, and the other across the Bay of Bengal to Lower Burma, the Malay Peninsula, the Indonesian islands, Siam, Indo-China, and even to the Philippines. The maritime contingents seem to have come mostly from the Deccan and South India; the view is held by Majumdar that Bengal also played a considerable part in this trans-oceanic colonisation.

In this chapter we are concerned with the settlements in Burma and Yunnan of the Aryan peoples. When the Aryans first came to Burma, the original Mongoloid peoples were akin to the Abors and the Mishmis, living almost in a state of nature. The inhabitants are represented in native tradition as savage in character and extremely unsociable. They were called by the Burmese, Bilus (Rakshasas), presumably because of a tendency towards cannibalism. They lived in deep forests and hills and refused intercourse with civilised beings. According
to Burmese legend, a Sakya prince of Kapilavastu came to Upper Burma (before Buddha was born) and founded a dynasty of 31 kings, which was finally overthrown by the Mongols from the north. The legend adds that a second wave of colonists came from the Ganga basin, whose leader married the surviving widowed queen of the earlier dynasty. According to an Arakan tradition, a Kasi prince founded a colony at the island of Ramavati (Ramree).

There is no evidence confirming these legends. It is not that there is wanting much raw material for writing a continuous history of ancient Burma, but this material is of a late date and of uncertain value. The earliest inscriptions go back to the 5th century A.D., and they are rather rare up to the 10th. From the 11th century onwards there is literally a deluge of them, and they are all in what is known as 'square Pali', a script which is still used by Burmese monks. The inscriptions are supplemented by Burmese chronicles, which are of a comparatively recent age and much interlaced with folk-lore, but it is impossible to handle them without developing considerable respect for them. In the words of Harvey*; "No other country (in South-East Asia) can show so impressive a continuity. The great records of substantially accurate dates go back for no less than 9 centuries and even the earlier legends have a substratum of truth". The chronicles, however, show considerable bias. Their centre of interest is the Burmese people, an energetic and dominant minority, while races such as the Talaings "who were probably leaders of civilisation till the very end" (Harvey) are not mentioned, except as a foil. The chronicles could also play interested jokes on real history, as the following extract from them, relating to the first Anglo-Burmese War of 1824-26, abundantly shows:

"In the years 1186 and 1187† white strangers from the West fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabu, for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no preparations whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprises, so that by the time they reached Yandabu their

* History of Burma.
† Kacha Pancha or Buddhist era starts in 638 A.D.
resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They then petitioned the King, who in his clemency and generosity sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back and ordered them out of the country.” (Crawfurd, I, 304).

The earliest inhabitants of Burma were probably Malay aborigines, but they have left no trace of their existence. The country was always thinly peopled, and even in the 19th century it had a population of less than 2 million. In the era with which we are concerned (i.e., the age of Aryan cultural and political intrusion) the total population of this large country could not have been perhaps more than a million. In prehistoric times (i.e., before 4th or 5th century B.C.) Mongolian tribes from Tibet pushed into the country down the great rivers (the Chindwin, the Irravathy, and the Salween), and they formed the hard core of the Upper Burma population. They called themselves Brahmas (or Burmahs) and strangely enough, these people, instead of harking back to Tibet, always referred to India as their original home. Their chronicles read as if they were descended from the Lichchavis of Nepal and their folk-lore is largely Hindu. Most of their towns have two names, one in the local dialect and the other in Sanskrit — a practice not uncommon in South India. The Sanskrit place-names were copies of Indian ones, e.g. Ursa, the old name for Pegu, is Orissa, as Pegu was founded by people from Kalinga. In the words of a historian, “The surviving traditions of the Burmese are Indian, because their own Mongolian (i.e. Tibetan) tradition has died out. The only class who could read and write were their ruling class, the Indian immigrants”. Later on came the Indians from the Deccan, Bengal, and the South in the centuries preceding and following Christ. The Shans (who are related to the original inhabitants of Yunnan) did not come into the Burmese valleys till the 13th century. The Kachins were the last of all, and their immigration from the direction of Siam was going on even as late as the 18th century.

The art of writing is sometimes an index of racial movement. As already stated, the earliest written records are of the 5th century A.D., but writing was probably introduced into Burma, about the 1st century, from South India, as part of the Aryan contribution to the cultural development of the country. The Hindus (and Buddhists) must have come centuries earlier, as we
shall see, bringing with them their customary law, religious practices, art, and other elements of civilisation. They came, not as conquerors, but as evangelists, and occasionally as traders. To quote Harvey, "They dotted the coast from Bengal to Borneo with little trading principalities such as Prome, Rangoon and Thaton. Their coming was generally peaceful, for if they came as individual traders they were welcomed; and if they came in numbers to set up independent communities, there was usually room in so thinly populated a land". In some localities such as Thaton, Prome, Pegu, Rangoon and Arakan, Indian immigrants formed the larger part of the population. In fact, the very name Talaing, which figures so prominently in Burmese history and geography, is derived from Telingana (Telugu country), and the bulk of the population in Talaing areas must have been of Aryan extraction. In course of time, however, the imported blood got so thin and diluted that today Indian physiognomy has been practically submerged in the Burmese. Like good Hindus (or Buddhists), the Indians took their clergy with them and built shrines and monasteries wherever they settled, and these formed the original stratum on which the later Pagodas were built by the Burmese and Indian rulers, many of which date back, in some shape or other, to before the Christian era. In the words of Harvey, "As a rule their religion was a domestic matter, but in the course of centuries they became so numerous as to effect quite a peaceful penetration into the country."

While the original Aryan immigrants were doubtless those of the Vedic faith, Buddhistic elements began to superimpose themselves, some time after about 260 B.C., when Asoka conquered Kalinga and introduced the Buddhist faith in that area. The rise of a great Hinayana school at Kanchi, in the 1st century B.C. (or earlier), was another factor in the spread of Siddhartha’s religion into Lower Burma, which was in intimate contact with Kanchi from very remote times. Ancient Talaing inscriptions (in Pallava script) frequently refer to Dharmapala, who was the head of the Kanchi College in the 5th century A.D. But Brahminism existed side by side with the Sramana cult, and the archaeologist often finds in his excavations more Hindu remains than Buddhist ones; Buddha is not infrequently even sculptured as an avatar of Vishnu. This co-existence was peaceful, and religious strife is scarcely mentioned in Burmese chronicles or in their folklore. As
was inevitable in the circumstances, the Aryan civilising influences were strongest along the coast and the river deltas. Upper Burma long remained inaccessible to such benign cultural penetration. Art and industry remained primitive in this area till a comparatively late date (i.e., till the 8th century A.D.). The tedious overland route from India no doubt remained in use all the time, carrying over it much trade and some culture, but the main channel of contact with India was by sea, after the Asokan era. It is said that Roman ship-captains of the pre-Christian times had travelled from Kanchi and Korkai to the Sobhana River (Iravati = giver of good things) and the Golden Land (i.e. the Delta). Later, the Pallavas and the Cholas equipped mercantile fleets, to follow up their naval expeditions. The Indian influences became so strong that Lower Burma was almost a counterpart of South India. The Chinese chronicles give graphic descriptions of Lower Burma in the 9th century A.D., and these are supplemented by the writings of Arab travellers. For instance, Ibu Kordadsbeli (8th century A.D.) mentions that the king of Ramah (Lower Burma) had 50,000 elephants and that his country produced cloth made of velvety cotton and also aloe wood called ‘hindi’ (Indian). Another Arab traveller (Sulaiman, 850 A.D.) confirms that this king had 50,000 elephants, and that even his army had washermen numbering up to 10,000! “The dress is sometimes made of cotton cloth so fine that it can pass through a ring.” The imports included piece-goods from Chola-desa and Buddhist ikons from Upper India. The exports were mainly timber, ivory, precious stones, elephants and forest produce.

Reference must be made here to a people called Pyu in Burmese records, and Piao by the Chinese (Sanskrit : Priya ?) who were the overlords of Prome area for several centuries and who have left behind some inscriptions in a language which survived till the 13th century. Not many details are known of their history. The Chinese chronicles say that the Pyu people had between them eighteen states and nine walled towns, the chief of which was Prome. It is found that for upper classes they used cremation, and buried the ashes in urns as laid down in Vedic sastras. There was a dynasty of Pyu Kings in Prome, one of whom (in the 8th century A.D.) was known as Vikrama, after whom the kingdom seems to have declined and collapsed. Prome city was at that time the chief town in Burma and had the most extensive site
of all the cities in the country. The remains of the massive walls reveal a well-spread-out and opulent township with a circumference of about 9 miles. The following account of the king and the kingdom is taken from the Chinese chronicles of the Tsang dynasty (618-905 A.D.):

When the P'iao king goes out in his palanquin, he lies on a couch of golden cord. For long distances he rides an elephant. He has several hundred women to wait on him. The wall of his city, built of greenish glazed tiles, is 160 li* round, with twelve gates and with pagodas at each of the four corners. The people live inside. Their house tiles are of lead and zinc, and they use the wood of the *nephelium litchi* (*kyetmauk*) as timber. They dislike taking life. They greet each other by clasping the arm with the hand. They know how to make astronomical calculations. They are Buddhists and have a hundred monasteries, with bricks of glassware, embellished with gold and silver vermilion, gay colours and red kino. The floor is painted and is covered with ornamented carpets. The king's residence is in like style. At seven years of age, the people cut their hair and enter a monastery; if at the age of twenty they have not grasped the doctrine, they return to lay estate. For clothes they use skirts made of cotton, for they hold that silk should not be worn as it involves the taking of life.

"They have no fetters. Criminals are flogged on the back with five bamboos bound together, receiving five blows for heavy, and three for light, offences. Murder is punished with death. The women knot their hair on top of their heads and ornament it with strings of pearls; they wear a natural-tinted skirt and throw pieces of delicate silk over themselves; when walking they hold a fan, and the wives of great personages have four or five attendants at each side carrying fans."

The chronicles further record that in 800 A.D. a Pyu prince called Sumantha accompanied a Nanchao mission to China and that his retinue recited Sanskrit verses and did an *abhinaya* dance, spelling out by gestures words of flowery tribute to the

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* li=630 yards
Chinese Emperor. The whole performance is vividly described in a contemporary Chinese poem, from which the following is a short extract:

At the first blast of the jewelled shell their matted locks grow crisp,
At one blow from the copper gong their painted limbs leap,
Pearl streams glitter as they twist,
as though the stars were shaken in the sky,
Flowery crowns nod and whirl,
with the motion of dragon or snake.

By about 900 A.D., the Indian kingdom of Prome was no more and its people migrated northwards to Pagan and gradually got merged with the local aborigines, but the newcomers subsequently called themselves Burmahs. It is clear that the people were of Aryan stock and professing the Buddhist religion. They had entered overland from Gaur (Bengal) in the early centuries of the Christian era and ruled over a considerable slice of Burma, for about 700 years. Their cultural contribution must have been of a very substantial character, as will be evident from the subsequent history of the people called Burman (read as Myanmar in the local tongue and Man in the Shan language).

A history of the Aryans in Burma would be incomplete without an account of the great Pagan kingdom which at its apex covered practically the whole of modern Burma, west of the Salween river. We have seen that, after the fall of Prome, the people there migrated north to Central Burma, got merged in the primitive local people, and called themselves Brahmans, or Burmahs, in their later chronicles. After the downfall of Prome, Pagan was the capital of Burma for nearly 250 years (11th to 13th centuries). Situated near the junction of the Chindwin and Irravady rivers, it commanded a strategic position and was doubtless a great centre of agriculture and trade in ancient times, although today the place is arid and infertile, and not overpopulated.

The Pagan kings traced their ancestry to one Popa Sawrahan, apparently of Indian extraction, who introduced, on the advice of Hindu astrologers, the Burmese era of 638 A.D. (which Siam later copied under the name of Chula, i.e., Chola, Sakaraj). Mahayana Buddhism was introduced into the country perhaps in the 7th century A.D., but it was of such a low magical type that the
Buddhist chronicles refer to it in shocked disapproval. With this Tantric Buddhism (with its secret Sanskrit lore) is associated the name of a priesthood called ‘Ari’, who were powerful enough to overawe the kings and to indulge in practices which can only be described as abominable. The following extract from the great Burmese chronicles will bear out this observation:

"Now the kings of Pagan for many generations had been confirmed in false opinions, following the doctrine of the thirty Ari lords and their sixty-thousand pupils who practised piety in Thamahti. It was the fashion of these Ari monks to reject the Law preached by the Lord, and to form each severally their own opinions. They wrote books after their own heart and beguiled others into the snare. According to the law they preached, a man might take the life of another and evade the course of *karma* if he recited the formula of depreciation; nay, he might even kill his mother and his father and evade the course of *karma* if he recited the formula of depreciation. Such false and lawless doctrine they preached as true doctrine. Moreover, kings and ministers, great and small, rich men and common people, whenever they celebrated the marriage of their children, had to send them to these teachers at nightfall, sending, as it was called, the flower of their virginity. Nor could they be married till they were set free early in the morning. If they were married without sending to the teachers the flower of their virginity, it is said that they were heavily punished by the king for breaking the custom. This sending of the flower of virginity meant an act of worship."* 

The Ari practices had no doubt their counterparts in some areas in India, where certain degraded Tantric schools flourished, more or less on the sly, till a few centuries ago. It is to the credit of the Pagan dynasty that it overthrew this corrupt priesthood and restored tone and dignity to Buddhism, and self-respect to the nation.

Little is known about the origins of the Pagan dynasty of kings except that they were of Indian extraction and could trace their genealogy to the 7th century A.D. The earlier kings were petty chiefs of little account. We reach a little firmer ground with Anavrata, who came to the throne in 1044 A.D. He married a

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*This custom of the "privilege of the first night" was not unknown in Europe. Known as the ‘*jus primae noctu*, it was prevalent in ancient and medieval times in that continent, in feudal circles.*
princess from Vesali (in India), by whom he had a son called Gyanajita. The King initiated a system of irrigation works at Kyaukse, which was famous in the Middle Ages, and which is still efficient today, making the area the granary of Burma. (According to a Burmese saying, he who controlled Kyaukse controlled Upper Burma.) The following remarks of Harvey regarding the Burmese irrigation works are noteworthy in this connection:

"The fact remains that Burmese irrigation works are a monument to the skill and energy of the race. The best stonework is good, and the alignment is extraordinarily fine. The cultivator has a good eye for levels; he has seen the land under rain year by year, and can tell to a nicety which way water will run off. English irrigation officers have seldom been able to better the main alignment of any Burmese canal system. They have straightened channels and cut off bends which were unavoidable to builders who did not use falls, but they have not bettered the sites as a whole."

It may be remembered that the old Indian immigrants into Burma took a lot of know-how with them, hailing as they did mostly from the Chola and Pandya kingdoms, where tank and river irrigation had reached a high standard of efficacy, by the early centuries of the Christian era.

During Anavrata's reign a Brahmin from Thaton came to see the King and, on being asked to be seated, he seated himself on the throne! The King realised that the newcomer was a great soul; with his help he broke the power of the Aris, some of whom were even degraded as temple scavengers, while the rest were finally driven out of the kingdom. New Buddhist missions, of good calibre, were set up all over the land and the true tenets of the Faith were spread among the people (Pagan was subsequently known as Arimardanapura). Anavrata invaded Thaton in Lower Burma (a Hindu kingdom), destroyed the city and led King Manuha and a large body of monks, scripture-writers, and artisans captive to Pagan, along with 32 white elephants laden with scriptures and relics. A large library (which still exists) was built, and Pali replaced Sanskrit and the Hinayana superseded Tantric Buddhism at Pagan, where the court adopted the Talaing script of Lower Burma, which is clearly seen in contemporary inscriptions (1058 A.D.). Anavrata then conquered Arakan, which was ruled over by an Indian dynasty from Gaur. He could
not, however, move the colossal Mahamuni image, but despoiled the shrine of much gold and silver vessels. He is even said to have invaded the "Indian land of Bengal" (perhaps Chittagong) on the north-west, and Nan Chao in the opposite direction. Utibwa (Sanskrit Udayabhanu=Rising Sun), the king of the latter country, who worshipped Chandi or Durga, made peace with Anavruta on honourable terms. The Pagan king had a picked body of Indian troops (presumably from Manipur), who performed prodigies of valour in the two campaigns. King Vijayabahu of Ceylon, who was in trouble with the Chola Emperor (1071 A.D.), asked for help from his brother of Pagan, but apparently no help could be sent, except for some costly gifts. Anavruta built many pagodas at his capital, which are even now popular. He was gored to death in 1077, while hunting wild buffalo. Harvey has this to say about him:

"The first king, as apart from chieftains, to appear in Burma, Anavruta has passed into legend and many an institution is fathered on him. Bricks bearing his "seal," a Sanskrit text, have been found as far apart as Paunglin in Minbu district and Twante, west of Rangoon. His portrait in the chronicles is shadowy and conventionalised, but he must have been a great character. In a single lifetime he established true religion and expanded a petty chieftainship into what was, if not a kingdom, at least an overlordship comprising the main portion of what is now Burma."

Anavruta was succeeded by his son Sawlu (Sadhu) who died after an inglorious rule of only 7 years. He was succeeded by his brother, the famous Gyanjitha, whose exploits as a youth had already endeared him to his people. He was crowned in royal style with Brahminical rites (as laid down in the Mahabharata), i.e., with the following ceremonials: (1) procession with white horse and white elephant; (2) seating on throne; (3) handing over of the 5 regalia (white umbrella, etc.) by Brahmins; (4) 8 noble maidens pouring holy water on him; (5) Brahmins raising the white umbrella over the aspirant; (6) Brahmins doing holy abhishek; (7) Vis or common merchants doing likewise; and (8) the King taking the oath to the people.

Gyanjitha (whose mother was Pancha Kalyani) ruled for 28 years, till 1113 A.D. He gave shelter to Buddhists leaving India (in the wake of the re-ascendancy of Hinduism there) and built an Ananda temple, on the model of the one at Udayagiri in
Orissa. This edifice is one of the wonders of Pagan, which is full of great shrines. It is built artificially on the lines of a Buddhist Cave Chaitya and contains images of the King and his great Indian guru, the only instance in Burma of this type.* (The King with clear-cut features, aquiline nose, straight eyes and a strong jaw, looks typically Indian). The temple contains over 1500 plaques illustrating the Jataka tales, explained by short inscriptions in Pali or Talaing, all executed by Indian artists brought over from the mainland. To quote: "Gyanjittha, riding a white horse at the head of a great procession of monks and people, dedicated the temple. With its tender beauty, its wealth of sculpture, its mingling of races and languages, the Ananda shows forth the kingship's undivided sway over the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy and the Talaings of the Delta, in the days when Pagan was a religious centre far and wide, and men came even from India to worship at her shrines." (Harvey) Gyanjittha improved the Bodhgaya temple in India and even claimed to have converted a travelling Chola Lord and his retinue to Buddhism. (This was presumably the ambassador sent by Kulottunga Chola I, circa 1110 A. D.). He exchanged embassies with the Chinese Emperor, and under his benign rule Pagan waxed rich in trade and agriculture. His reign is also notable for another lucky event, viz., the setting up of an inscription in four languages, viz., Pali, Talaing, Burmese and Pyu, on a gate-post in the Pagoda, which enables one to decipher the Pyu script, which could not be read till this inscription came to light. (The Pali, Talaing and Burmese scripts are the same.)

Alangisithu (Lanka Sethu) succeeded his father and ruled for 55 years till 1167. He overran Arakan, which was ruled by an Indian dynasty claiming to be Pyus, as stated already. He built the great temple at Thatpyinnyu in 1144, which is the biggest shrine at Pagan and contains a long Pali inscription in verse, eulogising the King's merits. A mighty hunter, he invaded

* Our Nitisasstras sternly condemn the setting up of images and monuments representing human beings, however exalted. For example, the Sukra Niti denounced a king as fit only for hell, who would erect a statue for himself. The practice in other ancient lands (Near East and Egypt) was in sharp contrast. The Greeks and the Romans copied the Egyptian love for human statuary, but it must be noted that in Egypt the Pharaoh was a god. (It must be added that prasastis or extravagant eulogies, inscribed on stone, were not apparently prohibited by our Sastras).
Nan-Chao but without result. Then, at the age of 81, he was forcibly put to eternal rest by his second son, Naratha. The parricide ruled a mere 3 years (till 1170), after killing his elder brother and terrorising the court and the people. He was in his turn murdered by his guards, and was followed by his son Narathingka, who also ruled only 3 years, after forcibly marrying Veluvati, his own brother’s wife, when the brother was away on a campaign. He was assassinated by his enraged brother Narapati Setu, who ruled for 37 years (till 1210 A. D.), with his recovered wife, Veluvati, as the Chief Queen.

Buddhism rose to new heights of glory in Narapati Setu’s reign under the primacy of a Talaing monk named Uttarajiva, who hailed from Ceylon. Many learned priests were imported from the Island Kingdom, including one Ananda, a native of Conjeevaram, where meanwhile the Buddhist Sangha had languished and died. The Ceylon school established an ascendancy at court over the Thaton group, which came originally from Conjeevaram. In due course Narapati grew somewhat jealous of Ceylon and started a minor persecution of its nationals who came for trade or religion. This resulted in a small punitive raid from Ceylon, after which the status quo ante was restored, to the relief of both the peoples.

King Narapati built, following precedent, a number of pagodas and endowed many charities. His Chief Minister was an Indian called Ananta Surya, a strong and capable soldier and administrator. Narapati died at the age of 71 and was succeeded by a younger son called Jayasingha, who ruled for 14 years (till 1234). He was weak but judicially minded and is credited with issuing a book of legal maxims and decisions. He built several magnificent shrines in brick and encouraged the preparation of canonical texts in Pali, for the use of the common people.

Kyaswa (1234—50) succeeded his father Jayasingha, but showed an excessive devotion to religion, resigning all business to his son, Ushana, who came to the throne in 1250 and reigned for 4 years. The latter was a jolly tippler and very free with women of low degree. He was killed in a keddah operation. Naratipati, his son by a concubine, succeeded to the kingdom at the age of sixteen. The dependencies of Pagan rose in revolt, but were soon brought to heel by the King’s able minister. The King styled himself, in an inscription, “Sri Tribhuvana Aditya Dharma Raja,
commander of 36 million soldiers (!), the swallower of 300 curry dishes daily (!!)". This pompous (and unveracious) glutton even boasted of 3000 concubines! He was soon in sore travail; the Tartars, under the descendants of Chenghis Khan, the "Scourge of God", were on the march in his time. Their favourite boast was that they had so thoroughly wiped out cities in Russia and Poland (1240 A.D.) that they could gallop over the sites without making their horses stumble. In 1253 Prince Kublai Khan annexed Nan-Chao, thus putting an end to a very ancient semi-Indian dynasty. Then he called on Naratipati to send the customary tributes due to China, but the latter executed the Khan's envoys, on a trivial pretext. In 1277, Kublai Khan ordered military action against the insolent Pagan monarch. A force of 12000 cavalry marched into Burma and, despite numerical inferiority and despite the vaunted use of a 2000-strong Burman elephantry, the invaders inflicted a crushing defeat on Pagan. This treatment was repeated in 1283, when Naratipati fled from the capital, but, mercifully, the Tartars did not fall on Pagan itself. The fleeing king, however, found disloyalty everywhere and was forced to commit suicide by his own favourite general. In the resulting confusion Pagan was captured by the Khan's Yunnan Governor, who finally extinguished the dynasty set up by Popa Sowarahan in the 7th century A.D.

The eloquent and moving verdict given by Harvey on this royal house is worth quoting:

"If the men whose day-dreams became incarnate in the temples of Pagan were also swarthy tyrants whose peevish frown spelt death, whose harems were filled with slave-women, that is only to say they were as other kings of their time. But whatever they were, the legacy of their fleeting sway has enriched posterity for ever. It was they who made the sun-scorched wilderness, the solitary plain of Myingyan, to blossom forth into the architectural magnificence of Pagan. They unified Burma for more than two centuries, and that in itself was an achievement. But their role was aesthetic and religious rather than political. To them the world owes, in great measure, the preservation of Theravada.

* The Mongols used poisoned arrows, a practice which was opposed to the Aryan standards of war. The Japanese annals mention with horror and distaste the use of poisoned weapons by the soldiers of Kublai Khan, who tried to invade Japan in 1274 A.D.
Buddhism, one of the purest faiths mankind has ever known. Those who doubt the reality of a populous city given up to the spiritual, should read the numberless inscriptions of the period, richly human and intensely devout; contemplate the sixteen square miles at Pagan, all dedicated to religion; contrast each separate brick from the depths of a great pile with the rubble of Norman pillars; reflect that each temple was built, not in generations, but in months; remember how short was the period when Pagan was inhabited, and then say whether those campaigns for a tooth, those heart-searchings over the loss of a white elephant, at which we smile, are not rather possessed of a significance as deep to men of the age as the quest of the Holy Grail had for Arthurian Knights."

*Who civilised Burma?* is a pertinent question, since some claim is made that the Chinese were the purveyors of culture, if not solely, at least alongside the Aryans. The real fact is that the Chinese never penetrated into Burma till the 13th century and that too in a spasmodic fashion, which left no great cultural impress. (If at all, civilization substantially regressed as a result of the Tartar invasion). Even in Gandhara (Nan Chao or Yunnan) their penetration was insignificant prior to the 8th century, after which date only we find Chinese inscriptions - a rather conclusive test of the source of cultural inspiration. There is not a single Chinese inscription in Burma itself prior to about 1300 A.D., while the Indian texts going back to the 5th century A.D. are in great profusion all over the land. There is not the slightest trace of Chinese influence on the various local alphabets (old Pali, square Pali, Talaing and Pyu), all admittedly of Indian origin. As regards the allegation that some of the chief words in the Burmese tongue have a Chinese terminology, this has been summarily dismissed by all competent critics (Blagden, Huber, and Harvey). It may be mentioned that the Pali inscriptions at Prome and all the Pyu inscriptions resemble the Kadamba script used in the 5th century on the west coast of India near Goa. The Talaing inscriptions, on the other hand, follow the Pallava script of South India of the 4th and 5th centuries. All the texts reveal an advanced knowledge of Buddhist classical lore and bear evidence of the wide spread of learning among the population, at least from the 10th century A.D. onwards. If Burma to-day is one of the most literate countries in the
world (over 95% of the population can read and write), this is in no small measure due to the great services rendered by the Indian rulers and teachers, whose influence was predominant for nearly 15 centuries in this beautiful land, caressed by the bounteous touch of Nature.

**Temple architecture:**

It is found that, although stone and brick were extensively used in temple architecture, yet the bulk of the superstructure was in wood, particularly the valuable teak of the country. The radiating arch was very common in these structures, but the suggestion that it was introduced from China cannot bear scrutiny, as the Chinese had very little influence on Burmese history or civilisation. The arch was well known in India before the 10th century, when the earliest Pagan temples were built. The arch doubtless came to Burma from India, "for everything points to Burmese temples being built by Indian architects". (Harvey)

It is further definitely mentioned in the chronicles that the Anand temple was built on an Indian model. The brick temples at Pagan are spread over an area of 16 square miles and are so massive in construction and so finely executed that an immense amount of labour must have gone into them. "There is nothing to show that the labour was involuntary. It is hard to look at the details there without being driven to the conclusion that this was a labour of love. There are miles of walls in which the outer bricks without cement are so finely joined that scarcely a knife-blade can be inserted." (Harvey) These temples had a large labour force attached to them for daily service. From the inscriptions it is evident that a high percentage of these temple ministrants were Indians, thus evidencing the presence of large Indian colonies in the Pagan kingdom for several centuries preceding the Tartar invasion.

**Use of artillery in early Asian warfare:**

During the invasion of Thaton (South Burma), conducted by Anavrata in 1057 A.D., he is reported to have secured from the Talaing (Indian) king a number of gunsmiths (*vide* Glass Palace Chronicles). In the Pagan *Yazawritida* (Rajavamsavali) it is mentioned that cannon and jingals were used in the battle of Pyedawthagyn in 1084 A.D. There are subsequent references in the chronicles to "foreign musketeers" in the service of Talaing
kings in the 14th century. It is intriguing to find these mentions of fire-arms (on the side of the Indian forces) as early as the 11th century A.D. It is common knowledge that gunpowder was known to the Chinese from very ancient times. I have indicated elsewhere some evidence to show that all sorts of fire missiles were in use in India before the Christian era and that knowledge of gunpowder was not derived by the Indians from China but was wholly indigenous. The general European view is that guns were used for the first time in India by Babar at the battle of Panipat (1526 A.D.). Harvey (History of Burma) is naturally inclined to dismiss the Chronicle versions as anachronisms, on the ground that, before the arrival of the Portuguese early in the 16th century, Burma could not have had any sort of fire weapons. Against this it may be mentioned that Ferishta, the Mussalman writer, avers that artillery was used by both sides in the battle between the Vijayanagar King (Bukka) and the Bahmani ruler Mohammed Shah in 1367 A.D., i.e., 150 years before the first battle of Panipat. There is no reason to doubt the eyewitness account of Ferishta. In Indian warfare, field and siege artillery made of brass and iron was being used from the 16th century onwards. The Mughal and the Deccan armies had a number of brass cannon; the most famous of these was the Malik-i-Maidan, cast in bronze at Ahmednagar in 1548. According to a number of European writers, including Fergusson, it was the largest piece of ordnance of its time in the world. It had a length of over 14 feet and a nozzle diameter of 4½ feet. It was well-chased and finished, and apparently quite effective. The casting of such a large cannon bespeaks the skill and metallurgical knowledge of the Deccanies in the 16th century. Similar guns of smaller calibre, of the 16th century, have been found in numbers in Bengal. These facts show the strong probability of the skill in fire-arms being long established in the country, well before the battle of Panipat. That the account of Ferishta was well authenticated is unquestionable. P.K. Gode believes that big guns were in use from 1400 A.D. onwards, and he cites the view of Mahun, a Chinese traveller (1406 A.D.), who mentions seeing big guns in Bengal. R. Kak attests that in Kashmir artillery was in use in 1466 A.D. A.D. Forbes mentions in his Hindu Annals of Gujarat that in the siege of Champaner by Mohd. Bagda (1482 A.D.) both guns and muskets were used in numbers.
The Moghuls later used iron guns, some of them of very large size, 30 feet long and weighing nearly 40 tons. They were usually made of iron bars of square section, over which iron rings were slipped under heat. Occasionally the guns were also made of hammered wrought iron, and there was such a one at Dacca weighing 30 tons, firing an iron ball weighing almost a quarter of a metric ton! Indian-made muskets were in use in the 16th century. Abul Fazal in his Aini Akbari (circa 1580 A.D.) says that, excepting Rum (i.e., Turkey), no country could compare with India in the number and variety of its fire-arms. He gives the following description of the manufacture of bundooks (muskets) in the 16th century.

"Bundooks are made in such a manner that when filled with powder up to muzzle, there is no fear of their bursting. Formerly, they never were of more than four folds of iron, and sometimes only of one, joined together by the two extremities of the breadth, and they were very dangerous. His Majesty (Emperor Akbar), after having the iron flattened, has it rolled up like a scroll of paper, but slantingly, and every fold is passed through the fire. There is also the following method; solid pieces of iron are properly tempered and then bored with an iron borer; and three or four of these are joined together to form a bundook. In preparing the iron for bundooks, half is lost in the fire."

It may be added that, when India was using field artillery in the 14th century, England was switching over from the short-bow to the Welsh long-bow which is stated to have contributed to British victories in France, at Crecy and Poitiers. Even at (Agincourt, 1415 A.D.) only cross-bows were used. Gun-powder came to England in the 16th century and was kept as a close royal monopoly by the Tudor kings.
Chapter—III

The Aryan March to the East: Champa Desa

The story of the Kingdom of Champa reads like a veritable romance of the Aryan race. Champa (which would roughly, very roughly, correspond to the present state of South Vietnam) would be over 1800 miles away from South India as the crow flies. By the coastal route round the Cape of Malacca, the distance by sea would be well over 2500 miles. Yet we find the Aryan people settled in Champa in large numbers in the 1st millennium B.C., and their deeply religious kings filling the Eastern horizon with the kindly effulgence of their ancient culture and religion. The Indians voyaged almost always by sea, taking with them literally hundreds of sailing craft, and braving without any misgiving "the unknown terrors of the ocean" (to use the words of Lord Meston), along coasts bristling with coral reefs and gloomy jungles inhabited by wild creatures, in which term we might almost include the ferocious and brutal anthropophaghi infesting, in those ages, such territories as Borneo and the Moluccas. To those Western writers who wax eloquent over the exploits of the Danes and the Norsemen, connected with their excursions over the North Sea and up to Iceland, in the 8th or 9th century A.D., I would merely point out that the distance between Scotland and Iceland is only 500 miles and even from Denmark the lead is less than a thousand miles. The distance across the Bay of Bengal from Kancheepuram to Pagan is 1200 miles, and this route across tempestuous seas and shark-infested waters was traversed by literally hundreds of thousands of Indians, centuries before the Christian era, as I have pointed out elsewhere.
Important Indo-Aryan colonies in S. E. Asian mainland.
The voyages to Indo-China were made, during the 1st millennium B.C., straight across the broad deep and not by hugging the shores, as one might wrongly imagine. There are references in ancient literature to ocean-going ships. Descriptions exist of commercial voyages on large sailing vessels ploughing their way over wide seas and broad and unknown estuaries of rivers. We have already seen that even in the Vedic times (circa 5000 B.C. to 3000 B.C.) sea voyages were not unknown to the Aryans, and there are unmistakable references to comparatively big sailing vessels, manned by as many as a hundred rowers, who ventured into the Arabian Sea. In historical times, the sea-going traditions were, if anything, accentuated, because of the restless quest for adventure on the part of the Aryan nation, and presumably also because the bee-hive was getting over-populated. Curiously enough, as time went by, the quality of the emigrants underwent a thorough change. We have seen that, when large Aryan clans had gone abroad, to Sumeria and to the Mediterranean, some of them at least were not exactly in good social standing at home; they could be legitimately called Vratyas, often praying to the wrong gods and conspicuously failing to ‘sacrifice’ in the approved fashion. In the East, however, it would appear that the elite of the Aryan society ventured abroad, and often it was the Brahmin who spearheaded

* Please see Note on the ‘Ancient Mariners’ (Chapter IV, Volume I). In his extremely interesting book, The Imperialists, recently published, Toynbee credits the Portuguese with “the invention of the modern sailing ship, which had one capital advantage over all previous and subsequent types of water-craft, viz., that of being able to keep indefinitely at sea, subject to availability of water and hard tack”. Toynbee thinks that this ‘invention’ paved the way for the phenomenal success of the early Iberian filibusters, who were able to command, unchallenged for about a century, the “world ocean” or the broad maritime seas of the world. I have suggested, however, that deep-sea navigation became an Aryan accomplishment, many hundreds of years before the time of Columbus and da Gama. If anything, our multidecked vessels were bigger, faster and more sea-enduring than the Iberian craft, even in Vasco da Gama’s time — Indian sailors had travelled to Africa and to Cathay long before Iberia cast off its Moorish yoke. It is on record that when Vasco da Gama came to Malabar he found there Indian sea-going craft, made of excellent teakwood and well fitted. Some of them were hundreds of tons larger than the Portuguese vessels and sailed better. The Indian craft had, however, one great disadvantage; they carried no cannon, unlike the foreign ships, and thus fell victim to treacherous attack by the latter.
these foreign adventures.* We have already seen that in Yunnan and Burma Brahmin kingdoms were well established, some centuries before the Christian era. We shall soon perceive the same story repeated, perhaps on a more grandiose scale, in Indo-China and Java. It speaks volumes for the pioneering spirit, the dauntless courage, and the eclectic skill of these Dvijas that, at the dawn of history, they were able to travel across the kalapani in fragile vessels, a good part of the way round the globe, to found colonies, centres of culture, and seats of religion and learning, in distant and unknown lands and amidst rude and savage environs.

The Indian ports from which these adventurous expeditions sallied forth on their colonising missions were several. We have already mentioned Barukachcha, Soppara, and Barbaraka on the West Coast. Tamralipti and Gopalapura in the Kalinga region were also famous maritime centres. But probably the greatest of all the coastal entrepots, so far as the Far Eastern peregrinations of the Aryans were concerned, were probably Korkai in the Pandyan kingdom, and Puhar, the pride of the Cholas. It will be interesting to take a close look at one of these sea-ports, viz., Puhar, to have an idea of the extent of the foreign intercourse and of the maritime virtuosity, of the Indian community, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

The seafaring tradition, which was strong with the South Indians, is well reflected in poetess Auvayar’s famous maxim, “Gather wealth even by roaming the high seas”. The later Tamil Sangam literature (circa 3rd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.) is full of references to the sea and to maritime expeditions, both peaceful and otherwise, across the broad deep. Puhar (Kaveri-Poom-pattinam, as it was formally known) was a flourishing port whose commercial supremacy and cultural magnificence have been vividly described in classical literary works like Silappadikaram, Manimekalai; and Pattinappalai. The city

* It may interest the reader to know what Manu said about the adventurous Brahmin, 3000 years ago: “From the first-born (i.e. Brahmins) of this country, let all peoples of the earth learn the guiding principles of their life and conduct.” (Manu, II-20).

† The Manimekalai mentions two kings by name Bhumichandra and Punyaraja, as reigning at a place called Nagapura, which, according to Mr. O.C. Gangoly, “was probably the capital of West Java”.

which was for some time the capital of the early Cholas) is described as covering an area of 30 square miles. Its port bristled with masts flying flags of various colours of different nations and hailing from such distant places as the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean in the West, and Malaya, Burma and Indonesia in the East. The merchandise carried in the ships covered a large variety of items. The imports were mostly pearl, horses, metal-ware and gold from the West, while the exports to that area were cotton cloth, pepper, gems and jewels, glass, dyestuff, coral, sandalwood, aromatics and spices. From the East came fragrant woods, spices, skins and other jungle produce, in return for textiles, bronze and copper vessels, hardware and weapons, toilet goods, ikons and images, edible oils and fats, and leather goods of all sorts. The residential streets of the city were wide and flanked by houses of noble size and appearance; the bazaars were crowded with merchandise and full of people of various nationalities busy with buying and selling. The boat-basin was so wide that large ships entered it without slackening sail.

There were separate colonies at the port for foreigners. There was one named "Vellaiyan Iruppu" (or white man's village) for the Yavanas (Greeks, Romans and Phoenicians), which name still survives at the mouth of the Cauvery, in an abandoned hamlet. The description of the town given in the Tamil classics is amply confirmed in the writings of foreigners. Ptolemy gives a glowing account of the place, calling it "Kaberis Emporium". The Periplus mentions the city as Kamara and gives a detailed description of its flourishing trade. Recent archaeological excavations at the site have uncovered a large landing stage or jetty, 50 feet long and 24 feet wide, built of over-size burnt bricks, in which were fixed wooden poles for hitching the boats. (Such large wharves have been described in the Tamil poem Pattinappalai.)

* Indian iron-ware was famous all over the world even in the pre-Christian times "Iron is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament under Hebrew paldah, which is the same as Arabic kulad and indicates Indian iron." (Birdwood: Handbook to India). Prof. Wilson points out that, while England knew of iron casting only comparatively recently, "the Hindus have had the arts of smelting iron, welding it and making steel, from time immemorial".

† The Cauvery had not been silted up to the extent it is now, and it entered the sea on a broad front. As the reader is aware, the Cauvery is the most intensely utilised river in India, perhaps in the world.
The port itself had a sizable shipbuilding industry, using the famous teak-wood of the Malabar coast as well as the beautiful timber imported from Burma. It was doubtless these ships which carried, in such large numbers, the adventurous colonists who crossed over to Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, and lands even beyond in the Far East, in the opening centuries of recorded history (circa 500 B.C. onwards). Strange as it may seem to us, these men, mostly of the twice-born communities, had no objection to crossing the kalapani and dwelling in areas “not burnt over by Agni” (i.e., lands in which the sacred domestic fires were not kept constantly burning by the orthodox). They had no qualms about wedding local women in large numbers and incorporating into their Varnas indigenous populations redeemed from near-barbarism. It is a tragedy that the descendants of these very Aryans became, in course of time in their homeland, so hidebound, conservative, and spiritually anaemic as to abhor ocean travel and to heap contumely on foreigners as ‘mlecchas’ and ‘anaryas’.

To turn to the story of Champa. In Sanskrit classics, Champa (capital city, Champavati) is described as the land of the Angas; it is mentioned in the Mahabharata as the place where the heroic Karna once ruled.† The Champa which we are

* The opposition to sea-voyages on the part of orthodox Brahmins seems to have started long after the Vedic times. The Dharma Sastras frown on oceanic travels by Brahmins. Manu states that sea-going Brahmins should not be entertained at sraddhas and suggests that all overseas commercial travel should be left to Vaisyas, who should familiarise themselves with the products and requirements of foreign countries, the rates of hire for bottomry, the interest on trade-loans, and the charges for marine insurance. Baudhayana forbids sea-travel to Brahmins on pain of severe penances and penalties (D.S.I, 2), but he concedes that in his time, this prohibition was often violated. As time advanced, the rules became stricter and the penalties involved even social ostracism (like denial of marriage and funerary rites, temple prasadam, puja water, etc). Students of our recent history may remember that Indian troops (then largely drawn from the upper castes) broke into mutiny when ordered by the British East India Company to travel to Burma by sea. The Company took drastic disciplinary action against the troops, blowing off at the cannon’s mouth many mutineers. I give here a quotation from Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, P. 24): “Hindusthan abounds with Brahmins, who make excellent soldiers so far as bravery is a virtue......but they still retain their intriguing habits. I have seen in (1830 A.D.) nearly as many of the Brahmins, as of military (i.e., Rajputs) in some Companies; a dangerous error!” Readers may remember that in the Vijayanagar Empire the army was largely officered by Brahmins.

† The place is identified with modern Bhagalpur.
now going to have a close look at was situated about 2000 miles off as the crow flies, in the peninsula till now known as Indo-China. It will now be geographically represented, in a very approximate fashion, by the modern State of South Vietnam. In the 1st millennium B.C. it was inhabited by a people known as “Chams” in later history, and belonging to the Austronesian race. The name is derived from the Sanskrit word shyama or dark-skinned. (The early Aryans called all the aborigines of Indo-China and Siam “Shyams” for obvious reasons.) Some of the Chams had rudiments of primitive culture in them (of perhaps the Cro-magnon type), but the bulk of the aborigines were in a state of semi-savagery like the ‘wild tribes’ of India of the period. The latter type of natives were termed mlecchas and kiratas not only by the immigrant Aryans, but also by the comparatively more civilized Chams themselves, who, curiously enough, claimed descent from a distant country described in their legends as Ho Ton Tinh, which was apparently Ayodhya in India, as its national enemy was called Dasanana (Ravana), who abducted the princess of Ho Ton Tinh but was killed by her irate husband in a war in which monkeys came to the aid of the forlorn princess. Unfortunately, there is no evidence in support of this legend which, to give it some verisimilitude, fixed the date of the first Champa king in the Dwaparayuga, i.e., at nearly 2 million B.C. ! There is, however, an inscription according to which an Indian king named Vichitra Sagara (Wonderful Ocean?) is credited with having installed a mukha-linga in the Kauthara province, 1,800,000 years before the Saka era!

Since the Champa inscriptions commence only from the 2nd century A.D. and there are no other reliable records of earlier date, the infant history of the nation has necessarily to be compiled from the omnipresent Chinese chronicles, which indicate that by about the 3rd century B.C. the Chinese emperor of the Tsin dynasty had conquered the half-civilized “Yue” tribes who occupied the areas now roughly equal to South China and Tonking, and set up a kingdom called Nan-Yue, with its capital at Canton. A century later, this kingdom was conquered by the Han dynasty of China and was split up into three provinces, the southernmost of which was named Je-nam (Cheenam?) which might be taken to roughly correspond to present Kwangsi area. South of Je-nam were reported to be living the Hinduised Chams who proved a
perpetual thorn by the side of the Chinese. Ultimately, the chronicles indicate, the independent Chams (or rather, their Aryan leaders) set up, in the 2nd century A.D., a well-organised State (called by the Chinese, Sanglin) with its capital city called Lin-Yi in Chinese and otherwise known as Champapuri (modern Quang Nam). This city is described, in later Chinese chronicles, as surrounded by a wall about 1½ miles in circumference and twenty feet high. On the top of this fortification was raised a higher wall ten feet high, which was surmounted by pavilions and towers varying in height from forty feet to seventy. The architecture all over the city was stated to be admirable. The city had four gates, which opened out on double ditches, except where the river Song cai flowed by the walls. Inside were numerous assembly halls and palaces built in brick; all the doors, windows, and wooden rafters were nicely carved. "The doors and gates were sculptured in open work and painted in blue; the passages were coated in red varnish and the rafters were adorned with stone (cornices and pilasters). On the pavilions and the palaces were columns rising to a height of 15 feet above the ramparts." (M. Auroseseau).

There is an inscription (attributed by R.C. Majumdar to the 2nd century A.D.) with 15 lines of mutilated Sanskrit writing, which records a donation made by a king of the Sri Mara dynasty, which reads thus:

line (6) Mercy for the people
line (7) First conquest
line (8) Ordered by the excellent king in the assembly, on the full-moon day (?).
line (9) Let them drink the nectar of the words of kings.
line (10-11) Royal family of Sri Mara... He who is the delight of the family of Sri Mara, and conversant with the ways of the world, being seated on the throne, said (the following) words, beneficial to the people, in the midst of his own kinsmen.
line (12) After having satisfied his sons, brothers and kinsmen (?) by enjoying wealth in common with them,
line (13) "Whatever silver, gold, movable and immovable property and stores (of grain ?) that I possess,
(14) All that I consecrate to those who are dear and near to me. This is my commandment, and the future kings also should approve of it. Be it known to my heroic servant."

The inscription clearly shows that by about 100 A.D. there was firmly established, in the southern Champa district of Kauthara, a dynasty of Indian kings whose historical progenitor was reputedly Sri Mara. The Chinese records mention that in the 1st century A.D. their southern province bordering on Sanglin was stirred into revolt by the Chams, in which many Chinese officials were killed. In 192 A.D., according to the Chinese, taking advantage of the confusion in the Empire under the Han dynasty, the local Cham leader proclaimed himself King of Lin-Yi (a name given in the Chinese records to northern Champa, as indicated above, and then gradually extended to the whole of the Hindu kingdom). Champapuri, the capital city, now identified with the ruins a little to the south of Quang Nam, was at the northern end of the new Aryan State, which was divided subsequently into four provinces (as shown in the inscriptions) whose particulars are as follows:

1. Amaravati in the north—present province of Quang Nam—with two famous cities, Champapuri and Indrapuri, the latter identified with the present Dong Duong;

2. Vijaya, in the centre (corresponding to modern Binh Dinh province), with its chief city Vijaya and the celebrated shrines adjacent to the city;

3. Pandurangha in the south (corresponding to the present Phan-ranh province) with its chief town, Virapura, also known as Rajapura;

4. At the extreme south, the small province of Kauthara, which was often merged in Pandurangha by certain Champa rulers for administrative purposes.

From the fact that the Chinese were driven out before 200 A.D. and that the Sri Mara Dynasty started functioning about the same date, we can deduce that the Aryans must have arrived in the country a century or two earlier, in order to consolidate the primitive local tribes into some sort of cohesion and instil into them the rudiments of civilisation and the arts of government. We should not be far wrong if we assumed that the first immigrants must have arrived in the 3rd or the 2nd century B.C.
and slowly started working their way up north towards Champa-
puri from southern Kauthara, where they originally landed, as
evidenced by inscriptions.

Apart from the mythical Vichitra Sagara (whose name pro-
bably bears some vague legendary association with the fact that
the Puranas mention a Sagara of Ghrita or Sarpis i.e., a Sea of
Ghee, which is considered by philologists like Gerini to refer to
the Gulf of Tonking), the semi-historical founder of the Indian
dynasties in Champa is Sri Mara, otherwise known as Muraraja
or Uroja, who is referred to in an inscription of the 2nd century
A.D. as ruling over Kauthara on the southern coast of the country.
The travails of the Han Emperors of China probably stimulated
the Indian leaders in their spread northward, and it is even men-
tioned that the Champa king made a naval attack on Kiao Tche
(Hanoi, now in Vietminh) in 248 A.D., following which some
areas were ceded to Champa by the Chinese. The Chinese chron-
icles mention the names of several Champa rulers, each name
ending with Varman (‘Fan’ in Chinese). In 280 A.D., Ton-
king was again ravaged by the Indian ruler, in alliance with his
co-Aryan prince of Fou Nan (or Kamboja), and fresh territories
were acquired in the north. In 347 A.D., the Indian ruler again
overran Tonking and advanced up to the borders of China proper.
Ding-dong warfare then followed, in which ground was lost and
gained in turn by the Celestials and by the Champans. The
Chinese chronicles mention a king called Fan Hon Ta, who is
identified by Maspero with the Bhadravarman who has left seve-
ral inscriptions of the 5th century A.D. He was probably the
greatest king of the 1st Dynasty, and his full name was Dharma
Maharaja Sri Bhadravarman. It is likely that he ruled over the
provinces of Amaravati and Vijaya as well as Pandurangha. As a
thanksgiving for his victories against the Chinese, he built the
great temple of Bhadresarawaswami at Myson near Champapuri,
which became a highly venerated national sanctuary for the
Cham people. The King is described in contemporary Sanskrit
inscriptions as well-versed in the four Vedas and as a great
scholar. The next king was Gargaraja, who, curiously enough,
abdicated his throne in favour of his step-brother, and journeyed
to India “to spend his last days on the banks of Janhavi” (i.e.,
Ganga) in the language of his inscription. He was succeeded by
his brother (born of an inferior queen), who carried on the family
tradition of harassing Tonking. He met with reverses, but was
c recognised formally by the Chinese as the king of Champa. He
was followed by his son, who carried on the war with redoubled
vigour, but his ardour was soon cooled by severe military set-
backs, including the capture of his northern stronghold near Hue
by the Chinese, who sacked the city and put the entire adult
population to the sword. Even Champapuri was captured and
despoiled by the victors, and all Hindu temples were denuded
of their valuables. It is stated that gold alone of about 50,000
kilograms by weight was collected as booty by the northerners
(446 A.D.). Following this debacle, there was a usurpation of the
Champa throne by a Prince of Kamboja, who was, however, soon
ousted by a scion of the legitimate family. The latter's son and
grandson, named Devavarman and Vijayavarman, then ruled the
land between 493 A.D. and 529 A.D.

The succession then went to Sri Rudravarman, a collateral
heir of Vijayavarman. This king was the son of a Brahmin
through a Kshatriya mother, and he claims to have renovated
the great temple of Bhadreswaraswami, which had been ap-
parently set afame by pirates (perhaps from Java). His son
Sambhuvarman saw a Chinese invasion in 605 A.D. and had the
mortification of being defeated with heavy losses; the ears of
10,000 Champa prisoners were cut off and sent as tribute to the
Chinese Emperor, by his victorious general. The latter captured
Champapuri, took prisoner the whole population, and carried
away all the golden inscription plates and numerous canonical
works. Among the prisoners were some musicians, who are stated
in the Chinese chronicles to have spread the art of instrument-
al music into China. The Chinese attack was only a sporadic
raid and soon Sambhuvarman was back on the throne, trying to
repair the ravages of the great disaster. His son, Kandarpa
Dharma, had a peaceful reign and is mentioned as “virtue
incarnate” in his inscription, which adds that Kali fled away
from his kingdom in disgust. Apparently Kali was soon back
again on the job, for the next king and his whole family were
assassinated by his Mahamantri, who put Sambhuvarman's
Brahmin son-in-law, Satya Kausika, on the throne. The latter’s
two sons and younger brothers followed in rapid succession, which
fact bespeaks troubled times at the Champa court. The next
important ruler is Prakasa Vikrantavarman (657 A.D.), who conti-
nued a policy of peace with China. His son, grandson, and great-grandson succeeded him peaceably on the throne; after the last, the dynasty got probably extinguished (circa 757 A.D.), after having lasted over 200 years from 529 A.D. Its downfall is attributed to Javanese incursions, by Maspero.

A new line of succession (the 3rd Dynasty) ensued with Prithvi-Indravarman, who apparently drove back the Javanese pirates and set up rule in his own right. Satyavarman, his nephew, ascended the throne in 774 A.D. and had to contend against fresh naval raids by the Javanese, who are graphically described as vicious cannibals, in the Champan inscriptions. The new king crushed the raiders and repaired the temples destroyed by the “Yavanas”, as the Javanese were also called. His brother Indravarman succeeded him in 785 A.D. and enjoyed a comparatively quiet tenure on the throne. His successor and brother-in-law, Harivarman, fought the Chinese with some success, and also invaded Kamboja. The next ruler, Vikrantavaran III, died without issue, and thus ended, after a century of sway, the 3rd dynasty of Prithvi-Indravarman.

The 4th dynasty of Champan kings called themselves Bhārgavas (descendants of Bhṛigu), as will appear from the following extract from an incomplete inscription of Indravarman II, the third member of this dynasty:

“This god, Sri Isanesvara, the preceptor of the world, who possesses the characteristics of the absolute, and who is worthy of worship and salutation by the kings, lives here triumphantly, together with his multitude of servants, for the sake of the prosperity of Champa. Sri Bhadravarman, the moon in the heaven of the Bhṛigu family........adorns hundreds (?) of towns ..........The multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries.........the spotless fame of the king has spread all over the world.........praised by virtuous men.........may he protect (?) the words and deeds of learned men.”

Indravarman’s father and grandfather, named Rudravarman and Bhadravarman, were both kings of Champa. Indravarman, however, claims that he came to the throne because of his special merits and virtues, and not on the strength of his genealogy. This is interpreted by Majumdar as meaning that, while the first two kings were minor chiefs, the grandson became
the sole ruler of Champa, through his own personal exertions. This presumption is supported by the fact that at birth Indravarman was known only as Lakshminda Gramaswamin, i.e., Warden of the Royal City, and that only later he assumed the name of Maharajadhiraaja. The historicity of the first two kinglets is attested by inscriptions, but unfortunately their relationship to the last member of the 3rd dynasty (Vikrantavarman III) is not clarified, nor how their claim to be Bhargavas could be substantiated.

Indravarman seems to have been a catholic monarch, for records exist of his munificent donations to Buddhist shrines in 875 A.D.* After a long and prosperous reign, this king was succeeded (circa 890 A.D.) by Jayasimhavarman, apparently a nephew, who is credited with many pious benefactions. His queen, Tribhuvana Mahadevi, must have been a domineering person, judging by the tone of the contemporary inscriptions. Jayasimha was succeeded by his son, Jayasaktivarman, who perhaps had a short reign (909 A.D.). The next ruler was Bhadravarman III, probably a brother of his predecessor, who has left several inscriptions containing the conventional praises and claims of martial successes; it is stated that several ambassadors from foreign courts resided at Champapuri and that some of his own ministers became very proficient in foreign languages. He sent his cousin, Rajadvarah, on a diplomatic mission to Java, thus indicating the growing international stature of Champa. Bhadravarman was succeeded, after a short reign, by his son Indravarman, who seems to have been a remarkable personality. He is reputed to have mastered the six Hindu Darsanas; as well as the totality of Buddhist philosophy, Panini's grammar, and the Uttararakalpa of the Saivaites. (The last is perhaps an index of South Indian influence, which was becoming strongly Saivaite at the time.) This philosopher king quit the world after a long rule of 60 years, in 972 A.D.

His death was followed by a period of great confusion, which lasted almost a hundred years, for which no local records are available. Apparently the next king was Parameswaravarman, who was involved in a serious quarrel with resurgent Tonking (Annam). In a wave of patriotism, coinciding with internal

* Incidentally, this is the first reference to Buddhism in Champa.
turmoil in China, several petty Annamese chiefs had succeeded, in 939 A.D., in dislodging the Chinese overlord and setting up independent principalities in Tonking, which finally were brought under a single ruler in 968 A.D. At this stage King Parameswara interfered in his northern neighbour's affairs, with disastrous results to himself. The armada which he had fitted out was shattered in a storm, and this tempted the Tonking monarch to invade Champa. Parameswara was killed in battle, and the capital was captured and pillaged by the wild Annamites, who abducted the entire royal harem. The next Champan king, Indravarman IV, who was reduced to sore straits, having lost the Amaravati province to Annam, soon died, leaving Champa in a parlous condition. A natural hero, however, soon appeared on the scene, who crowned himself as Sri Harivarmann II at Vijaya (989 A.D.). He essayed diplomatic pourparlers with Annam and also made a rather pathetic appeal to the Chinese Emperor for recognition and help, as the following extract from the Chinese chronicles would show.

"I am a chief of small renown. The foreigners always invaded and devastated my country, and my subjects, unable to defend, were scattered like straw before a storm. Then you extended your protection to me and sent me a present of magnificent horses, standards and equipments of war. Learning the Imperial favour vouchsafed to me, my neighbours no longer entertain any desire of ruining me. Now my kingdom is again enjoying peace, and the scattered people are coming back. . . . . . My country has the same reverence for you as for the heaven above which covers us, and the earth below which bears us, and my gratitude is unlimited. 10,000 li* of the sea divides your august capital from my country, and yet your goodwill is extended towards me."

The next king, called Vijayasri, continued to rule from Vijaya, permanently abandoning Champapuri, which was strategically in an exposed position, being too near the Annamite frontier. An Arab deputation visited Champa during his reign (circa 1000 A.D.). His successor was Harivarmadeva III, who presented a few lions (brought over from India) to the Chinese Emperor, who had never seen such a curiosity before. The two successor kings were Parameswaravarman II and Sri Vikrantavarman IV,

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* A Chinese li equals 680 yards.
under whom Champa had a troubled time, with frequent palace disturbances. Jayasimhavarman II, who ascended the throne in 1041 A.D., fared no better, as he was faced by a terrible inroad from Annam. Jayasimha was routed in the war, in which 30,000 of his soldiers died, and Vijaya was captured and ravaged. It is recorded that on this occasion some Champan princesses committed suicide rather than fall into enemy hands.

Six years of sorrow passed by in Champa till a new dynasty (the 5th) was founded, \textit{circa} 1050 A.D., by Jaya Parameswara Iswaramurti, a scion of the old royal house. He had to contend against severe odds, including rebellion at home, graphically described in a Sanskrit inscription thus:

"The people of Pandurangha were always stupid, of mischievous spirit, and evil-doers. For instance, on several occasions they revolted against different kings of Champa down to the time of His Majesty Sri Parameswaravarmadeva, who gave all the Barons of the country to the God Parameswara [probably the country of Pandurangha had been placed under the suzerainty of a great monastery]. Nevertheless, the people of Pandurangha were guilty of culpable acts. They set up different individuals one after another and proclaimed them kings of the country."

The southern revolt was crushed and large numbers of prisoners taken. The Kambojans (who were ever eager to fish in troubled waters abroad) were also taught a severe lesson. The king made many endowments and gave the country a peaceful government at home, and friendly relations with Annam abroad. The next king, Bhadravarman IV, is a shadowy figure; his successor, Rudravarman IV, opened hostilities with Annam, with terrible consequences to himself. His army was defeated and he was captured in flight (1069 A.D.). The Annamese victor set fire to Vijaya and returned to Tonking in triumph with 50,000 prisoners, including the king and his family, who, however, were allowed to return after some time to Vijaya. Rudravarman found his kingdom in anarchy and died soon afterwards broken-hearted (1070?).

The next, the 6th dynasty, was that of Harivarman IV, who has left several lengthy inscriptions, indicating much internal strife before he could consolidate his position. To add to his troubles, his neighbour monarchs in Annam and Kamboja made aggressive intrusions, but the King seems to have been equal to his task. He
overcame his enemies, both local and foreign, and in his own words, "dispersed hostile troops in battle on twelve occasions and cut off the heads of kings, chiefs, and generals in battle nine times." The Kambojan army was defeated at Someswara and the commanding prince captured. The rich endowments made to the temples and the sending of costly presents to foreign courts bespeak a revival of prosperity in the much-ravaged land. Champa papuri was rebuilt, as was also neighbouring Simhapura. This valiant king abdicated his throne at the early age of 41, in favour of his son, to become a devotee of Siva. He died soon after, and it is recorded that fourteen of his wives committed voluntary suttee.

His son, Jaya Indravarman, was a boy and was superseded by his uncle, who had, as Yuvaraja Mahasenapati under his brother, greatly distinguished himself. This act of supersession is thus described in an inscription of the king:

"There is His Majesty Sri Jaya Indravarmadeva, Prince Vak, son of His Majesty Sri Harivarmandeva, prince Than... He reigned about a month. Then, as Sri Jaya Indravarmadeva was very young, did not know what was good or bad in the government of the kingdom and made everything contrary to the rule of law, Sri Indravarmadeva with all the generals, Brahmins, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies and the wives of Sri Harivarmandeva searched for a prince to govern the kingdom. Now they found that Pulyan Sri Yuvaraja Mahasenapati, prince Pan, uncle of Sri Jaya Indravarmadeva, and younger brother of Sri Harivarmandeva, had all the marks of a Maharaja according to the canons of Rajachakravartin, and that he had the knowledge of the good and the bad... Sri Jaya Indravarmadeva, nephew of Pulyan Sri Yuvaraja Mahasenapati, with the Brahmins, Kshatriyas Pandits, astrologers, masters of ceremonies, with all the ladies, carrying royal insignia, went to Pulyan Sri Yuvaraja Mahasenapati and made him king."

In his reign, the southern province of Panduranga was integrated into the kingdom of Champa and a period of peace followed. Remarkably enough, when the King died, his supplanted nephew succeeded him as Jaya Indravarman V. This king crossed swords with the traditional Annamese enemy, but came off only second best. His son Harivarman V maintained friendly and deferen-
tial relations with his neighbour, and thus kept peace in the kingdom and himself out of mischief.

Hari left no issue and was succeeded by Jaya Indravarman VI, who claimed to be a spiritual descendant of the legendary Sri Muraraja and even his true reincarnation. He was a liberal and accomplished ruler, but unluckily got involved in quarrels with his powerful neighbours in the north and in the east, and got worsted by both. The Kambojan ruler captured Vijaya and killed the king.

At this stage the 7th dynasty came into power. A scion of the old ruling house of Parama Bodhisattva, by name Rudravarman Parama-Brahmaloka, seized the Champan throne in 1145 A.D., but died after a rule of a couple of years. His son, Harivarmadeva VI, followed him on the throne, which was tottering under numerous blows from Kambojans, Annamites and the "Kiratas" (i.e. wild tribes) within the country. Harivarman proved adequate to the demands made on his strength and skill. He defeated the Kambojan general Sankara, "and he and his generals died in the field of battle" (1147 A.D.). The same fate overtook another Kambojan army next year, upon which Hari- varman himself invaded Kamboja-held territories and inflicted a signal defeat on the enemy. The latter then stirred up the Kiratas against Champa, but the wild folk, though aided by traitorous elements within the royal family, were easily vanquished. The biggest trial of strength, however, came from Tonking, whence a huge army advanced on Vijaya. This army was routed and thousands of Yavana (i.e., Annamese) soldiers lay dead on the field of battle. The King finally rang down the curtain on his tempestuous military career with the following statement in his inscriptions:

"King Sri Jaya Harivarman, prince Sivanandana, has triumphed over all his enemies, to wit, the Cambodgians, the Annamites, Vijaya, Amaravati, and all the countries of the north; Panduranga and the countries of the south; the Rade, the Mada and other barbarous tribes in the regions of the west".

He then turned to the rehabilitation of the cities and temples, and the inscriptions attest to his magnificent achievements in this direction. Harivarman, who claimed to be the 4th reincarnation of Muraraja, sedulously cultivated the Celestials
and even made friends with Annam latterly, in the interests of peace.

A usurper named Jaya Indravarman VII succeeded Hari in 1162 A.D., and started the usual rumpus with Annam. Success failed him and he had to buy off the Annamites with costly gifts. China also developed some coolness towards him after he tried, by dubious means, to import Chinese horses as mounts for his bowmen, who had learnt just then to practise archery on horseback. Jaya Indravarman invaded Kamboja by sea, advancing up the Mekong to the Khmer capital, which he took and sacked. In his days the Champa Kingdom became almost a replica of its former great self. Jaya Indravarman died (circa 1180 A.D.), and with him ended the 8th dynasty.

The next (9th) dynasty also starts with a Jaya Indravarman (VIII of the succession), who adhered to the "forward" policy of his predecessor and made war on Kamboja, which, however, ended disastrously with his defeat and capture by the brilliant Kambojan general, Suryavarman Vidyananda, who marched the captive monarch to Kamboja. Champa was cut into two principalities; over the southern one, with Rajapura as capital, Vidyananda was appointed Viceroy. Over the northern province, a local prince called Jaya Indravarma Rasupati, soon gained control, after liquidating the Kambojan governor. The affairs then took a peculiar turn; Vidyananda turned traitor to his own monarch and made himself master of the whole of Champa, defeating and killing Rasupati. Vidyananda also defeated and put to death the refugee Champan ruler, who invaded the country at the head of a Kambojan army. Suryavarman Vidyananda devoted his remaining days to the restoration of his war-torn territories. He rebuilt cities and shrines and made numerous bequests. Vidyananda in his last days tasted bitter defeat at the hands of his own uncle, subsidised by Kamboja, and disappeared from the stage of history all of a sudden.

The unnatural uncle, who called himself Dhanapati, had a number of revolts on his hands, which he managed to quell. Annamese raids then followed, which were not always wholly repulsed. Meanwhile, Kamboja itself was threatened from the east by Siam, its traditional enemy. Matters came to such a pass that Kamboja evacuated Champa in toto and made a treaty of friendship in 1226 with the new ruler, Jaya Parameswara
Varman IV, who reigned till circa 1243, when his brother, Jaya Indravarman X, ascended the throne. As usual, fighting with Annam ensued with mixed results, till peace was finally established with the troublesome northerner. In 1257, King Jaya Indra was murdered by his nephew, who seized the throne and, after some initial successes, consecrated himself formally as Indravarman XI in 1266 A.D. His reign witnessed a grave visitation, for which there are few parallels in world history. The Tartar hordes were then on the march; after a brutally victorious career, which made their very name a terror to all the civilised world from the Black Sea to the Sea of Cathay, Mongkou and Kublai Khan (grandsons of the formidable Chengiz) were looking about for fresh fields of conquest. Veiled threats were sent to all neighbouring rulers by Kublai Khan to present themselves in person with the usual tokens of tutelage. Many complied, but some did not; among the latter was the regicide king of Champa, who temporised with costly gifts and substitute envoys. The Great Khan then 'dethroned' the Champa king on paper, and appointed his own governors for Champa. On their being resisted by the local population, he sent an army of invasion in 1283, which captured the northern citadel of Champa and forced Jaya Indra to flee to the hills, from where the worsted monarch fought a series of guerilla actions with varying success, with the help of his brave son, Harijita. In 1284, another Tartar army debouched into Champa by sea, and carried fire and sword through that unhappy land. Jaya Indravarman was still most elusive, and to clinch the matter, Kublai Khan sent another huge force overland through Annam, in 1285. The Annamese Emperor, in his own interest, stoutly resisted this violation of his sovereignty, and the result was a most sanguinary war between the Annamese and the Tartar forces, in which the latter were defeated with great slaughter. This piece of unexpected reverse induced, in the Great Khan, some severe rethinking about his projected invasions, and Champa was safe from further delicate attentions of the dreaded Mongols.

Marco Polo visited Champa in 1288 when Jaya Indravarman was no more, and has left some interesting notes of his travel. The then ruler was the valorous prince Harijita, who had assumed the name of Jaya Simhavarman IV. His reign marked a resurgence of Champan prosperity. The vassalage to
China was terminated and no more tributes were sent; similar treatment was accorded to Annam, whose Emperor conciliated Jaya Simha by giving him in marriage his own daughter, who was named Maharani Parameswari (as found in her inscriptions). A delicate situation arose when Jaya Simha died in 1307; according to age-old custom, all the Chief Queens were in honour bound to actively join in the ex-monarch's cremation, but the Annamese Emperor diplomatically managed to get Parameswari denied this great distinction! Jaya Simha's son, Mahendravarman, whose mother was Bhaskaradevi, succeeded his father. He attacked Annam, but was worsted and taken prisoner to Tonking, where he died in captivity in 1313 A.D. His brother was installed in power by Tonking, but without the regal insignia; for all practical purposes Champa had become a vassal of Annam. The Champa prince was finally ejected even from his nominal office and forced to flee to Java (1318 A.D.). Thus ended the 9th dynasty, founded by Rudravarman in 1145 A.D.

We now come to the last phase of Aryan Champa's existence. The kingdom was without a legitimate sovereign, but its governor (called by the Annamese A-Nan) was a Champan notable, who proved himself a great diplomat and something of a military genius. When he felt safe enough, he intrigued with the Mongol court and got himself recognised as a direct tributary king of the Great Khan. When Annam reacted to this impertinence by sending an army, A-Nan soundly defeated it (1326 A.D.) and threw off not only the Annamese yoke but also that of the Mongols, who were in the interim in serious trouble with their Chinese (Han) subjects.

The death of A-Nan in 1342 A.D. was followed by a struggle for power in Champa, between his son and his son-in-law. The latter made himself king and ruled till 1360, when he was followed by a Champa king called in Annamese Che Bong Ngā. He made daring raids into Annam, capturing prisoners and much booty. Meanwhile, in China the Ming dynasty had come to power (1368) after driving away the Tartars. The first Ming Emperor recognised Che Bong as "King of Champa", and this impelled the latter to continue his attacks on Annam, taking advantage of palace intrigues there. But things soon changed in Tonking and the new and enterprising Annamese Emperor, Khan Hoang, marched into Champa (1377) at the head of a large army
of 1,20,000 soldiers and started in pursuit of Che Bong, who had abandoned his capital. By adopting guerilla tactics, Che Bong led the Emperor into a clever ambush, in which the Annamese army was decimated, the Emperor and his Commander-in-Chief being killed. Che Bong followed up this victory with a naval invasion of the Annamese capital, which he captured and systematically sacked. He repeated this treatment the next year in such a fashion that his very name became a holy terror to the Annamese. The Champan ruler proved to be a master of strategy and in several well-planned campaigns inflicted further serious defeats on the new Tonking Emperor, whose authority was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Unluckily for him, Che Bong was betrayed and killed by one of his own commanders, during a particularly daring attack on the Annamese capital. Following this reverse, the Champan army retreated to Vijaya, where its commander, BRSU Jaya Simha Varma Deva, made himself king, to the exclusion of the sons of Che Bong.

Thus was founded in 1390 A.D. the last dynasty of Champa (that of the Brsus) by Jaya Simhavarman V. His seat on the throne was none too secure and there were several internal uprisings. In 1401 he was succeeded by Sri BRSU Indravaran, who suffered the humiliation of being forced to cede almost the whole of Amaravati (with its capital cities of Champapuri and Indrapuri) to Annam, after a serious military reverse. But the day of retribution was at hand. When the greedy Annamese made a fresh demand on Indravaran, the latter appealed to the Chinese Emperor in the following terms:

"In a recent report I have informed Your Majesty that Annam had violated our territories and killed and carried away men and animals, and at my request Your Majesty was pleased to order the king of Annam to withdraw his army. But the latter has not complied with the order of Your Majesty. In the fourth month of the year (between 9th May and 8th June 1404) he again ravaged the frontiers of my country and caused sufferings to my people. Recently, during the return journey of my ambassador who had gone to pay the tribute to the Imperial (Chinese) court, all the presents sent to me by Your Majesty were forcibly taken by the Annamites. Moreover, in order to indicate my vassalage to him, the king of Annam has forced me to use his crown, dress and seal. Besides, he has seized upon Cha-li-ya and other places in
my kingdom. Still, even now he does not cease to attack and molest my territories. I fear I have not the power to protect myself and I therefore place my kingdom at the feet of Your Majesty and request you to have it administered by your officials."

This pathetic appeal had its result, especially since the Mings had their own scores to settle with Annam. A large Chinese army invaded Annam, destroyed the armed defenders and captured the royal family, which spent its remaining days in captivity in China. In this confusion, BRSU Indravarman reconquered Amaravati from Annam, but this was not liked by the victorious Chinese, who however could do little, as they themselves were soon driven out of Annam. The BRSU soon felt strong enough to invade Kamboja, whose capital was captured, with resulting heavy booty to the victor. In his reign Nicolo De Conti visited Champa, which he described as a pleasant country, rich in aloe wood, camphor, and gold. Unhappily, the sands of Champan prosperity were running out. Maha Vijaya succeeded his uncle, the BRSU, in 1441, thus indicating a disturbed succession. Maha Vijaya kept up the family tradition by attacking Annam, which soon retaliated in kind. The Tonking troops took the offensive and captured Vijaya and the royal family (1446), after the king was betrayed by his own nephew. The renegade prince could not keep his ill-gotten throne long and was ousted by his own brother, called Qui Do, or Ketuvarman, a favourite with the Annamese. Relations between the countries continued to be strained. Ketuvarman's successor inherited the customary hostility with Annam, which he, very unwisely, invaded in 1469, with considerable land and sea forces. The Annamese Emperor's reaction was quick and strong. A truly formidable force of a quarter of a million men invaded Champa and captured Vijaya, in which nearly 100,000 people were either killed or made prisoner. The Champa king was taken captive to Tonking, but died on the way. The two northern provinces of Amaravati and Vijaya were finally annexed by Annam. Sporadic resistance continued in Panduranga, which declared itself independent, but its size was only a fifth of the old Champa realm, and its power was less than proportionate. Meanwhile, even this territory was being slowly cut into by the aggressive Annamese. In 1543 A.D., the last petty ruler of Panduranga (who still called himself King of Champa) was foolish enough to provoke the Annamese king, and was captured and killed
by the latter. His successors fled to Kauthara, at the southern extreme, where they continued to rule, in a semi-independent and ghostly fashion till 1822, when the last monarch, unable to bear the Annamese moral and physical oppression, went into voluntary exile to Cambodia.

Thus ended the brilliant story of Champa, a story which by itself is an everlasting testimony to the enterprise, bravery, and skill of the Aryan peoples. Leaving their native Indian shores in the nebulous days of infant history, they travelled, not as conquerors but as evangelists, literally thousands of miles through strange waters and unknown lands, to found kingdoms which they ruled for over 1500 years. In the process, they carried aloft the torch of learning, culture and religion, into murky areas of barbarism where the light of civilisation had never shone before.

The aborigines of Champa were, as we have already seen, scarcely above the Neolithic stage of cultural development when the Aryans first came to Indo-China (circa 200 B.C.?). The Chinese records mention that the people were so savage that they did not know cultivation (rice was the principal crop, later introduced from India) but lived only by hunting and fishing; they were turbulent and inclined to violence. "They had black skin, deep sunken eyes, snub noses, and curly hair .... In summer they covered their body with earth and exposed it to the sun; naturally their skin becomes black ... black (colour) is regarded as elegant" (Chinese chronicles). This description would indicate that the original uncivilised inhabitants belonged to the Austroloid family, related to the rude forest and mountain dwellers of Burma, Siam and South-East Asia generally. The later statuary of Champa occasionally reflects this type; for example, a Buddha of the 10th century A.D. shows a dark portly figure with wide mouth, flat nose, thick lips and sunken eyes, evidently an effort of an Indian-trained local artist who could not get away from his own conception of what a semi-divine personality should be! The Indian acculturation among these and successor peoples must have been quick and the ethnic impact very large. The medium height, light colour, darkstraight hair, and fine delicate features of the present-day Vietnamese (particularly among the upper classes) are an unmistakable legacy of Aryan colonisation, with its concomitant of heavy racial intermingling. It is a permissible guess that the Aryans brought with them comparatively few of their own women-
folk and had therefore to draw substantially on local resources. The legend of Sri Muraraja, the first King, marrying a local Naga princess is not without significance.

Apart from political supremacy, the Aryans made a complete cultural conquest of the country. The political system was modelled on that of the Indian homeland. There was the usual hereditary monarchy on patriarchal lines, the occasional instances of matriarchy being obvious aberrations from the norm. The king was surrounded by a body of advisers, among whom the Captain of the Guards and the Senapati ranked high. Then followed the Chief Priest, the Brahmana pandits, astrologers and Masters of Ceremonies, as the personal entourage of the monarch. The Mantris naturally occupied an exalted place in the body politic, and occasionally ministrieship tended to be hereditary, like the office of the Chief Priest. Kingship carried with it some divine attributes, especially if a claim to reincarnation could be plausibly laid; even Brahmins were expected to wash the feet of such kings. This may seem unusual to those accustomed to Indian monarchical traditions, but there is an explanation. The Champa kings claimed to be Brahmins, or rather Brahma-kshatriyas, i.e., Brahmins who had taken to political rule as a vocation. Apparently the nobles (called mandarins by the Chinese*) had some say in the choice of the king. Even the nomination of a successor or Yuvaraja by a reigning monarch had to be approved by the general body of Councillors. Scanning the numerous inscriptions, we gather the following desiderata for rulership: the king was expected to possess the personal characteristics of royalty (the "lakshanas of a Raja Chakravartin," as an inscription says); he must be well educated, "a master of the Vedas, 64 Kalas and of the six philosophical disciplines". He must control his six passions [Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada (pride), and Matsarya (malice)], in the manner laid down in the Dharmasastras. His moral qualities should be above reproach; he must have his full share of compassion, forbearance, truthfulness, calmness, liberality, etc. (The list is obviously based on our Smritis.) He must regard Vedic sacrifices as his principal treasures, and all his spare time must be taken up with pious works. Varnasrama Dharma was

* The Chinese name for high officials etc. is Kuan; the word mandarin was adopted by the Portuguese from the Malay mantri.
his special care and the welfare of the people was largely in his arduous keeping.

The kingdom was divided into 3 provinces, as we have already seen. These were subdivided into 38 districts in all, each district consisting of a number of towns and villages, the latter usually consisting of 500 to 700 families each. Even the big towns were not large; according to a census taken in 1069 A.D., Vijaya, a provincial capital, contained only 2600 families. This indicates that the country (largely hills and forests, well stocked with tigers, elephants and rhinoceroses) was rather sparsely populated. Even Champapuri, the northern capital, must have had in its heyday less than a lakh of people in normal residence.

There were fifty different grades of officers under the Provincial Governors; all these were apparently remunerated by land grants and not by cash salaries. A mild system of forced labour was in vogue, but agricultural taxation was light. Normally the king took one-sixth of the gross produce, but very often his quota was reduced voluntarily to one-tenth, as several inscriptions bear out. Temple lands were exempt from tax; commerce was subject to levy (octroi and excise); customs duty was 20% and the king appropriated a good part of the income from public forests, by way of eminent domain. It is clear that the fiscal system of Champa bore a strong Indian impress.

The jurisprudence of Champa was based on Indian traditions. Manu and Brihaspati were cited specifically as authorities for all civil and criminal legislation in the beginning. (Incidentally, this proves the ancient date of the Manusmriti, if it could have been applied in distant Champa nearly 2000 years ago !) One king claims that “he punctiliously followed all the 18 Laws of Manu”.* Latterly the Codes of Narada and Bhargava (i.e. Sukracharya) are mentioned as in application. Punishment was humane; minor crimes were ordinarily requited with flogging. Robbery entailed mutilation of fingers, while adultery was a capital offence. Heinous crimes were punished by “trampling under the elephant’s feet”, as in India at the time. Slavery was recognised, but it was apparently a concomitant of war or civil debt, as in India. A sort of divine judgment (or trial by ordeal) was also in vogue.

A standing army was maintained, which was comparatively

* Manu divided his Code into eighteen titles.
large (50,000 strong), looking to the limited man-power of the State. The king’s personal guard numbered several thousands and they were armed with lances and javelins, crossbows and shields. Poisoned arrows were apparently permissible, despite Manu’s injunctions to the contrary. Flags, trumpets and conches were standard military equipment. In the Chinese records there is a reference to the use of muskets in a naval engagement of 1389, in which Che Bong was killed by a treacherous volley. A large force of elephantry (over 1000) was kept as well as considerable cavalry, vide the following inscription (909 A.D.):

"Which (the battle-field) is grey with dust raised by the swift-moving sharp hoofs of horses galloping high; whose surface has been dyed red with drops of blood, like Asoka flowers, shed by means of various weapons; and in the four regions of which the sounds of war-drums were drowned by the roars of gigantic beautiful elephants."

The Chinese had some difficulty at first in meeting the charging elephants, but later on employed effective counter-tactics which made these monsters a very dubious asset in war. Odoric de Pordenone, who visited Champa in 1323 A.D., says that the king had 14,000 trained elephants (most of them for civil work or for show).

Apart from the army, a considerable navy was kept by the State. The men-of-war consisted of turreted ships, each capable of carrying a large company of soldiers. There are repeated references to naval expeditions, and the number of ships employed often exceeded 100 at a time. This frequent resort to naval warfare bespeaks an extensive knowledge of deep-sea navigation on the part of the Champan leaders and a substantial shipbuilding potential in the land. In fact, the people had acquired such nautical skill that unruly elements on the coasts often resorted to piracy and privateering, in defiance of the State authorities. The art of fortification also had reached fair advancement. Most important cities had brick walls protected by towers and battlements with deep ditches in front. The plan of defence adopted, generally followed the rules laid down in the Indian silpa sastras.

Unfortunately for Champa, war was a frequent phenomenon, not only with hostile foreign peoples like the Annamese, but also with the fellow-Aryans of Kamboja. It is recorded in one of the
inscriptions that all neighbouring nations should be looked upon with suspicion—a compliment which was doubtless repaid in kind by the other party. The neighbours were classified into enemies, friends and neutrals, in the orthodox manner laid down in the Nitisasstras. Diplomatic artifices were freely resorted to, including the four famous expedients familiar to Indian text-book-writers (Sama, Dana, Bheda, Danda), to which the Champa kings added their own well-tried speciality, viz., Upapradana (meekly buying off the opponent). References are frequently made to the ‘Sadgunya’ or the six-fold policies embodied in our Nitisastras, particularly the Manusmriti and the Kamandakiya Nitisara of circa 2nd century B.C.

Arts and crafts must have made considerable progress in Champa, from the evidence of the inscriptions and such monuments as still remain. The king and the upper classes wore costly clothes and much jewellery, as the following extracts would show:

“The King is 36 years of age. He is dressed in rich embroidered silks, and a long tunic held by seven chains of gold. He wears a golden crown adorned by seven kinds of precious gems, and puts on sandals of copper. When he goes out he is attended by fifty men and ten women, who carry betel and nuts on golden plates and play on musical instruments.” (Chinese chronicles)

The Po Nagar inscription says, with reference to King Vikrantavarman, that a big white umbrella was raised over his head and his “body was decorated with diadem, waistband, necklace and ear-rings made of gold, ruby and other jewels.”

The nobles clad themselves in fine muslin dhotis with lace border and wore jewelled belts and fine shoes. (The dhotis are seen in the statues tied at the waist in the regulation “panchakaccha”). The common people wore, of course, only a minimum of clothing. The lower classes, both male and female, went bare-bodied above the waist, but in cold weather they wore woollen tunics and “chaddars”. The sculptures show them as bare-footed. All courtiers attending the daily durbar were expected to salute the king by bowing low, with their arms placed across the chest. The king either rode an elephant or a chariot, to and from the durbar; occasionally he arrived in a richly upholstered palanquin, escorted by a small bodyguard of Amazons, carrying spear and shield! Monogamy was scarcely observed at high levels,
and Marco Polo attests that the Champa King he saw in 1286 had 326 children, through his numerous wives and concubines! When a king died, the senior queens joined him on the funeral pyre, as this was considered to be a great honour; for which there was often some competition in the antahpura!

The religion of Champa was bodily transplanted from India, and its profound impress is visible even to-day in the land, despite the inroads of Christianity. This is particularly interesting since, at least in the historical periods, Hinduism was never a proselytising faith (unlike Buddhism) and was not a favourite object of export outside Bharatavarsha. It is true that we have seen the Vedic religion permeating, in a true or in an inverted form, Sumeria, the Near East and Egypt, but all this happened in such a remote past that contacts between the mother-source and the end-product had been largely lost. In South-East Asia, however, the picture is vastly different. Whether it be Hinduism or Buddhism, its inception, growth and continued existence are matters of historical observation and record. Even to-day there is practically no area in South-East Asia which does not carry a living tradition of religious acculturation from India. Despite the intrusion of hostile faiths like Islam and Christianity, their veneer is often thin, and beneath the surface can be seen the unmistakable religious stamp of Aryavarta.

In Champa it was the seemingly conservative Brahminical religion which first took root and which remained fully dominant right up to the 16th century, when the Champan rule started disintegrating. In the words of Majumdar, “The study of Indian religion in Champa not only affords an interesting insight into the vigour and vitality of the Brahminical religion but also the completeness with which the foreigners had absorbed the Hindu civilisation... It is not only the story of a great triumph, but a triumph against great odds.” Amid varying political fortunes, amid hostile incursions by powerful and greedy neighbours, the Aryan leaders never ceased propagating the religion they believed in. Numerous shrines and temples attest to their unflagging faith, and the large measure of success they achieved in inducting the primitive animistic peoples into the Hindu fold, ignoring the narrow inhibitions and taboos against conversion now so strongly ingrained in the Hindu at home.
The religion which flourished in Champa was neo-Vedic, i.e., the one which evolved in India under the impact of the Sramana cults and which, while not completely eschewing the Nature-gods of the Vedas (Indra, Varuna, Agni, etc.), yet polarised its devotion on the Trimurtis (Brahma, Vishnu, Siva) and their Divine spouses. Normally, the worship was monotheistic and accompanied by elaborate temple rituals and ceremonies. Siva was the national deity; Saivism developed early, probably because its Champan exponents came from South India, where the Siva cult had already grown strong roots, and where it was then suffering some mild discrimination from the Kshamana and Buddhistic kings. Although temples were built for all three Murtis, it would be correct to say that Saivism, as personified by Sri Bhadreswara, was the de-facto state religion; but this is not to imply that there were any sectarian animosities at any level*. Rudra is invoked under many names, and hymns in various metres and in chaste Sanskrit are addressed to him. He is specifically mentioned as the Chief of the Trinity and as the preceptor of the gods, vide the following sloka, inscribed on stone, by a king:

"With Indra in front, Brahma to the right, the Moon and the Sun at the back, and the God Narayana to the left, Siva sits in the middle, glowing with splendid rays, while these and other gods bow down before him and sing a chorus of praise and thanksgiving beginning with 'Om' and ending with 'Svadha-svaha'."

Siva is described (in the concrete) according to set Vedic formulæ† (matted hair, Ganga on the coiffure, three eyes, serpent armlets, crescent moon on forehead, lion-skin cloak, etc.,) and some of the famous Puranic episodes are detailed in the texts (e.g., the burning of Kama). To propagate the Saivite faith, statues of Nataraja as well as lingas including some mukhaliugas were set up at numerous places. It is needless to say that the bulk of the Royal donations went to Saivite shrines. The usual

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* Of the 130 important inscriptions, almost a hundred contain salutations to Siva, only 3 to Vishnu, and 5 to Brahma; the rest are secular.

† As in the well-known dhyana-sloka in the Satarudriya hymn:

\[ \text{सर्वनामस्य भवतु सर्वनामं कत्वा परमेयं} \]
auxiliary deities, familiar to the Saivaitine school, were also set up with Siva (like Ganesa, Skanda, Gauri).

Vishnu was not without a following in Champa, especially through his incarnations, Rama and Krishna, who were frequently extolled in the texts. (We have seen that the Chams claimed descent from Sri Rama.) Lakshmi was also given due deference, and in a minor fashion, Hanuman and Garuda. Brahma was occasionally referred to as Chaturanana and as part of the Trinity, and temples were erected in some places for his worship. To show the catholic faith of the kings, very often all the three deities were installed in the same shrine, though not, perhaps, given the same architectural importance. Other minor deities, like the Navagrahas, Indra, Dharma (Yama), Kubera, Agni, Vayu, Mitra, were also eulogised in the inscriptions, which gave appropriate legendary details, based on Indian Puranas. It must be added that, despite all this pantheism, the abstract conception of a Paramatma was never lost sight of. The idea of a Universal Creator as the upholder of the RTA, or the stern moral order, was kept in the background of even the most complicated sectionalism. The Law of Karma was always visualised as an inescapable concomitant of mundane existence, with the consequential emphasis on the transitory nature of human greatness and the futility of material pleasures. Yogic practices were commended as the means to the ultimate goal, which was release from the endless chain of existence. The whole concept of religion was graphically summed up by a king who sermonised on stones thus, in fluent Sanskrit verse:

"Knowing that the body and its pleasures are vain and transient, that this body is as unpermanent as the foam floating on waters, I installed these lingas and made gifts to the gods who are present in these symbols. As a result, Kali, with the melancholy reflection that 'I have nothing to expect from a king who, free from passion, dutifully protects his subjects like his own sons,' sadly moved away, nobody knows where, even as the armies of darkness fly before the glorious Sun."

Champa was (and is) a beautiful land, full of evergreen forests and towering mountains running from north to south, with
deep rich valleys lush with crops lying in between.* The climate was (and is) humid, with an excess of rainfall, particularly in the north-east monsoon. The land was in the old days subject to tropical epidemics, especially the dreaded ‘takman’ or post-monsoon malaria. This was the land, poorly inhabited and poorly served, to which the Aryans came, perhaps 2500 years ago, with their intense theism and their thick traditions of Varna-Arṣama. The aborigines were, of course, casteless, but the Aryans brought with them the fourfold division of society, with this difference viz., that while the first two castes were well marked and often mentioned, the Vaisyas and the Sudras were only rarely referred to and in fact formed an amorphous group. This is easily understandable, since the first two Varnas constituted mainly imported stock, while the local population plus some Indians of low degree got vaguely classified as Vaisya and Sudra, among whom social divisions must have been almost absent. Further, between Brahmins and Kṣatriyas there was frequent intermarriage: the kings gradually became Brahma-Kṣatriyas, both in name and in fact. Brahmin religious domination was not so strong as in India, but following the Manusmṛiti, the Brahmin occupied an honoured position in society and enjoyed the customary legal immunities sanctioned by hoary authority.

Other practices imported from the Indian mainland were:

(a) the granting of special privileges of dress and ornament, or use of distinctive conveyances as a personal honour (vide the following inscriptive extract):

“The honour of putting a garland on his head, the distinction of being marked by an excellent tilaka (mark on the forehead), a complete ornament for the ears, best

* Even to day dense forests, filled with wild fauna, dominate South Vietnam. They afford much facility to the Communist guerilla hordes who are now fighting against odds, a tenacious war, aided by the North Vietnamese. The seven-year-old war in South Vietnam has been an eye-opener to all military strategists. The Communists, with practically no airforce of their own claim to have destroyed over 3000 American aircraft. (The U.S.A. admits a loss of this figure). Although more bombs have been dropped in North and South Vietnam than in the whole of Europe in the Second World War, the United States has been unable to shatter the Communist resistance and the war has almost reached a stalemate, despite the Allied forces being overwhelmingly superior in number and equipment (1968). Even the Allied High Command concedes that a purely military decision is not easy of attainment in Vietnam.
ear-ring, a pair of robes, decoration by golden girdle-string, an excellent dagger with a golden sheath, a vessel and a ciranda white as silver.” To these were added “an umbrella made of the feathers of peacocks and a multitude of pitchers and vases, and a palanquin with silver staff.”

(b) the privilege of entry into the durbar and being seated near the king.

(c) grant of honorific titles, e.g. Sri Kalpa, Siva Kalpa and Iswara Kalpa (reminding one of our present Padma series of titles):

(d) donations of jaghirs (or tax-free estates) for valuable State service.

As Majumdar observes, the art of Champa was derived from Aryavarta and was not of indigenous growth. In motif, spirit and execution, it was wholly Indian. The ornaments used by both men and women (which were rich in variety and full of artistic merit) bear close resemblance to those we find in ancient India. The hair styles are also similar, the patterns are vivid and attractive, sometimes even floridly fanciful, as was also the case in our own country two thousand years ago, as could be seen from our ancient sculptures. The crowns and diadems are of Indian pattern, but there are some makutas of a conical or cylindrical type, which seem to have been copied from local creations. The ear-rings, the bracelets, the necklaces and the pendants, are replicas of those found in our own statuary. The upavita was often turned into a sort of stringy ornament by the plastic artists, as in India.

Although Champa cannot boast of such magnificent pieces of architecture as Angkor Vat or Borobodur, yet its monuments are of respectable merit, indicating the innate artistic sense of the rulers and the manual skill of the artisans, both alien and indigenous. Champan architecture was mostly the handmaid of religion, and the remains are almost all religious edifices. The temples faced east (following the Sastras) and the gateways were surmounted by towers or gopurams a la Indienne. The sanctum sanctorum was small and covered by a high vaulted dome, ending in spires. The temple courtyards were spacious and surrounded by high walls. Inside the prakaras were the Big Halls, supported by
numerous masonry pillars (the counterpart of our many-pillared mandapams).

The idol (image or lingam) was placed in the holy of holies on a platform which ended in a snana-droni (channel for taking off the abhishek liquids). The gateposts, lintels, cornices, etc., were elaborately carved, either with animal motifs or in intricate floral designs. The pilasters were often works of art, with delicate sculpturings of figures (apsaras, makaras, goblins and rakshasas). It must be added that, like the South Indian edifices of that age, the temples of Champa were mostly built of brick, although stone was extensively used for support, reinforcement, or decoration. The ages of these monuments have been estimated by M. Parmentier to run from the 7th century A.D. to about the 15th century. This learned critic would seem to belittle the use of Indian motifs and skill in these buildings, but, as Majumdar points out, the Champan architecture bears such a close resemblance to Orissan and Dravidian types (like those at Bhuvaneswar and Mamallapuram) that the derivation is incontestable. It smacks of some partiality on the part of the distinguished M. Parmentier when he rates Champan art higher than those of the Pallavas, the Cholas, and the Chalukyas!

There are few remains of secular buildings in Champa, probably because they were frequently despoiled and razed to the ground in the various disastrous invasions which the kingdom periodically suffered. The Chinese writers, however, say that the royal palaces were lofty, well-built, and roofed over by ornamental tiles. The wood-work was magnificently carved with beautiful figures and designs. As regards the fortresses, it is possible to have some idea of them from the ruins. They were spacious (some being almost half a mile square) and massively built of bricks of great size, and surrounded by wide ditches. Tunnels were provided for emergency use as exits, and considerable skill was shown in the siting of the redoubts and protective towers.

A few social customs may be referred to here. Marriage was essentially a sacrament, and the gotra inhibitions obtained. Curiously enough, all the upper stratum was divided into two clans, viz., narikela (coconut) and kramuka (betel-nut). These names were derived from a fanciful legend which possibly hides some historical truth. Marriages were encouraged within the same clan (but outside the gotra), even if it meant going down the 'ladder of
caste! Matches were arranged by a Brahmin go-between, who usually carried some valuable presents for the bride (gold, silver and jewellery, and some fish!). The ceremony took place on an auspicious date acceptable to astrologers, to the accompaniment of much music and feasting and the chanting of Vedic mantras. The marital obligations apparently sat light on the lower classes; the Chinese chronicles mention the propensity of Cham sailors (who were among the most adventurous and hardy seamen in the world) of finding a wife at every port, through the easy channel of pre-arranged divorces!

The Champan calendar was wholly Hindu. The year began with Chaitra and the months were lunar, with necessary intercalations. The era in historical times was the Indian Sakabda, starting in 78 A.D. Most of the national festivals corresponded to those in South India. Some sort of Ram-Navami was observed, when the king, riding in procession with his notables, set fire with a burning arrow to the effigy of a demon called Dasanana (Ravana). At other times of the year there were boat-races, as in Kerala to-day. The king started the agricultural year, himself performing the ceremony of turning the first sod, to the chanting of Vedic mantras; he also cut the first handfuls of paddy when the harvesting season arrived. The funeral ceremonies were based on Sastraic rituals. Among the upper classes the dead body was burnt on a pyre on a river-bank; the bones were subsequently collected in a pot (of gold, in the case of the king) which was thrown into the river. Strangely enough, the practice of exposing corpses for being eaten by vultures (as among the Parasikas) was not unknown in Champa.

Unluckily, we do not know much about the fine arts and the literature of the Champans. They seem to have been a people given to much dancing and music, and the staging of dramatic performances is hinted at. But no literature as such has survived, although there is a reference to one local composition called Arthapurana or Purana-artha, which was probably a local commentary on the Indian Puranas. The inscriptions, which are mostly in classical Sanskrit, reveal a deep knowledge of the Vedas, the Puranas and the Maha Kavyas. It is clear that Sanskrit was the language of the Court and also of the State, and it is also evident that literacy must have been widespread. The script used in the stone records was a form of Grantha, of the type known as Pallava.
Grantha, familiar in South India from the 1st century A.D. The Sanskrit texts contain numerous verses composed in a number of metres; powerful imagery and elegant terminology are used, although occasionally misspellings and lapses in grammar are noticed (perhaps due to the inscriber’s error). Some inscriptions are partly in Sanskrit and partly in ‘Cham’, the monosyllabic dialect of the local people. A few texts are wholly in ‘Cham’, especially those of later dates, thus denoting a falling off in Sanskrit learning after about the 12th century A.D.
CHAPTER IV
THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST:
KAUNDINYA'S SPEAR—KAMBOJA

To those who believe in gotra (literally, cow-stall!), the Aryan hallmark of blood and the ensign of true descent, Kaundinya is a revered name, as the founder of a great line of seers, savants and saints. One such was that great master of Tamil devotional poetry, TirugnanaSambandar. A Kaundinya from Sirkali, he became an apostle of Saivism and a doughty opponent of the aggressive Jains, whom he vanquished in debate and rescued the Pandyan King Maravarman Arikesari (650 A.D.? from the imminent perils of apostasy.

There was another Kaundinya who showed his prowess of a different sort, some centuries earlier and two thousand miles away. In the vivid phrases of a Champan inscription (of circa 600 A.D.), “It was there, in Bhava (or Kamboja), that Kaundinya, the foremost among Brahmanas, planted the spear which he had obtained from Drona’s son Aswathama, the best of Brahmanas. There was a daughter of the king of serpents, called Soma. Having attained, through love, to a radically different element, she lived in the habitations of man. She was taken as wife by the excellent Brahman Kaundinya for the sake of accomplishing (certain meritorious works). Verily incomprehensible is the way of God in providing conditions leading to future events.”

Curiously enough, a Chinese tradition of the 3rd century A.D. repeats the Kaundinya story in a slightly altered form. Referring to Fou-Nan (Vanam in Sanskrit; Phnom in Khmer = mountainous forest) or Kamboja, the Chinese chronicle says:

"Formerly the country was ruled by a queen called Lieou-Ye (willow leaf). Then there (arrived) a man of the country of Ki (Kanchi) called Houentien (Chinese phonetic equivalent for
Kaundinya) who saw in a dream that a spirit gave him a bow and asked him to take to the sea in a junk. Houentien went in the morning to the temple of the Deity and found the bow .......... Then he got into a junk and sailed to Fou-Nan. The queen Lieou-Ye saw the boat and collected soldiers (and ships) to resist him. But Houentien raised his bow and shot an arrow which passed through the side of a ship and struck some one inside. The queen was overwhelmed with terror and submitted; and Houentien married her."

Let us now quote what the Kambojan annals themselves say: "Adityavamsa, king of Indraprastha, was displeased with one of his sons and banished him from the state. He came to the country of Kok Thlok and made himself master of it by defeating the native king. One evening he was walking on a sand bank when suddenly the tide rose and obliged him to pass the night there. A Nagi of marvellous beauty came to play on the sand, and the king, overpowered by her charm, agreed to marry her. Then the Nagaraja, the father of the betrothed girl, extended the dominions of his would-be son-in-law by drinking the water which covered the country, built a capital for him and changed the name of the kingdom into that of Kamboja."

The reader can now have his choice. The Chinese version seems to ring true. It reflects the probable fact that the Aryans came by sea and landed in Kamboja after possibly overcoming slight resistance. The Aryan leader (Kaundinya) apparently married the local princess and thus launched a Greater Indian Empire which lasted many centuries and which has left monumental and other records of its achievements, which are among the great wonders of the world.

The Kambojan rulers called themselves, consistently with their annals, "Sri Kaundinya-Somaduhitr-prabhavah" (i.e. descended of Kaundinya and the daughter of Soma), or shortly "Soma(Chandra) Vamsa", which is again consistent with their legendary connection with the Pandavas of Indraprastha. (Understandably enough, when a rival dynasty captured later the throne of Kamboja, it claimed to belong to the Surya-Vamsa of Ayodhya, through "Maharishi Kambu Swayumbhava"; but historically this claim did not command much credence.)

We have seen that the Kamboja, in Sapta-Sindhu, lay to the east of Kashmir and slightly to the north of modern Afghanistan.
The Kamboja in South-East Asia was situated in the peninsula now known as Indo-China. The extent of its territory varied enormously from time to time, ranging from a small kingdom, practically identical with modern Cambodia, to an empire covering most of the South-East Asian mainland, outside Burma and South China proper.

For the question, when did the Aryans first arrive in Kamboja, no clear-cut answer can, unfortunately, be given. We have seen that the Chinese were aware of the kingdom in the 3rd century A.D. At that time a usurper was on the throne, but some legitimate kings had ruled before him for about 100 years. On this basis, the kingdom would have been in existence from about 100 B.C. The Chinese records also cite an ambassador from a Hindu kingdom (of the 5th century A.D.) as saying his state had been in existence for over 400 years. There is also a record of an ambassador from Fou Nan visiting eastern India in 240 A.D. If we assume that the State of Kamboja came into being in 100 A.D., it will be reasonable to conclude that the Aryans must have come there in strength at least a century earlier. As regards other cultural or trade contacts, this can be reasonably pushed back to the pre-Christian times, perhaps the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. References to South-East Asia appear in Indian literature as early as the 7th century B.C. The Ramayana, which was definitely composed before the age of Buddha (664—544 B.C.), refers to Swarna-dvipa and Yava-dvipa (dvipa in Sanskrit covers both a lengthy peninsula and an island, since it means land with water on both sides). The Swarna-dvipa is generally considered to be North Malaya, where one of the biggest (abandoned) gold mines in the world is even now traceable. Yava-dvipa is, of course, modern Java. The Puranas (the oldest of them going back to the 3rd century B.C.) mention Malaya-dvipa specifically, as well as Yava-dvipa. The Milindapanama contains the following incidental observation:

"As a ship-owner will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga (Bengal) or Takkola (in Malaya), or China, or Souvira (Sind), or Sophara (Soper), or Alexandria, or the Coromandel coast, or Further India over the oceans, etc...."

There is the record of an Asokan mission to 'Swarna Bhumi', which is taken to be the same as Swarna-dvipa or North Malayan Peninsula. (This area was often referred to as the
“Golden Chersonese” or Peninsula, by the early Western writers-like Ptolemy.) In the significant words of Brian Harrison: "Among the seafaring people of the east coast of India, the countries of Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula were known as the Land of Gold, and it seems certain that from at least the sixth century B.C. onwards the Indian traders were sailing to those lands and down through the (Indonesian) islands in search of gold and tin ... If commercial contacts between South-East Asia and India were being made for hundreds of years before we have any definite record of them, the same is true of trade relations between India, the Middle-East and the Mediterranean area ... We may picture the whole overseas trade between the Mediterranean and South-East Asia as one single system, in which the eastward trade from India to South-East Asia was closely linked with the trade between India and the Mediterranean. Some of the goods reaching the Mediterranean from India would have come from further east; similarly, some of those exported from the Mediterranean to India would pass on to South-East Asia and China.” In Harrison's view, South India was a huge clearing house for international maritime trade of many countries lying between China in the East and Rome on the Mediterranean. In a previous chapter we have seen some support for Professor Harrison's view in the phenomenal maritime activities carried on in South Indian ports like Korkai and Puhar as well as in Ceylon, called Tamraparani* by the early European travellers.

As in the case of Champa, the Aryans must have first landed in Kamboja in the centuries immediately preceding the Saka era (of 78 A.D.): When this crucial event actually took place must remain a matter of conjecture. Hugh Clifford (Further India) ventures the following opinion: "The unmistakable impress of Hindu influence which is detected in the architecture of the Khmers, several of whose buildings date from 200 B.C., demonstrates the fact that intercourse between India and Indo-China must have been frequent at a very early period, and such intercourse would almost certainly have been conducted by sea. It has been accepted by many that Gautama Buddha himself visited Kamboja, and if it were so...... it would presuppose communication between India and Indo-China as early as 500 B.C."

* ‘Toprobane’ of Ptolemy.
In this connection, M. Auguste Pavie, the distinguished historian of Indo-China, has sponsored the theory that the land of Ophir referred to in the Bible is Kamboja, "and not the Malay Peninsula as opined by some." It may be remembered that Josephus (1st century A.D.) in his book *The Antiquities of Jews* had reported that King Solomon (circa 850 B.C.) told the Phoenician King, Hiram of Tyre, "that the ships and sailors offered by him (Hiram) should go along with his own stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir but now the Golden Chersonese, which belongs to India, to fetch gold". This statement incidentally makes it clear that the Land of Ophir lay near Aryavarta and not in Somaliland or South Arabia as sedulously maintained by certain European writers; this argument has been developed in a previous chapter, where it has been suggested that the Land of Ophir and the Land of Panth both lay along the course of the mighty Sindhu, and the Ophir voyage of *circa* 1800 B.C. (started by Pharaoh Sankar-ra) should have had only Sapt-Sindhu as its objective. The contention of M. Pavie, though plausible, lacks conviction. It is true that the wonderful civilization of the Khmers testifies to the existence of a mighty empire in Indo-China almost at the dawn of history, but it would be stretching facts too far to claim that such an empire was in existence 1000 years before Christ. Solomon was obviously referring to Aryavarta, particularly Souvira or Sind, which was known in those ancient times to have had substantial gold production, as attested by Herodotus and confirmed by the fact that Darius found Sind to be the richest of his overseas possessions from the point of view of tribute in precious metals.

To return to Kamboja. Till about a 100 years ago, much of the history and achievements of this great Aryan colony remained a dark mystery to most of the world, which was not even aware that a powerful Hindu State had existed for nearly 1500 years in this part of the world. Strange as it may seem, this sort of oblivion is not unusual. We have seen how the story of the Empire of the Hittites had remained blacked out for perhaps 3000 years.

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* Darius received 360 Euboic talents of gold from Sind (about £1,300,000). Readers will be familiar with the famous tale of "gold-digging ants, as big as dogs" propagated by Herodotus. This story is repeated by Megasthenes and Ktesias; Pliny refers to gold mines at "Capitulia" (Mount Abu?) in the Sanskrit language, gold-digging ants are referred to as *pippilika*, thus lending some support to Herodotus.
In the East also, dynasties have risen, flourished, come to proud maturity, and then dwindled and disappeared with disconcerting rapidity as the waves of time closed over them, leaving behind not even the vestige of a memory. In our own land, the glory that was Vijayanagar had remained forgotten and as dead as the shattered columns and the defaced statues of Hampi, for several hundred years, till assiduous scholarship resuscitated the name and fame of this proud leader of Hindu resistance, which saved the whole of South India from "turning Turk". Similar instances could be cited from Central America and even from Africa. Kamboja is a conspicuous instance in South-East Asia; and even now there are some gaps in her chequered history which are not satisfactorily bridged over. Hugh Clifford, writing as late as 1904, makes the following observations:

"The origin of the Khmers is wrapped in obscurity, except that the features (in the old sculptures) are distinctively Hindu...... The type is found to this day prevalent among Kambodians of pure descent and it presents a marked contrast to the flat-featured, broad-faced, Mongolian races of China and Siam...... We may safely conclude that the heyday of the Khmer Empire dates prior to the colonisation of the Yang-Tse Valley by the Chinese Emperor Yao. One building at Angkor is believed to have been built in the 2nd century A.D. and it is possible that other buildings may be older than this. Angkor itself and numerous other ruins are triumphant evidence of what the Khmer Empire might once have been. That it derived its inspiration direct from India cannot be doubted.... When all has been said, however, the problem of Khmer civilisation remains unsolved. The Khmers must have been a wonderful people and such a people cannot fail to have a marvellous and inspiring history...... The inscriptions found on many of the monuments are written, one in a character similar to that in use among the Kambodians, and the other in a strange, and it is thought, an older script which is unintelligible even to the most learned natives of the country. The inscriptions have of late been studied by a number of learned Frenchmen but so far they have not served to throw much light on the lost history of the Khmers."
Fortunately for history (and the reputation of the Aryan race) the "unintelligible script" (grantha)* mentioned by Clifford, has now been read and the story of Kamboja can be reconstructed with fair coherence and historical sequence. It is not strange that fifty years ago such knowledge was unattainable even to the persistent French scholarship; such a situation prevailed in our own country where many inscriptions written, not in ancient Brahmi or Kharoshti, but in comparatively modern Kadamba or Pallava grantha, defied interpretation by our pandits, who had lost all touch with these scripts.

Mention has been made earlier of the wondrous monuments left by the Khmers. Slightly anticipating the chronology of the kings who built these monuments, it may be worth while to give some idea of the magnificence of the latter. The dark river Mekong (†Megham or cloud-coloured) met the Indo-China sea much higher than it does now; the deposit of the silt of perhaps 15 or 20 centuries has pushed the estuary down by many miles. It is even possible that the present inland capital of Cambodia, Chaturmukha (now Phnom-Penn) was, when founded, actually at the mouth

* The ancient lipis used by the Indo-Aryans in South East Assa were mostly Ikshwaku and Pallava granthas, which were the fore-runners of the modern Tamil script. According to recent research-workers, the oldest script used in the Mauryan period, in South India and also in Ceylon was the southern version of the Brahmi (called for convenience' sake, Dramili). Numerous cave inscriptions in this lipi have been found in the Pandy country and in Ceylon going back to the III century B.C. The language used is archaic Tamil in South India and Pali in Ceylon. This Southern Brahmi (i.e., Dramili) which was designed to meet the phonetic peculiarities of Tamil, evolved by slow degrees into what is known as 'Vetteluttu', which became widely current after the 6th century A.D. Prior to 'Vetteluttu', which is really a cursive form of an earlier lipi, there were evolved several modes of writing the most prominent of which were the Kadamba, the Vendi and the Pallava scripts. In South India, it was the Pallava or Tamil grantha which held sway for a long time. The late Pallava, the Chola and the Pandy characters were mutations of the old Pallava grantha, which has survived till today, particularly among the priestly classes, who read grantha better than nagari.

In Greater India, particularly Indo-China, the script earliest used was the Pallava grantha. Later on (8th century AD) the Vendi lipi gained currency and subsequently the late Pallava and even Chola scripts. The Deva Nagari alphabet (about a thousand years old now) is rarely found outside Bharat.

† Another derivation is Sanskrit Maha (or ma) Ganga; this is usually preferred by historians.
of the Mekong. Above the capital is the Great Lake (now called Tonli-Sap which the Mekong enters and leaves, by a process of backing up on its course to the sea. Here on Mount Krom is an ancient temple (almost hidden in overgrowing vegetation) suddenly displaying to the astonished traveller its graceful towers with their wealth of sculptures, bas-reliefs, and gigantic stone images, many pitifully broken and defaced. As a great historian observes, “It is a wonderful sensation (as all who experienced it bear witness) to come thus suddenly, without the smallest premonition, upon this most beautiful work of art, whereof the graceful lines, the slender domes and arches, the delicacy of the carvings, all attest the high culture of the men who wrought so greatly”.

After proceeding some more miles into the deep forest, again the visitor comes without a moment’s warning to the magnificent temple of Angkor Vat. The contrast between the primitive jungle and this finished work of human architecture is dramatic. Apart from this, the beauty of the temple itself is such as to fire the most languid imagination and titillate the most jaded artistic temperament. The immense shrine is built of the sand-stone brought over a distance of fifty miles. Some of the blocks weigh over 8 tons and, though no cement was employed, the joints are so finely executed that they appear as straight as if ruled on paper. How those stones were transported and set in place is a marvel, which reminds one of the builders of the Great Pyramids of Egypt. “The civilisation which could conceive such designs and carry them into successful execution must have attained to a very high standard.” (Clifford). Even more astonishing than the size of the construction is the wealth of beautiful detail displayed. Almost every stone is finely sculptured; statues of immense proportions, of divinities, kings, lions, makaras, elephants and legendary animals abound. The bas-reliefs show processions of warriors mounted on horses and elephants, on even tigers and garudas; and combats between warriors, including the mythical Vanaras. There are boats filled with soldiers, propelled by long-bearded sailors, all carrying various weapons like javelins, sabres, trisulas and kuntas. The panels portray innumerable other scenes, whose realism and technical skill take one’s breath away. The men who wrought these dramas in stone must have had a passion for graphic presentation, a love of art for its own sake. “It would seem to argue a
degree of intellectual refinement which has no counterpart among the peoples of Indo-China to-day," says Clifford. He also cites the opinion of the French traveller Garnier in these words: "Its endless staircases and galleries, its inner courts and colonnades of a uniform aspect appeared to me, in spite of their symmetry or rather because of it, to form an inextricable labyrinth .... The enormous proportion of each part of the great entity prevented one from taking in the whole. It required some time to appreciate the exact disposition of an edifice which measures, within ditches, nearly six kilometres in circumference." It will be noted that the temple was over 3 miles in circumference! It was as big as a city in size, and at the time it was built (circa 1100 A.D.) perhaps the greatest single building in the world. Writes Mouhet: "At the sight of the temple the mind feels crushed, the imagination staggered. One can but gaze admiringly and in respectful silence, for where indeed are words to be found to praise a marvel of architecture that has perhaps been never equalled in the world?"*

About three miles to the north of the Angkor Vat temple is another ruined shrine on the top of a hill, up which a stairway (now in ruins) winds. From the temple "the view to be enjoyed is so beautiful and extensive that it is not surprising that these people who have shown so much taste in their buildings should have chosen this site." (Henri Mouhet). The gaze of the lucky visitor falls, on one side, on an extensive wooded plain, with the pyramids of Angkor Vat in the distance, with its lovely colonnades dimly reflected in the serene waters of the lake. On the other side stretches the long line of hills from which the sandstone was quarried, with its thick forests running along the mountain-slopes, now alive with wild life of all sorts, and with few human beings in sight.

Travelling along a little further, the visitor comes to the magnum opus of the Khmers, Angkor Thom (Nagara Dham or the Great City), once the mighty capital of the Khmer Empire at its zenith. This abandoned city is 30 square miles in extent, a size which boggles imagination, when we consider its age and also the fact that it was built by the Aryans, not on their own native soil (as the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians or the Parasikas did)

* Fergusson (History of Indian and Eastern Architecture) adds: "It is no exaggeration to say that every stone of Angkor Vat and every building of this period bear the stamp of perfection. Henceforth no further progress is possible"
1. Statue showing the famous ‘Angkor smile’
2. A Panel at Banteay Sri
3. Panel scenes at Angkor Vat
4. An aerial photograph of Angkor Vat
but at a place 2000 miles away, in the midst of the dense forests and forbidding mountains, and with the help of a primitive people scarcely emerged from the portals of near-savagery.

This wonderful city is surrounded by a stone wall which is twenty-four miles long, twelve feet thick, and twenty-two feet high. A broad ancient road (still intact in places) runs up to the main gateway which has an arch, 60 feet high, surmounted by immense stone busts. The rectangular town has a gateway at each corner, with a sixth one opposite to the main roadway entrance, already mentioned. Behind these massive walls lies now the city of the dead, covered over by the jungle growth of nearly a thousand years. There are pagodas which were once alive with priests and devotees and reverberating to the chants of Vedic mantras and the sweet melody of nadaswarams. There are numerous lofty houses (still habitable) in which the forgotten Khmer generations were born, in which they lived, loved, planned, laboured and perhaps strived. There are great storehouses intended to hold the wealth of an Empire, and above all the gorgeous palaces within which dwelt kings and princes and their lovely consorts. In the stirring words of Clifford:

"The romance, the wonder of the lost story of this once great city,—of the lives of the men and women who dwelt in it,—of the hopes and the ambitions, the passions and the desires, the joys and the sorrows, of the thousand trivial, but to them all-important, happenings which made up their myriad individual lives, even more than the thought of the great catastrophe which must have brought destructions upon them, grips you here at the quiet limits of the world, as you look upon the traces they have left behind them—the silent stones, wrought with such love and labour, mouldering under the calm dome of the slumbering forest."

Angkor Thom is an exotic mixture, inasmuch as it combines both Hindu and Buddhist motifs and ideas, executed through Aryan skill and technique combined with Khmer artisanship. Though the inspiration, driving force, and artistic direction came from the Aryan rulers, yet the actual constructions must have been done by local workers, no doubt rendered proficient in Indian traditions of art and architecture. There is evidence to show that the city was started in the 9th century A.D. and completed by the 12th. It was perhaps given some finishing touches by the 13th century. By the end of the 15th century the city was apparently
abandoned, in circumstances which can only be surmised vaguely. Meanwhile, the descendants of those very local artists, the Khmers, have degenerated into primitivity and lost all the attributes of their former talent and foreign learning. The Aryan upper stratum has, of course, lost its identity, being submerged completely in the local population.

The basic figures in both the Temple and the City are, in the main, Hindu and the scenes are, as may be expected, taken from the Indian epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The characters etched on stone are shown in vivid and striking poses and in a truly natural fashion, but with a tendency to excessive ornamentation. The animal and sylvan details especially are true to nature, as they were probably copied from living originals. The temple galleries, literally miles of them, offer a kaleidoscopic variety of scenes, which take away from the visitor all sense of boredom, at least for a time, although occasionally one is puzzled by the liberty of interpretation taken by the artists in the delineation of certain scenes familiar to the Indian mind at home.

The towers of Angkor Vat have the shape of the lotus bud (some call it the coniferous fir-tree) and have an air of serene majesty which is somewhat awe-inspiring.* The scenes on the panels naturally depict much human (and animal) warfare, including nautical expeditions; but there are other portrayals of domestic episodes like making bread, chess-play, cock-fights and fishing expeditions, fortune-telling, and husband-wife arguments. There are elaborate sculpturings of such everyday incidents as marketing, travelling by cart or palanquin, hair-dressing and other toilet scenes, and occasionally a medical tableau showing a lady taking treatment for illness, all of them indicating the fairly

* Our Agama sastras overflow with details of temple architecture. The Niti-sastras also briefly deal with them. For instance, the Sukra-Niti (1st millennium B.C., but pre-Mauryan) says (IV (2)): "The temples are to be of the Meru or other sixteen types (Mandara, Rikshamali, Dyumani, Chandrasekhar, Malyavan, Ratna-Sirsha, Dhatuman, Padmakosa, Sikharo, Swastika, Mahapadma and Vijaya)..... A Meru temple would have 100 domes, and 125 stories..... (The others should be successively 4th less in size)..... The temples should be round, square, or some other geometrical form; should have mandapas, walls, gopuras, good images inside and water tanks at the foot. All should be well decorated and well painted."
advanced standard of life, of a people apparently enjoying existence in contentment and theistic faith.

The palaces at Angkor Thom are generally in a better state of preservation than the other edifices. The Baphuon palace has the famous Elephant Terrace (with gigantic images of elephants) overshadowed by a human figure, variously named as that of Kubera or Yama, or the Leper King, Yasovarman I. All round are fascinating and sometimes amusing bas-reliefs of dancers and members of the royal family in picturesque and elegant poses. Particularly noteworthy features of the artistic ensemble are the huge human busts (of Bodhisatva or Avalokiteswara) with a curious facial expression, called by the experts the "Angkor smile" (slightly parted lips, wide nostrils, and a quizzical introspective look in the eyes). The tragedy of neglect and vandalism faces the visitor at every turn. Whole forests of ancient trees have grown over magnificent structures which have partly tottered to their fall. The endless lines of decapitated statues bear mute and terrifying witness to the spite (or is it mercenary lure?) of modern generations of despoilers who have not only lost their appreciation of grandiose art but also their living faith in religion and in the sanctity of the abodes of the gods.

Before we proceed to delve into the history of Aryan rule in Kamboja, it seems necessary to refer to another Kaundinya episode firmly established in local tradition. The Chinese records mention, as already indicated, the founding of the state of Fou Nan in the 1st century A.D. by Brahmin Kaundinya, but the first recorded Kambojan inscription (at Vocanh, in Sanskrit language and grantha script) is of early 3rd century or late second. In the interim, the State had sent several embassies to China and perhaps also to Champa, and showed itself to be a most important centre of Indian culture and learning. Somewhere about 400 A.D., a second Kaundinya arrived and made himself the ruler of Kamboja, according to the Chinese. He is reported to have hailed from a place called, in the Chinese annals, P'an-P'an, a settlement on the Gulf of Siam to the south of Kamboja, where Indian Brahmins formed a powerful community influential with the kings of the land, and noted for their enterprise, austerity, and burning religious zeal.

Who was this Kaundinya II? In an inscription of Kamboja,
dated 811 Saka (A.D. 889), there is a reference to an Agastya as ancestor of the ruling family. The Sanskrit verse runs thus:

"Atha dvijo agastya iti prathito,
Yo vedavedangavid aryadese,"

This Agastya is said to have married a local princess named Yasomati, daughter of King Narendravarman. (In another inscription of 970 A.D., a Brahmin from India named Divakara is stated to have married Indralakshmi, daughter of King Rajendravarman). The French scholars are inclined to treat this Agastya as a historical personage. If this supposition be correct, it would follow that, some time before 8th century A.D. a Brahmin belonging to the Agastya gotra married into the local royal family of Kamboja. That this is not so weird a conjecture is made clear by the fact that the Agastya clan is mentioned in South-East Asia at several other places and in various contexts. Dr. Bosch maintains that a Brahmin of this gotra settled in the heart of Java in the 8th century A.D. (as mentioned in some inscriptions). A later Kambojan inscription, at Angkor Vat, makes an unmistakable reference to Agastya as an ancestor of the royal family and as following in the footsteps of another personage called Sarvajna Muni. This rishi, born in Aryadesa, migrated to Kambu Desa through his Yogic powers, in order to do good to the world and to worship at the shrine of Bhadreswara, where he attained siddhi after many years. (Incidentally, the Bhadreswara temple near Champapuri was erected by the Champa ruler Bhadravarman, as related in an earlier chapter).

It is clear that the Agastya clan was greatly mixed up with the direct propagation of the Hindu faith and culture in South-East Asia, even in the same manner that the legendary sage Agastya is identified with the Aryanisation of South India in the hoary past. Various inscriptions in Indonesia refer to the Agastya cult but in such a manner as to imply that it was not a member of the Agastya family or gotra who was associated with the particular event recorded on stone, but the great Agastya, the Rig-Vedic progenitor of the clan himself, who was involved. This obvious anachronism is probably the result of deliberate priestly obscurantism and myth-mongering, or more likely, the snobbery of the local potentates who thus endeavoured to give themselves a longer or purer genealogy than mere history would warrant.
While the Vedic Agastya was doubtless a real person (he is the author of several hymns in the Rig Veda), his historical age and antecedents are shrouded in deep mystery. Pruned of all legend and supernatural embroidery, the Agastyan lore indicates that a great Brahmin sage of this name lived in the Vedic period and married Lopamudra. His descendants continued to flourish in the Puranic times also, and apparently the head of the clan was deputed after the time of the Ramayana wars to lead cultural and religious missions to the Deccan and South India, where he seems to have achieved substantial successes, as recorded in Tamil literature. His progeny then probably moved overseas, impelled by the same evangelistic spirit and missionary zeal which animated the Agastya of Tamil Nad. (The legend of Agastya drinking up the ocean may have something to do with the overseas peregrinations of the clan.) The Vayu Purana claims Agastya to be an incarnation of a son of Pulastya, and locates the Sage’s abode in the Mandara mountains in Malayadvipa (the peninsula of Malaya). Since Pulastya is a historical personage (he was a predecessor of Panini and, according to some, the leader of the so-called Philistines of the Bible)* this reincarnated Agastya is probably the one who visited South India, some of whose progeny later on transplanted themselves to South-East Asia, as the following Java inscription of 732 A. D. would indicate:

“There is an excellent island called Yava abounding in grain and other seeds and endowed with gold mines. It was taken possession of by the gods……….. There is (established) a miraculous and most divine seat of Sambhu for the well-being of the world, brought over from the family established in the blessed land of “Kunjara-Kunjara” (Kerala?).”

As Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes, the Hindu colonists carried abroad a cult with them, i. e., the cult of Saivism under the aegis of the then Chief Purohit of the Pandyas, an Agastya Bhatta. This accounts for the frequent reference to this sage in the Greater Indian texts. How does the name of Kaundinya fit in here? Kaundinya is sometimes referred to as the ‘man of the mountain’, in the foreign inscriptions. This is rather significant, as Agastya is himself mentioned as ‘a man of the hills’, in Tamil literature, his legendary home being ‘Pothiyil’, a mountain peak on the borders of Tinnevelly District, near the source of the Tamra-

* Vide Note I to Chapter VI of Vol. I, Aryatarangini.
parni. Moreover, there is some reason to describe Agastya himself as a Kaundinya. The legend propagated in the *Mahabharata* says that Agastya was born out of a jar or a kumbha (pitcher, jar) and was also known as Kumbhayoni or Kalasodbhaya, i.e., born from a pot or pitcher. Kaundinya can therefore be interpreted as another name for Agastya, in which case the inscriptions of Kamboja would be consistent with the Chinese chronicles, and the persistent Kaudinya tradition in Kamboja.

Who were the original inhabitants of Kambu Desa, when the Aryans first arrived there? The Khmers, an Austronesian people, seem to have entered the region of the Great Lake and the lower Ma Ganga Valley about the 6th century B.C., under pressure from the Mongoloid peoples further north. They were matriarchal and addicted to ancestor-worship; they gradually mingled with the substratum of the various aboriginal ethnic groups living in the hills and jungles of these areas, so much so that it almost appears as if it was these aboriginal groups, with a thick overlay of Khmer blood and culture, who formed the bulk of the local population on the first arrival of the Aryans, who described them as "black and barbarous". Even by the 13th century A.D., some of the aborigines (especially the Moi among them) were not completely desavaged. They lived in mountain fastnesses, hunting with poisoned arrows; some less unredeemed were sold as cheap servitors to lead lives not far higher than those of the quadrupeds. "The upper classes looked on them as animals and none would copulate with them, considering them brute creations," says Chou, a Chinese visitor of the 13th century A.D. Even in the 20th century, the Moi are considered somewhat degenerate, although physically they are well-built and not quite repulsive. As late as the 19th century, they were popularly conceived as having tails like monkeys, which was, of course, a gross calumny! Both the incoming Khmers and the local Moi shared some proto-Malayan religious cults, replete with magic rites and witchcraft. It was among this melange of peoples that "the strangers recently arrived from the West" (according to old Moi songs) brought with them the Aryan beliefs and practices, which, fused with the primitive but vigorous indigenous elements, were to form the basis of a bright and most astonishing civilization.

* Marco Polo gravely maintains that he saw human beings with tails in South East Asia.
We have seen Kaundinya marrying 'Willow (or Palm) Leaf' in the Chinese legend. To continue the story, Kaundinya started Aryanising the people; seeing their nakedness, he forced them to wear clothes (below the waist at least!). His own queen he clothed in a long cylindrical gown pulled over the head, and he dressed her hair in Indian fashion into a tidy knot. The Chinese chronicles say that Fou Nan (the original Indian colony established in the 1st century A.D. at the mouth of the Ma Ganga) was very prosperous, with much gold and precious stones, especially a species of black diamond, believed to have magical powers (black saligramam?). The Chinese texts describe the lower classes as voraciously omnivorous (a characteristic Mongolian trait), lizards, snakes, and the belly of the crocodile being considered great delicacies. Cock and ram fights were popular. "There were no prisons and no courts and all accused had to undergo a trial by ordeal," says Chou. Dead bodies were cremated or buried, according to the class to which the deceased belonged. The ancient Khmers called their land Kok Thlok, the land of the 'thlok' or the tree. The Aryans called the colony 'Bohu Vanam', corrupted in Khmer into 'Phnom', and in Chinese into Fou Nan.

When Chou visited the country in the 13th century, the priestly or the ceremonial language was Sanskrit (which is used in many inscriptions), but the common tongue was Khmer, from which modern Cambodian evolved, with a rich admixture of Sanskrit words often mutilated beyond recognition. Among the upper classes Brahminism was the religion in vogue; the bottom strata still adhered to animism and ancestor-worship. Vishnu was the popular deity in the Fou Nan period, and many statues to this Divinity still exist in the area. Siva was assigned a minor role, usually in the form of a linga; later there was a syncretism in which the two godheads were combined and worshipped as Harihara. Buddhism obtained a temporary foothold in the 5th century A.D., but when I-tsing visited Fou Nan (circa 690 A.D.), the Sramana cult had practically disappeared from the scene.

When dealing with the chronology of Kambu rulers a special difficulty is felt, particularly in the early stages, when local data (inscriptions, etc) are unavailable and we have to rely mainly on the Chinese chronicles. Unfortunately for posterity, the Chinese have a positive genius for mispronouncing foreign words. In Fou Nan the names got so Sinicised that real identification with
Sanskrit originals is difficult. Another obstacle is the heavy vulgarisation of Sanskrit words in the Khmer language. For instance, Nagara becomes Nokor; Guru, Kru; Ramayana, Reamkar; Makutam, Mkot, etc. (Angkor is nothing but Nagara missounded in colloquial Khmer.)

Hinduism brought into Fou Nan a rich mythology and the rudiments of the Indian caste system, without its domestic rigidity. In the words of G. B. Walker: “Hinduism also provided the main features of court and temple ritual, though the masses remained animists of the older persuasion. But no cult of terror was imported, or was able to take root in Cambodian soil. Most of the tribes were matriarchal but there was no worship of the Mother Goddess, either in her aspect of Kali with her necklace of skulls, or as Shakti, the energising principle of the universe; and that phase of Tantrik worship employed in Cambodia never evolved at any time into a cult of esoteric sexuality. But Hinduism did provide the impetus for many original creative works, all consecrated to the Indian gods and based in part on the Indian tradition.”

Early Khmer art shows all the evidence of Indian influence, particularly of the Amaravati and the Pallava schools. As mentioned in the Chinese chronicles of the 3rd century A. D., “the people of Fou Nan loved to carve ornaments and to chisel”, and Kambojan plastic art, at its height, equals the best in India. The sculptures are truly chaste and do not overdraw sexual anatomy or emphasise the erotic elements of life, as is sometimes the case in India (e. g. in Orissa).* On the other hand, the tendency (noticed in some European writers) to belittle the Indian origins and inspirations in such subjects as Kambojan dancing, music, etc., is to run counter to the solid evidence of history. The preposterous claim made by a strangely misinformed European writer that Khmer religious architecture “was the precursor and not the successor of South Indian temple building” needs no serious refutation. Nor is G. B. Walker on safe and sure ground when he says:

“Hinduism, in spite of the predominant place assigned to the Vedas, is only superficially Rig-Vedic. Many gods of the Rig-Veda are forgotten; many others have ceased to receive homage. Worship is still largely confined to ancestral aboriginal

* and in Kajuraho.
deities by symbolical representations, such as the serpent and the phallus, which the ancient Aryans abominated. Shiva and Vishnu have taken only their names, and that also in part, from the sacred books of the Aryans. Both belong to a period anterior to the Aryan intrusion. Shiva's prototype is found in the Indus Valley, and Vishnu's most popular avatar, Krishna, is an aboriginal dark-hued deity who stoutly resisted the Aryan invaders.* Indian culture was but a tenacious integument beneath which flowed the living sap of the old ways, dating from times before Buddha and even Brahma were ever heard of......

"Perhaps the newcomers who came to Funan from the West did not come ultimately from India; or at any rate, not from India alone, but from further west, from the Central Asian steppes or even the Iranian Plateau ......

"The racial types delineated in the reliefs and statues in and around Angkor are varied and instructive. The Asuras, the demons of Hindu mythology, are depicted as malevolent, ugly and brutal, even if at times heroic. Some of the faces in the Bayon strongly recall the Sumerian bas-reliefs ......

"But, also prominently portrayed in this gallery of portraits, and usually among the aristocracy and kingly classes, is a type distinctly Indo-European, with prominent nose and 'Aryan' features. The devas or gods who oppose the asuras in the Churning-of-the-Ocean sculptures are of this category: very grave, dignified, imperious. Some of them are recognisably Central Asian and Scythian. Often we see a Vishnu or a Khmer king of kings with features that could have come from Iran. The profiles of some of the warriors are austere, handsome, even Hellenic."

It is obvious that this otherwise learned writer is merely purveying at second-hand the much-contested views of Mortimer-Wheeler, Woolley, and others regarding the so-called Indus Valley Civilisation, and the apochryphal Aryan "invasion" of India, Walker's ingenious attempts to connect the Khmers with the Persians, the Kushans, the Sassanians, and even with the Chaldeans and the Babylonians, are indeed worthy of a better cause.

* The Chhandogya Upanishad mentions Sage Ghora Angirasa as having imparted instruction to Krishna, son of Devaki. Both Patanjali and Panini were aware of the Krishna Avatar legends. Vyasa could not have put the Gita (the most glorious philosophical composition in verse in the world) into the mouth of a dusky anti-Aryan aboriginal deity!
There were certain glories in the Kambojan capital which have long since disappeared, but whose existence is attested by the chronicles of the Chinese official, Chou Ta Kuan, who was deputed to the Kambojan court as an ambassador by the Mongol Emperor, Timur Khan (son of the famous Kublai) to negotiate a treaty of friendship (and subservience). Kublai Khan had earlier tried a hand at the same game and sent a small army into Kamboja, “which did not return home”. Chou Ta Kuan stayed for two years at Angkor Thom and has left a vivid and admiring account of the city and the kingdom. According to him, the central tower over each of the four gateways of the city was covered with gold, and there was a similar golden tower in the centre of the city. In the east side of the city there was a bridge of gold, guarded by two golden lions and by eight gold Buddhas. To quote Chou: “To the north of the gold tower there is a tower of copper. The palace, the offices, and the houses of the nobility are all oriented to the east. The apartments are tiled with lead. The piles of the bridges are enormous and statues are sculptured on them. The body of the buildings is magnificent ....... The royal durbar hall has windows of gold frames. At right and left are square columns carrying forty to fifty mirrors. Below are presented elephants. I have heard it said that inside the palace there are marvellous things, but the palace is strictly guarded and none can enter.”

Chou thus describes a royal procession. “The king (Indravarma III) never leaves the palace (in the palanquin) without being clad in armour ....... he wears a gold diadem and has his top knot surrounded with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers; round his neck he carries three lbs. of pearls. On his wrists, ankles and fingers he has rings and bracelets of gold encrusted with precious stones. He carries in his hand a sword of gold. The king is preceded by girls carrying vessels of gold and silver, and followed by carriages all ornamented with gold. Over 100 parasols are carried with handles and covers of gold.” The king also occasionally rode an elephant whose tusks were sheathed in gold, and was surrounded by female bodyguards carrying lances and shields, and by male troops mounted on horse and elephant. The high functionaries were carried in palanquins varying in size and splendour with the occupant’s rank. (Some used golden litters and golden parasols, others silver palanquins and silver umbrellas). Even the priests carried gold or silver parasols according to their own rank. The
Buddhist priests shaved their heads, wore yellow clothing, leaving the right shoulder bare, and went barefoot. "The texts they recite are very numerous, all written on palm leaves bound regularly. On these they write black characters, but as they use neither pencil nor ink, I do not know with what they write"—a statement which shows that Chou was not a very close observer, after all.

The king himself administered justice, on appeal from lower courts.* There was a peculiar and rather repulsive custom (unknown in India) of collecting fluid from the gall-bladder of living persons (by puncture extraction), mixing it with wine, and rubbing the mixture on the foreheads of elephants! Astronomy was a learned art in keen demand, and eclipses were correctly predicted. Agriculture was highly developed, and three or four crops a year (mainly rice) were raised. (The floating paddy plant is mentioned by Chou.) A rich variety of fruits was grown, including oranges, peaches, plums, apricots, some of which even grew wild. Wine was made from rice or sugarcane, but drunkenness was severely punished. The country abounded in wild animals like the elephant, rhino, tiger, panther, and bison; the lion was, of course, absent and was an object of some curiosity. In the sculptures, the lions are often far from realistic.

The poor lived in straw-huts and wore simple clothing with no covering above the waist, as a rule, for both sexes, but "all wore gold rings and bracelets. Men and women anointed themselves with perfumes composed of sandal, musk and rich oils". The Chinaman describes the women as lustful, "but I hear some keep faith". He was particularly struck by the use of the left hand for washing, following calls of nature; "when they see Chinese using paper they mock them and close their doors in their faces"—a very natural reaction in a people trained in fastidious Indian ways.

The Aryan state of Bohu Vanam extended up to Laos and Annam in the north and the east, and reached down to the Malay

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* Justice was apparently quick and impartial. A tenth century inscription mentions the punishment given to a venal high official who had altered the boundary marks of a field and poached the crop. He was fined ten ounces of gold; his brother who had actually harvested the rice crop wrongfully was awarded 102 strokes with a birch-bark. The workmen who abetted the illegality were given small fines.
Peninsula in the west. As we have seen, it was founded by Kaundinya I some time about 100 A.D. The Chinese texts say that about 200 A.D. another dynasty came into being, called Panhuang in Chinese, after the 1st King. His son was P’an-P’an, who was succeeded, with popular acclaim, by another king (named Sreeman) whose name ended in Fan or Varman (220 A.D.). Jayasinhavarman was the next ruler, apparently a son (228—230). He was succeeded by his cousin, Chandravarman, accused of being a regicide (230—240).

This king was killed in his turn by a relation of his whom the Chinese texts call Changvarman (Sankaravarman ?), but who did not reign long. The next ruler, Suryavarman (240-288), was apparently a usurper, but he had a long reign of 48 years. His next two successors are not named by the Celestials. We then come to Charu Chandanavarman (357 A.D.), who was probably a usurper. He is stated to have held power till 420 A.D., when the kingdom of Fou Nan was overthrown by an outsider called Kaundinya II, with whose name we are already somewhat familiar. This conqueror is reported by the Chinese to have been a Brahmin sage who hailed from the district of P’an-P’an in Malaya, which is identified with the region round the Bay of Bandon, where the port of Ligor was situated. In the words of Quatrinch-Wales:

“The Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the Isthmus (of Kra) from the west. At the same time, persons of an Indian cast of features are common in the west coast (of the Isthmus) near Takkola, while colonies of Brahmins of Indian descent survive (even now) at Nagar Sri Dharmaraja ....... It was through the country of P’an P’an (identified with the Bay of Bandon area) that the Indianisation of Fou Nan was completed by the second Kaundinya about the end of the 4th century A.D.”

Kaundinya II (whose kingly name was probably Siva Chandravarman) was succeeded in 430 A.D. by Sri Indravarman (a son ?). The successor of the latter is unknown; but in 470 A.D. we find one Jayavarman on the throne of the old kingdom. He built new capitals at Na-fu-na (?) and Vyadhapura (Angkor Borei). Jayavarman had a long reign of 44 years, and in 514 A.D. he was succeeded by Rudravarman (a son or grandson). This king
became a Buddhist, and on his death in 545 A.D. internal strife (perhaps based on religion) broke out in the land and Fou Nan became an object of aggression by the kings of Chen-la or Kamboja proper, in the north. A 7th century inscription says that Bhavavarman of Chen-la seized Fou Nan by force, but that the ministers of the conquered territory (who held office in heredity) continued to serve the new ruler, as they did the old. Present-day writers attribute the overthrow of Fou-Nan to economic deterioration, consequent on Kamboja controlling all the principal sources of national income, viz., the fish and the rice trade centred round the Great Lake (which was so rich in fish that, in low water, the rowers had to dip their oars into shoals of fish!). The Fou Nan royal family was probably not extirpated but allowed to hold shadowy authority in vassalage.

The Chen-las, or more correctly Kambojans, were hardy, energetic and enterprising, while the Fou-Nanese had grown soft with prosperity. Succession in Kambojan monarchy often presaged some violence and perhaps bloodshed. The Chen-la line had started with Srutavarman (circa 500 A.D.), who was something of a legendary figure but who claimed descent from the old kings of Fou Nan. His son and successor, Sreshthavarman (545-560), built a new capital for Chen-la at Sreshthapura (now called Badom). Rudravarman (560-575) succeeded him and was followed by a lady called Kamba Kukshmi (575-580), a cousin of Sreshthavarman. She married Bhavavarman (a scion of the royal house), who thereupon elevated himself as king in 580 A.D. He built another city called Bhavapura (now Prei No-Kor or Priya Nagar). He seized Fou-Non by force, as already mentioned, and thus ended the independent existence of that famous kingdom set up by the first Kaundinya, circa 100 A.D.

Bhavavarman was followed by his brother Mahendravarman (589-610), who, like all Khmer rulers, had a penchant for shifting the seat of government. He ruled from a new capital at Sambhupura (Sambhor or the Mekong). Isanavarman (610-635) succeeded him; in his time Fou Nan was finally and completely annexed to Kamboja. The new king even extended his conquests to Dvaravati (or Lavo), an Aryan-ruled colony in West Siam. Kamboja reached its apogee of power and splendour under Isanavarman.

Isana called himself "suzerain of three realms" (trilokapala ?), viz., Fou Nan, Kamboja and Dvaravati, and...
to custom, built a new capital which he called Isanapura. He set up beautiful temples, especially the one at Sambhor, which is noteworthy for its stepped pyramidal towers built in brick on the model of Indian gopuras. To quote Walker, "Some of these brick structures, built before the Khmers had acquired the art of raising their immense stone cathedrals, look very much like the Champa shrines whose ruins are to be seen in Lower Annam, and of which perfected types were later evolved at the temple-city of Myson. The Khmer (i.e., Kambojan) shrine is a tower built over a sanctuary containing either a relic of the Buddha, or an image of Vishnu or Siva ......... The bricks were held together by a vegetable cement, the secret of which is lost."*

Often numbers of such shrines were grouped together in one ensemble, either on a huge common platform or in ascending terraces, suggesting the symbolic idea of Maha Meru, the abode of the gods. The design was always square, with an east orientation. In the words of Walker, "The Khambu rulers seem to have developed early the notion that there was an esoteric relationship between this world and the cosmic order, believing that the works of man were meant to symbolise their cosmological ideal and that in order to ensure prosperity, human works, whether kingdoms, capitals, palaces or sanctuaries, had to be replicas of divine prototypes, whose delineations were known to the traditional builders and artists." This concept was carried to such extremes that even the mythical Meru hill-top, which was reputedly of solid gold, was reproduced at a mundane level. At Baphnon and in Bayon there were actually built huge brick towers covered over with thin sheets of gold.

In extension of the verisimilitude, walls and moats were built round the temples to represent the seas and mountains which covered the Universe; the naga motif represented the rainbow, regarded in orthodox Hindu texts as the pathway to heaven; the four-faced towers represented the four Vedas or alternatively the all-pervading Supreme Power. In their sublime faith the Khmer Aryans believed that gods came down to dwell among men, if only appropriate sanctuaries were built for them over symbolic chakras and yantras, with due auspiciousness and the correct use of litanies and invocations. To modern sophisticates such beliefs may

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* I have mentioned elsewhere the 'vajra-lepa' or adamantine glue, described by Varaha-Mihira, the great Indian astronomer (500 AD).
appear somewhat childish, but none can fail to admire the spirit of earnest devotion and complete self-surrender to the Divine which formed the basis of these wonderful creations in brick and stone.

Isanavarman breathed his last in 635 A.D. and was succeeded by Bhavavarman II (635-640) who continued to rule from Sambhupura. The next king was Jayavarman II, who was blessed with a reign of 40 years (till 680 A.D.), but nothing much is known about him except that in his time Kamboja was invaded by the Champans. When he died, his widow Jaya Devi ruled for five years, perhaps as a regent for her son (680-685 A.D.). Troubles gathered round the throne and drove her to complain, in a long inscription, how pretenders sprang up and split the kingdom into petty states, which gradually fused into two larger units, viz., Upper Kamboja and Lower Kamboja. About the same time, piratical raids from Java started simultaneously against Champa and Kamboja. In a Chen-la inscription, the Javanese are described as “ferocious, pitiless, black-coloured, and eating food more horrible than that of vampires”. For some time portions of Champa and Kamboja were overrun by these so-called pirates (who were probably freelance soldiers of the Sailendra monarch of Java/Sumatra.) Jaya Devi’s successor was apparently a woman, but her name is unrecorded. In 716 A.D. we hear of one Pushka-raksha, who married the reigning queen of Sambhupura and became king on this sound title. This monarch reigned till 730 A.D., and he shifted the capital to a new place called Aninditapura (near Angkor). There was apparently some confusion after his death, for his successors are not clearly identifiable. In 750 A.D. we hear of King Sambhuvarman on the throne, and following him his son Rajendravarman (760 A.D.), whose son was the unfortunate Mahipativarman, who suffered decapitation at the hands of the Maharaja of Sailendra. A story recorded by the Arab traveller Sulaiman (who visited Java about 850 A.D.) runs to the effect that the young and impetuous king of Kamboja insulted the Maharaja of Zabaj (i.e., Java) by saying that he would like the Javan’s head brought to him. The (Javan) Sailendra ruler promptly obliged. His head appeared all too soon, set as firmly as ever on its shoulders and at the vanguard of a large army, conveyed in over 1000 ships. In a surprise attack, the Javan monarch succeeded in capturing and beheading the indiscreet local sovereign, who was no doubt the luckless Mahipati. It
would appear that the latter’s son Jayavarman I was either taken captive to Sailendra or was reduced to the status of a vassal. The latter seems likely, as the Arab’s story includes a gruesome tailpiece to the effect that the Sailendra king had Mahipati’s head pickled and put in a jar and sent to his son and successor with the warning that “no one should undertake a task above his power or desire more than the share allotted to him by Providence”—a most healthy advice which, unfortunately, many rulers in history have failed to adopt. Mahipati’s successor was Jayavarman III, He was succeeded by Jayavarman IV, who was doubtless a usurper, as he claimed descent from the old kings of Fou Nan through his mother. There is a Sanskrit inscription of 1052 A.D. which states that King Jayavarman IV, “who had come from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura”, performed a special sacrifice to free Kambu Desa from the thraldom of Javan overlordship. It is likely that this prince had seen something of the high quality of Sailendra administration and art (Borobodur the Magnificent had just then been built), and brought these memories with him to Kambu Desa.

Jayavarman initiated reforms in government by merging the petty principalities into compact administrative units, serving a well-knit state. He was an ardent devotee of Vishnu and gradually introduced a cult which emphasised the spiritual side of Royalty and “the divinity which doth hedge in a throne”. In this work of building up the status of monarchy he was aided by a young Brahmin called Siva Kaivalya, who in a way played the role in Kambu Desa which Chanakya assumed at the Mauryan court thirteen centuries earlier. The Brahmin was soon made Chief Purohit and officiated at all royal ceremonies. He is stated to have procured for the King a miraculous ‘linga’ through divine intercession. Soon Jayavarman declared his independence of Java by proclaiming himself “the guardian of the honour of the Solar race of Sri Kambu”.

Jayavarman combined in himself both love of art and skill in statecraft. A curious legend traces to God Indra’s interest in the royal family the large development of Kambojan architecture at

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*The Sailendra ruler was probably quoting the opening verses of the Isopanishad which enjoin that “all should remember that worldly wealth is a gift of God and every person should enjoy only what is given to him by God and not covet other people’s possessions.”*
this time. According to this legend, two Kambu princes were carried to Indraloka and shown all the splendours of Deva-loka. The chief of the Devas is also said to have presented a sacred sword to the King, which sword, remarkably enough, is preserved to this day in the palace at Phnom Penn in the custody of the very descendants of the Brahmin Siva Kaivalya. (The sword is called Pra Khan=Varakhanda*). Jayavarman built several palaces at Indrapura, Hariharalaya, Amarendrapura, and Mahendraparvata, in the construction of which much technical skill has been exhibited. The classical Khmer style of building started evolving in his time, to reach its culmination in the succeeding centuries.

The next king was also called Jayavarman (the fifth of the lineage) and he was probably a grandson, as no Aryan prince would carry his own father’s name. Jayavarman V ruled from 854 to 877 A.D. He was a staunch Vaishnavaite and lived at Hariharalaya. His successor named Indravarman was a cousin of his predecessor, who had probably no issue. Several monuments owe their origin to him, particularly those at Prah-Ko and Bakong. Yasovarman succeeded his father in 889 and ruled till 910 A.D. He built a new capital at Yasodharapura, which had an area of 10 square miles (known as the first Nagara, or the earliest Angkor) as well as several other shrines, like these at Pnom Bakeng, Pnom Krom, etc. For the new capital Yasovarman realigned the Siem Reap river to form an immense moat round the city, within which he laid out 800 artificial ponds. Outside the city he excavated a great water-basin nearly ten square miles in extent. Every hill in the vicinity of the city he crowned with a temple. A number of bridges and roads were constructed, some of the bridges being 40 to 50 feet wide, so as to allow six elephants to march abreast in procession.

The temple of Prah Vihear (which took two centuries to be completed) was inaugurated by him. This temple is a most remarkable sanctuary built on a long overhanging cliff on the shoulder of an inaccessible mountain, 80 miles north of Angkor. The monument is laid out in successive courts extending over half a mile. The capital of Yasovarman, Yasodharapura, situated just outside the present Angkor, contained in itself the germ of the later Angkor Thom, which remained the capital city of the

* ‘Gift sword’
Kambojan kings for about 500 years; and Yasovarman’s basic ideas of town-planning (no doubt modelled on ancient Indian sastras) have been followed by the later Khmer builders. For example, we have the broad square site, a shrine in the centre of the city at an elevated position, circumambient walls protected by a wide moat, four main gates naturally oriented and the town itself laid out in straight lines with roads intersecting at the shrine and connecting the main city entrances, thus dividing the city into four equal quarters, where the respective ‘varnas’ or communities would live, as laid down in the Indian texts.

Yarsovarman has left a plenitude of written records; mostly ‘prasastis’, extravagantly flattering the monarch. (Sample: "He caused the Supreme Creator to wonder why he made a rival by creating so mighty a monarch!") This king seems to have been essentially a man of peace and very liberal in his religious outlook. As a votary of the fine arts, and as a builder, he ranks among the greatest rulers of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.*

Yasovarman’s son, Harshavarman, followed his father on the throne in 910 A.D. and ruled for fifteen years. The edifice at Prasat Kravan which contains a fine image of Vishnu, with an outsized makara at his feet, is attributed to him. He was succeeded by his brother Isanavarman II, who reigned for only a brief three years. His successor, Jayavarman VI, uncle of Isana, managed to keep on his throne for 13 years, i.e., till 941. As was customary with Khmer rulers with a sufficient spell of power at their disposal, he built a new capital at Chok Gangyar, which he decorated with several imposing shrines, especially those at Prasat Thom and Prasat Banteay, the latter being the only temple in Kamboja for the least-known of the Hindu Trinity, viz., Brahma. The great reservoir near Angkor Thom was also built by him.

To digress a little, the Kambu rulers (like their counterparts in Tamilakam at the time) had a strong predilection for water. Water for personal ablution, water for rituals and sacrifices, water for temple services, water for sport, water for protection against marauders, water for sheer reflection of calmness and serenity, and water for irrigation and navigation—all these were provided by the Khmer kings with a

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* Yasovarman, who also was known as Yaso-vardhana, has recorded that he personally wrote a commentary on the Maha-Bhashya of Patanjali (II century B.C.).
passion which almost amounted to a mania. They employed ingenious engineering devices to bring water into temples and into the royal thresholds. Angkor Vat had a moat three miles long, and Angkor Thom one of eight miles in circumference. Lustral basins for ceremonial bathing, tanks sacred to the Naga spirits, pools for purificatory baths, all abounded wherever a shrine was built. Fine tanks and reservoirs without number adjoined royal palaces. In Angkor Thom, the basins inside the town and the river canals interconnected through an intricate hydraulic system, which maintained a constant level at the city pools and the flowery cisterns. The three-mile-long Angkor-Vat moat was not a little ditch (like the ones surrounding medieval castles in Europe) but a broad patch of water, 700 feet wide, in which hydro-planes carrying tourists used to land 20 years ago, before a pucca aerodrome was built near by!

As for Neak Pean, the watery marvel of a floating sanctuary built by King Jayavarman VII, the tribute of Walker is worth citing: "For this alone, the Khmers would deserve immortality as a race of architects and sculptors of the highest excellence." From an artificial pool, about 220 feet square, rises a single-chambered shrine built in the form of a lotus bud, with its four basal petals elaborately carved. In front is the figure of a spirited horse and round the base of the water-enclosed platform, two intertwined Nagas raise their sevenfold hoods in an artistic pose. The pièce de résistance at Neak Pean is the magnificent sculpture of an alleged gargoyle, a most realistic human head, with strong square features, and gentle eyebrows below a broad forehead covered by a thick diadem. "The mouth is open in a spirit of joyousness, as though it intones a paean of praise to the rising sun", says Walker.

And lastly may be mentioned the two barays (or lakes) on either side of Angkor Thom. The eastern one is a huge artificial reservoir, nearly six miles long and over a mile wide; the western one is three times larger in area. In ancient epochs these were connected with the Great Lake (Tonle Sap) and were intended to serve both as harbours for ships ascending the Mekong, and as storages for the abounding city, of both water and edible fish!*

* "It is misleading to imagine that the Angkor rulers loved to stroll for pleasure beside their lakes and pools. The Khmers never built, and never intended to build, a Versailles or Peterhof. Their obsession with water was devout, not aesthetic...... The Khmers were obsessed with water because without it there would be no life". [Christopher Pym in Vanished Civilisations, page 132.]
To return to the genealogy of Khambu kings, Jayavarman VI was succeeded by his half-brother, Rajendravarman II (942-968); several monuments owe their origin to him, the chief of which is Bantey Srei (Sanskrit: Sri or Iswari, Pura) called in the local jargon "the citadel of women". It was built between 967 and 1020 A.D. and is now surrounded by almost impenetrable jungle. To many a tourist, the sight of this Ramayana-inspired shrine alone is enough recompense for an arduous and expensive journey. Bodrick, who is rarely demonstrative of his feeling, makes the following remark about this noble work of art: "The picture which I possess within myself of Bantey Srei is among the few I hope I shall carry undimmed with me into the shades." Rajendravarman, "whose toe nails shone like the diadems of rival kings", started the shrine, and his son Jayavarman VII (969-1001 A.D.), "whose lion-roar made hostile monarchs fly to the depths of the forests", completed it. To quote Walker:

"The sculptors and architects who fashioned Iswari-Pura are undoubtedly among the world's best. No words can do justice to the beauty of this jewel of the jungle. No picture can hope to recapture the exquisite grace of this masterpiece in pink stone. The Moghuls (of India) were reported to have designed like Titans and finished like jewellers. The Khmers too built like giants (the largest buildings ever raised by man, Bantey Chmar and Angkor Vat, were their handiwork) and here in isolated and abandoned Bantey Srei we see how they too could finish like jewellers. There is nothing gigantic about these shrines, but each one is a gem, bright and colourful, clean and delicately carved with incredible crispness and precision".*

Unlike Angkor Vat, the atmosphere of Bantey Srei vibrates with feeling. The Hanuman and the Garuda images look as if they were instinct with life. The wonderfully carved scenes of the Ramayana (Sugriva imploring Rama, the vanquishment of Vali, the fight between the heroic Rama and the terrible Dasanana, the aloof and tragic sorrow of Sita, the joyous celebrations of victory and coronation) are carved in high relief with such delicacy.

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* Says Christopher Pym, of Bantey Srei: "Considering how every inch of space was covered, encrusted one might almost say, with decoration and on so many hundreds of temples, it is tempting to think that sheer exhaustion must in the end have overcome the makers of all this 'richness.' (Vanished Civilisations, page 114)
Ramayana scene (Vali-vadha) at Angkor Vat.

Sculpture at Boro Budor showing the arrival of the Aryan ships.
of touch, deep fervour, and exquisite sense of realism that one feels as if the great saga of the Lanka invasion was being enacted before one's very eyes. In between these Epic panels are some statues of 'Apsaras' so full of pulchritude and grace and so provokingly overflowing with the type of feminine appeal for which these ladies were famous in the two worlds, that one is surprised, not that a few trance-bound and self-immersed Rishis fell for them, but that quite some few escaped being rendered captive, body and soul, to the discomfiture of the scheming Devendra.

When Rajendravarman died, the throne went to his son Jayavarman VIII (968-1001), who completed Bantey Srei, as we have seen. On his demise the succession was shrouded in confusion. His uncle, Udayadityavarman, and his brother, Jayaviravarman, reigned only for a few months each. The throne was then occupied by Suryavarman (1002-1049), who was apparently a usurper from the region of Ligor in the Malayan Isthmus. In his long reign, this monarch adopted Buddhism as his tenet and the capital was shifted to Angkor Thom, where administrative buildings and palaces were built round the central shrine of Phimeanakas, work on which had been started by his predecessors and which he completed. Suryavarman also laid the foundations for the second Nagara Dham (the famous Angkor Thom). He annexed the state of Lavo (the Aryan realm of Dvaravati, lying in the Menam Valley), which was later to grow into the great Thai kingdom, the rival and the nemesis of Kamboja itself, as we shall see. Suryavarman even made war on Champa, with very qualified success. Many edifices are attributed to his zeal for building; he constructed a palace for visiting officials and Viceroyals at Angkor, a superb temple at Vat Phu, and he completed the shrine of Prah Vihear.

The next king was Udaya Adityavarman II, a great nephew of Suryavarman, who ruled for 17 years (1049-1066). He was succeeded by his brother Harshavarman III, who held the reins of power till 1085 A. D. The succession was then disturbed, and with the accession of Jayavarman IX (1085-1107) to the throne, another usurper had "put his foot into the stirrup of power". Jayavarman continued to rule from the new Angkor (Thom) as did his successor, Dharana Indravarman (1107-1112). Suryavarman II, a grand-nephew, then came to the throne. His name
is noteworthy, as he started the building of Angkor Vat. Then followed Yasovarman II (1160-1165), apparently a nephew. A usurper soon appeared on the scene, with the death of the second Yasovarman. He was Tribhuvana Adityavarman (1165-1177), but he was ousted by Jayavarman X, a son of Dharana Indravarman.

This king, Jayavarman X (1181 to 1215 A.D.), was one of the greatest monarchs of Kamboja. Walker considers that he is the Khmer monarch who comes nearest to possessing the qualities that are commonly associated with great rulers like Rameses II of Egypt, Asoka the Great, Caliph Haroun al Rashid, and Louis XIV. He had earlier renounced the throne in favour of his nephew (Suryavarman II) and retired to Champa to lead the life of a bhikku. During his absence there were upheavals in Kamboja, resulting in the death of the then king (Yasovarman II) and the seizing of the throne by the usurper (Tribhuvana Adityavarman), as mentioned. Taking advantage of the succession disputes, the Champan ruler, Jaya Indravarman VII, invaded Khmer in 1177, sailed up the Mekong, burnt many buildings at Yasodharapura and put the usurper to death. This was the most signal defeat suffered by Kamboja since the Sailendra Maharaja captured Mahipati 400 years earlier. Five years of sorrow and anarchy followed, and Prince Jayavarman, who was then 51 years of age, returned from his self-imposed exile, to save Kamboja from ruin. His earliest action was to square the military record with Champa, forgetting, perhaps, that quite often it was his own ancestors who had mainly been the aggressors against the comparatively quiescent Champan rulers. (Champan King Jaya Indravarman VI had been attacked and killed in 1145 A.D. by a Kambojan army, and his capital city, Vijaya, put to the sack). A large Kambojan army under the brilliant general, Suryavarma Vidyananda, marched into Champa (circa 1182 A.D.), defeated the local ruler and marched him as a captive to Nagar (Angkor). As we have seen in the previous chapter, Champa was cut into two, and two Kambojan nominees (one of them the successful Vidyananda) put in charge as Viceroy. In King Jayavarman’s time (circa 1200 A.D.), the Kambojan Empire attained its maximum size. It covered the whole of the Indo-China Peninsula (Tonking excluded), all of modern Siam, and a part of Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula. No king on the South-East Asian mainland
had governed such extensive territories before. His enemies having been disposed of, Jayavarman set his hand to the arts of peace. He completed (or rather rebuilt) the Nagara Dham (Angkor Thom), which had been laid out as a capital by King Suryavarman two hundred years earlier. It is recorded that, in the raising of Angkor Thom, over 300,000 labourers were employed for a period of ten years and that the revenues of 14,000 villages were diverted to pay for this labour force and for the materials. As a devout Buddhist, he set up a new shrine for Siddhartha at Bayon, abandoning the Hindu temple at Phram Bakheng. Around this Sramana Vihar, he put up a cluster of buildings, which for beauty and size are without parallel in history. It is true that many edifices were merely rebuilt or improved upon by him, but even so he remains one of the greatest builders of all time. In the words of Osbert Sitwell, "he accomplished things in building of which no man before, or since, has ever dreamed". We have seen somewhat (and we shall see more) how this high encomium had been earned.

Jayavarman built 120 hospitals all over his kingdom, which had physicians and nurses, both male and female, to look after the sick. Elaborate provision was made for the stocking of medicines and accessories. The king built over 100 "salas" or rest-houses for travellers and innumerable bridges and roads. The names of shrines and sanctuaries built by him will fill up a long list. Says Walker: "What might sound like mere names out of a Miltonic stanza are most of them magnificent edifices which could vie with the mightiest structures ever raised by man."

Before we return to Bayon and Angkor Thom, we may cast a look at a temple which Jayavarman erected at Bantey Chhman, nearly a hundred miles north of Angkor. This temple (which is mostly in ruins) has 50 towers or gopuras, with bas-reliefs so well executed that they rank with the best Kambojan art. A French expert calculated that it would have taken 40,000 workmen, working 10 hours a day over 8 years, to build the temple; and the carvings would, in addition, have taken the labour of 100 artists for 20 years. From the point of view of pure mass, Bantey Chhman is the biggest sacerdotal building in the world.

And now a few lines more about Angkor Thom. The name itself is a Khmer corruption of the Sanskrit appellation, Nagara Dhām (i.e., Great City). Ancient Yasōdharapura (which was
partially burnt both by the Javan and the Champan vandals) lies in ruins close to the later Angkor, which was inaugurated as a capital by King Suryavarman and finished by Jayavarman X in 1200 A.D. At the zenith of its prosperity, the city harboured *over a million inhabitants*. Kings and princes and their lovely consorts, ministers and priests, astrologers and physicians, soldiers of all ranks and their mounts and transports, artists and labourers, merchants, shopkeepers and market superintendents, sailors and sea-captains in large numbers, fishermen and hunters of wild game, thousands of women of astonishing beauty attached to the temple-gods, musicians, dancers and acrobats—all contributed to the matchless pageantry of the richest and most populous town of its age, whose wealth is compared by Walker to that of Ormuz (pearls) and Golconda (diamonds). To illustrate: the temple of Ta Prohm in the city had two huge cauldrons full of gold and silver offerings. It had a box with 50,000 large pearls and 4,000 precious stones. It had puja vessels made of pure gold, weighing over 5 tons! [All these particulars are listed in an inscription.]

Marco Polo, who visited the city in 1291 A.D., has left a vivid and picturesque account of the capital. We have already cited Chou Ta Kuan, whose descriptions read like the picture of another wonder world. In the centre of the metropolis was the Temple of Bayon, 700 feet by 550 feet. Though it cannot compare in size with Angkor Vat (Nagara Devata), yet its height (130 feet) is impressive, and its proportions are graceful and the details neatly correlated. Its central tower was formerly fully covered over with gold. The galleries contain numerous bas-reliefs exhibiting the daily life of the city, warriors, princes, priests, dancers, workmen, boatmen, hunters and craftsmen, all showing the prosaic activities of city life; in the interior galleries are scenes depicting the heroic episodes from the two great Epics, as also the famous scenes of Parvati’s penance and wedding. “Within the limitations of a restricted plan, the creator of Bayon attempted to construct as many marvels of architecture and sculpture as human ingenuity could devise. If the intention of the architect was to give the temple an aspect of magnificence and wonder worthy of the gods, he has succeeded without any doubt.” The whole shrine is an artificial mountain deliberately sculptured. In a bizarre pyramid of portrait towers it reveals gigantic faces, lit up with the famous Angkor smile, remote, mysterious and
inscrutable, but at the same time benign and gentle to a degree—reminding one of the expression of bliss and beatitude found on the Maheshamurti image at the Elephanta Caves near Bombay. Says Walker: “There can be no doubt that the sculptors who fixed these features in hard rock are worthy of being placed in the front rank of the world’s artists”. Sitwell calls Bayon “the most imaginative and singular monument in the world”.

The gigantic public square of Nagara Dham formed an important part of the Kambojan scheme of the city life. The king reviewed his troops there, and worshipped the great deities going in procession. He also watched the triumphal marches of his troops after a victorious war, with the cavalcade of generals in front, followed by the prisoners of war, the prancing steeds and the rolling elephants, resplendently covered with gold and velvet trappings. The terraces and steps flanking the square, thousands of feet long and fifteen feet high, had naga balustrades on top and heroic figures in medium relief on the outer walls. Life-size elephants formed the principal motif (hence the name Elephant Terrace), showing hunts and captures of these huge creatures. It was on these imposing terraces that the King, seated behind a gold-framed and heavily curtained balcony, received his visitors and foreign ambassadors. Chou Ta Kuan was granted a single audience here by the King; as he approached, the golden curtain was raised by slender and lovely female hands, the Chinaman made his deep obeisance, the monarch gave a gracious nod, the curtain fell, and all was over in a minute!

Mention has been made earlier of the so-called Leper King’s statue, but this fine piece of sculpture shows no sign of any skin deformity and its name therefore has dubious authenticity. Chou, however, says that many lepers were seen begging on the roads and that, though the healthy people moved and ate with them, they did not catch the disease. “Once a king caught it and he was not scorned for it.” Chou thought the incidence of leprosy was due to “excessive bathing or too much love-making”!

Before we take leave of Nagara Dham, mention must be made of the most strikingly beautiful assemblage of sculptured feminine loveliness ever found in the world. Behind a false screen-wall is a concourse of handsome female figures, cut in high relief and shown as seated in four vertical rows, all crowned and heavily bejewelled, smiling and voluptuous. This astonishing
bevy of cold beauty in stone is supposed by modern writers to represent the queens, princesses and concubines of the royal household. They seem to give the lie direct to Chinaman Chou, when he says that the women of the land were dark and unattractive.

He also mentions that they usually bathed naked, a practice which, according to him, drew the libidinous local Chinese colony to the bathing ghats like a load-stone! This situation reminds one of the scenes at the Japanese hot baths where both sexes bathe in the nude. While the local people exhibit no reprehensible reactions whatsoever, and take the situation as falling within due proprieties, it is the foreign tourist, provided doubtless with a hidden camera, who plays the ignoble role of a Peeping Tom. It is clear that poor Chou, who was refused entry into the royal palace and could see the King only for a minute during a two-year stay, must have been unable to know much about the females of the upper classes in Kamboja. He admits, however, that he heard reports that all the ladies of the Palace were "white as jade". It will be apposite to cite here the opinion of Sitwell, a quite knowledgeable critic, that the Cambodians were the most handsome people he had ever seen in this world.

To continue our chronology: Jaya (Indra)varman X was succeeded, in 1215, by his son Indravarman, who reigned for 28 years. In his time Champa became independent, partly because of the treachery of Vidyananda, who had been made Viceroy of Lower Champa, as narrated earlier. Meanwhile, the Shyam (Thai) peoples were growing restive, especially after the heavy influx into the Menam Valley of refugee Shans from Yunnan, which had been put under heavy pressure by the Mongolian hordes of the great Chengiz Khan. Jayavarman XI (a grandson of his great namesake) had a long and not too happy reign of 52 years (1243—1295). This king took after his grandfather and built the great temple of Mangalartha, but otherwise his luck was out; he heard only too clearly the ominous rumblings from the northwest provinces which presaged the decline and fall of the Kambojan Empire. The Thais of Dvaravati who had been subject to Khmer rule for perhaps five centuries, were now proving

* These women must have belonged to the indigenous communities. Among orthodox Hindus, bathing without clothes is absolutely forbidden, even inside closed rooms. (This inhibition has been borrowed by the Roman Catholic Church, which forbids bathing in the nude.)
recalcitrant, thanks to the Aryan leadership which was suddenly thrust on them. The Mongols, who had humbled Tonking and Champa and overthrown the great Pagan Kingdom of Burma, were abetting the Thais, who diplomatically acknowledged the Great Khan as their suzerain, so as to be left alone with their new-fangled ambitions. The Thai king, Indravitya, had already shaken off Kambu yoke from Dvaravati. In 1290, the petty Thai chieftains forged an alliance under King Rama Raja (Phra Ruang), a younger son of Indravitya, drove out the Kambu Viceroy of Sukhodaya, and set up the independent state of Sukothai (Sukhodaya). This was followed by the loss of other considerable territories in the Meenam Valley (Ayodhya) and in Lower Burma (Hamsavati). The Thais, not content with ridding Menam of Khmer rule, began encroaching on the Great Lake areas and even penetrated into the very environs of Nagara Dham. The Khmer texts mention several skirmishes with the "rascally rebels". On one occasion a signal defeat was inflicted on them, in commemoration of which the monument Siem Reap (i.e., "Defeated Siamese") was erected. When Chou visited Kamboja in 1295—1297, he noticed some debilitation of power consequent on the Thai inroads, which had meant the loss of a large part of the Empire. But the kingdom was still prosperous and full of opulent grandeur, although militarily on the decline. (Curiously enough, Chou pities the Khambu ruler for not possessing "ballistics and cannon like the Chinese," thus indicating the use of artillery in 1297 A.D.) The successor of Jayavarman XI was Sri Indravaran (1295 — 1308), who had married his predecessor's daughter. [It was in his time that Chou Ta Kuan, who calls the king a usurper, visited Kamboja.] The next king was Sri Indra Jayavaran (1308—1327) — presumably a son. His reign constituted a low watermark in the history of Kamboja. In 1312 the Thais attacked from the west and the Champan ruler from the east. There was apparently some success against the Thais, for a Sanskrit inscription states that Sri Indra Jaya "tore away the Siam capital (Ayodhya ?) as if it were brushwood". This claim rings somewhat hollow, for soon the Kambu rulers were fighting a desperate battle for survival. The proud and unbelievably rich princes, who never bowed their heads before even the Mongol Emperors, Kublai and Timur, were tasting bitter defeat at the hands of the "rascally rebels", whom they scorned to
death even then. The lordly tiger, now old, weak and toothless, was being ambushed by packs of hyenas!

In 1327 Jaya Parameswaravarman came to the throne and reigned for seven years. His successor, who called himself Paramartha Kamaraja, ruled from 1334-1353. After him there is some confusion in the genealogy. There were three rulers whose names are not clearly known till we come to Paramaraja (1409—1416). Meanwhile, vicious blows were aimed at Kambu Desa by the despised Siems. In 1357 the King of Ayodhya, Ramadhipati (more correctly, Surya Vamsa Rama Rajadhiraja) besieged Angkor Thom, which fell after a heroic resistance of 16 months. Nearly 100,000 prisoners were taken and the countryside was devastated. After this, Siamese invasions became a cruelly recurring phenomenon. Attacks were made in 1394, 1420, and 1442. In the last one, which was delivered by Paramaraja II of Ayodhya, a siege of seven months was successfully resisted, until two Buddhist monks betrayed the secrets of the defence to the enemy, who thereupon captured the city by surprise. The temples were plundered, the palaces sacked, the houses of the rich despoiled, and many books and manuscripts burnt. Practically the whole population of the city was deported.

Thus ended, in everything but name, the great dynasties of Kambu Desa, which Kaundinya had planted with his magic spear 1500 years earlier. The blow to the Khmers was catastrophic; the gain to Ayodhya was fabulous. Nagara Dham, the mightiest city of its time and the richest, was finally abandoned and the seat of government moved to Phnom Penn (then called Chatur Mukha). The Khmer empire was prostrated and it fell never to rise again. The scions of the fugitive royal house clung on to attenuated power, ruling a much diminished and impoverished state for many centuries. Their descendant, Prince Narottama, still rules over truncated Cambodia in a troubled and uneasy fashion.† Still once a year the famous Vara Khandha (Prah Khan or the sword given by Indra to Suryavarman) is taken out from its vault and exhibited at the royal palace. But the pelf and power which was behind this sword was gone for ever. The splendour which was Kamboja was lost to the memory of man.

* Regarding the comparative greatness of Angkor Thom.

† In the palaces at Phnom Penn are still treasured the regalia handed down to the present monarch from kings who ruled 500 years ago at Angkor.
What were the causes which led to the downfall of Kambu dominance? The Thai onslaughts are an obvious reason, but something more inherent has been sought by historians. The struggle between the Hindu and the Sramana religions is trotted out as a plausible reason; there is nothing in the history of the land to justify this theory. Both religions lived side by side in peace for centuries. Even when the king was a Buddhist, palace worship was done in Brahmin fashion; the daily rituals (astrological and other) were carried out in the Hindu tradition. The king was crowned by Brahmins and his Chief Purohit was almost always a Brahmin. A French writer (Laclere) sees the downfall of the Khmers in a popular revolution, arising out of the discontent of the people over the excessive building activities and the consequent impoverishment of the state. Louis Finot, a great French historian, thinks that the end of the Khmer rule was due to the foreign Thai invasions wiping out the elite of the population, i.e., the Aryan upper layer, through massacre and captivation. He says, “It is no doubt the disappearance of this thinking and industrious segment of the society which explains the sudden end of the Sanskrit language.” He would even go to the extent of suggesting that the bulk of the Khmer population secretly welcomed this extermination of the ruling intelligentsia by the ruthless Thais! Lawrence P. Briggs puts forward a daring hypothesis, viz., that, after various military reverses, there was a revolt against Brahminic domination and the people of the city fled rather than continue to submit to the ruling classes! Martin F. Herz, however, has the following comment on the above propositions: “These theories are interesting, but they are based on no evidence whatsoever. When Chou visited Nagara in 1295 A.D., he found the country peaceful and the king firmly on the throne, although two disastrous wars had ensued previously. Even in the 15th century, when Thais occupied the capital, the Kambojans were strong enough to eject them.” Herz leaves the issue open by stating that “the decline and abandonment of Angkor can be explained by the repeated defeats at the hands of the Thais; but the fact that the cities and temples of Angkor could fall into complete oblivion is a mystery that has not yet been solved.” After 1450 A.D., the very name of Nagara Dham seems to have been forgotten; Sanskrit is replaced by Pali, and the old inscriptions can no longer be read even by the erudite. The burning of the national archives in the
16th century by the Thais completed the tale of woe. If one may venture an opinion, it is not merely the Thai invasions which ended the Khmer rule and rendered it a distant memory. The reason should be sought elsewhere, viz., in the Indian homeland, where, from about 1200 A.D. onward, a new and ruthless invader had taken root in the soil of Aryavarta and was threatening the very existence of Aryan religion and culture by systematic persecution. The Indian colonies, which were no doubt periodically obtaining fresh blood and inspiration from the mother-country, were no longer able to do so. There were no more streams of cultured migrants going out in either direction, one bringing fresh man-power, knowledge and instruction from abroad, and the other seeking these very things from the mother-source. This factor, coupled with the series of military setbacks, no doubt resulted in the black-out of the Khmer saga in the same way that the story of the Vijayanagar Empire was lost for some centuries in India.*

We may end this chapter with a few words about "slave labour". It might be supposed that the erection of the enormous capitals and shrines would imply the existence of 'corvee' or forced labour.† It is true that the building operations, which extended

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* Pym (in his *Vanished Civilisations*, page 138) is inclined to attribute the collapse of the Khmer Empire to the weakening influences of Theravada Buddhism, coupled with the assaults from the Thais. "The result was a neglect of irrigation and agriculture, leading to economic poverty and lack of food". But Buddhism did not result in martial ineptitude in Japan or even China. Buddhist transcendentalism made the Japanese soldier "absolutely free from all traces of passion, interest or affection, showing, written across everything in flaming letters, the truth that for him who has found Buddha there is neither birth nor death, growth nor decay. Lifted high above his surroundings, the Japanese is prepared to meet every fate with indifference. The attainment of this state seems to have been a fact in the case of both the Samurai of the military epoch and the Japanese soldier of modern times (Encyclopaedia Britannica (1957) Vol. XII, P. 954).

† As repeatedly mentioned in these pages, Aryan rulers abhorred commercial slavery or forced labour from the subject. The sastras do not permit slavery of any kind except under special and limited circumstances (e.g., prisoners of war, defaulting debtors, those selling themselves for food and clothes in times of severe distress). Compulsory labour was also taboo, except that all artisans and agricultural workers had to render *one day's service in a month to the king* (i.e., the State, for public works) free of wages. In return for this service, the State ensured the upkeep of temples, roads, bridges, etc. (*vide* Manu I (738)). A quotation from Megasthenes (Fragments - I and XXVI) will be apposite here: "The law ordains that no one shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but enjoying freedom they shall respect equal right to it which all possess..... All Indians are free and not one of them is a slave...... The Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, much less a countryman of their own." I have mentioned elsewhere Kautilya's famous dictum: "In Aryavarta, no Arya (i.e., those of the four castes) shall ever be a slave."
over centuries, suggest an immense labour force and a gigantic organisation of man-power. But, as Walker says, "It would be wrong to conclude from these that the system was analogous to the vigorous exploitation of slaves practised by the Egyptians or that it had the dreadful character of Assyrian slavery that made the armies of Assur the terror of the world. The Khmers knew of Kartikeya (the Hindu war-god) but this deity did not have anything like the importance of the Aztec or the Inca gods of war. Khmers took prisoners and did impose a mild 'corvee' on villages but this was done in a thoroughly humane manner and certainly not for building the capital cities, where trained artists and craftsmen (many from India) were employed for years and perhaps for generations. The theory that thousands of prisoner slaves were kept working under the cruel lash of overseers is not in keeping with the evidence". Chou Ta Kuan, a supercilious and unfriendly critic, would surely have mentioned this system if it had been a fact. In Walker's opinion, "the (slavery) system was more like that of ancient Rome or mediaeval India rather than that of the Pyramid builders". Norman Lewis adds: "For superstitious if for no other reasons, the peoples of Indo-China always trod very gently when it came to oppression of others. The spirits of their ancestors had to be reckoned with". No more sincere tribute could have been paid to the doctrine of "ahimsa paramo dharmah" practised by the Kambu rulers, by and large, subject to the exigencies of statecraft."

* It is, therefore, no wonder that one royal monument at Angkor Vat contains the following significant inscription: "This ideal king suffered from the ills of his subjects more than from his own, for it is the grief of the people that causes the grief of kings and not their own personal sorrows". Indian religious texts are full of solicitude for the welfare of the subject. Numerous examples can be cited, but one will suffice. "Reputation is the wealth of the great. The king should satisfy both his servants and his subjects, according to their qualifications, some by spreading out branches and others by showering the fruits. He should gratify them by gentle looks, soft words, good feasts and clothes and timely presents; some he should gratify by enquiries about health, the grant of privileges and of standards, ornaments, robes, umbrellas, chamara, etc; some by cash rewards; some others by clemency, obeisance, deferential behaviour, attention, services, friendly recognition, love and affection, mere association, offer of half the (King's own) seat or the full seat (e.g. to a superior monarch), praise, recital of good deeds done, etc., etc." (Sukra Niti, II, 836-852)
NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

THE ‘CITY OF GLORIOUS VICTORY’

I have described Angkor Dham of Kamboja which flourished resplendently between the 12th and 15th centuries, as the greatest city of its time in the world; and Walker equates it with Golconda, renowned for its fabulous diamond mines. It surpassed in size and opulence not only Byzantium, Rome, and the various Moslem cities in the West, but also the capitals of the Chinese in the East; even Delhi could not rival its magnificence. But Vijayanagar, the pride of the Deccan, came close to it, as the following details (which are given merely to emphasise the fantastic sophistication and affluence of the Indian community at the time) will bear out.

Of Vijayanagar, and its matchless panorama of Imperial might, its wealth and spendour, many accounts have survived, mainly through the pens of foreigners. A widely-travelled Moslem writer (Abdul Razak), not over-friendly to the Hindus, wrote of it as follows (circa 1450 A.D.): “It is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it; and the ear or the intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything like it in the whole world”. The city was formed of seven concentric zones, each surrounded by massive walls going up hill and down dale, the outermost wall being sixty miles in length. The neat huts of the poor were mingled with fine stone buildings of the rich and the noble. There was abounding water supply carried through channels well laid out, serving rich gardens, sugar plantations, and even rice fields within the boundary walls. The number of rose merchants was large; Abdul Razak marvelled at their business and thought that to the citizens flowers seemed as essential as food. Temples and colleges, gurukulas and patasalas, abounded in this metropolis. (Ibn Batuta-1345 - records that “in Honavar I saw thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for boys, a thing I have not seen anywhere else in the word”). In the centre was the Citadel on a well-fortified hill, guarded by massive ramparts. From its imposing gate-way, an avenue flanked by statues of animals led to the Imperial palace, which was surrounded by four bazaars which were crowded with customers using a plenitude of
gold and silver coins minted in the Royal mint, with a very high standard of weight and purity, as attested by Durate Barbosa.

At the front of the palace was the Durbar hall; on its left were the Courts and the Chancelleries, and on its right the Royal elephants were stabled, each with a separate stall. The water tanks full of lotus flowers, and the Royal shrine dedicated to Siva Virupaksha, lay behind the Durbar hall, flanked by the Royal living quarters, from the terrace of which the Emperor had a daily glimpse of the broad sweep of the Tungabhadra, guarding this Warden of the Hindu Marches, standing four square against the cruel menace of Islam. Abdul Razak (1443) credits the King with an army of over a million soldiers, aided by a large cavalry and 1000 elephants.

Vijayanagar was not wedded to the spartan ethic of our ancient Niti-Sastras; it revelled in merriment and social eclat; ornamentation and luxury were its way of life. Visitors from other lands were wonder-struck at the wealth displayed in the bazaars; in the jewellery of the upper classes, richly set with pearls, rubies, emeralds and diamonds. Even the less well-to-do wore ornaments of some sort. As regards the Royal appointments, words would fail to render adequate justice to their unbelievable splendour. Deva Raya I (1406) had 12000 female servants in the palace, of whom four thousand were drilled and well-armed bodyguards, trained in archery on horseback; there were others who were musicians, dancers, wrestlers or acrobats. The Queens and their entourage rode in palanquins all covered with scarlet silk, tasselled with large and heavy work in pearls, the poles and body work being plated in gold and inlaid with ivory. The personal adornment of the Royal ladies was such as to beggar description. Even the Devadasis wore resplendent jewellery. Says a European writer: “Who can describe the great riches which these women of the temples carry on their person? Collars of gold with so many diamonds, rubies and pearls, bracelets on upper and lower arms, girdles of gold and anklets on feet”. The dazzling splendour of the Court and the noblesse was evidenced in certain incidents. When Deva Raya’s daughter’s nuptials (with Firuz, Sultan of Bahmani) were being conducted, a forty-day festivity was organised at Vijayanagar, “which surpassed in splendour any such event in previous history”. Over fourteen miles of the road (from the palace to the Moslem camp), stalls and booths were set up, loaded
with merchandise of all nations; there were continual displays of buffoonery, acrobatics, dancing and juggling; priests and pandits from all over India gathered on the road to discourse and to entertain; from the Citadel gate to the outer gateway, a distance of six miles, the whole road was spread over with cloth of gold thread, velvet, satin and plush; handsome youths and maidens in gala dress lined the entire route, all holding gold or silver plates containing incense and flowers made of silver leaf which were strewn on the road, to be picked up by the motley crowd of both religions following the groom's party.

The nuptial apartment (as described by a Portuguese eye-witness) was made of lattice work set with rubies, diamonds, and other navaratna, the lattices being interwoven with thick ropes of pearls. The dome of the room was similarly embellished with two large pendants, heart-shaped and glowing with gold and gems. The bed was made of bars of wood covered over with gold and studded with precious stones and guarded by a railing made entirely of pearl ropes; the mattress was of black velvet with cushions to match. The palace halls, supported by marvellously carved pillars, were panelled in ivory, with ivory flowers pendent from the roof, and adorned with paintings hung on the walls, showing the life and manners of various peoples in India.

About the Emperor himself (Deva Raya II, 1440), the Persian ambassador said, "The King dresses in a robe of green satin; around his neck is a collar of large pearls of beautiful water and splendid gems. He is tall and rather thin with no beard. He is dignified with a pleasing expression." Varthema adds: "His horse is worth more than some of our cities, on account of the ornament which it wears". Living in the Empire was cheap; goods were plentiful and famines were rarely known. The rich produce of the soil and the products of the skilled artisans filled the markets and poured out through some three hundred sea-ports in exchange for goods from all round the Indian Ocean, from Egypt and Abyssinia, across to Java, Siam and China. "The Bahmani Sultans remained both poorer and smaller," remarks Adam Watson (The War of the Goldsmiths' Daughter) who, adds that on one occasion Deva Raya I (1406) paid an indemnity of a million golden hoons (equal to almost £2 millions) without seriously depleting his treasury, in addition to a large quantity of pearls, fifty elephants and two thousand male and female servants, singers,
dancers and acrobats, for whom Vijayanagar was justly famous! (Few rulers in the Western world could have found such a sum in 1400 A.D. without running into bankruptcy. About this year the English King (Henry IV) had to pledge some royal weapons, furniture and dress, to raise a few thousand pounds from the Italian moneylenders in London.)*

I suggest, however, that while Vijayanagar was fantastically rich, Angkor Dham was richer still. It could afford to build not only life-size statues in gold of gods, men and animals, but also plate in precious metals whole temples, including the gigantic gopuras. In this respect, the only rivals of the Khmers were the far-away Incas, whose palaces had roofs of golden reed, whose walls in the royal apartments and in the temples were covered over with gold and silver plates, and whose gardens were filled with numerous life-size images of animals and birds made of pure yellow metal!

* The people were generally happy in this Hindu Empire except for the calamities of war., which were not infrequent. There was equity in law and security under government. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri observes (History of South India, P. 298): “The police system was fairly efficient, the rule being that whenever a theft occurred, the property was either recovered and restored, or the loss made good by the Police officials! (This is based on our Dharmasastras, as explained elsewhere.)...... In towns the streets were patrolled regularly at night and the police arrangements at the capital were particularly efficient and received the commendation of foreign observers like Abdul Razak. Justice was administered by a hierarchy of courts, the Emperor’s sabha (or State Council) being the highest appellate authority...... The Smriti of Yagnavalkya and Madhava’s great commentary on Parasara’s Code commanded special authority on the decision of doubtful legal points”— Minor offences and violations of trade rules were dealt with by the Grama Panchayats and the guild organizations. The reader will doubtless compare the socio-legal situation at Vijayanagar with that obtaining in far-off Hindu kingdoms in South East Asia. He will also, naturally, contrast it with the sorry state of affairs prevailing in contemporary England, some details of which have been mentioned in another chapter.
CHAPTER V

THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST: SHYAMARASHTRA AND MALAYADVIPA

A. SHYAMARASHTRA

In a previous chapter we saw the grandeur that was Kamboja; at its height, the Kambojan Empire covered the whole of South-East Asia, east of the Salween and south of Jenam or the Kwangsi province of China proper*. It had extensive maritime activities, and its most important seaport was Takkola (Var Kakkola or Teou-Kiu-li of the Chinese texts), which also figures in Ptolemy’s geography as a very important trading post, situated near the Isthmus of Kra.

The early history of the country now known as Siam (Thailand) is inextricably mixed up with that of Kamboja. The valley of the river Menam (‘full of fish’) formed an integral part of the Kambojan Empire for many centuries, practically from the dawn of history till about 900 A.D.; after this date the whole valley was divided into a number of petty chieftainships, owing allegiance to Kamboja. The two most important of those principalities were known as Sien and Lohou to the Chinese (Sanskrit: Shyam and Lava).‡ The Champan inscriptions occasionally refer to prisoner-capturing raids into these petty regions of Shyam and Lava. In the endless galleries of Angkor Thom, there are some scenes relevant to these small states. One scene with the caption “Sri Jayasimhavarman Vrah Kamvathen” shows the king leading the troops of Lava (Lavo in Pali) into the forests. Two other bas-reliefs show some troops labelled as “Shyam Kut”. It is clear that the Sien and Lohou of the Chinese texts and the Shyam and the Lava of the Sanskrit inscriptions were the same. (Lava was subsequently known as Lophaburi.)

* Tonking excepted  ‡ Modern Laos.
The modern kingdom of Siam (Thailand) forms a substantial portion of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The aboriginal population was, as we have seen earlier, partly Shyam (called in Burmese ‘Shan’) and partly Lava (Lohou in Chinese). The Shyams later called themselves Thais (literally, Daya or ‘compassionate’) and claimed to have descended into the Menam river basin from Tibet. There is no confirmation of a Tibetan origin for the Thai race, but during historical times they seem to have occupied the Yunnan Valley, with its capital city of Nan-Chou (or Gandhara), which was then ruled over by a Brahmin dynasty of kings from India. Gradually the Chinese pushed out the Thais from Yunnan and forced them to move southward into the regions watered by the Menam river.

Historically, Siam is the youngest of the states in Indo-China, and for a long time the region now comprising Siam was part of the Kambojan Empire. The Siamese, of course, have their own myths and legends, some of which attribute the founding of the Thai State to some disciples of Lord Buddha; as is usual in such cases, there are few facts to support the myth, and it must be assumed that the Thais had no independent State for themselves till the 13th century A.D., although they tried very hard to shake off the yoke of Kamboja from time to time.

The early history of Siam is the history of three kingdoms, with their capitals at Sukhodaya, Ayodhya and Pankaja (Bangkok), respectively. The origin of these kingdoms is bestrewn with legends, one of which states that a Chinese prince was the founder of the first line of kings. The story runs as follows:

“These exiles (allegedly from Tibet) tried to populate uninhabited countries and to extend their power. They travelled first through the land of Champa, after that Cambodia, from where they sailed with their boats into the Gulf of Siam. They first landed at the cape now called Cuy, settled down there and built a town, and to show their thankfulness to the gods erected a fine temple and many pyramids... At last the place Judia was found, where at that time there stood only a small temple (which is still existing) and where seven hermits were living, who resembled each other exactly, and were all children of parents who had also the same appearance.” Obviously, this story is a piece of Chinese fabrication, especially since the name of Judia is a mislection for Ayodhya. The fact is that the original Thai race
was in an extremely primitive state of culture during the time when the Aryans marched to the East; and Thailand was being constantly colonised by immigrants from India with the approval and support of the Kambojan kings. It is a misreading of history to assume that Indian influence came late to Siam. In actuality this country formed part of Kamboja for many centuries and as such was practically a minor Hindu colony from the first century A.D. onwards. Besides, the Yunnan or Nan Chou territory to the north was already under Aryan rule, a dynasty of Brahmin kings (that of Gandhara) being established there before the Christian era, as we have already seen in a previous chapter. To the south of Gandhara was the Hindu Kingdom of Malava (or Lava) with its capitals at Vijayan (now called Vientienne) and Chudamanagari or Lava Prabha (Laung Prabhang). The Shan or Thai people were therefore under strong and persistent Aryan influence, both within and outside their original habitat, from the very beginnings of their history.

Although the story of the Siamese nation before the 13th century is rather difficult to unravel (because they had no national status at the time), the picture is much clearer after this date when the Thai people were able to shake off the Kambojan overlordship and set up independent kingdoms for themselves. About this time the power of Kamboja received a severe setback, with the result that in a comparatively short period the rule of the Khmer kings got extinguished, and even their magnificent capital had to be abandoned. It is alleged this was due to a Tartar invasion of Kamboja at the close of the 13th century, but this seems improbable, as explained elsewhere. It is established, however, that Kublai Khan’s forces invaded Nan Chou and annexed the whole of the Yunnan Valley. We have also seen that both Tonking and Champa were overrun by the Tartars and the Pagan dynasty of Indo-Burman kings was uprooted at the same time. It is possible that Kamboja might have received some unwelcome attention from the Mongolian hordes, in which case the political hegemony of Kamboja over the Menam Valley would have been somewhat shaken, though not fatally dislodged; this might have, however, given a fillip to the ambitious Thais, who were ever athirst for a

* I have already indicated in the preceding chapter that Kamboja successfully defied the Mongols and never accepted Chinese suzerainty.
national State and never ceased paying diplomatic court to the Celestials, when it suited their own aims.

The name Thai is derived from Sanskrit Daya (i.e. compassionate) and the Siamese called their country round the Menam basin ‘Muang Thai’ or the land of the Thais. (The Kambojans called it Shyamarashtra for obvious reasons.) From ethnological data it is surmised that the aboriginal Thais were not of pure stock but a fusion of several Austronesian strains, the Lavas, the Khmers and the Shyams. The upper strata became, in course of time, strongly Aryan by blood, as the physical characteristics of the well-to-do Siamese (olive complexion, red lips, and fine well-formed features) reveal to-day.*

The early history of Siam has to be reconstructed mainly from inscriptions and archaeological remains, hundreds of which have been discovered by archaeologists. The inscriptions have been classified by the learned Professor P.N. Bose, thus:

1. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Dvaravati, 6th-8th century A.D.—Pali and Mon.
2. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Srivijaya, 8th—12th century — Sanskrit and Khmer.
4. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Haripunjaya, 12th—13th century — Pali and Mon.
5. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Sukhodaya, 13th—16th century — Pali and Siamese.
6. Inscriptions of the kingdom of Yonaka (in the north-west), 14th—16th century — Pali and Mon.
7. Inscriptions of the dynasties of Ayodhya and Bangkok, post-fourteenth century — Pali and Siamese.

The archaeological data are also considerable; one noteworthy feature of Siamese architecture (especially sacerdotal) is that the style (adopted and adapted from Khmer) of the 14th century Ayodhya, persists even to-day in the same manner that temple architecture in India has undergone few radical transformations in the past two thousand years. The Siamese chronicles (of a very

* Many princely and noble families in Siam claim unbroken descent from Brahmin families of Indian origin. The King, of course, traces his own ancestry to Ayodhya and Sri Rama; all Siamese monarchs adopt the name of Rama on ascending the throne.
late date (i.e., 17th century onwards) called Vamsavadans, are also of considerable utility. The ubiquitous Chinese chronicles help, as usual, to fill the gaps or to clear up doubtful chronology. The contemporary records of neighbouring sovereigns (Burman, Javanese, Sinhalese, etc.) and the writings of foreign travellers, mostly Chinese and European, supplement other available information.

The Aryans came into Shyamarashtra mostly by sea. Often times they sailed round the Malay peninsula and up the Menam and the Mekong rivers; occasionally they must have travelled via the Isthmus of Kra, where some South Indian colonies of very ancient date appear to have been established. One was at Ligor on the Gulf of Siam, the place being then known as Sri Dharmaraja Nagara. Strangely enough, there is an inscription in Tamil of such a colony with a date of 8th century A.D. The inscription was discovered by Gerini near old Ta-kuapa (Takopa) on the bed of a river in the Isthmus. The mutilated writing is in archaic Tamil and reads as follows:

(L. 1) .......of (Bhaska) ravarman.......the hoops of the team of oxen touching our boundary (?). Prosperity!
(L. 4) Naranam (is) the refuge of the members of Manigramam and of the members of the detachment and of the bowmen (?).

Professor Bose thinks that Naranam refers to a Vaishnavaite shrine and the word 'Manigramam' refers to a Trading Corporation. He considers that the Tamil inscription had been put up by some soldiers who had arrived by sea to guard the shrine and perhaps also the trading-post established nearby. Prof. Nila kanta Sastri is in agreement with this view and thinks that the expedition must have been sent by the principals of the Trading Corporation which had its headquarters in Madura. [It is noteworthy that there was a place called Manigramam near Madura in those days. Ptolemy in his map places Manigramam (which he calls Maagrammmum) in Taprobane i.e., Ceylon].

The ancient Indian colonies in Indo-China have been grouped by M. Fournereau into six categories as below:

1. Yavana desa
2. Champa desa
3. Kamboja desa
4. Syama desa
(5) Ramanyadesa, and
(6) Malayadesa.

Yavana desa was apparently near the Tonking area, with Chudamanagari as its capital. We have seen that the capital of Champadesa was Champapuri, near the Tonking border. Kambojadesa was, of course, the famous State which ultimately grew up to be, for some time, the most important kingdom in South-East Asia. Shyamadesa is easily identified; at one time it extended up to the borders of Manipur and Assam, and its ancient capital was probably Haripunyapura (Lamphum). Ramanyadesa comprised the districts of Pegu and parts of Lower Burma. Malayadesa was practically the same as the Malay Peninsula of recent history.

It may be worthwhile at this stage to give a list of some important cities founded by the Aryan immigrants, with their present names, as stated in the Siamese chronicles. (The distribution of these cities shows the wide area colonised by the newcomers from Arayavarta.)

Sri Dharmaraja Nagara — (modern) Nakhon Ligor
Rajapuri — Ratpuri
Ayodhya — Ayuthia
Navapura — Lophaburi
Vijaya — Phixai
Sajjanalaya — Kampheng phet
Sukhodaya — Sukhothai
Chudamanagari — Luang Prabang
Hamsavati — Hancavadi or Pegu
Vichitrapura or Vicitra — Phixiter
Sangkaloka — Sangkalok
Uttaratirtha — Uttaradith
Haripunyapura — Lamphum
Nagara Dham — Angkor Thom
Champapura — Campa, now in Vietnam
Vyadhapura — Angkor Baurey
Ugrapura or Agrapura — Phnom Bachey
Huma (Uma ?) Nagara — Phanrang, i.e. Panduranga

Some controversy exists, particularly among Indian historians, as to the source from which the Aryan colonists hailed, and claims have been made, perhaps on subjective considerations, in favour of North or South India, as the case may be. Majumdar thinks
that East India (particularly Gauda, with its port of Tamralipti) had a large claim in these ‘forward’ maritime excursions. Professor P. N. Bose leaves the matter more open and holds that the bulk of the colonists might have come from all parts of India, using both the sea and the overland routes. He concedes, however, that “the majority of the artists might have come from South India, because the style of architecture prevalent in Kamboja Desa is Dravidian...”. It was possible for the artists from South India to cross over the sea, when coming to the coast of Indo-China”. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is emphatically in favour of giving South India high precedence over the rest of India. He mentions particularly the following factors as favouring this point of view:

1. The spread of the Nagi legend (i.e. the story of the leading immigrant marrying a local Naga princess) should be from South India, where it was often cited in literature;

2. The Saivism of Indo-China has much in common with the Saiva Siddhanta cults in Chola and Pandya Desas;

3. The ‘Varman’ endings for the monarchs’ names in South-East Asia is traceable to Pallava and Pandyan regal practice;

4. The style of architecture, especially in Champa and Kamboja, bears a very close resemblance to that at Badami, Conjeevaram and Mamallapuram;

5. The use of the Saka era in the Indo-Chinese inscriptions emanated from the Indian peninsula;

6. Most of all, the practice of recognising right-hand and left-hand castes in Fou-Nan (Kamboja) is essentially an off-shoot of the very system prevalent in South India at that time. All these grounds, Prof. Sastri points out, “raise a strong presumption in favour of a South Indian origin of the principal cultural elements”. The Agastya-Koundinya stories also reinforce the view taken by Prof. Sastri, as I have already suggested. Finally, the script used in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa, Kamboja, etc., is distinctly South Indian.

The arguments of Majumdar (which run contrary to the opinion expressed by distinguished philologists like Burnell, Kern, Barth and latterly Finot and Vogel) seem to lack conviction. To quote Brian Harrison, “The use of the grantha script of Southern India in most of the Sanskrit inscriptions gives a clue to the main homeland of the overseas Indians of South-East Asia, in this early period. The Cholas of South India had a major share in the trade with South-East Asia during the second and

* Also in Indonesia.
third centuries (A.D.), and from the fourth century onwards, the Pallavas of the Coromandel coast came to the fore as the Indians with the greatest influence in that region. The establishment of a great Hinayana Buddhist centre at Kancheepuram must have given a fresh impetus to the spread of Buddhism across the Bay of Bandon. We may conclude, therefore, that the evidence is strongly in favour of the theory that the Aryans who went abroad to South-East Asia, perhaps from the 6th century B.C. onwards, came mainly from South India and that the culture, art and religion which were thus exported were essentially South Indian in character.

The religion which the Aryans brought with them was the neo-Vedic version, usually called Brahmanic, in which the Trimurtis were given the place of honour, even though the rituals and sacrifices, which were the normal concomitants of orthodox Hindu life, profusely utilised the usual hymns and litanies in which the well-known Vedic gods were the objects of adoration and entreaty. The temples which were built for Siva and Vishnu in some places in South-East Asia were even more magnificent than the best in the Indian homeland. The art which created these splendid edifices was purely Indian, since the local artisans were trained, guided and inspired by Aryan experts. As Prof. Bose observes, “It is vain to expect such marvellous works of art from the Khmers, the natives of Kamboja. It was not even possible for them to conceive of such grand monuments. With the colonists came bands of Indian architects who trained the local artists”.

With the decline of Kamboja, Siamese nationalism raised its head. By 1200 A.D., the Thais had become powerful enough to hoist the standard of independence. In the vivid phraseology of Prof. Bose, “On the ruins of the Indian colony of Kamboja rose up another Indian colony, viz., that of Shyama Desa”. The first principality thus to proclaim its freedom was that of Dvaravati, which was restyled ‘Ayodhya’ to suit the pretensions of the rulers, who boldly claimed descent from the much-venerated Suryavamsa of Puranic fame. (Even to-day this claim is sustained by the Siamese sovereigns, who invariably assume the name of Sri Rama on ascending the throne). The earliest historical ruler was Indra Aditya, apparently of Indian descent. With his coming to power (circa 1220 A.D.), the hold of Saivism got relaxed and the creed
of Siddartha began to dominate the Court. Buddhist missionaries of the Hinayana school came over in large numbers, mostly from Ceylon, and they brought with them Pali literature and canonical works. Siva was dethroned by Buddha, with a consequential loss in architectural merit, owing to the sudden disappearance of the imported skill which could not adjust itself to the newfangled faith. The Buddhist pagodas of Siam, although impressive in size, are not notable for their graceful art or technical excellence. An air of decadence slowly crept into the world of sacerdotal building, which had seen such poems in stone as Angkor Vat and Bhamyan. Where occasionally one sees a strikingly handsome statue of Thatagata in Siam today, one can be sure that it is a left-over of late Kambojan art, which in its widely catholic spirit never disdained to serve the ninth avatar of Vishnu!

To return to the history of Shyamarashtra. As already stated, we have to deal with the career of three principalities, viz., those of Sukhodaya, Ayodhya, and Pankaja, which simultaneously or in turn, ruled over parts of modern Siam, from 1200 A.D. onwards. King Indraditya of Sukhodaya (who also called himself Sri Surya Dharma Rajadhiraja) initiated a dynasty which lasted from 1218 A.D. to 1376 A.D. Indraditya’s wife, Lady Suran (Suryan), had two living sons, Bab Muran (Warden of the Realm) and Rama Raja. Indraditya had apparently a long reign, and when he died the elder son succeeded him; but soon after he also left the land of the living without any issue. Rama Raja was the third ruler in the dynasty, and he came to the throne some time before 1283 A.D. As a junior prince and as heir-apparent, he had done signal service to the State as an army commander. As a monarch, his reign was one of the most distinguished, in the comparatively short annals of Siam. Rama Raja has left a long inscription dated 1293 A.D., which, in all its charming naiveté and sincerity, makes impressive reading, despite occasional touches of bathos. To quote:

“When I grew up reaching nineteen rice-harvests, Khun Sam Chon (Prince of Three Peoples), Lord of Muang Chawt, came to Muang Tak. My father went to fight Khun Sam Chon by the right. Khun Sam Chon pressed on to meet him by the left. Khun Sam Chon charged in force. My father’s people fled in haste, broken and scattered. I fled not. I bestrode the elephant Neka Phon (Host of Warriors). I urged him into the
melee in front of my father. I engaged Khun Sam Chon in elephant-duel. I myself thrust Khun Sam Chon's elephant—the one called Mat Muang (Kingdom's Treasure), so that he was worsted. Khun Sam Chon was vanquished and fled.

"My father, therefore, raised my name to the title Phra Khun Ram Khambaeng, because I thrust Khun Sam Chon's elephant.

"During my father's time, I was support and stay unto my father, I was support and stay unto my mother. If I got the body of a deer or the body of a fish, I brought it to my father. If I got any fruit, tart or sweet, that I ate and relished, ate and found good, I brought it to my father. If I went to hunt elephants, and got them, I brought them to my father. If I went to hamlets or towns, and got elephants, got elephant's trunks, got slaves, got damsels, got silver, got gold, I brought and left them with my father."

Rama Raja who was also called Rama the Brave, is credited with introducing a separate script for the Thai language; till then the Thais had apparently no written characters for their language, all the earlier inscriptions being either in Pali or Sanskrit, written in the South Indian script. As the King says simply in his famed inscription, "Heretofore, there were no strokes of Siamese writing. In 1205 of the era (Saka), the year of the Goat (Aja), Prince Khun Ram Khambaeng sought and desired in his heart, and put into use these strokes of Siamese writing. And so these strokes of Siamese writing are, because that Prince put them to use." These improvised "strokes" have grown with the modern Siamese alphabet and language, which language "tries to express a speech with tones* in the alphabet". This speech, consisting as it does of heterogeneous elements, is cut up indiscriminately by the Siamese into monosyllables in the Chinese fashion, while speaking. That the 'strokes' of Rama Raja were mainly derived from the Kambojan script has been ably established by Prof. Bradley, though some influence of the Mon i.e., Talaing, lipi (also Indian) is discernible.

In the words of D.G.E. Hall, "The lynch-pin of Rama the Brave's policy was the maintenance of cordial relations with China. As the director of a splinter movement in the Khmer Empire, he had the full approval of China". He seems to have

* The same word, spoken in different tones or accents, carries different meanings.
personally visited Canton, and started the ceramic industry in Siam with Chinese help. Rama Raja was also a considerable builder. In his time Sukhodaya was a growing town, with walls all round and teeming with Buddhist scholars and seminaries. The king administered unconventional justice; he hung a bell before his palace, which any aggrieved party could ring and ask for a royal probe into his plaint. In Rama Raja’s time, the Sukhodaya kingdom extended from the Mekong in the east to Hamsavati (or Pegu) in the west. Rama Raja had a long and prosperous reign, but the date of his demise is not definitely known. He was succeeded by his brother Hridaya Jaya Jyeshta, and he in 1355 A.D. by his son, Uparaja Sri Dharmaraja, who, on his consecration by the Brahmins and the Mantris, assumed the name of Sri Surya Vamsa Rama with the surname of Dharmika Rajadhiraja. A panegyric inscription of this king has survived, in Kambojan script, from which it would apppear that he had to put down a palace revolt before ascending the throne. His reign saw both the Hindu and Buddhist religions flourishing in the kingdom, although he himself was a devout Buddhist, and something of a lay preacher. He claims to have been a great scholar and an expert in astronomy. A huge statue of Buddha in panchaloha was cast in his time, but the king, with conspicuous impartiality, installed similar images of Parameswara and Vishnu with perpetual endowments to maintain the Brahmin temple ministrants. 1361 was a great year in his reign, as it marked the visit, at his invitation, of Mahâswâmi Sangarâja, a great silâcharya of Ceylon. This Pontiff was received with due honours and installed in a special vihara built for him and his disciples. In due course the king assumed the yellow robe in the presence of the Mahaswami, with the following public ‘confession of faith’ inscribed in a long Pali stele, dated 1905 after the parinirvana of Buddha (i.e. of date 1361 A.D.).

“As phala punya, I thus enter into the religion of our Lord Buddha. I do not either desire Cakravartisampatti or Indrasampatti or Brahmashampatti. I want only to be a Buddha to aid the beings in traversing the three sorts of existence, namely, kamabhava = sensual existence, rupabhava = corporeal existence, and arupabhava = incorporeal existence.”

The king’s preoccupation with matters religious led to such administrative chaos that he was persuaded by the Maha-
swami to discard the mendicant's robe and reassume regal authority. Towards the end of his reign the Thai people marched down into the Menam basin and set up another Principality with its capital at Ayodhya (circa 1350 A.D.), after overthrowing the Kambojan authority in the area.

The new kingdom soon eclipsed Sukhodaya, and after the reign of Sri Suryavamsa, Ayodhya became the centre of Siamese rule. A fresh dynasty rose to power, whose history is recorded in a detailed Pali inscription of the 17th century, called Sankshepa Vamsavadan (short genealogy), covering the period from 1350 A.D. to 1604 A.D., during which period the history of Siam was but the history of the Ayodhya kingdom. It was during this dynasty that Ayodhya, besides becoming the suzerain of Sukhodaya, gained control of upper, middle and lower Menam, and much of the Malay Peninsula to boot, including Tenasserim and Tavoy.

The first king of Ayodhya (which is situated quite some miles north of modern Bangkok) was Ramadhipati I surnamed Suvarnadola, who reigned for 19 years (till 1369 A.D.). His son Rameswara, who had only a short spell on the throne, was succeeded by Paramaraja, a maternal uncle and apparently a usurper, who seems to have ruled for 18 years. Buddhism gained great influence in his reign, the Pontiff being given the title of Paramaguru, in addition to those of Sangharaja and Mahaswamin, which were conferred on his predecessors. In 1388 A.D. Paramaraja was succeeded by his son Suvarna Chandra, who reigned for only 7 days, when the throne was usurped by Rameswara, probably an uncle, who stayed in power till 1394, when his son Rama Rajadhiraja ascended the gaddi. (At this period Sukhodaya was formally annexed by Ayodhya.) The last-named king was very devout and joined the Sangha with the following objectives, which vividly portray the state of mind of the ruler:

"As for me, I desire to attain bodhisambhara. If this bodhisambhara is refused to me, I want to be born in my future incarnations in a state of wisdom and perfection, free from all maladies. All the merit I have acquired I give in part to my guru-upadhyaya, to my parents, to my brother, to the princes and to all beings, so that they may enjoy the consequences of meritorious acts which I have gained in the devotion to the cult of Buddha."
These pious words of Rama Raja, ringing with humility and humanitarianism, seem to recall the more famous edicts of the other great Buddhist monarch, Asokavardhana, who ruled the land of the Sakya Muni seventeen hundred years earlier. Rama Raja, who had only a short stay on the throne, died in 1397, when his maternal uncle seized power and ruled for 20 years, i.e., till 1417. The next king was Parama Rajadhiraja (Boramoraja II), a junior son of the usurper, who also ruled for 20 years. He apparently made a raid against Angkor Thom in 1432, but his attempt to place a Siamese puppet on the Kambu throne was a failure. Paramaraja is remarkable also for one achievement, viz., the setting up of a very artistic Buddha-pada (Feet of Buddha) at Sukhodaya, for which purpose he brought a piece of stone from Adam’s Peak in Ceylon (where there was a well-known Ratna-pada of very ancient date). The King had sculptured below the sacred feet, a procession of monks numbering 80, representing the 80 reputed disciples of the Lord, including Moggalana and Sariputta. The reign of Paramaraja is also noteworthy for the fact that in a battle waged by the Siamese forces in a war in the north-west (probably against Chudamanagari), artillery is stated to have been used by both sides (circa 1420 A.D.).

The next king was Parama Trilokanatha (1437-1457), a son of the previous ruler, who voluntarily abdicated the throne after a rule of 20 years, in favour of his son Indra Raja (1457-1494). The latter made successful incursions into Kamboja and was probably more responsible than any one else for the abandonment of the brilliant city of Angkor Thom by the Khmer rulers. A successful attack on Malacca is also claimed on his behalf. It must be mentioned at this stage that there is a discrepancy of some years between the chronology maintained by the Khmer rulers and those of contemporary Siam. For instance, the Kambojan records indicate that Indraraja’s invasion occurred in 1420 A.D., while he did not ascend the throne till 1457 A.D. according to Siamese chronicles. Similarly, his successor Ramadhipati (circa 1500-1529 A.D.) is credited with a fatally successful attack on Angkor Thom in 1432 A.D. by the Kambojan records. This does not fit in with the Siamese order of events, unless we assume that, as was customary, Ramadhipati made the assault on Angkor Thom

* D.G.E. Hall gives the dates 1448—1488 for Trilokanatha.
when he was Uparaja, i.e., Crown Prince and Commander-in-chief. It must be conceded, however, that the Siamese texts indicate some confusion both in point of dates and in genealogy, when dealing with the regnancy of the kings from Nagara-Indira to Ramadhipati. It is very likely that some reigns had been erroneously lengthened in the Siamese Vamsavadans and on this assumption the Khmer dates should be more generally acceptable to historians. Even with this caveat the discrepancy in the respective eras (a matter of twenty or thirty years) is not satisfactorily explainable.

According to the Kambojan annals, the contemporaries of the Siamese King Ramadhipati would be the Kambu kings Ang Chan (Anga Chandra ?) and his son, Barom Raccha (Parama Raja). The former allegedly refused the customary tribute of a white elephant to the Ayodhyam monarch, and when he was attacked in 1510 A.D. by Ramadhipati, the latter was inflicted a severe defeat. This treatment was repeated in 1524, but Anga Chandra thought it prudent to shift his capital from Angkor Thom to Lovak (circa 1530 A.D.), thus completing the eclipse of the great city renowned in legend and history. Meanwhile in Siam, Ramadhipati had been succeeded by Samatika Buddhankara (1529-1534), who, in his turn, was followed by a succession of shadowy figures (Kumara, Jayaraja Sri, and his son Bayatta), who ruled the kingdom from 1534 to 1547. In 1548 Viradhinaraja, a nephew of Jayaraja Sri, came to the throne and held on to it till 1563, facing various vicissitudes.

This king had the signal misfortune of having to meet two Burmese invasions. The relations between the two States had been till then none too cordial, and things came to a head in 1548 when an apparently unprovoked attack was made on the Burmese province of Tavoy by a large Siamese force, supported by cavalry and elephants. Tavoy was captured by the Thais, but in a lightning counterthrust, the Burmese king, Mantra Sweti, worsted the invaders and drove them pell-mell back to their own borders. The following year Sweti undertook large-scale reprisals on Ayodhya, which was invested by a considerable army recruited from Hamsavati (Pegu). The Crown Prince and the son-in-law of the Siamese king were captured by the Burmese, and Viradhinaraja had to sue for peace, on the promise of a large indemnity and the surrender of Tenasserim. Following this debacle, the king of Ayodhya got dispirited and abdicated the throne in favour of
his son and became a monk. Maha Mahindra, the successor ruler, was again involved in a cataclysmic dispute with Burma. On the pretext of capturing some white elephants, a large Burmese army invaded Ayodhyyan territory and surrounded the capital. After a siege which witnessed many horrors, the city surrendered and the whole royal family was taken captive to Pegu, except the Crown Prince, Brahma Indra, who was proclaimed feudatory ruler of Ayodhya (1563-1568). The deposed Siamese king, after he was liberated on the pretext that he was taking holy orders, soon began an intrigue against his late captors. A third Burmese invasion was the result. In 1568 Ayodhya was again overwhelmed and systematically put to the sack. The entire royal family was exterminated, except for Prince Maha Dharmaraja Siddharatna, who was installed as a puppet king by the victorious Burmese. Siddharatna reigned for 22 years; his tenure is notable for an act of rank ingratitude, which has perhaps few parallels in history. The Kambojan king, Swetavarman, had responded to the pathetic appeal for help from Ayodhya by sending a sizable contingent from Lovek, which, however, could not avert, although it somewhat delayed, the final capture of the Siamese capital. The puppet ruler Siddharatna (or his son Narassaraja, according to some Pali texts) repaid the help given to him at a time of critical necessity, by invading Kamboja (circa 1585) with a large army of "100,000 men, 800 elephants and 2000 horses". The then Khmer ruler, Jayachitta, was beaten and forced to suffer another amputation of his already attenuated territories. In this process Lovek was mercilessly plundered, its magnificent library burnt, and many statues and shrines wantonly disfigured. According to a Siamese boast, their king bathed his feet in the blood of the Kambu ruler, who was cruelly put death in the presence of the graceless invader.

The successors of Siddharatna continued to rule, with varying fortunes, at Ayodhya for nearly two centuries, i.e., till 1767. With their reputation shattered by successive defeats at the hands of the Burmese, the Thai kings had but a fraction of their earlier prestige and power. There was a succession of undistinguished rulers like Rameswara (1605), Indra Raja (1610), and Adityavamsa (1628). In the last-mentioned king's reign, European traders obtained a lodgement in the kingdom, and as may be expected, Christian missions came in their wake. During the reigns
of the subsequent rulers, the Dutch staked their claim on this rich and pleasant land, as did the Portuguese and the English, who were allowed admission at the instance of a French minister named Constance Faulcon, then serving under King Vara Narayana (Phra-Narain). In a palace revolution following the death of Phra Narain, the Frenchman was killed, and a usurper called Petiacha came to the throne (1688), but he was soon expelled. We may pass over the remaining kings of Ayodhya, who were not men of great stature and who, in their ineptitude and quarrelsome ness paved the way to the downfall of the dynasty already weakened under constant Burmese aggression, and by internal strife and palace intrigues. The Kingdom of Ayodhya, which had lasted several centuries, slowly tottered towards its fall. The final coup de grace was given, as could be presumed, by the ever-greedy Burmese, who, seeing that they were fellow-Buddhists and had already reaped the full measure of their revenge, had little moral justification to uproot this ancient Royalty. In 1767 a quarrel was provoked and a large Burmese army, itching for spoils, encircled Ayodhya and completely overwhelmed the defenders. The city was looted of all its wealth, and even temples and monasteries were not spared. In the confusion which followed this catastrophe, the throne was seized for a time by a Chinaman, who rallied the defeated forces and drove the Burmese from the soil of Siam and shifted the seat of government to Pankaja (Bangkok). The adventurer was, however, deposed in 1782 by a popular revolution, and the present dynasty, under its founder, King Chao Phaya Chakkri (Jaya Vyuha Chakra), came to power. This Royal line still continues in authority, though of late the real power seems to have passed into the hands of military cliques and venal army commanders. The Sovereign is, however, highly venerated by the people.

**History of Art in Siam**

The early art in Thailand was essentially Kambojan, as Siam had no independent existence till the 13th century. As a consequence, the art was purely Hindu and even Buddha sometimes appeared as an avatar of Vishnu. The remains of Cambodian art in Siam are numerous, and the valley of the Menam is full of Khmer inscriptions in Sanskrit. The province of Chantaban, especially, abounds in Hindu artifacts, thus indicating its colonis-
sation by the Aryans at an unknown but very ancient date; from the 9th century onwards, this province was part of the Khambu empire. Lobhpuri also falls in the same category, as Brahmin sanctuaries have been traced extensively here. The monuments at Sukhoodya also bear strong characteristics of Indo-Kambojan art. The temples are laid out according to Indian sastraic formulae, with stupas and lingas set up in the regulation manner. Other examples of early Kambojan building technique are also found at Muang Sing and Pechapuri. At certain other places in Siam are noticed monuments which bear a closer resemblance to the Champan style of building than to those of Khambu Desa. In other words, the structures show more South Indian and Hindu characteristics than even the Kambojan shrines themselves, which always had an overlay of Buddhist motifs.

The later Siamese architecture and sculpture show the dominant influence of Buddhism. The images of the Sakyamuni resemble those of the Gandhara school, although the influence of Amaravati is also noticeable. The sculptures can be broadly divided into two groups; those obviously executed by Indian artists, revealing much classical refinement and technical elegance; and those seemingly fashioned by local artisans, whose inferiority in form and finish cannot escape notice. That there were numerous silpas brought over from India and Ceylon is evidenced by the inscriptions as well as by references in the later texts. Certain figures of Hindu gods (e.g. the famous Nataraja in the ‘tandava’ pose) bear the mark of South Indian craftsmanship. As Sri P. N. Bose observes, “The artist (in these cases) was an Indian, probably South Indian. He has reproduced the exact copy of Nataraja Siva dancing the cosmic dance. It is purely Indian...... so also the image of Sakyamuni sitting cross-legged, resembling the Gupta statues in North India.”

**Religion of Siam**

Siam today is Buddhist at all levels, and in fact the faith of the Sakyamuni is the State religion. But this cult is essentially Indian in character, as it passed from India through Ceylon and Kamboja along with the Pali language and literature. As already mentioned, prior to the emergence of an independent Thai State, the land was under strong Hindu influence, particularly from the Aryan colonies in the Isthmus of Kra and Lower Burma. When
in 422 A.D. some Buddhist monks came to Siam from Kamboja, they made little headway against Brahminism. Later on, when Sukhodaya became independent, the Sramana faith began to take firm root, with royal protection and support. We have seen the kings inviting distinguished silacharyas from abroad, particularly from Ceylon and Kanchi. Thanks to royal munificence and to their own innate zeal, the Thais have adorned their country with numerous pagodas and shrines which, in the opinion of one European observer, "are more beautiful than the churches of Europe". Even in the 17th century, the number and size of the viharas struck foreign observers as extraordinary. A Dutchman (Van Vliet, 1692) makes the following observation:

"Throughout the whole country there are many large and small temples built expensively and ingeniously of stone, lime and wood.... Each temple is filled with innumerable idols made of various minerals, metals and other materials. Some temples are covered with gold, silver and copper, so that they look elegant and costly. In each temple is a big idol, 4, 6, 8 to 10 fathoms in height, usually sitting on an elevated altar. One of these sitting idols would even reach 20 fathoms or 120 feet when standing upright. Under the seats of the idols in some temples, big treasures of gold and silver have been buried, also many rubies, precious stones and other jewels have been put away in the highest tops of some towers and pyramids and these things remain there always for the service of the gods."

The same writer makes the following observation about the bhikshus or monks:

"In all monasteries the head priests, priests, clerks and temple servants read and sing during the evening and the morning; they do not accumulate any treasures, nor are they eager for any other worldly goods or riches. They live partly on what the king and the mandarins bestow on them, also on fruits and profits derived from the grounds which belong to the church. But most they receive from the common people who furnish them with food and other necessities. From each monastery each morning some priests and clerks are sent out with a wallet. But they do not collect more than is sufficient for one day. They are not allowed to drink wine or spirits, but only ordinary water or cocoanut water, and they may partake only of common food, and when the sun has
passed the zenith they may only chew some betel. From all this we may conclude that the priests have to live in a very modest way."

The religious organisation followed the Ceylonese pattern, with its 27 articles of the Book of Discipline called Pati-moksha. The King’s brother was usually the Head of the Church (Sangaraja), under whom were four abbots in charge of the four Royal monasteries. Below the abbots were other lower officials of the hierarchy, down to the ‘Samanera’ or boy-novices. The Pali language had to be learnt by all the priests, as the main canonical works were in Pali.

There are still considerable traces of Brahminism in Siam, although the Buddhist octopus has all but left it lifeless. The countryside is strewn, as already mentioned, with images of Siva and Vishnu, Ganesa and Lakshmi. Many national festivals betray Hindu inspiration, as, for example, the Ploughing Festival in which the King takes part and the Festival of the Swings, corresponding to our Holi. Even today there are many families of Brahmins, apparently descended from the original immigrants of the 6th century A.D. who are known as ‘Phrams’. In Pankaja itself there are about 100 such families, with their own temple known as ‘Bot Phram’ (Brahmin Shrine) in which there are colossal statues of the Trimurtis. In the royal court these Brahmin families command special consideration and dignity. The chief Brahmin priest presides over the coronation ceremony, himself handing over the crown and sceptre to the aspirant; other important court rituals like the “tonsure ceremony of the Crown Prince”—vide details below—are also in the hands of the Brahmins.

“The tonsure ceremony of the royal prince is performed with great pomp and all Bangkok enjoys a holiday. The Brahmins take prominent part in this ceremony. The prince, richly dressed and followed by boys of his age, goes to his father and prostrates himself before him. The king raises him up and takes him to the temple of the palace. On the fourth day, the Brahmin priests sprinkle holy water on his head and divide his lock into three parts in allusion to the Hindu Trimurti. The king himself cuts the locks of the Prince, while the Brahmin priests shave his head. Two other Brahmin priests blow the conch. Then the prince goes to an artificial mountain, which stands for the sacred mountain of Kailasa, where the god Siva is said to have shaved his son Ganesa. Holy water is sprinked on the Prince’s head,
where a crown of pure white cotton is placed by a Brahmin priest.” The pandits also do the ‘nāmakarana’ of the princely children and cast their horoscopes. Even in the royal Buddhist pagodas, they act as ‘acars’ (acharyas) entrusted with special astrological functions. In these pagodas, one can see Ramayana scenes painted on the walls; Mount Meru is represented there as the centre of the Universe. The sacred Gayatri mantra is recited on all occasions of importance (birth, death, etc.) in the royal family, by the Brahmin priests selected for the purpose.

There are many indications of an Indian inspiration in the administrative arrangements of the State. The King was (and is) called Phra Thai (Vara Daya), i.e., ‘Lord of the Thais’ and also Phra Satsana (Sasana = Doctrine), as he is the Defender of the Faith. He also bears the title of Maha Krasat (Maha Kshatriya), Chakropat (Chakrpathi), etc. The King is enjoined to observe three supreme principles of personal conduct, as laid down by Manu, viz., Seelang (Sila = moral purity), Santchee (Shanti = calmness), and Sachcha (Satya = truth). The Chief Priest is called Phra Maha Racha Khroo (Rajaguru). The Commander-in-chief was usually the Crown Prince or Upara. The King’s Supreme Council* consisted, besides these, of the following:

Montree (Prime minister).
Chattagaho (bearer of the Royal Chattri or umbrella).
Kattagaho (bearer of the Royal Khanda or sword).
Prah Noppharat (Keeper of the navaratna signet ring).
Aggamahusi (Chief Queen).

The principal officials of the State also bore Indian ranks—e.g. Kelasa = Police Superintendent; Kosa = Treasurer; Amatya = Minister; Yama Dharma Raja = Chief Criminal Judge.

The administration of justice was based on written laws, reputedly issued by Ramadhpati I. They embody the Shyam customary law in vogue when they were in Nan Chou (or Gandhara) under Aryan rule, as modified by the Laws of Manu. “These laws have not yet been entirely superseded by modern legislation,” says Hall. In a 17th century book of a foreigner we read that “the written laws of the country contain a certain and praiseworthy rule, viz., that nobody, either in criminal or civil cases, may be condemned unless his case has been examined four times by the ordinary or the special judges”. Like the Institutes of

* This High Council settled succession questions, in cases of dispute.
Manu, the Siamese legal codes are divided into 18 titles almost identical with Manu, but 11 more are added to make the Laws up-to-date. (e.g. the strict instructions of Manu regarding slavery were closely observed in practice; the law of dandhipat was exactly reproduced in the Siamese codes.) To quote Côédès, “From Cambodia the Siamese assimilated its political organisation, natural civilisation, writing and a considerable number of words. Siamese artists learnt from Khmer artists and transferred Khmer art according to their own genius... From the Mons (Talaings) and the Burmese the Siamese received their juristic traditions of Indian origin, and above all Sinhalese Buddhism and artistic skill”. This comment of Hall, “they (the Thais) were as remarkable as assimilators as the Normans in Europe,” is worth remembering. He also adds that in the art of diplomacy they have had few equals.†

While it is clear that Thailand had borrowed liberally from Indian (Pali and Sanskrit) literature, Indian epics and legends, Indian law, and Indian medical science, etc., a marked Indian influence can also be detected in the Thai language itself. This language is related to the Khmer tongue and is monosyllabic, like all Malay speeches. The vocabulary, however, contains numerous foreign words, a good few from Malay and Mon (Talaing), and a considerable percentage (30%) from Sanskrit. The Sanskrit compound words are cut up into monosyllables in writing; for example, Amaravati is written and uttered a-ma-ra-va-di. In many cases the sounds are changed (e.g. apsara becomes abson; acharya becomes acha). The phonetic formulae of such transformations are not always consistent, and it becomes sometimes very difficult to trace the Sanskrit original of an Indian word heavily colloquialised in Siamese.

* As in India, the ‘slaves’ in Siam were exclusively drawn from the following classes: (a) prisoners of war; (b) debtors selling themselves into bondage; (c) children of slaves, during the times the parents remained without manumission.

† This is amply borne out by the fact that in all the turmoils with which South-East Asia has been afflicted during the last 100 years, the Thais have usually managed to keep their country out of serious trouble. The broad policy of the nation was well summarised by Marshall Phibul Sengkhrim in a famous saying of 1942: “Which side do you think will be defeated in the war? That side is our enemy.”
B. MALAYA—SWARNADVIPA

In technical Sanskrit, ‘dvipa’ means not only an island but also a long and narrow peninsula “with water on both sides”. The elongated strip of territory (now called the Malay Peninsula), the most southerly of the Asiatic mainland, was called by the ancient Aryans, Swarnadvipa. It extends over a length of nearly 800 miles with a breadth varying from 80 to 150 miles. It is surrounded by sea, practically on all sides, except for the thin Isthmus of Kra; and a few islands lie alongside (Batan, Singapore, Penang, etc.). A considerable mountain range, rising up to 7200 feet, runs along the length of the peninsula like a strong backbone. The land is full of evergreen forests fed by frequent and copious rainfall, in which excellent timber and all sorts of forest produce abound. A gorgeous tropical land with an equable climate, it has now been made to yield a plenitude of cashcrops like rubber, pepper, sago and some coffee and sugarcane. The fauna are abundant; the elephant, the one-horned rhinoceros, the tapir, the striped and the spotted tigers, and wild buffalo roam the deep forests, along with reptiles like the cobra and the python. Horses are rare and undersized; the rivers are infested with crocodiles. Birds of gorgeous plumage are the main attraction of the grassy woodlands.

With an area larger than that of Great Britain, the population is but a small fraction of that of England. The Malays are not native to the soil and seem to have come from Sumatra in the remote past. The real aborigines are the ‘wild tribes’ (perhaps numbering some ten thousand now) who are called by the Malays ‘Orang Beuna’ (native men) and even Orang Utang (forest men), an appellation now usually given to the well-known Bornean anthropoids by zoologists. These ‘wild men’ are short, dark, curly-haired, flat-nosed and thick-lipped, with receding foreheads. They are expert hunters, particularly with the ‘sumpitan’ or blowpipe, which discharges poisoned arrows over a considerable distance. The Malays themselves have some Mongoloid look, though less than the Chinese. They are darker than the Celestials, but their cheek-bones are less prominent and the eyes less oblique, thus indicating considerable racial intermixture with the Aryan peoples. In fact, among the upper classes the features bear close resemblance to those of the well-to-do
denizens of the West Coast of India. Dr. R. C. Majumdar even thinks (as narrated by me infra) that the Malays could be equated ethnically with the Malavas of post-Vedic India and that the latter gradually migrated to other lands like Ceylon and Indonesia, somewhere about the 1st millennium B.C. Their present Mongoloid cast of features, which is not pronounced, is due, in his opinion, to their intermingling with the aboriginal Austronesian peoples of the archipelago.

The early history of Malaya (or Swarnadvipa as it was known in ancient times) has to be reconstructed from various sources. There are the local traditions and legends (rather meagre), archeological remains and inscriptions (not over-abundant), references in ancient Indian literature, and the writings of foreigners, European, Arab and Chinese. The name Swarnadvipa is found in some of the oldest Indian and foreign texts. Both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata cite this land as lying in the East. The Buddhist Jatakas refer to Swarnabhumi (i.e., Sumatra) rather than to Swarnadvipa or Malaya. On the other hand, the old story-books, Brihat-Katha-Stotra-Sangraha and the Kathasarit-Sagara, relate the exciting adventures of the heroes who sailed to Swarnadvipa in search of wealth or perhaps to obtain a bride from a land known for its beautiful womenfolk. For example, one tale mentions that Prince Nagadatta, who went with 500 ships on a trading venture to the Golden Peninsula, had his ships wrecked on a mountain infested with snakes. He was ultimately rescued by the king of Swarnadvipa named Sundara, who learnt of the dire plight of Nagadatta from a letter attached to the feet of a pigeon let loose by the Prince.

In more serious Indian literature also, Swarnabhumi and Swarnakudyaka are often referred to. Kautilya (4th century B.C.) in his Arthasastra mentions these countries more than once as the source of scents, precious metals, woollen cloth, etc. The Milindapanama (circa 100 B.C.) refers to Swarnabhumi, as we have seen elsewhere. The Niddlesa, a Buddhist canonical work, composed before 250 B.C. and handed down by oral transmission till 81 B.C., when it was reduced to writing, contains many references to sea-voyages to Swarnabhumi and neighbouring countries. The Ceylonese chronicles of very ancient date relate the experiences of Thera Uttara and Thera Sona, two Buddhist
missionaries settled in Swarnabhumi. The *Sasana Vamsa* and the *Mahakarma Vibhanga* would credit Thera Garampathi with the conversion of Swarnabhumi to Buddhism. The Tamil classics make mention of eastern lands abounding in gold, which they style “Pon Mandalam” and “Pon Nadu”. Traditions exist that Buddha himself visited Swarnadvipa and that Asoka sent missionaries to that land, circa 250 B.C.

Turning to foreign sources, the territories described above were well known to westerners as well as to the Chinese. Pomponius Mela (50 A.D.) refers to the Island of Chryse (Golden Island). The *Periplus*, of about the same date, mentions the ‘Island of Gold’, as does Pliny the Elder (77 A.D.). This appellation is reiterated by a series of later writers like Dionysius (2nd century A.D.), Solinus (3rd century A.D.), and Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), who refer both to Swarnabhumi (or Chryse Chora) and to Swarnadvipa (Chryse Chersonesus). The latter name has been generally adopted by medieval and modern European writers, as applicable to Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula, which they identify with the Golden Chersonese mentioned in Biblical stories. They even locate a Mount Ophir in Central Malaya by naming a peak thus.*

The Arab writers have faithfully reflected the Greek traditional lore. Al-Biruni mentions both Swarnadvipa and Swarnabhumi; but later Arab writers (Haraki, Yakut, etc.) refer to Baros on the island of Sumatra as the ‘land of gold’. The Chinese were also aware of these geographical indications. I-tsing mentions the ‘Golden Island’ in his biography, indicating probably Sumatra by this name. It is now generally conceded by historians that Swarnabhumi and Swarnadvipa refer to two different territories. In fact, this is made clear in most of the ancient texts, where the two lands are referred to as distinct from each other; for instance, Kautilya mentions Swarnakudya as different from Swarnabhumi. It has been argued, however, by Col. Gerini, a very competent observer, that both expressions cover the same area:

* It may be recalled that Flavius (1st Century A.D.), when writing about Kings Solomon and Hiram, placed this Golden Land in Western India, near Sophir (Soppara, which was spelt in Greek as Hophir or Ophir), a name familiar also to ancient Egyptians. Milton calls Soppara, Sofala.
“Marinos of Tyre and Ptolemy are the first to speak of the Malay Peninsula as the Golden Khersonese. The geographers that preceded them, among whom Eratosthenes, Dionysius; Periegetes, and Pomponius Mela may be named, all refer to it instead as Khryse or Chryse Insula—the “Golden Isle”; and so does long before them the Ramayana, under the name of Suvarnadvipa, which conveys the same meaning. No stress has so far been laid on this wide difference in representing that region on the one part as an island and on the other as a peninsula. I believe, therefore, that I am the first to proclaim, after careful consideration, that both designations are probably true, each in its own respective time; that is, that the Malay Peninsula, or rather its southern portion, had been an island before assuming its present highly pronounced peninsular character. The view I now advance is founded not only on tradition, but also upon geological evidence of no doubtful nature.”

Unfortunately for his theory, Gerini seems to be in error here, as ‘dvipa’ in Sanskrit denotes not only an island but also a narrow peninsula. Further, most Indian sources as well as Ptolemy deal with the two lands as distinct entities, and do not use the expressions Swarnadvipa and Swarnabhumi as loosely interchangeable. It is beyond doubt that the old tradition of a land in the East, rich in gold deposits, arose in India first. The Matsya and Vayu Puranas actually refer to a region, at a distance from Bharatavarsha, in which gold was found in the soil as surface deposit. Al-Biruni, a careful writer, clearly indicates that the ‘golden land’ was part of the Island Empire of Zabaj, i.e., Java. Besides, Sumatra is called Swarnabhumi in an inscription found on the island itself. In an illuminated manuscript of Nepal, there is a picture of a town referred to as Swarnapura Sri Vijayapura, and we know that Sri Vijaya was the capital of Sumatra for a long time. The Katha-Sarit-Sagara probably refers to the same town as Kanchana-pura (Gold Town), where the merchant-adventurer Iswaravarman tarried on his way to Swarnadvipa (thus signifying that this “golden island” was geographically distinct from Swarnabhumi). The Kadambari of Bana relates the story of a merchant of ‘Swarnapura’, apparently situated in the Eastern ocean and described as the abode of Kiratas. Thus, both in our literature and in that of the foreigners, we have citations of the golden land, golden island, golden peninsula and golden town! It takes some hard effort to
unravel the ‘golden threads’ of this recondite geography, which is complicated by the fact that, apart from Sumatra, a portion of Burma (Ramannyadesa) is also named Swarnabhumi in the Kalyani inscription (of a late date). Dr. Majumdar, after a detailed discussion of all the arguments on the question, is led to take the view that “we shall not be perhaps far wrong if we take Swarnabhumi and Swarnadvipa as general designations of Burma, Malay Peninsula and the Malay archipelago”. This conclusion, however, leaves the identification still slightly hazy. It seems that the evidences are strongly in favour of calling the Malay Peninsula Swarnadvipa and Sumatra as Swarnabhumi. The description of parts of Burma as Swarnabhumi may be attributed either to loose geography or to mere terminological courtesy.*

Malaya today has not much ‘swarna’ in production, but it has something equivalent to it in its enormous tin mines, the largest on the globe, producing almost one-third of the world’s output. Copper, mercury, lead and silver are also mined in appreciable quantities. Maritime trade with India must have started in Malaya from the earliest times. As already mentioned, Kautilya refers to Malayadesa, and mentions its main exports as gold, woollen cloth, skins and precious stones. Its geographical position was such that all seagoing ships engaged in the Far Eastern trade and proceeding to and from India had to touch at some port or the other of the Peninsula. The Puranas and the “adventure stories”, frequently mention voyages to and from Malaya. It is also worthwhile to refer to a famous passage in the Pali Niddesa (circa 250 B.C.), which describes in the form of a fanciful story the overpowering torments of greed which a ship-captain experiences, when he sets out trekking the broad ocean in quest of wealth. Twenty-four places are mentioned in that passage as luring the sailor to their harbours, and ten difficult paths or routes are also indicated as likely to be traversed by him after reaching his destination. These 34 are:

* Apparently even Laos can stake a claim for this cognomen. There is a prince there at present 1968 who is called Suvanna Phouma (Swarna Bhouma = Lord of the Golden Earth)!
3. Takkasila 15. Suppara 27. Mendhapatha
5. Maranapara 17. Surattha 29. Chattapatha
10. Vanga 22. Paramayona 34. Vettadhara (or
12. Suvannakuta 24. Marukantara

Of the 24 localities, Suppara (Sophir), Bharukaccha (Broach),
Suraththa (Surat), Anganeka, Gangana, Paramagangana, Yona
(Yavana), Paramayona, Allasanda (Alexandria) and Marukantara
are obviously either on the west coast of India or in countries to
the west of India. The others lie in the Eastern seas, and the
following identifications are traceable:

1. Gumbha — Not locatable
2. Takkola — the famous port on the Isthmus of Kra,
known also as Takua Pa
3. Takkasila — not the famous University town of
Panini (which is far away from the sea)
   but the mouth of the river Tokosanna,
in Arakan
4. Kalamukha — Both the Ramayana and the Maha-
harata mention Kalamukha (black-
faced) as the name of a people near the
Arakan coast
5. Maranapara — not locatable
6. Vesunga  
7. Veerapatha }
   These correspond to Ptolemy's Besyn-
gerti and Barabai, all in the Golden
Chersonese
8. Java — easily identified with Java island
9. Tamali — Tamralinga, a famous sea-port in the
Gaiya Dt. of Malaya
10. Vanga — not Bengal, but Vankam or the island
   of Banka, near Sumatra
11. Elavaddhana — not identifiable
12. Suvarnakuta — probably a Malayan port on the Gulf of Siam; this name occurs in Kautilya’s *Artha Sastra*.


The above list is of great significance as showing that, three or four centuries before the Christian era, the Indian story-writers were familiar with many busy sea-ports in the South-East Asia. As regards the ten panthas or methods of progress to the golden lands, the following summary, taken from the *Brihat-Katha*, proves most illuminating:

“Sanudasa joins the gang of the adventurer Acera, who is preparing an expedition to the ‘Land of Gold’ (Suvannabhumi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (vetra). This is the ‘creepers’ path’ (Vetrapatha). On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is the ‘bamboos’ path’ (Vamsapatha). Further on, they meet a narrow path between two precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kiratas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to traverse the narrow ledge without feeling giddy. This is “the goats’ path” (Ajapatha). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty, as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues but Acera’s troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sanudasa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Acera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds would thereupon mistake those men for a heap of raw meat, and carry them away to their aerie; it is there that the gold is found! Sanudasa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Acera had foretold, but the bird which carries off Sanudasa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat’s skin bursts open and Sanudasa falls into a tank which is in the heart of a luxuriant forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are
of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out, etc., etc."

The story thus explains Ajapatha (26) and Vamsapatha (30), and the episode of Sanudasa being carried aloft by a huge bird evidently explains the Sakunapatha (31). Mandhapatha (27) is obviously to be understood in the same way as Ajapatha, substituting ram for goat. The commentary explains Janupatha (25) as the way where one has to crawl on knees. On Sankupatha (28) it gives a long explanatory note, describing the means by which a man could ascend a mountain. An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up till the hook is fixed up in the mountain. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes a hole on the hillside with a diamond-tipped iron instrument, and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook, and throws it aloft again, till it is again fixed up in the mountain side. Then he ties the rope to the spear, and having caught hold of the rope with one hand, strikes it by a hammer with the other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends the top of the hill.

Chattapatha (29) is explained in the commentary as the way where one jumps down from a precipice with an open parasol (Chatta or Chhatra) made of thin skin, and descends slowly to the ground, on account of the resistance of the air. In other words, it involved the principle of parachuting. The Mushikapatha (32) and Daripatha (33) are apparently burrowing like a mouse and Danipatha (34) is making a cave or a cleft in the rock.

The Brihat-Katha episode reads almost like an incident in the Arabian Nights; or rather it is clear that the Arabs have lifted most of their material from our ancient story-books, even as the Greeks manufactured "Aesop's Fables" from the Hitopadesa! Sanudasa the valiant and humane ship-captain may be the original of Sindbad the Sailor. Significantly enough, we are given two surprisingly modern lessons in mountaineering and parachuting.

Katyayana, writing in the 5th century B.C., mentions most of the above "pathas" (or adventurers' routes) and the Milinda-panama agrees with this vartika of Katyayana.* All this evidence

* The commentary of Katyayana is on certain sutras of Panini (Devapathathigana V—3-100); the great grammarian actually cites in the sutras the following among others—varipatha, karipatha, ajapatha, sankupatha, hamsapatha and devapatha.
shows that some centuries before the Christian era, our sailors were navigating the high seas in search of wealth or sheer adventure, and were familiar with all of the more frequented coastal areas of Greater India. But the following question arises in this connection: Were there any colonies of Aryan settlers in those areas, full of pious Hindus bent on their evangelical mission, temple-builders setting up houses of worship, artists and craftsmen producing locally their graceful and useful products and laying out townships and villages in the process, and Kshatriyas bent on planting their royal umbrellas in those distant but primitive lands? Or were the Indians merely casual visitors to these areas, trading by barter with the natives, even as the European adventurers did in the 16th and 17th centuries, when they exchanged worthless marbles, beads and glass trinkets for the most valuable products like timber, ivory, copra, spices and precious stones? In other words, were the Hindu merchants merely taking away gold, silver, tin, mercury, spices, wool and raw leather, from these places in return for oil, rice, cotton textiles, pots and pans, cheap jewellery and weapons of war, in the centuries preceding the Christian era?

It must be conceded that these Far-Eastern peregrinations must have been originally motivated by commercial urges. It was in this manner that another great Aryan community, the Panis (the Phoenicians) migrated westwards to far-off and unknown lands in search of the good things of this earth. But the analogy should not be pushed too far. In the west, the Aryans infiltrated into local communities which were not barbarous or half-savage, and which were even then living in a high state of civilisation, as in Egypt. In South-East Asia, the situation was quite different. While the land was rich and overflowing with nature's bounties, the population was scanty and in a comparatively backward state of existence. Most of them had just emerged from the neolithic cultural state. As Majumdar observes, “the archaeological finds in different parts of Malaysia lead to the conclusion that, at the time of their first contact with the Hindus, the people of Malaysia were in a primitive state of civilisation and that in some regions they had not yet emerged from a state of barbarism”. In fact, they resembled the ‘wild tribes’ of India of the time, using barks of trees for
clothing (when they felt like wearing anything at all but a frown) and living mainly by hunting and fishing and in small houses built of bamboo and rattan. (In Java, however, a slightly higher culture had supervened before the Aryans came, though the exaggerated claims made in this behalf have to be heavily discounted, as we shall see in a later chapter). It is significant that most of the articles of commerce associated with the South-East Asian ports were either precious and semi-precious metals or industrial and agricultural products often involving some processing. The geographical particulars, especially the place-names, Hemakuta, Swarnakudya, Rupyakuta, Tamradwipa, Yavadwipa, Sankhadwipa, Karpuradwipa, all signify such organised mining, industrial, or agricultural operations at the other end, as to warrant the conclusion that Indian colonists had already settled themselves at these places and helped to develop the industry or agriculture of those areas. In other words, even when the Aryans had not started colonising South-East Asia on a large scale, as they did after the 1st century A.D., they had established at these entrepots of trade not mere barter stations but actual mining and manufacturing industries and agricultural farms on a considerable scale. In due course these essentially trading ventures led to less ephemeral involvements; settled colonies were organised and political institutions were set up, which shortly blossomed into small kingdoms and principalities, which latter were to form, in good time, the nucleus of great states and empires, with histories extending over several centuries. In every case, the Indian penetration was peaceful, and to all appearances welcomed by the people concerned. There is absolutely no trace of any racial conflict or opposition to foreign cultural imposition or to alien political rule. In the words of Majumdar: “The dominant race imposed its language, religion and social customs, but could not efface all traces of indigenous elements……… As years went on and contact with India grew less and less, native elements asserted themselves”. This was particularly so in the ethnic sphere, where heavy dilution of the Aryan physiognomy became conspicuous as the centuries went by.

To return to the story of Malaya. We have seen that before the first century A.D. the Malayan peninsula had become a halfway house for trade between India and the Far East. This trade either went round the Straits of Malacca by sea, or overland through the
Isthmus of Kra. The ports of Takkola, Nagar Sri Dharmaraja (Ligor) and Tamralinga were famous emporia handling this oceanic commerce. It is reasonable to infer from this situation that the Aryan colonisation of Malaya must have started one or two centuries earlier, perhaps by the 3rd century B.C. The Chinese texts mention an embassy of 515 A.D. from a country described as Lang-ssu (Lanka-Sukha in Malaya), which that country's ambassador claimed had been established more than 400 years earlier and where the prevailing language was Sanskrit. Both Itsing and Huien Tsang mention Lanka-Sukha as lying between Sri Ksetra (Prome) and Dvaravati (i.e., Western Siam). This state is also referred to in the Javanese chronicles; Rajendra Chola calls it 'Illogasokam' in a Tamil inscription, indicating that it was conquered by him, circa 1024 A.D. This ancient Indian colony was evidently in a quite flourishing condition by the 1st century A.D.

Another Hindu colony in the Peninsula was named Kalasapura (or Kalasa Mukhya). The Kathasaritsagara mentions it as a city in Swarnadvipa. The Chinese chronicles mention a state spelt variously Kio-lo-cho-fou and Kia-lo-cho-fe, phonetically equivalent in Chinese to Kalasapura. Its location is fixed at the mouth of the Sittang river. A third Indo-Malayan State mentioned by the Chinese is Kora, by which is meant probably the modern province of Kedah. The Chinese describe this State as follows:

"This country is situated at the south-east of P'an-p'an and is also called Kora Fu-sa-ra. The King's family name is Sri Pora and his personal name is Mi-si Po-ra. The walls of his city are built with stones piled upon each other, whilst the watch-towers, the palace and other buildings are thatched with straw. The country is divided into 24 districts.

"The soldiers use bows, arrows, swords, lances, and armour of leather; their banners are adorned with peacock feathers and they fight mounted on elephants; one division of the army consists of a hundred of these, and each elephant is surrounded by a hundred men. On the elephant's back is a cage containing four men, armed with bows, arrows and lances.

"As taxes the people pay a little silver. There are no silkworms, nor hemp or flax, nothing else but cotton. For domestic animals they have numerous cows and a few ponies."
Another Hindu State noticed by the Chinese chroniclers is Po-Hoang—the modern province of Pahang. A short note on it is found in the Chinese records, which indicates the high standard of culture which the State had attained:

"In A.D. 449 the king of the state of Pahang, named Saripalavarma sent envoys who presented 41 different articles of tribute. By imperial decree Emperor Wen named him 'King of the State of Pahang'. In A.D. 451, and 456, he again sent his great historian Da-Napati to present a letter and offer products of his country, when His Majesty gave to Da-Napati the title of 'Awe-inspiring General'."

"In A.D. 459 its king offered red and white parrots. In A.D. 464 and 466, he sent again envoys to offer tribute, when Ming-ti gave to his great historian Da Sutawan, as also to the former grand historian, the Awe-inspiring General Da-Napati, the title of Dragon-horse Generals'.

Another important colony was the Aryan state of Kadaram (or Kedaram), about which the Chinese make the following observations:

"Its customs and manners are similar to those of Champa and Kamboja. It produces cloth of variegated colour, cotton and excellent areca-nuts".

The ruler of this state, Narendravarman, sent an embassy to China in 454 A.D. Similar embassies were sent in 502, 519 and 520 A.D. It would appear that this principality had turned Buddhist by the 5th century A.D.

The archaeological remnants of Hindu culture in the Malay Peninsula are not impressive, and unfortunately those that are available do not help in presenting a clear and consecutive picture of the history of Aryan rule in Malaya. There are ruins of a Hindu temple near Kedah Peak; the images of Durga, Nandi, Ganesh, and a Linga are found in the ruins, but, unluckily, no sure chronology can be attached to the shrine. Close by there is a Buddhist monument built in brick, which contains a Sanskrit inscription, presumably of the 4th century A.D. Similar Sramana monuments of approximately the same date have been located in Province Wellesley, with Sanskrit writings on them. Takkola (or Takua Pa) the western seaport on the Kra Isthmus, has produced some ancient remains of Hindu origin and attributable to the 5th or 6th century A.D. At Kha Phra Narain (Vara Narayana) there is
the relic of a Hindu temple with some beautiful Vishnu images. A Tamil inscription of the 8th century A.D. has been found here, as already cited elsewhere, showing close association of a commercial nature with Manigramam in the Madura district of South India. On the other side of the Isthmus, there are several reputed archaeological sites, near Ligor (Nagara Sri Dharmaraja) and Caiya. The inscriptions found in those places, in Sanskrit Pallava grantha, clearly demonstrate the age of these monuments to be earlier than the 4th or 5th century A.D.

The number of old inscriptions unearthed in Malaya is considerable, although by a curious mischance they are not sufficiently well preserved or self-contained to throw much light on the political history of the land, as is the case with the valuable engraved texts in Champa or Kamboja. Although the Malayan inscriptions are too fragmentary to yield history, they are nevertheless useful as auxiliary material of a cultural or sociological significance. These stone-cut writings are almost always in Sanskrit verse, and written in 4th century characters of South Indian origin. Some refer to the religion of the Sakyamuni, thus revealing that, as early as the 5th century A.D., Hinduism was facing severe competition from the Sramanas. The inscriptions are also widespread, indicating the deep permeation of Aryan influences into the Peninsula in the early years of the Christian era. Some texts have a nautical flavour. There is one which mentions one Buddha-gupta (a mahanavika = grand admiral?), an inhabitant of Ratna-Mrittika (red earth), as making a gift to a Buddhist shrine in Province Wellesley. The identification, by Kern, of Ratnamruttika with the Chinese Cheng-TU (or the Red River region of Siam) has been disputed by Majumdar, who thinks that the region should be sought for in India, as suggested also by Krom. Majumdar holds that the name refers to a place known as Rangamati in East Bengal, situated on the Bhagirathi river. He feels that Rangamati is the same as the ‘Rhadamarkotha’ of Ptolemy.

M. Lajonquiere has thus summarised the position regarding the Hindu colonisation of Malaya, as culled from archaeological data:

“...The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dh’ammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and..."
Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takuha Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western coast.

"The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhor Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It established a sort of hegemony over the whole of the centre of the peninsula, to which belonged the colonies of Pathalung, Yala Trang, and the upper valley of the Bandon river. It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great stupa of Nakhoon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. The mass of terra-cotta votive tablets in the caves inhabited by the Buddhists, of which a few specimens still exist, also belonged to this colony. The inscriptions are unfortunately very rare, and only three have been discovered, belonging to the fourth or fifth century A.D. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahminical, and then Buddhist.

"These two groups of colonies were mainly of agriculturists. The others, which occupied Selensing, Puket, and Takuha Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold mines. They have left comparatively fewer traces of their civilisation, but the pits they dug in the minefields are still clearly distinguished from later ones, by a special technique."

Dr. Quattrich-Wales, who has made a thorough study of these regions, thinks that the earliest Aryan settlements were at Takkola (known as a flourishing sea-port to Indians even by the 3rd Century B.C.) which has a fine harbour and highly exploitable tin-mines in proximity. The Indians apparently formed trading and agricultural communities (from circa III century B.C.) and infused into the area Brahminism and much secular civilisation. These communities subsequently spilled over to other areas of the Peninsula; some enterprising Aryans went round the Straits of Malacca—a difficult region infested with ferocious aborigines, who were not altogether free from an inclination to dine off their human captives—to the other side of Swarnadvipa and to countries even further beyond. Other Indian adventurers travelled overland across the Isthmus, following the easy course of the two rivers in that area, the Girirashtra and the Lava. The north-eastern settlements grew on the wide semi-circle of the Bay of Bandon, a fine harbour which provided an outlet for other territorial expansions further east. To quote the learned Doctor:
"On the whole the available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. The archaeological evidence shows the survival around the Bay of Bandon of a primitive non-specialized type of Indian colonial architecture, having basic features in common with the earlier pre-Khmer, Cham, and Indo-Javanese buildings. Moreover, the early Indian colonial architecture at Caiya and Nakhon Sri Dhammarat is supported by the existence, in the very same latitude, of the remains of almost purely Indian edifices from which it could have evolved, while the sculptures found in this transpeninsular zone of territory include purely, or almost purely, Indian prototypes, which could well have served as inspiration to the development of local forms in an Indonesian environment."

Dr. Quatrich-Wales is also the sponsor of another theory, viz., that the Aryan acculturation of the South-East Asian mainland took place in waves. He mentions four main waves, the Amaravati, the Gupta, the Pallava and the Pala, but he seems to lay undue stress on the dates and the styles of the inscriptions, under-estimating the fact that very often centuries of infiltration and colonisation elapse before the newcomers even think of recording their histories or their achievements, in lithic carvings. He agrees with the view that the spread of the Hindu cultural endowments of the immigrants, often basically similar to those of the local people, assured the newcomers of a ready and sincere welcome. "They frequently intermarried (with the natives) and were often employed by the local rulers......Indian kingdoms soon came into being as a result of an Indian imposing himself on the native population. Hindu cultural influence had to do, not only with the sacral and the ritual, but also with literature and government techniques. This would include even Indian warfare which was so much more assimilable than the Chinese form, because it regarded war as a sacrifice." Dr. Quatrich-Wales's thesis gives due weight to the influence of the Hindu treatises and the sastras in this cultural propagation. He would emphasise at the same time the efficacy of the impressions gained by native visitors from South-East Asia to the sacred places in the Indian sub-continent. He distinguishes between the Western and Eastern zones in assessing the degree of acculturation from India. "In
the Western zone (Burma, Malaya, Sumatra and Borneo and Siam) it was extreme......the Indian colonists probably making up a large proportion of the upper classes. A Chinese text of the 5th century A.D. states that at Ton-on-Siem (a dependency of Fou-Nan, believed to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula) there were 500 families of merchants from India and more than a thousand Brahmins from there. The text adds that the local people practiced the doctrine of the Brahmins and gave them their daughters in marriage......This intense Indian grip on the Western zone was purely cultural. I agree with Coedes that there was never any military conquest or annexation......There was nothing like the forceful imposition of social custom and administration as was carried out by Chinese in Tonking in the 1st century A.D." It is gratifying that this learned historian has scotched effectively the theory, sedulously canvassed by some Western writers, that the Aryan immigrants were either cruel commercial exploiters or haughty military despots, uprooting local traditions and practices. The history of Malaya after about the 6th century A.D. is blanket ed in confusion. Majumdar holds that "the mediaeval history of Malaya Peninsula forms really an essential part of the history of the Sailendra Empire". It would appear that the greater part of the Peninsula formed part of the dominion of the Sailendras and an important part of it, as it was the relay point of transoceanic commerce, and also the producer of much mineral wealth. When the power of the Sailendras declined and Javan Kings grew in strength, the eyes of the latter were naturally turned on this rich territory which was almost a key to commercial supremacy in the eastern waters. When exactly the kings of Java turned their attention to Malaya is a matter of some doubt. Apparently an expedition was sent in the 10th century, with what success it is not clear. At that time there were several Hindu kingdoms of substantial size in the Peninsula, most of which, in Majumdar's view, owed their origin to the immigrants from Kalinga (Orissa) who were subsequently described as Klingas in the Far-Eastern tradition.

However, some light is thrown on Malayan history rather unexpectedly from South India. Malaya was attacked by Rajendra Chola early in the 11th century A.D. (1035 A.D.?), and the details of his victory are recorded in two long Tamil inscriptions of circa 1050 A.D. These mention, inter alia, some
cities or countries in Malaya as coming under Chola sway, and these can be identified as below:

(1) Ma (Maha) Yirudingam = A state either in North Malay (according to Coedes) or in the tip of the Peninsula (Rouffaer)
(2) Ilangasokam = Lanka-Sukha near the Gulf of Siam
(3) Ma (Maha) Pappalam = Near the Isthmus of Kra
(4) Ma-Vilimbangan = Karmaranga or Kamalanka on the Isthmus.
(5) Talaittakkolam = Takkola on the Isthmus
(6) Ma Damalingam = Tamralinga
(7) Ma Kataha or Kedaram = Modern Kedah, known in ancient times as Kataha or Kedaram. (It has been referred to as Kalayam in an ancient Tamil poem.)

It is clear that practically the whole of Malaya Peninsula was overrun and conquered by Rajendra Chola. These areas then formed part of the Sailendra Empire, with which the Chola monarch had picked a quarrel and which he humbled in a poignant fashion. The conquests were, of course, not of a permanent character, as the Cholas could not have expected to hold on to overseas territories situated at a distance of over a thousand miles from their homeland. Besides, the Chola Emperors were themselves beset with difficulties at home. Rajendra’s successor, Rajadhiraja, fell in battle at Kuppan, in 1054 A.D. His son, Vira Rajendra, died in 1070, after severe passages-at-arms with the Chalukyas; on his death, succession disputes ensued, which seriously weakened Chola prestige and authority. Kalinga freed herself from Chola domination, thus severely hitting at the naval potential of the Chola Empire, according to Majumdar. The Tamil inscriptions reflect the wise policy initially adopted by Rajendra Chola. For instance, it is stated that “after conquering Kataha (Kedaram) he gave it back to its king, who worshipped his feet.” His successors, Vira Rajendra and Kulottunga, both claim to have reconquered Kedaram which had proved refractory. This would mean that the local ruler was made a tributary and that when he became recalcitrant, he had to
be cured of his contumacy by force. For over fifty years, substantial parts of Malaya continued to be in vassalage to the Cholas.*

Reference may be made at this stage to the story of the "Corporation of Fifteen Hundred" which is mentioned in a Sumatra Tamil inscription of 1088 A.D. It would appear that there were several Commercial Corporations formed in South India, gathering together merchant adventurers and establishing trading ventures in the Far East. Some of these are known by interesting names, like Nanadesi ("different communities"?), Valangai (right hand), and Idangai (left hand). The activities of these Trading Corporations are frequently elaborated in South Indian inscriptions. According to one such inscription, the Corporations consisted of "brave men, born to wander over many countries, ever since the beginning of the Kṛta yuga, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water routes, and dealing in various articles such as horses and elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs, either wholesale or in retail". The "Corporation of 1500" was one such, and it seems to have spread its tentacles far and wide over Malaya and even Sumatra. We have seen a similar Corporation of Maningramam, setting up a protection force for a Vishnu temple on the coast of Malaya. The Nanadesis, who built a Vaishnavaite shrine at Pagan, which still exists, apparently had substantial contacts with Burma.†

After a ding-dong struggle with the Sailendras, the Cholas finally withdrew from their overseas commitments (1100 A.D?), allowing the 'Lords of the Mountains' to lift up their head and to resume their authority over Malaya. Till the beginning of the 13th century, when the Sailendra sun set for ever as we shall see

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* Even today the Chola rule is remembered; many Malay princes have names ending with Cholan or Chulan. One such was a recent Rajah of Perak, called Sri Rajah Chulan.

† The Nanadesis were also known as Ainurruvar (The Five-hundred), and included merchants from various countries, organised in powerful guilds. Their Corporation is frequently referred to in South Indian inscriptions, under their alternative name, viz., "Five-hundred Swamis, hailing from the town of Ayyavolepura" (now Aihole), their most famous headquarters. The Corporation had its own flag (a bull) and its vira-sasanas and prasastis. Its activities extended to Persia in the West and Kamboja (Indo-China) in the East; its trade, wholesale and retail, consisted of elephants, horses, precious stones, spices and scents. The Five-hundred patronised learned men and built temples in Greater India.
in another chapter, Malaya remained subservient to the Sailendras. Meanwhile, a new power was rising over the horizon of Malaya, viz., the Thais. Their King, Rama the Brave of Sukhoddaya, conquered Upper Malaya *circa* 1292 A.D. In South Malaya, in the vacuum created by the decline of the Sailendras, the Javan rulers stepped in. Kritanagara, the King of Java, conquered Pahoa; subsequently, Malayu or Jambi (a vassal state of Java, situated in central Sumatra) conquered the remaining south Malayan principalities. With the growing strength of Java (under the Majapahit dynasty), the Siamese were pushed back, till practically the whole of what is now known as the Malayan Peninsula was left under the suzerainty of Java (1365 A.D.). The fall of Majapahit (*circa* 1410 A.D.) was the signal for the Malay princes to shake off the Indonesian control, although this meant acknowledging the Chinese Emperor as their nominal overlord and the sending of tributes to him—in return for extravagantly phrased Celestial titles, which meant little in practice.

At this juncture we hear of a new power in Malaya, viz., that of Malacca (*circa* 1450), which had become a veritable beehive of commerce, but whose historical beginnings are shrouded in inglorious obscurity. The Portuguese Governor-General, Albuquerque, gives the following version of the founding of the Malacca State:

"There reigned a king Bataratamurel (Bhatara Tumapel) in Java, and a king Parimisura (Parameswara) in Palembang. As there were frequent fights between the two, they came to an agreement. Parimisura married the daughter of the King of Java, called Parimisuri (Parameswari), and agreed to pay tribute to his father-in-law. He, however, soon repented of his decision, and refused to pay either homage or tribute to the King of Java. The King of Java thereupon invaded Palembang, and Parimisura, being defeated, fled with his wife and children and some escorts to Singapura (Singapore). It was then a large and wealthy city under Siam, and its governor hospitably received the royal fugitive. Parimisura, however, killed his host and made himself master of the city. On hearing this news, his former subjects of Palembang, numbering 3000, came to Singapore. Parimisura welcomed them and lived there for five years, pillaging with his fleet the ships that passed through the Straits of Singapore."
"Then Parimisura was attacked by the Chief of Patani, brother of the Governor of Singapore whom he had so foully murdered. Being defeated, Parimisura fled with his people to the mouth of the Muar river, inhabited only by a few fishermen. About this time, 20 or 30 fishermen invited him to settle in their village, which was very fertile and yielded all necessities of life. Parimisura, being satisfied by an examination of the locality, removed there with his family. The pirates in the sea touched at this port to take water, and being aided and encouraged by Parimisura, they came there to sell their stolen goods. Thus it grew to be a commercial centre, and in two years the population rose to 2000. Parimisura named the settlement Malacca. Gradually merchants from Pase (in Sumatra) and Bengal came to trade there, and its importance rapidly increased. Parimisura died seven years after his settlement at Malacca, leaving a son called Xaquentarxa (Sekandar Shah). Although the prince was a Hindu, he had married the daughter of the King of Pase who had adopted the Muhammadan religion a short while ago. Either at the request of his wife, or at the instance of his father-in-law, it was not long before he himself became a convert to Islam. After he had several children, the king named Sekandar Shah paid a visit to the Chinese Emperor. He became the vassal of China, brought home a seal as a token of his vassalage, and obtained permission to coin tin money. He died shortly after his return and was succeeded by Modafaixa (Muzafar Shah). He conquered Kampar (in E. countries) and converted their kings by force to Islam. He raised Malacca to a great power, and under his son Sultan Masrusa (Mansur Shah) and grandson Alaoudin (Alaoudin) the kingdom became one of the richest and most famous."

Alaoudin's successor, Sultan Mahamet (Muhammad), repudiated the allegiance to Siam and Java, and declared himself

* With the decline of Chola power, their sea-port, Puhar, sank into insignificance. On the other hand, Malacca deeply impressed the early European visitors. Pires wrote of it: "Men cannot estimate the worth of it on account of its greatness and profit. It is a city made for merchandise, greater than any other city in the world. Whoever is Lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice". Barbosa added: "It is the richest sea-port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade, that can be found in the whole world". Varthema asserted: "I believe more ships arrive here than any other place in the world."
a vassal to China. Thereupon, the king of Siam sent a fleet against him, but it was completely routed. This took place 22 years before the conquest of Malacca by Albuquerque (i.e. in 1489 A.D.) A period of 90 years had intervened between the time when Malacca became inhabited and its conquest by Albuquerque. At the latter period, Malacca and its suburbs had about a hundred thousand inhabitants.

It will be clear from the Portuguese records that Malaya was 'turning Turk' in the 15th century, almost with the same ease with which it turned Buddhist in the 6th century. Islam was proving itself to be a truly formidable adversary of the established religions. The Chinese Emperor had imported into Canton large Arab forces in the 8th century, as a sort of Praetorian Guard for himself. In their wake came Muslim merchants and Mullahs, who anchored themselves at various points en route to Cathay, but otherwise made little impression on the local population. It would appear that from the 11th century onwards small communities of Persian and Arab traders had set up establishments at a number of places strung along the coastal line stretching from the Persian Gulf to the China Seas. They married native women but kept themselves strictly apart from the local communities, to whom their religion must have been highly suspect and their iconoclastic practices abhorrent. Till 1300 A.D., they counted for little in the politics of South-East Asia, but they did give maritime trade a new impetus. Marco Polo (1292) found no large Mussalman colonies in Indonesia, but soon after this date there is evidence of a mass conversion of the natives. The course of events in India had a far-reaching effect on South-East Asia in these developments. When the Surat and Cambay rulers became Mussalman, the traders heading east from these great emporia of trade took their new religion with them. At the time Ibn Batuta (1345) visited Samudra (Sumatra), he found that the local Sultan was a Shafi Muslim. "But Malaya was under infidels," says Batuta. The rise of Malacca gave a great push to proselytisation. This state was founded by Parameswara, as we have seen from the Portuguese report. He was a Sailendra prince who treacherously seized Simhapura, from where he was justly driven out for his infamous conduct (1400 A.D.). He then settled at Malacca (then a petty village), and the fugitive princeling took to piracy and illegal levies on passing ships. To thwart Siam which
really lorded it over Malacca at the time, Parameswara got himself recognised as an independent ruler by the Chinese through the well-known trick of sending a direct embassy to Canton. Parameswara married the daughter of the Sultan of Pase (in Sumatra), who had recently embraced Islam, through the persistent efforts of the Cambay Muslims. The son-in-law apostatized to Islam, taking the name of Iskandar Shah, and died in 1424. His son, however, (by a previous wife) called himself Sri Maharaja and as usual basked in the sunshine of Celestial support, despite Thai attempts to dislodge him from his ill-gotten power. The next ruler, named Sri Parameswara Deva Shah, was dethroned and murdered by his brother Rajah Kassim, following a *coup d'etat* engineered by Tamil Muslims, a girl of whose community had married the Rajah. Rajah Kassim assumed the title of Muzaffar Shah and launched Malacca on a grand-scale policy of imperialism and of mass conversion of the neighbouring Hindu and Buddhist peoples. The new State became a very considerable power, holding sway over most of the Peninsula, together with extensive territories in north Sumatra. It could even argue on equal terms with Siam, both diplomatically and militarily. The result was a rapid spread of Islam, practically throughout Indonesia, particularly Sumatra and Java, which, according to the popular Javan saying, “got converted in Malacca” (*circa* 1500 A.D.).

Thus ended formal Aryan rule in the Malay Peninsula, although the culture and civilization planted by the Indians in the land remained firmly set and could not be effaced by the numerous political vicissitudes, following the centuries of Muslim and Christian rule. It is a curious fact that, although Persian and Arab Muslims had settled in a small way for some hundred years on the coasts of South-East Asia, their religion could make no headway against the long-established Indian faiths, until the religion of the Prophet was presented to the Malaysians by Indians themselves, i.e., by the recent Gujarati and Tamil converts to Islam. There is a reason for this. The Indian converts, having just abjured their ancient creeds (in the majority of cases under physical pressure), felt the proverbial zeal of the newly-converted and could not rest content until more people were drawn into the very predicament into which they themselves had fallen. And they came with all the traditional prestige and spiritual authority of India behind them. As Brian Harrison
observes, "It was not to Persia or to Arabia, but to India, that South-East Asia had looked for cultural inspiration, combined with commercial prestige. The acceptance of Islam in the Archipelago had to await its acceptance by the Indians themselves.... It was not till the 13th century that this condition was fulfilled. It was mainly from Gujarat and by the Moslem merchants of Cambay that Islam was transplanted."* Even as Hinduism was replaced by Buddhism through the efforts of Indian missionaries, both Hinduism and Buddhism were overwhelmed by Islam because of the shrewd enterprise and zeal of the tombstone-makers and spice-merchants of Cambay. No force was employed and no undue pressure, except of the petticoat variety, when some Malaysian princes saw the inadequacies of their inherited religion reflected in the fair faces and winsome curves of Gujarati beauties! Compulsion and threat were not necessary, as Malaysians were convinced that their own spiritual and cultural home (India) had itself abandoned the lotus and the swastika, for the star and the crescent! But most of the basic Indian culture has remained in Malaya as well as a few distant memories of the Aryan religion and practice. Even today, when a new ruler is installed in Malaya, his Head Priest (albeit a Musalman) whispers into the ear of the monarch his ancient Gotra and Aryan family name!†

--- * Some writers (e.g. G.M. Kahin) think that the Portuguese religious persecutions impelled the princes and nobles of South-East Asia to embrace Islam, the political enemy of all Catholic countries.

† The following coronation details will be of interest to the reader. In Negri Sembilann, at the installation of a new ruler, the Bentara Kannan (the descendant of ancient Brahmin rishis who came with the first Kings) stands on one leg, and proclaims the new ruler with a formula, "which is an invocation to the five sky-angles representing the Hindu guardians of the five regions invoked in Vedic times". (Winstedt). In Perak, on the same occasion, the High Priest called Sri Nara-di-Rajah whispers the name of the Hindu god who descended at Palembang long ago to become the ancestor of Perak Royalty. The High Priest claims to be the descendant of Batala, the incarnation of the Divine Bull, Nandi. The throne is called Simhasana. Says Winstedt: "The Malay has borrowed much from India before, and since, he became a Muslim. Malay marriage ritual is full of Brahminical ceremonies;... we have not only Indian customs but actual Indian names...... Though he is not aware of his indebtedness, the Malay has followed the Code of Manu in regard to usurers, sailors, dancers and one-eyed persons as people to be avoided". The Malaysian princes call themselves Tungu and Putra in Hindu fashion. "The colours of the Malay Federation's official ensign are probably derived from the colours of the four sides of Mount Meru. (The Governments and Politics of South-East Asia, by Kahin, P, 242).
NOTE TO CHAPTER V

TREATMENT OF FOREIGN COLONISTS

There were numerous colonies of aliens (Arabs and Chinese, for instance) in the South Asian archipelago whose treatment was exemplary, by all indications. No racial discrimination or commercial bias seems to have been shown against these foreign settlers by the Aryan rulers or the peoples of Indonesia. It may be of interest to the reader to contrast this treatment with that of some minorities in Europe, of the same period. The plight of the Jews in England can be perhaps taken as typical of the situation.

Jews came to England with the Norman Conquest and settled down as money-lenders, particularly to the Court and the nobility. They had no political or civic rights and were liable to exceptional taxation and were often forced to make loans to the King. They could not inherit real property and could be expelled at the whim of the sovereign. “They had no social or political security of any kind......Whenever London was perturbed, the unruly Londoners were liable to turn against the Jews, resulting in looting and even massacres in which the Jews were always the victims, especially as they were not allowed to bear arms even in self-defence. Attacks on the Jewish quarters were made without warning and on the flimsiest excuse, and on one occasion half of them (men and women) were massacred”. (Mitchell and Leys, History of London Life, P. 40.) There were monstrous collective fines on them, often for farcical reasons. In one instance in the 13th century, when a boy patient treated by a Jewish doctor died, the whole community was fined £ 2000 (an enormous sum in those days). At another time, a cruel penalty of 60,000 marks was levied on the London Jews, on the dubious allegation of a ritual murder of a boy. In the 13th century, a special poll-tax (called cleavage) was imposed on the community. “These taxes and penalties impoverished the rich, and ruined the poor, Jews; it soon became clear that the Crown had squeezed the Jews nearly dry and that the latter had outlived their usefulness”. (ibid). In 1300, they were finally banished from
England and were not allowed to return till the time of Cromwell. (Their political and civil disabilities lasted till late in the 19th century, as every student of English History knows.)

The hatred for aliens exhibited by the Londoners was not confined to the Jews; it extended to all foreigners. In 1497, an Italian wrote, "Londoners have such fierce temper and wicked dispositions that they not only despise the way Italians live, but actually pursue them with uncontrolled hatred". This hatred had ancient roots and was part of the national character. Aliens were subject to the onerous tax of 40 sh. per household in 1350, against only a shilling for the natives. (The rate was mainly intended to drive out the alien competitors in industry, craft and trade.) The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was directed partly against aliens, many of whom were murdered along with the Archbishop of Canterbury who interceded on their behalf. In 1517 occurred "The Evil May Day" in which aliens (mainly Italians and Frenchmen) were jostled and pushed into the gutter and assaulted by apprentices. The Gordon Riots of 1780 were directed largely against the Irish, who lost heavily in lives and property during the disturbance.

In marked contrast was the treatment accorded to the Jews in India, who had trade relations with Sind and Kerala from perhaps 1000 B.C. The episode of Solomon's Ophir voyage has been referred to elsewhere. The Queen of Sheba presented quantities of spices to the Hebrew monarch, which came from South India. According to Boswerth Smith, the gates of Carthage (IV century B.C.) were made of sandalwood brought from the west coast of India. Herodotus mentions the Arab (Hebrew) trade with Malabar. Pliny describes Muziris as a great emporium where the Romans had a big colony with a temple of Augustus Caesar. Tradition holds that about 10,000 Jews fleeing from Roman aggression came over to Kerala, when Bhaskara Ravivarma was King (192 A.D.). The leader of the refugees, Joseph Rabban, was made a petty chief, according to a copper plate grant which still exists in the Cochin synagogue. Various privileges (e.g., the right to travel in a palanquin) were conferred on prominent Jews and these were scrupulously honoured for many hundreds of years. The principal Jews were styled Mudaliars and treated with great respect and consideration by later Maharajahs of Cochin. Abdul Razak (15th century) mentions that, when he landed at Calicut,
large colonies of Muslims were established there and allowed to build mosques, with royal encouragement. "Security and justice were well established; officers of the Custom House look after the merchandise (even if the owners be absent) and levy a duty of 1/40 on sales, no charge being made for unsold articles. There is a flourishing trade and straying and stranded vessels were not plundered in this port, as elsewhere". Barbosa adds that the Jews were even allowed to have their own Governor and Courts of Justice. Marco Polo (13th century), on his part, praises the Pandyan King "for his great state and riches, the equity of his administration, and the favour extended to foreign merchants, who are very glad to visit the city [Madura]."
Chapter VI

The Aryan March to the East: The Island Empires

Recent excavations at Anau, in the Turkman province of U.S.S.R., have revealed unmistakable evidence of a people who, in 9000 B.C., were living in adobe houses and had developed the culture of barley and wheat. By 6000 B.C. they had domesticated the cow, the goat and the sheep, the dog, the camel, and perhaps the horse. Since Anau borders on East Persia, and since the latter was in pristine times part of the seed-ground of the Aryan race, it seems reasonable to infer that the Anau culture was nothing but an off-shoot of the Aryan civilisation which, according to my thesis*, had reached a fair degree of maturity by the time the Rig Veda was composed, circa 5000 B.C. In due course the Aryan peoples overflowed their original habitat (which covered north-western India and Sind, Afghanistan, East Persia, and parts of Lower Chinese and Russian Turkestan) and advanced into the Indo-Gangetic plain, the Deccan and South India. They then marched both east and west by land and by sea and established colonies and centres of civilisation over the whole of South-West Asia and North Africa, as has been described in previous chapters. In this section, we shall see how these Aryan people spread themselves over the Malaysian Archipelago, and developed a culture there which has left a deep and lasting impression on the land and its people, and how they achieved a political hegemony in that region which survived for nearly fifteen centuries, incidentally producing some famous kingdoms which, in respect of their extent and achievement, were among the greatest of their age on the earth.

* as developed in the first volume of this work.
The Malaysian archipelago is the biggest in the world. It was variously known as the Indian archipelago, Insolinde, East Indies, Indonesia, and even as the Asiatic archipelago. The total number of islands is nearly 6000, ranging from mere coral dots in the ocean, to Borneo, the third largest island in the world. The dimensions of Malaysia are truly continental. As Wallace once observed, if transferred to Europe, its ends would touch Cornwall on one side and Anatolia on the other (50 degrees of longitude, and 25 of latitude). In other words, the islands would cover an area measuring roughly 3000 miles by 1500 miles. The islands are geologically divisible into the Asiatic and the Australian zones; the bigger islands, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Madura, Bali, etc., formed at one time part of the Asiatic mainland. Commercially the islands were always important, as they commanded the highways of the exceedingly profitable maritime trade between China, India and the West. In themselves they were well favoured by nature; wool, skins and ivory, gold and silver, tin and mercury, forest produce of all kinds, were available in the area in liberal measure, while in the matter of spices (pepper, cloves, nutmeg and mace) they almost held a world monopoly.*

*North Europe was unaware of these spices before the 14th or 15th century, although the Romans had been using them long before the Christian era. Spices, especially pepper and cloves, were in great demand after the Middle Ages, because they rendered palatable the hard salted meat eaten in winter months. In medieval times, owing to the difficulty in keeping them alive in winter, sheep and cattle were often slaughtered after the autumn, especially since preserved cattle feed was unknown. Fresh meat being scarce, it was necessary to spice the dry salted meat to make it tasty. In the 14th and 15th centuries, spices from the East were carried in Italian ships or in those of the Hanseatic League, which transhipped the cargo at Mecca, from Arab boats sailing the Indian Ocean. The early European filibusters found this trade so profitable (a profit of ten or twenty times the investment being not uncommon) that they often resorted to piracy, on this account. Drake, for instance, in 1587 captured a Portuguese carrack near the Azores, whose cargo was worth £108,000! Cavendish and Lancaster, who managed to reach the Spice Islands, started committing piracy in the grand manner (1588-1594). One of their captured Portuguese boats fetched the then fantastic value of £140,000 for its cargo. The Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries achieved, through force and fraud, a world monopoly of nutmeg, mace and cloves, shipping every year between 2000 and 3000 tons to Europe. "With a purchase price of 3 d. a pound at the Moluccas and a cost price of perhaps 6 d. at Amsterdam, the cloves sold at the more or less constant rate of 6 sh. 3 d. a pound. Besides this, the Dutch Company distributed large quantities in Asia of cloves and nutmeg". (B. Harrison, *op. cit.* P.115)
The people of the archipelago at present can be broadly classified into three categories: (1) The first would be the 'wild tribes' (usually of the pigmy type and still practising ritual cannibalism), of which there are three subdivisions, viz., the Negrito (short, dark and fuzzy-haired), the Austroloid or Veddoid (hairy, dusky, medium-built and coarse-featured), and the Mongolid (slight, round-headed, hairless and brown-skinned). (2) The second category is called Proto-Malay, a people who form the comparatively more backward sections of the inhabitants in the settled areas, and who belonged at the dawn of history to the late neolithic age. The Bataks, the Achinese, the Gaya and the Lampangs of Sumatra, the Dayaks, Kayan, and Dusun of Borneo, the aborigines of the Celebes Islands, belong to this type. Some of these tribes are still partly untamed and ferocious (e.g. the Kayan and the Bataks), but some others (e.g. the Dayaks) are milder in character, tractable and hospitable to a degree, despite their reputation for head-hunting. Wallace said of the Dayaks that they were neither cunning nor treacherous, and were so truthful that the word of one of them might be taken before the oath of half a dozen Malays. (3) Lastly, we have the Deutero-Malays, or the so-called Indonesian type, who probably introduced the use of metals*. Originally the term Indonesian was applied to the tall and relatively light-complexioned communities of Sumatra with no Mongolid characteristics. Later, the term has been extended to other peoples, lofty in build but darker-skinned and with a Mongolian cast of features. This type is prevalent all over Malaysia, and they came probably from the same region from which the Proto-Malays arrived. The two types mingled freely, but the tall non-Mongoloids were gradually pushed inland into the mountains and river valleys. To quote the opinion of Messrs Steiger, Beyer and Benitez (A History of the Orient):

"In general, throughout all the largest islands of Malaysia, we still find a rough stratification of population that has doubtless persisted throughout the historical period from the time the original types entered the archipelago. Generally speaking, the coastal regions are occupied by the people of Mongolid blood and by those who have entered within historical times, while the interior is occupied by people of decidedly mixed-Indonesian

* Stutterheim thinks that these people came to Indonesia from "Further India". The Proto-and Deutero-Malays are also termed Austronesian."
characteristics, which grow stronger and stronger as we approach the mountains and the headwaters of the largest rivers. Around the headwaters of these streams and in the remote forests and swamps there are to be found, even at the present time, a few survivals of the old primitive and pygmy types.

"Two thousand years ago, when Hindu culture began to enter Malaysia, this stratification must have been even more pronounced. There are a number of very good reasons for believing that at the beginning of the Christian Era only the coastal regions and lower river valleys were occupied by Malays (that is, people of mixed Mongoloid and Indonesian blood) and that the Indonesians of the interior were still pure in so far as any mixture with the Mongoloid types was concerned."

As regards the language spoken by the bulk of the people of the archipelago, it is now considered that the Melanesian, Polynesian, Indonesian and the Micronesian tongues belong to the same family, for which a new name 'Austronesian' has been coined. It is surmised that the people speaking these various tongues must have lived together in close contact before they were scattered throughout the thousands of islands of the Pacific Ocean. Dr. Majumdar holds that a common home near our homeland existed for these Austronesian peoples, as we shall see. The learned Kern thought that Indo-China was the most likely original home; Ferrand, however, would trace them back to a habitat in Central Asia, from where they were supposed to have been driven out by the Chinese down south into the valleys of the great rivers, the Irravathy, the Salween, the Meenam and the Mekong. Van Stein Callenfels agreed with Ferrand generally, and would locate the original home of the Austronesians in the Altai mountains of Central Asia.* Schmidt, on the contrary, would connect the Austronesians with the Munda and the Khasi people of India, on the strength of philological resemblances, and would place their original home in North-East India. In Schmidt's words:

"In the same way as I have presented here the results of my investigations on movements of peoples who, starting from India

* Brian Harrison agrees with this view vide the following quotation: "The last group of people to move down into South East Asia in pre-historic times, probably between 2500 and 1500 B.C., was the group of the physical type called Indonesian or Austronesian...... It is very probable that the dispersal centre of the Indonesian people was in south-west China" (South East Asia, P. 9.)
towards the east, at first spread themselves over the whole length of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and then over all the islands of the Pacific Ocean up to its eastern extremity,—my attention has for long been drawn to another current which, in my opinion, also started from India, but turned more directly towards the south and touching only the western fringe of the Pacific Ocean proceeded, perhaps by way of New Guinea, towards the continent of Australia."

Prof. Sylvain Levi finds morphological affinities between the Austronesian tongues and some Sanskrit-based dialects. A few interesting discussions have followed from this discovery. According to one theory, quite a novel one, "one or several ethnic waves originating in Indo-China or in one of the bigger islands flowed into India before the Aryan invasion." (!) Another asserts, on the other hand, that either the Aryans (or the Dravidians!), on arriving in India caused an exodus of the original population of the sub-continent to South-East Asia and that there was thus a pre-Aryan influx of Indian culture into the archipelago, which could explain the linguistic and cultural coincidences now noticed. A third theory has also been sponsored, especially by Von Heine Geldern, that the original home of the Indonesian culture was also the home of the Indian (i.e., Aryan) culture, that the two cultures had a common origin and that only the streams bringing them southwards bifurcated, one going to the Indo-Gangetic plain and later into the Deccan, and the other proceeding overland to South-East Asia. In the words of D.G.E. Hall:

"According to this theory, the Aryans on arriving in India found a culture there which was a mixture of Munda and Dravidian elements and was at least as high as the Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian ones. The Hinduism of historical times indeed contains much that traces back to a Dravidian or Munda origin. Research into the Munda element, notably by Sylvain Levi and Przyluski, has revealed the importance of its contributions to Indian culture. These two scholars have stressed the fact that there are non-Aryan elements in the cult of Siva and his wife Uma, and that the 'linga' cult has a partly Dravidian, partly Munda, origin, going back to the stone-worship of neolithic times. Sylvain Levi also, from his

* History of South East Asia: all other quotations from Dr. Hall are from this book.
† Italics mine.
study of the Munda Languages, shows not only that some of the races mentioned in Sanskrit literature have Munda names, but that not a few Sanskrit words, such as those for pepper, clove, onion, aloeswood, betel, etc., are of Austric origin, to use the term invented by Pater Schmidt in demonstrating the underlying unity of the two great groups of Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages stretching from the Himalayas to Easter Island and from Madagascar to Hawaii.

"It seems certain also that Indonesia, before the coming of Hindu culture, possessed in its oral tradition stories of the same kind as the Sanskrit tales, and it may be that when later on, after the introduction of written literature from India, we meet them in literary form with an Indonesian setting, they are not necessarily foreign importations which have been given an Indonesian twist, but represent folk myths and legends, springing from the same remote origin as the Indian stories, which have maintained their original character in purer form. Thus, it is argued, with the coming of Hindu culture Austric stories took on a Hindu garb, and the divergencies from the Hindu form in a Hindu-Javanese story are often re-creations of an old Austric theme."

From the spate of suppositions with which we are confronted one thing is clear, viz., that, apart from the undersized "wild tribes," whom we might call the Adivasis of Indonesia, the other denizens of these favoured isles were all intruders, coming from the Asian mainland. Their original home is placed in Central Asia by some historians, and in India by some. According to one or two daring philologists, it is even likely that these people travelled back to the Indian sub-continent, to endow it with the so-called pre-Aryan culture, which in their enthusiasm the historians would compare with the civilisations of Egypt, Sumeria and of Babylon! If this theory be correct, the celebrated Indus-Valley civilization (3500 to 2000 B.C.), bespeaking a very advanced state of social life, would be a contribution, alternatively, of the near-savages of Indonesia or of the Mundas and Khasis of East India, who till the other day were living in a state not far removed from barbarism. I am afraid that in some quarters the linguistic
coincidences are overrated and possibly even misinterpreted.* It is not quite certain, as Prof. Levi would have it, that some Sanskrit name-words, especially those of spices and scents, like lavanga, pipplika, maricha, chandan, and agar, were really loan-words from the Austric speech. Even if they were, I suggest that it would not prove an Austronesian invasion of India 5000 years ago! It is equally probable that the Indians trading with the Far East in prehistoric times might have either imported and incorporated the names into their own (Sanskrit) vocabulary, or, what is more likely, coined Sanskrit names for these stuffs which the natives might have adopted and adapted into their vernacular.† (In this manner potato has been incorporated into Hindi as patati!) It seems unjustified, on the basis of a few loan-words, to build up a theory of interracial movements, across the high seas and over distances of thousands of miles. We might as well speak of a Tamilian invasion of Britain, two hundred years ago, because the English culinary jargon contains such words as kichree, curry, chutney, mulligatawny, etc.!

It must be admitted, however, that the wide dispersion of Sanskrit-based words among the Melanesian and the Polynesian peoples further east in the Pacific islands, who are not known to have been under Indian political and cultural hegemony, poses a problem for which a solution has to be sought.‡ In the case of Malaysia, where Indians are known to have colonised and even ruled for many centuries the areas concerned, the difficulty does not arise; obviously, a heavy linguistic acculturation (by Sanskrit or Pali, as the case may be) is a concomitant of foreign rule, especially over a primitive people, whose language, religion and culture were in a highly plastic and unformed condition.

* Thus Prof. Pareti (The Ancient World, Vol. I, P. 61) — "The Munda, etc., dialects have become the language of backward peoples outside the main lines of communication and have never...... formed a means of civilization. Even their influence on Sanskrit vocabulary which Przywalski and Levi believed was very significant, is now usually stated in more modest terms".

† Panini (8th—7th century B.C.) mentions all these words without any hint of their being "loaned" from other tongues.

‡ I have dealt with this question elsewhere in this volume, suggesting that the Polynesian, etc., nations were originally Aryan by racial affinity and language.
Dr. Majumdar has propounded an intriguing theory on this subject. Consistently with his adherence to the postulate of an Aryan (and even a Dravidian) invasion of Aryavarta, he would push back the first phase of Indian colonisation of the Far East “to a time prior to the Aryan or Dravidian conquest of India” (which makes it anterior to 2000 B.C.). He controverts the suggestion of Krom and Hornell that the Indonesians had colonised India first and that the Aryan conquest of the Spice Islands was merely a reversal of the process, by pointing out that the supposed Indonesian motifs (like the monoliths, the linga and the yoni) were commonplaces of the Indus Valley Civilization of 3000 B.C., where even a proto-Siva has been daringly identified by Mortimer Wheeler. Since this culture ante-dated the (assumed) Aryan invasion by about 2000 years, even according to Western scholars, it is patently incorrect to suggest an Indonesian inspiration for the motifs and cults mentioned above. He writes:

“Considering the whole course of Indian history, it seems more probable that the migration of the people and ideas was generally from India towards the east, and no tangible evidence has yet been obtained that the process was just the reverse. On the whole, therefore, the views of Schmidt and Sylvain Levi appear far more reasonable than those of Hornell and Hutton.”

Having thus disposed of the fervent Indonesianists, Majumdar unfolds his own theory which, briefly, is that there is an intimate connection between the expressions Malava and Malaya, and that in fact the two have been used as variants of each other since ancient times in Indian literature and inscriptions. He quotes the view of Douglas, that the use by the Greeks of the term ‘Malloi’ for the tribe which gave such a spirited fight on the Indian soil to Alexander, indicated that the Indian tribal name was Malaya (and not Malava) which former term is found in common use from the dawn of Indian history. The great Epics and the Buddhist canonical works frequently refer to Malaya; Panini cites the Malava/Malaya clans as ‘ayudhajivins’ (Fighting Corporations) who had spread themselves all over India. Majumdar feels that Malaya and Malabar are but variants of the Malavadesa, which Hiuen Tsang mentions as 200 miles south of Kanchi. To quote the learned Professor again:
While Malava and Malaya can thus be traced as tribal or geographical names all over India, up to its north-western, eastern and southern extremities, the spread of this name across the sea is no less conspicuous. On the east, the famous Malays of Malaysia, the place-names Malay and Malacca in the Peninsula, Malayu in Sumatra, Mala or Malava for Laos, and perhaps even Moluccas Islands in the eastern extremity of the archipelago; and on the west, Maldives (Maladvipa), and Malay, the ancient name of Madagascar, testify to the spread of the name in Indo-China and along the whole range of the southern ocean. 

To reinforce his case, Majumdar points out that geographically the name Malava (Malaya) extended originally from the Punjab to Rajaputana and from there down to the west coast of the peninsula to Ceylon. From Ceylon, the transition to Sumatra, which was also known as Malaya, is not difficult.

"But the known facts about the Malava - Malaya tribe in India seem to me to offer quite a satisfactory explanation not only of the problem of colonisation of Madagascar, but also of the racial, linguistic and cultural phenomena observed by Schmidt, Hutton and Hornell. I have shown above enough grounds for the presumption—and it must not be regarded as anything more than a mere presumption—that the Malavas of India may be looked upon as the parent stock of the Malays who played such a leading part in Malaysia. If the presumption be held a reasonable one, we may refer to Ptolemy’s account as an evidence that the Malavas had spread to the Far East before his time. Thus while it is impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion in this matter, pre-historic migrations of Austronesian tribes from India to Malaysia appear very probable, and if this view be correct, we may regard the Indian Malaya - Malava people as one of these tribes."

* Dr. Majumdar could have added that there is a Province called Malanadu in South America (Peru) and that some African republics have named themselves Malawi and Malagasy. What about the famous Mala(va)nadu Brihat Charanam Brahmin community? Says Alan Villiers (The Indian Ocean), "The people of Madagascar, called Malagasy, came from the East. Tradition has it that they are related to the Nairs of India..... Royalty descended in the female line". The Malagasy language bears very close resemblance to the Malay and the Polynesian speeches. It is agglutinative, very soft and musical. The Island is full of fine humped cattle, a gift of Aryavarta.

† There was a kingdom called ‘Malayu’ in Sumatra.
Dr. Majumdar has made out a highly plausible case for considering the Malays of Madagascar and of South-East Asia generally as distant cousins of the Malava clans in India, though the learned writer is careful not to claim any finality for his view. We can perhaps let the matter rest here, after reiterating the fatal objections to the contrary thesis, viz., that the known Aryan intrusion into the Archipelago was but the reversal of an earlier converse movement of the aborigines of Java and Sumatra into Aryavarta. Whether the Melanesian and the Polynesian races now occupying the distant islands in the Pacific Ocean owed anything to India will be discussed elsewhere.

Before we go into the history of the Aryan colonisation of Malaysia, it will be interesting to identify the ancient Sanskrit names of the principal islands of the archipelago and its environs. The Nicobar islands were known as Nagnapara (land of the naked) and the Andamans as Andadvipa (egg-shaped?). Sumatra was called Samudra (or Swarnabhumi) and the Peninsula as Malaya (or Swarnadvipa). Borneo was named Purnadvipa, probably in view of its very considerable size; Java was, of course, Yavadvipa, because of its rich soil and fine crop of foodgrains. Baros, on the north coast of Sumatra, was called Varahadvipa; Banka in reality was Vanga and the island of Sankay, Sankhadvipa. Pase in north Sumatra was known as Pasa. As regards other place-names in Java and its neighbourhood (Madura, Bali, etc.), most of the appellations have remained unchanged for over 2000 years (except for some distinctive and confusing Dutch spellings). The Sanskrit derivations are also unmistakable, of the hundreds of Aryan localities with which the islands are studded, as we shall see as we go along.†

In a sense, the history of Malaysia starts much later than that of its neighbours (e.g. Burma, Ceylon, etc.). History really begins where one is able not only to narrate the national events with certainty but to record them in their proper sequence. A written language, a definite chronology, and the technique of

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* Java has one of the densest populations in the world, viz. over 800 per square mile. Yet it produces enough rice (over 5 million tons) to make it not only self-sufficient but to have an exportable surplus in normal years.

† Rather significantly, the highest peak in Java is named Sumeru, the abode of the Gods in Indian mythology.
preserving historical events in manuscripts or inscriptions, all these are necessary before history proper can be said to commence. The Malaysians never invented a script for themselves; they merely borrowed the alphabet of India to start with, and this meant a considerable time-lag in the creation of national archives. The student of early Malaysian history has, therefore, necessarily to fall back on unwritten local traditions, the primitive artifacts, the architectural remains, and, where available, the contemporary records of foreigners, none of which can be said to be plenteous in the early years of Malaysian history.

A word of caution is perhaps necessary at this stage regarding the spirit of objectivity with which the problem has to be approached. We are but too familiar with the European historian with his slightly superior attitude to the ‘natives’, and his fund of hardboiled preconceptions, when dealing with Oriental history. For instance, it was at one time fashionable to start Indian history with Alexander’s invasion, waving aside with a gesture of pitying deprecation the myths, the legends and obvious concoctions of ‘native’ writers often masquerading as pauraniks and rishis. It was considered de rigueur by the Westerners to attribute every progress in India to foreign initiative and enterprise, and it was not considered preposterous to suggest that the Taj Mahal was designed by Italians! In the same manner, Indonesia has been the victim of what de Casparis calls the “Europe-centric spirit”, in which real Malaysian history is supposed to start with the arrival of the Portuguese and the Dutch, and the Hindu period is vaguely dismissed in a few lines as a sort of dull prelude or a mere curtain-raiser to the splendidous Dutch drama! It is true that a revulsion of feeling has been observable of late among Western writers, but this has taken the curious turn of systematically running down the Hindu contribution to Malaysian culture, and of magnifying, often beyond the limits of acceptability, the progress achieved by the native population before the Indians appeared on the scene. D. G. E. Hall has typified this reaction in these words:

“The reader must be warned, however, against the insidious

*The same spirit is seen in the suggestion by Western writers that the Mauryan stone architecture was borrowed from Persia and that the Sanchi toranas evince a Chinese origin! “The suggestion that the Taj Mahal's architect was an Italian may be a legend invented by those who consider the design of the building so marvellous that they wish to find a non-Hindu authorship for it.” (Legacy of India, Page 251)
tendency to overemphasize the part played by the imported cultures and to underrate the importance of the indigenous ones of the area. The use of such terms as ‘Further India’, ‘Greater India’, or ‘Little China’ is to be highly deprecated. Even such well-worn terms as ‘Indo-China’ and ‘Indonesia’ are open to serious objections, since they obscure the fact that the areas involved are not mere cultural appendages of India or China but have their own strongly-marked individuality. The art and architecture which blossomed so gorgeously in Angkor, Pagan, Central Java and the old kingdom of Champa are strangely different from that of Hindu and Buddhist India. For the real key to its understanding one has to study the indigenous cultures of the peoples who produced it. And all of them, it must be realized, have developed on markedly individualistic lines.

“Indian influence, which, unlike Chinese, had no political implications, was, in the process of absorption by the native societies in South-East Asia, transformed just as much as, for example, that of ancient Greece was in its impact upon Western Europe.”

We in India are not unacquainted with this sort of dichotomy of the European savant. Have we not come across more than one learned writer who, while denigrating the Aryans as vandals and semi-savages, would crown the mythical Dravidians with a halo of pristine glory?*

It is obvious that, in his anxiety to render himself ‘Java-centric’, Hall has been less than fair to Indian cultural source-material. No worth-while archaeologist had ever asserted that the magnificent temples and palaces of Champa and Kamboja are “strangely different” from those of India. If anything they are faithful replicas of the products of Aryavarta, subject only to variations consequent on the availability of technical skill and raw materials locally. The gateways, the gopurams, the sanctuaries, the panelled walls full of scenes from the great Indian Epics, the decorations on pillar and roof,—all these breathe an intense desire to copy as closely as possible the dictates of

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*J. C. Van Leur (a Dutch writer of the ‘Liberal’ school) has this to say of his predecessors of the ‘Utrecht’ school: “The Indies-centred point of view is held for the preceding centuries when Hindu civilization came from India.... But with the arrival of ships from Western Europe, the point of view is turned a hundred and eighty degrees and then on the Indies are observed from the deck of a ship, the ramparts of a fortress, the high gallery of a trading house.”
the Indian agama and silpa sastras. It is true that occasional idiosyncracies are noticeable; for instance, the lions on the temples of Champa and Kamboja are far from true to nature, but this is because the Indian, or Indian-trained, artists had forgotten the appearance of the 'king of the jungle', who was not found in a wild state east of Western India in historical times. Also occasionally a late Buddha is featured like a superior aboriginal, for reasons which should be obvious. To add to the slight aberrations of taste and technique, Buddhist and Saivaite motifs were often juxtaposed in a bewildering manner, particularly in Javan architecture, a situation which could not have existed in the Indian homeland, where the buildings dedicated to the two faiths were kept rigidly apart. In the opinion of Stutterheim, "Before Buddhism and Saivism came to Java (from South India) they had a great influence on each other......In Java a clear distinction between the two can hardly be found.” To quote the learned Dr. Hall further:

"Indian sources have been searched for light upon the important movement. The results have been singularly disappointing. A statement in Kautilya's *Arthasastra* has been taken to indicate that the movement dates from a period earlier than the Christian era. It is a passage recommending a king to people an old or a new country by seizing the territory of another, or by clearing out the surplus population of his own. But the reference is all too vague, and in any case the original date ascribed to the compilation, namely, *circa* 300 B.C. in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, has been successfully challenged as being five centuries too early. Moreover, the theory is based upon the fallacious idea that Indian culture was brought to South-East Asia by waves of immigrants.

"The Buddhist *Jatakas* are full of stories of seamen, while the Hindu *Ramayana* mentions Java and possibly Sumatra. But the dates of their composition are unknown, and they contain no exact information concerning our subject. The canonical Pali text, the *Niddesa*, which may belong to the beginning of the Christian era, enumerates a series of Sanskrit place-names which Sylvain Levi identifies with places in South-East Asia. But, as the evidence of archaeology and the references to the region in Chinese and European writings do not go so far back, his identifications remain little more than hypothetical."
To say that Kautilya has been ‘successfully dated’ at 200 A.D. seems to be clear evidence of misreading of facts*. And to add that Valmiki’s Ramayana (which is universally acknowledged to be the authentic work of one great and gifted poet writing before the time of Buddha—624-544 B.C.) is of uncertain date, is nothing but a piece of unjustified scepticism.† Hall would apparently prefer to accept at full face-value the tendentious stories from Chinese sources which have been proved to be often unveracious by Gerini, and which are known to be padded and twisted to glorify the Chinese side of the picture. (To mention one instance, when the Emperor of Portugal sent an envoy with a token gift, the Chinese annals construed it as an act of submission and homage by the ‘white barbarian’!)

* Even a very conservative historian like Prof. Nilakanta Sastri admits the genuineness of Kautilya’s Artha Sastra and fixes 4th century B.C. as its date. See also Vol. I, Page 367. Asokan inscriptions copy the Artha Sastra, in places.

† Says Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji (Glimpses of Ancient India, page 109): “The Ramayana is the work of a single author described as an Adikavi and presenting ideal characters”.....The Uttarakanda of the Ramayana is considered by some competent critics to be a later addition by a different author.

F.W. Thomas says: The Ramayana presents itself as the pre-Buddhist composition of a single great sage... the evidence of a single authorship and a ‘poetic’ aim have given Valmiki a definiteness far greater than Vyasa.”

It might be added that Brian Harrison takes a different view—vide following quotation:

“The first definite Indian settlements that we know were established in the first century AD., but references to South-East Asia appear in Indian literature as early as the sixth century B.C. The Ramayana, which dates mostly from the latter century, refers to Suvarna-dvipa and Yava-dvipa; dvipa being the Sanskrit for ‘land with water on two sides (i.e.) peninsula or island; while suvarna means gold and yava barley. The Puranas mention Malay-dvipa and Yava-dvipa..... Among the sea-faring people of the east coast of India the countries of Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula were known as ‘lands of gold’ and it seems certain that from at least the sixth century B.C. onwards Indian traders were sailing to those lands, and down through the islands, in search of gold and tin. In the third century B.C., the Emperor Asoka sent Buddhist missionaries to Suvarna-bhumi, ‘land of gold’—perhaps the present Lower Burma.” (South-East Asia, Page 10).

‡ In 1793, the Emperor of China refused to accept the presents brought by the ambassador of King George III of Britain “on the ground that China (Middle Kingdom) possessed within her own borders all commodities that were worth having and had therefore no need of inferior offerings of a distant princelet, who, in the Chinese official view, was one of the minor tributary satellites of the Chinese World-Empire.” (Toynbee —The Imperialists.)
Hall considers that the causes of the Indian cultural expansion are not easy to assess, but seems to agree with the view of Coedes that trade interests might have sparked off the migration, partly in the quest for gold, whose import from both Bactria and the Roman Empire was cut off in the 1st century A.D. “This urge for the yellow metal coincided with a vast improvement in the techniques of navigation, and the construction of large ocean-going vessels, capable of carrying 500 to 700 passengers and sailing close to the wind.” The following graphic account of an imaginary, but supposedly typical, incident of a maritime excursion from India to Malaysia is given by Ferrand:

“A small convoy of ships arrives at a port (from South India). Its leaders win over the chiefs by presents, and the ordinary people by distributing amulets and treating the sick. Thus they gain a reputation for wealth and the possession of magical powers, and their claims, real or spurious, to royal birth are accepted when they seek the daughters of the chiefs in marriage. Their wives then become useful instruments for the propagation of the new ideas concerning royalty, ceremonial and worship, which they introduce.”

Ferrand could perhaps have dramatized his highly fanciful vignette by some more touches of local colour like the following:

“In thus imposing themselves on the native chief, the following ingredients would complete the pen-picture, viz., the personable Brahmin (with his bristling tuft, and the worn, and slightly smelly, sacred thread all askew), waving bunches of kusa grass over cowdung fires, and all the time uttering streams of unintelligible hocus-pocus, doubtless to hold and impress his starry-eyed audience, including the highly nubile daughter, ‘clad in nothing but a bashful smile’, of the native chief; the latter had got so engrossed in the weird and exotic spectacle that he was letting his dinner (confected mainly out of the human spoils of the previous night’s border raid) grow cold; the Brahmin’s assistants, clothed in antelope skins and seated on tiger-pelts, added to the mystery of the mumbo-jumbo by flinging ficus-tree twigs and ladies of ghee into the fire with shouts of ‘vishat’ and ‘swaha’ at the end of some more deeply muttered and outlandish phrases; etc, etc.”

Hall thinks there could have been no such mass migration as would have affected the physical type of the local population.
"The early Chinese reports show native societies that had adopted Hindu culture and not Indian colonies. Hinduism was aristocratic and made no impression on the masses. It was not till many centuries later when Theravada Buddhism was propagated that external influences began to make a real impact on the ordinary masses."

With due respect to Dr. Hall (whose writings bear the impress of monumental scholarship), I feel that some of his premises rest on shaky foundations. The art of sea-navigation was known to the Aryans even by the 4th millennium B.C.,* and by about 2000 B.C. they had established trade routes all over the Near East and North Africa. The Panis (or the Punics) were the "carriers of the civilised world" from about 1500 B.C. onwards till the rise of the Roman Empire. In India itself, Ceylon was heavily colonised in the 5th century B.C., and Burma had Aryan settlers established in it by about the same time. The island of Socotra (South of Arabia) was a busy Indian trading post before the Christian Era. It was called Devasukhadvipa (Island of Divine Pleasure) which the Greeks transliterated into Dioscorides and the Romans into Socotra (Sukhadvipa). Madagascar had large Aryan townships in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., the people speaking a language similar to Kawi or Old Javanese. The great Indian Epics repeatedly refer to Malaysia, as we have seen, and so do the Pali Buddhist works like the Jatakas and the Niddesa of pre-Christian authorship. The Puranas, which go back at least to the 1st century B.C., reveal a deep knowledge of the Archipelago. The contacts between Malaysia and Aryavarta must *therefore* have been well established long before the birth of Christ and in such a manner as to involve substantial movements of population.†

* Vide my Note on The Ancient Mariners, in Vol. I, Chapter IV. The following observations of Toynbee (The Imperialists) may be of interest in this context. "The Arabian Sea seems to have been the earliest theatre of oceanic voyages. Egyptologists now believe that Sumerian cultural influences reached Upper Egypt as early as 3000 B.C. and they guess that the route by which these influences travelled was the maritime one from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. Archaeology has also proved that in the third millennium B.C., the Indus Culture was in contact with the Sumerian; in this case too, the communication seems likely to have been maritime".

† "The knowledge of the monsoons must have been very common among the sailors in India, Arabia and Persia from very early times, and the mariners who reached China in the seventh century B.C. could not have feared sailing on the open seas". (A History of South India by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri—P.77.) Iron implements of South Indian origin, and belonging to the 1st millennium B.C., have been found in the Philippine Islands.
Regarding the contention that the lure of gold was the main impetus to the Hindu colonisation of Malaysia, it may be pointed out that this will scarcely apply to Java and its environs which produced little gold. Trade urges might have been there, but in that case the Brahmins would not have taken the lead, as they apparently did in almost all the places originally settled in. Moreover, large colonies would not be needed for trade purposes alone. The deep evangelical fervour and the call of the missionary were probably the dominant motives, as we could reasonably deduce from the persistent and ubiquitous Agastya/Kaundinya legends. The quest for adventure, and perhaps the need for a lebensraum for a growing population on the mainland, might have been contributory causes, but they were clearly secondary in importance.*

The suggestion of the learned Dr. Hall that the Aryans did not settle in Malaysia in large numbers is very wide of the mark. The Chinese records mention large colonies of merchants and of

* Tagore has pictured, in enchanting Bengali verse, the coming of the Aryan to Java:

"In a dim distant unrecorded age,
We had met, thou and I,
When my speech tangled in thine
and my life in thy life.
The East Wind had carried thy beckoning call
through an unseen windy path,
To a distant sun-lit shore framed by coconut leaves.
It blended with the conch-shell sound
that rose in worship at the shrines,
By the sacred waters of the rivers.
The Great God Vishnu spake to me,
as also Uma, the ten-armed goddess:
"Make ready thy boat, carry the rites of worship
across the unknown turbulent seas."
The rivers stretched their arms to the Eastern ocean
in a flow of majestic gesture.
From the heavens spoke two mighty voices,
the one that had sung of Rama's sorrow and glory,
and the other of Arjuna's triumphant arm,
Urging me to bear along the waves their Epic
lines to the eastern island shores.
And the heart of my land murmured to me its hope
that it might build its nest of love and piety
in the far-off lands of its dreams."
the priestly castes, as for example in the Bandon area, as cited elsewhere. Without a considerable following (soldiers, civil servants, artisans, agricultural workers, traders, and members of the priestly and the learned professions,) it would not have been possible for the Aryans to have set up their large settlements, which grew soon into small kingdoms, and ultimately into very considerable empires. The assumption made by Hall, on the strength of the Chinese chronicles, that in most cases it was the natives who adopted Aryan names and founded the Aryan-sounding genealogies, is not borne out by the details of the case, which seem to support the contrary view taken by the learned authors of *The History of the Orient*, whom I quote:

"The development of historical civilisation in Indo-China and Malaysia is bound up with the history of Southern India. As we have already seen in connection with India, the whole history of South India from nearly a thousand years before Christ down to the Mohammedan conquest has been essentially the history of three great dynasties,—the Pandya, the Pallava, and the Chola. It is with the Pallavas, however, that we are most directly concerned in the matter of "Further Indian" (Malaysian) history.

"There is still some doubt as to to just where in Malaysia the first Pallava settlement was made, but it is quite certain that between the first century B.C. and the second century of the Chrisian Era five important colonies had been established by the Pallavas in Indo-China. These were (1) a settlement in Cambodia; (2) one in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula; (3) in the Palembang River valley in Sumatra; (4) in central Java; (5) in eastern Borneo. It is probable also that a sixth colony was established at almost as early a date near the present city of Kedah, on the upper part of the Malay Peninsula. They were all Brahman colonies, the rulers of which bore Pallava names."

The situation in Java, Indo-China, Borneo, Sumatra, Moluccas and the Celebes, was not very different from what it was in Simhala when Sri Vijaya sailed down the Indian coast to found a colony in that delightful island, in the 5th century B.C. No

*Thus Sir R. Winstedt (in his book, *The Malay*) : "Lately, evidence has accumulated to indicate early Indian visits to Malaya. Probably, it was an Indian ship which brought an Attic vase of the 5th century B.C. to Perlis. . . . Roman beads of the 1st century A.D. were brought by Indian traders."
claims are made by Western historians that Ceylon was only touched on the fringe by stray magic-vending Brahmin tourists, as alleged in respect of Malaysia; nor is it alleged that the aboriginal Veddahs and Yakkas in that isle were in a comparatively advanced state of civilization, as is claimed for the Proto-Malays of Java. This latter claim has been subjected to a detailed criticism by Majumdar, and it will be worthwhile examining it in brief here. According to the analysis made by Krom, the Austronesian peoples who inhabited Malaysia before the Aryans came had some knowledge of agriculture (of the banana, the sugarcane, and the coconut tree, all of which also grew wild), but of cereals, especially rice, they were ignorant.* They hunted and fished and had domesticated the pig and the water-buffalo. They wore clothes made of tree-barks and could weave mats and sails out of reeds. They lived in little houses made of bamboo and rattan and possessed some slight knowledge of metals. They could count up to a thousand and could navigate little dug-outs from island to island, with the help of the sun and the stars. Their religion was animistic and they regarded the spirits of their ancestors as the most potent factor in real life. Dead bodies were either thrown into the sea or left for beasts and birds to devour.

The picture given above will apply to all the islands in the Archipelago, but Java had risen a little above the level of its neighbours. The Javanese could work on metals a little and even make jewellery of some artistic value. They seem to have cultivated some grains (barley, wheat, pulses, etc.) and engaged in maritime trade. They had a workable calendar, which divided the year into 12 months of 30 days each. Ancestor-worship was supplemented by some rudimentary ideas of theogony interlarded with the beginnings of a philosophical quest.

* "Claims that it-(South-East Asia) was itself the cradle of civilisation, based on the cultivation of rice, are not substantiated by archaeological evidence. According to the Greek Theophrastus, (4th century B.C.) rice had been cultivated in the Ganges basin from time immemorial..... Neither South-East Asia, nor Indonesia nor the Philippines experienced a phase of technology fully comparable with the Bronze Age in the more advanced parts of the Old World... The Dong Son (North Annam) bronze technology affected only a small segment of the population which remained in a basically neolithic stage until the general use of iron was spread by the Hindu merchants." (Grahame Clarke, World Pre-History, Pages 204—205.)
Such was the culture of Java of about 500 B.C. when the Aryans first came into contact with it, according to the picture presented by Krom. The Ramayana (700 B.C.?) describes Java as “ratnavantam Yavadvipam, phalabhojyopasobhitam”—a passage which establishes beyond doubt that the Aryans were not only aware of the island of Java but knew of its incredible fertility and picturesque appearance. The learned Doctor Brandeis has, however, credited the Javanese with the following pre-Aryan accomplishments, viz.,

(a) shadow-play acting (wayang),
(b) use of modern musical instruments (gamelan),
(c) evolution of a metric system of weights and measures,
(d) weaving (batik) cloth,
(e) monetary system and coinage,
(f) knowledge of artificial irrigation, and
(g) political administration of a rather high order.

The views of Brandeis have not been accepted by most European scholars, and justly so. For example, the first reference to shadow-plays (chhaya-nataka) occurs centuries after Hindus (who knew the art well in India) had been settled on the island.* ‘Gamelan’ is obviously a Javanese adaptation of a Hindu original. As regards batik weaving, it was unknown outside Java, and its first notice in the island is of a late age, while India was mass-producing and exporting this sort of printed textile many centuries earlier. Concerning the use of the metric system and of metallic coins, these appear on the scene some hundreds of years after the Hindu weights and measures and coins had been in use in Java. As regards artificial irrigation and advanced political set-up, the chief argument used by Brandeis is that in these two cases Javanese (and not Sanskrit) expressions are used in the local technical books. This obviously is no satisfactory proof; even a rank imitator of a foreign device can use his own native terminology, either for convenience or to cover his traces. When one nation copies the art of another (cf. modern Japan), it is not necessary that the original nomenclature should also be adopted with all phonetic subservience. To give one instance, the

* Sanskrit literature knows of special compositions intended for puppet or shadow play. Examples are the Dutangada (12th century?) and the earlier Mahanataka (8th century).
English copied, outside India, the river-valley irrigation system of the early Cholas (circa 100 B.C.), but they did not use, in their text-books, such words as ‘anicut’, ‘kolлизам’, ‘бund’, ‘ayacut’, ‘padugai’, which are commonplaces of the idiom of early Indian agriculture. To sum up: it is true that the delightful island of Java commanded, in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, a slightly higher state of culture than did her sister islands in the Archipelago. This was in all likelihood due to the Javanese having been fortunate enough to have made earlier contacts with the two highly civilised countries in the immediate vicinity, viz., China and India.

Let us now turn to the sadly chequered history of this lovely island, which has an area of over 50,000 sq. miles and (at present) one of the world’s densest populations (about 60 million).* Among the islands surrounding Yavadvipa may be mentioned Mathura (Madura) and Bali. There are high mountains in the interior rising up to 12000 ft., many of them actively volcanic. The Surabaya river has excellent harbourage near its mouth; the other rivers (Solo, Brantas,† etc.) are not navigable but provide admirable irrigation facilities in a land even otherwise notoriously fertile and intensively cultivated from time immemorial. The flora is so rich that no other area in the world is comparable to it; but the country is poor in minerals, except in recently discovered petroleum. The people of Java consist of three main stocks, very similar to one another, viz., the Sundanese, the Madurese, and the Javanese proper; the last-mentioned are physically less robust than the others, but are more polished in their manners and generally possess a higher culture than their confreres.‡

As usual, we have to grope somewhat in the dark to find out the genesis of the Aryan influx into Java.§ We have perused

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* From a little over 70 million in 1940, Indonesia’s population rose to 85 million in 1956. Java’s population rose in the same period from 48 million to 55 million (Governments and Politics of South East Asia, edited by G. M. Kahin, Page 190).

† Sura-Karta and Varunta in Sanskrit.

‡ de Borros says that the Portuguese found in Java “the most civilized people in these parts”, thanks largely to the Hindu cultural and political dominance for many centuries.

§ In the words of Prof. Twiner, “History is the natural propaganda of a social order”. In this sense, and to use a trite phrase, the Aryans were too busy making history to write it down!
Ferrand’s fanciful account of an imaginary Aryan landing; let us now see what the Javan folklore has to say on the subject. One account attributes the first colony to a prince of Gujarat who was himself descended of the Pandavas. Another tradition credits this feat to a Prince of Kalinga “who landed in the country with 20,000 families from Kling; they prospered and multiplied”; the local people, who were not too cultured at the time, were groomed into a higher civilization by the Kalinga king named Kano (Karna). A still different story narrates that “another principality named Astina (Hastinapura) sprang up at this time and was ruled by a king called ‘Pala Sara’ (Parasara) who was succeeded by his son Abiasa (Vyasa), who himself was succeeded by his son ‘Pandu Deva Natha’, who ruled over Java for many years”. All legends give top-billing to one Aji Saka, apparently a hero of the Mahabharata war and a chief mantrin at ‘Astina’, who commanded the first band of immigrants into Java, which was known in his time as Nusa Kendang (Nrisamsa Kedaram = wicked country) peopled by vile Rasakshas (Rakshasas), which country was renamed by him as Yavadvipa. The landing of Aji Saka is said to mark the first year of the Javanese calendar (i.e., first Saka year or 78 A.D.).* In yet another account, it is claimed that the religion and the fine arts of India were introduced by a Brahmin named Tri Treshta ‘who came with a large following and who is himself identified as Aji Saka’.

The hero Aji is thus described by Raffles: “The accounts of the real character of ‘Aji Saka’, are various. Some represent him as a great and powerful prince, who established an extensive colony on Java, which a pestilence afterwards obliged him to withdraw; whilst others consider him as a saint and deity, and believe that on his voyage to Java he sailed over mountains, islands, and continents. Most, however, agree in attributing to him the first introduction of letters, government, and religion; the only trace of anterior civilization being a tradition, that before his time there existed a judicial code, under the title of sun and moon......This code, Aji Saka is represented to have reformed;

* Says Dr. T. N. Ramachandran (The Golden Age of Hindu-Javanese Art): “As a proof of our theory that the Hindu culture that went to Java was from South India it can be pointed out that not only the Saka reckoning is found but also the Vikrama era known to North Indians alone, is conspicuous by its absence, not only in Java but also in Malay-Archipelago.”
and an abstract collection of ordinances, said to have been made from his instructions, is believed to have been in use as late as the time of Janggala, and even of Majapahit. (14th century).3

Out of this murky mass of legend and folklore, some conclusions seem to emerge. The Aryan colonisation was made in great strength and not by stray performers of spiritual legerdemain, as picturesquely told by Ferrand. The leader was apparently a Brahmin (Parasara, Vyasa, TriTreshta are all Brahmins) and he came at such a dimly distant past that his landing date is confused with Adi Saka chronology (78 A.D.), which was the conventional era prevalent in South India at the time. The Aryans might have come earlier, but, as the Javan National Calendar started at 78 A.D., the myths apparently stopped with this date for a beginning and never went beyond it. The references to Kalinga and to Gujarat are interesting only because they mis-identify the later immigrants (including the Mussalmans) with the original arrivals, who were mostly from South India. (It may be mentioned that the Karo-Batak of Sumatra have family names like Chola, Pandya, Pallava and Malayala).4

We have seen that Ptolemy (II century A.D.) refers to Java as ‘Iabadiou’ (Yavadeevu in Pali) and describes it as an ‘island of barley’. Since the Greek writer took his information from the Hindus, the island must have been occupied well before his time. The Chinese annals refer to an embassy sent to China in 132 A.D. by Tiao Pien, King of Ye-Tiao. Pelliot recognises the country as Yavadvipa and Ferrand identifies the King with Devavarman. If this distinguished opinion be accepted, then there is no room to doubt that a Hindu kingdom (probably of a Pallava origin) was strongly ensconced in Java in the 2nd century A.D. But it need not be assumed that it was in tutelage to the Han Emperor, as, in the words of Majumdar, “the Chinese historians always represent their sovereign as the ‘Suzerain of the World’, and any friendly offering or exchange of produce for commercial purposes is regarded as subservient tribute.”

This Hindu kingdom of Java was the earliest in the South-East Asia to establish diplomatic contacts with China. There is a

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*Raffles: History of Java:

† There is a Chinese tradition (mentioned in a 15th century work) that Java was “redeemed from barbarism in 56 A.D.” which tradition was but a rechauffe of Javan folklore, with an error of 22 years in the reckoning.
reference in two Chinese works of the 3rd century A.D. to a country called Tchow-Po with an island named Mali close by, and the Chinese writers mention the ability of the women of the land to embroider floral patterns on cotton cloth. Pelliot has identified these names as Yava and Bali. After a break of about two centuries, diplomatic exchanges with China were resumed by Java in the 5th century A.D. In a Chinese chronicle of 430 A.D. entitled "History of the 1st Sung Dynasty", mention is made of a number of embassies between 430 A.D. and 450 A.D., sent by a King of Ho-lo-tan, named Sri Pada Purnavarman according to one version, who ruled over the island of Cho-Po (or Java). Unfortunately, it is not possible to place Ho-lo-tan with precise identification. Phonetically it will be Kalantan, but this is difficult to accept. The great Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hien, who stayed in India for a number of years, had to touch at Java, on account of shipping difficulties (414/415 A.D.). He says, like a good Sramana, "various forms of errors and Brahmanism are flourishing (in this island) while Buddhism in it is not worth mentioning". It is clear that orthodox neo-Vedic Hinduism was widely prevalent in the island and was, in fact, the religion of the people at the time of Fa Hien. The situation, however, changed rapidly in a few decades, for in another Chinese text called the 'Life History of Famous Monks' (519 A.D.) the following story is found: Prince Gunavarman, son of Sanghananda of the royal family of Kapisa (near Kandahar), went to Ceylon (circa 420 A.D.), refusing succession to the Kapisan throne. From there he proceeded to Java (Cho-Po), where his prospective arrival was revealed in advance to the Queen-mother of the local king in a dream. Following this miracle, the Royal family embraced Buddhism; somewhat fortuitously, the local monarch obtained a great victory over some inimical intruders, thanks to some sound advice given by Gunavarman. The grateful king thereupon issued a decree prohibiting the slaughter of animals throughout his kingdom—in conformity with the orthodox Buddhist code. Gunavarman, whose reputation had already soared high in Java, was thereupon invited to Nanking by the Chinese Emperor, and he made the journey in a ship owned by an Indian merchant named Nandin (431 A.D.).

The most ancient inscriptions of Java (5th century A.D.) are found on four rocks, near Batavia. The first three name a king
called Purnavarman, lord of the city of Taruma, who is described as a great and victorious Brahmin. The inscriptions also record his having dug, in the 22nd year of his rule, a ten-mile-long irrigation canal named Gomati in twenty days, in commemoration of which he paid a dakshina of 1000 cows to Brahmins. The fourth inscription (dated the 22nd year of the King’s reign) calls Purnavarman’s grandfather a Rajarishi, and his father a Rajadhri- raja, who also dug a canal called Chandrabhaga from his capital town to the sea. Below the inscription are sculptured two human feet and four of an elephant.

The reaction of European scholars to this inscription has been curious, in the sense that they have felt that there was no such king in Java as Purnavarman and that the inscription merely referred to a legendary Indian hero of that name. There is no basis for this assumption, in view of the definite particulars noted in the record, especially the regnal year. The cutting in rock of the royal feet and those of the elephant, are rather inexplicable unless we consider them to be the feet of Indra (or Vishnu) and those of Airavata the divine elephant, or unless we agree with Stutterheim that they were merely symbolic of the ruler’s sway over the land. But there is little justification for the easy inference made by some Western scholars that the King wanted his feet and those of his mount to be worshipped by the general masses! Such a construction is on a par with the assumption made by some European savants that when King Bhadravarman built a shrine for Bhadreswara, or Isanavarman for Isaneswara in Champa, he was thereby elevating himself to the position of a god and wanted posterity to worship him as such! Perhaps it was not recognised by these critics that it was a common practice with Indian princes to assume the name of a favourite divinity and then make the latter a sort of “Kuladaivam.” Often temples were erected specially for such family gods by the grateful princes, with absolutely no suggestion of a divine origin for the builder himself,

*Sanskrit—Dharma? The first text reads thus:
“Vikrantasya Aswanipateh
Srimatah Purnavarmanah
Taruma Nagarendrasya
Vishnoriva Padadvayam.”

Dr. T.N. Ramachandran (in his Golden Age of Hindu Javanese Art) interprets this verse as implying that the power and glory of King Purnavarman were equal to those of Vishnu.
who was occasionally portrayed in stone, in the temple premises, in an attitude of meek devotion to his patron deity.

The facts that the inscriptions were written in Pallava script and in chaste Sanskrit verse, that three generations of kings were cited, that two of them were so solicitous of their subjects’ welfare as to dig large irrigation canals for them, that Vedic sacrifices were performed with regulation fees, that distances were measured by Indian standards (dhamus), that the Hindu calendar was used, and that references were made to Indian holy rivers and to Vishnu’s feet and to Airavata,—all these show that the land of Java was by that time saturated with Hindu ideas of religion and learning and that populous Aryan colonies had been firmly established in those regions. There is little room for supporting Dr. Vogel’s view that Purnavarman was a ‘Native Chief’ who had been Hinduised, (a la Ferrand, see above) by clever Brahmin specialists in arcana. By the same token, we might as well ascribe the Roman baths and chapels, and the magnificent Roman roads and walls of England, to the efforts of petty/Celtic headmen who had been “Romanised” by pagan missionaries* sent out by the Caesars!

Java being sparsely populated at that time, other Hindu colonies must have established themselves on the island, with their own leaders or kings. Some Chinese histories of the 6th century mention a country called Tou Po (identified by Pelliot as Java) with six capital towns, harbouring an equal number of ruling families. Later on, there is a mention of 28 feudatories of the chief Javan king. All these indicate that, even by the 7th century, Java had not been unified. The Chinese annals also cite a kingdom called Ho-Ling (phonetically, Kalinga), represented as dominating the others in Central Java. This would indicate that the Kalinga people had settled in Central Java in large numbers. The Chinese records refer to some embassies of Ho-ling in 640 A.D. and 666 A.D., as coming from Central Java. A notice of a female ruler of this genealogy also appears, in the following words:

“In 674 - A.D. the people of this country took as their ruler a woman of the name Si-ma.† Her rule was most excellent.

* who were also, no doubt, highly eligible bachelors, in the eyes of the Celtic Chiefs blessed with large female progeny!

† Sri Mata, which is probably a title.
Even things dropped on the road were not taken up. The Prince of the Arabs (Tazi), hearing of this, sent a bag with gold to be laid down within her frontiers; the people who passed that road avoided it in walking, and it remained there for three years. Once the heir-apparent stepped over that gold and Si-ma became so incensed that she wanted to kill him. Her ministers interceded and then Si-ma said: 'Your fault lies in your feet, therefore it will be sufficient to cut them off.' The ministers interceded again, and she had his toes cut off, in order to give an example to the whole nation. When the Prince of Tazi heard this, he became afraid and dared not attack her."

A short engraving in rock has been found in Central Java, at the foot of the Merubabu hill, in which a single Sanskrit verse praises as "equal to the Ganga" the natural spring emanating from the rock. The script is of the 7th century A.D. and round the writing are the emblems of Siva and Vishnu (the Trisula of the former and the Sankha, Chakra and Gada of the latter). There are other symbols like a kamandalu (for Brahma), a kumbha (for Agastya), a battle-axe (for Yama), and a noose (for Varuna). This inscription clearly proves that in Central Java also the Brahminical gods were venerated and Hindu religion had obtained a wide appeal.

In dealing with the kingdoms of Malaysia, we have to do some island-hopping*. The great Sri Vijaya Empire was based on Sumatra, and we have therefore to switch over to that island, leaving aside Java for the present.

Sumatra (or Samudra in Sanskrit) is one of the large islands of the world. It has an area of nearly 167,500 sq. miles and lies close to the Malay Peninsula, from which it is separated by the narrow Straits of Malacca. Other straits, viz., those of Banka (Vanga) and Sunda (Sundra), separate Sumatra from the islands of Banka and Java, respectively. Like Java, Sumatra has a big and volcanic mountain range, which however runs through its breadth near the western coast, facing the Bay of Bengal. To the east of this mountain range there are navigable rivers. The island's mineral resources are large and varied, justifying its ancient name of Swarnabhumi, but they are poorly utilised. The forests on the island, which have not yet been fully explored, are extensive and rich in flora, including such precious trees as

* Like General MacArthur of recent memory!
camphor, sandal, and benzoin. The plains are very fertile and produce much cereal and several cash crops like sugar, coffee and rubber, besides the world-famous spices. Despite all these advantages, the island is (unlike Java) thinly inhabited and has a population of less than 10 million. The people are not homogeneous in type. The Malays are the predominant community, and they constitute two groups—the coastal Malays, very much resembling the people of the Malayan Peninsula, and the Malays of Menangkabou,* who were at one time highly civilised and politically very influential. There is even a small community called Achenese, which claims to be directly descended from the Hindus of Thondaimandalam and speaks a language containing many Tamil words.

It is commonly held that the Hindu contacts with Sumatra must have started several centuries before the Christian era and earlier than the colonisation of Java.† Unluckily, there is great dearth of reliable material for reconstructing the ancient history of the island and we have to fall back on the inevitable Chinese chronicles, where the earliest reference (644 A.D.) is to a kingdom called Mo-lo-yeu. I-ting calls it Jambi, which is its modern name also. The Chinese texts mention besides, another kingdom which is recognised as the present Talangbawang. Soon both these states were swallowed by a new power which had its seat at a place called in Chinese Fo-Che or Che-lio Fo-Che, a name equated with the Sri Bousa of the Arabs, and with the Sanskrit appellation of Sri Vijaya.

Fifty years ago nothing was known of the Sri Vijaya kingdom and little more about its great sister empire, that of the Sailendras. On the question whether there was any connection between the empires of Sri Vijaya and of Sailendra, there is still acute difference of opinion among scholars. That there was an empire of Sri Vijaya is beyond question, since many inscriptions of that empire have been located in Sumatra. But the disconcerting fact remains

* The Malays of Menangkabou bear a curious resemblance to the Malays of Negri Sembilan on one side and to the Nairs of Malabar on the other. The family is matriarchal and inheritance is through the mother. Many of the social customs prevalent among the three peoples are so reminiscent of one another that interracial movement is a strong supposition. (cf, also the peoples of Madagascar)

† Several Buddhist texts of the 4th or 3rd century B.C. mention sea voyages to ‘Swarnabhumi’, which can only be either Malaya or Sumatra. (Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, however, equates Swarnabhumi with Lower Burma.)
that the data (inscriptions, foreign texts, etc.) are incomplete and incoherent and capable of widely different interpretations. Early Indonesian history has therefore remained the happy hunting-ground of speculative historians, who have built up between them, frequently on slender data, diverse and contradictory theories, as we shall discover only too soon.

It is to the credit of Cœdes that he identified the Chinese Fo-Che (or Che-liao-Fo-Che) and the Arab Sri Bouza, with the Sri Vijaya mentioned in the Indian records, but his equating of Palembang in Sumatra with Sri Vijaya is not acceptable to Majumdar, nor the theory of the learned Frenchman that Palembang (or Sri Vijaya) was the original capital of the Sailendra Empire itself. Majumdar would leave the location of the Sri Vijaya capital an open question. Concerning the point whether the Sri Vijaya empire was also the Sailendra empire and if it was the same as the kingdom of Zabag mentioned by the Arabs, Majumdar is rather chary of giving a positive answer. He points out that while Krom held that there was a Sri Vijaya period in Javan history (during which Mahayana Buddhism was imported into Java along with magnificent architectural sophistication), Stutterheim maintained that the Sailendras belonged to Java and that they overwhelmed the Sri Vijayas of Palembang, and thus created a Sumatran period in Javan history, rather than a Javan period in Sumatran history, as held by Krom. Majumdar, while agreeing that Sri Vijaya must be placed in the south-east of Sumatra, regards its identification with Palembang as far from certain. Cœdes, while evaluating the double-faced stele inscription found at Ligor (Lankasukha), interprets the expressions Sri Vijayendra-raja, Sri Vijayeswarabhupati and Sri Vijayathipati, as meaning "Kings of Sri Vijaya," but Stutterheim translates these words as "overlords of Sri Vijaya". Again Cœdes connects these kings of Sri Vijaya with the Sailendra monarchs mentioned on the other face of the stele, as explained by Majumdar in his learned commentary on this inscription. Up to this time no finality has been reached by historians and all conclusions regarding the history of these two empires must therefore remain somewhat tentative and fluid, at least till more positive archaeological evidence transpires.

The earliest reference to Sri Vijaya seems to appear in a Chinese text of the 4th century A.D., where a King called Cho-ye
is mentioned as ruling over numerous islands. The kingdom must have been of small stature at the time, and it is only in the 7th century that it comes into real prominence. I-tsing visited the kingdom circa 690 A.D. and he located Sri Vijaya in Malayu (or Jambi). Other evidence of the kingdom's growing political status is revealed in four inscriptions, of which only one is in pure Sanskrit while the rest are in the old Malayan language (but in Pallava script). The first inscription (of Ligor or Lankasukha) is dated 683 A.D., and it mentions that a king of Sri Vijaya performed some miracles at the place for the welfare of his subjects. The second one (at Palembang) of 684 A.D., refers to some public benefactions of King Jayanaga. The latter is worth quoting in some detail, because of the high idealistic spirit it breathes:

"That all beings may practise continually liberality, the observance of precepts and patience, that they may develop energy, application and knowledge of all the diverse arts; that they may have a concentrated spirit and possess knowledge, memory and intelligence; further, that they may be firm in their opinions, possess vajra sarira (diamond body) of the Mahasatva, unequalled power (anupama sakti), victory, knowledge of previous births (jatismara), unimpaired sense (avikalahariya), a full form, happiness, laughter, tranquility, agreeable speech (adeya vakya), and the voice of Brahma (brahma- nesvara); moreover, that they be born male with an independent existence; that they may be the receptacle of the marvellous stone (cintamanidhana), enjoying the mastery over births, works and pain (janma, karma and klesa), and that they obtain, in the end, the complete and supreme illumination (anuttarabhisamyak-sambodhi)."

The remaining two of 684 A.D. (which are identical and one of which was found in Kota Kapur in Banka island) entreat the blessings of the gods on the kingdom of Sri Vijaya and pronounce severe curses on those who would either revolt against its king, or aid and support those who do so; those remaining loyal will be favoured with Divine grace. There is a postscript to No. 4 which indicates that it was engraved at the time the Sri Vijaya army was marching against Java. These four inscriptions prove beyond doubt that in the 7th century A.D. the Sri Vijayan kingdom (founded circa 400 A.D. by settlers from India) was a great power in

* As Cho-ye in Chinese means "victory", it is taken as referring to Vijaya, (victorious).
South-East Asia, that its sway extended over the greater part of the islands of Sumatra and Banka and that it had some hold on the Malayan peninsula also. The inscriptions bear out the testimony of I-tsing that Sri Vijaya was a great centre of Buddhist power and learning and that the king had a considerable navy and possessed in addition a fleet of commercial ships engaged in sailing between India and Sumatra in the pursuit of trade.

Obviously, Sri Vijaya was a great maritime emporium, especially for the trade between India and China. That the early city of Sri Vijaya should be identified with Palembang is the confirmed opinion of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, whose remarks deserve reproduction:

"A little consideration shows that none of these arguments nor all of them taken together are of sufficient weight to prevail against those which point to Palembang and its neighbourhood as the site of historic Sri Vijaya. The early Buddha statue in stone from Bukit Seguntang, and the Kedukan Bukit record itself leave no room for any further doubt in this matter. All the other considerations including the citations from Arab writers are indecisive and may apply as much to Palembang, if not better, as to the other site. The ruins of Muara Taku may indeed in part go back to the age of Sri Vijaya and this is quite intelligible in the light of the epigraphic evidence (to be cited later) pointing to the erection of similar structures in parts of the Malaya peninsula under the hegemony of Sri Vijaya. In fact, the tradition relating to Datu Sri Vijaya indicates, as Krom has observed, not that the capital city lay here, but only the provincial headquarters ruled by a Datu of Sri Vijaya, and that the place stood in the same relation to Sri Vijaya as Bangka and Karang Brahi under the jurisdiction of similar Datus. It would thus seem that no case has been made out for locating the new site of Sri Vijaya elsewhere in Sumatra than at Palembang.

"Discussing the location of the headquarters of the empire of Sri Vijaya towards the close of the 8th century A.D., R. C. Majumdar put forward some considerations which in his view pointed more to Java or the Malay peninsula as the original seat of authority, rather than to Palembang in Sumatra. More decidedly, Quatrich-Wales sought to make out a case for Caiya, later Ligor, on the Bay of Bandon and the Gulf of Siam, being considered the true Sri Vijaya of history. Cœdes subjected
both these propositions to a critical review and demonstrated that
the attempt to locate the unique and permanent centre of the
empire in the Malay peninsula is based on a hasty synthesis, and
showed how strong the case for Palembang was, both from the
geographical and historical points of view. Regarding Caiya he
observed: 'That Caiya played an important commercial role in
the northern provinces roughly corresponding to that of Kataha
(Kadaram*) I am quite ready to admit; but that this locality,
placed in an eccentric position at the bottom of a cul-de-sac, could
have been the capital of a sea-power, whence the Maharaja
supervised and exploited the maritime commerce of the Straits—
that is a geographical impossibility which seems to me sufficient
to condemn the thesis of Dr. Quatrich-Wales.'

The stone-graving, mentioned by Prof. Sastri, of 775 A.D. and
found near Ligor, eulogises the greatness of Sri Vijaya, adding
that its king was the overlord of numerous princes and that he
had built many Buddhist stupas and chaityas. This inscription,
as well as the earlier one of Ligor, is clear evidence of the
domination by the Sri Vijaya monarchs over the Malay peninsula
right up to the Bay of Bandon. Starting from a small principality
near Palembang, the kingdom had, by turns, absorbed the Malayu
(or Jambi) State in Sumatra, overrun Banka island, and extended
its dominion over the various kinglets of Malay peninsula, all in
a period of about 300 years. The Chinese annals mention many
embassies from Sri Vijaya between 670 A.D. and 741 A.D. An
Imperial edict of China lays down that while provision for six
months should be given to the ambassadors of North and South
India, provision for five months should be given to the envoys from
Sri Vijaya, Chen-la (Kamboja) and Ho-ling (Java).† The Chinese
also mention that a king of Sri Vijaya named Sri Indravarman
sent his ambassador (named Kumara — Crown Prince?) with
presents of dwarfs, a negro girl, golden parrots and a party of
musicians, in 716 A.D. Such embassies were repeated in 728 A.D.
and 742 A.D., according to the Chronicles.

Referring to the vexed question whether Sri Vijaya overran
the whole or a portion of Bhoomi-Java (Java Island), Cœdes is
definite that Java island was conquered, at least in part, by the

* The Kalah of the texts.
† Probably the instructions refer to the provisioning of ships for the return
of the missions, thus indicating the relative distance from Canton.
Palembang dynasty and that probably the kingdom of Taruma once ruled over by Purnavarman in Western Java, was made vassal to Sri Vijaya. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri subscribes to the view given above. In his words: “We thus see that Sri Vijaya was actively extending its power in the north-west towards the Straits of Malacca and in the south-east towards the Sunda Strait, a clear indication of a determination to control the maritime routes from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea. Malayu, originally an independent State which sent an embassy to China in 644 to offer the produce of the country, was the first victim of the growing ambition of Sri Vijaya. The rise and lasting power of Sri Vijaya was clearly the result of the co-operation of several factors, geographical, economic, and political. The control of trade routes and the capacity to protect oneself against sudden attacks from the interior, were the chief conditions for securing primacy among the rivals. The division of the kingdom into several provinces, each under a governor, the attempt to secure the loyalty of the inhabitants by rewards and punishments, and the steady pursuit of conquests calculated to secure control of important sea-routes, show clearly that Sri Vijaya had grasped firmly all the essentials of a successful expansionist policy.”

After the 6th century, Sri Vijaya abandoned Brahminism for the cult of the Sakyamuni. I-tsing mentions that there were a thousand monks at Sri Vijaya; to support such a large priesthood, the secular population in the city must have been very considerable. How, and exactly when, Buddhism came to Sri Vijaya is difficult to say. By the 7th century, Hinayana Buddhism (probably under inspiration from Kanchi, via Ceylon) had overspread most of the Archipelago, but Sri Vijaya itself took to the Mahayana cult with a strong dash of Tantrism in it. (King Jayanaga refers to Siddha practices.) We know that Tantric Buddhism flourished in Bengal and was taught in the Nalanda University, and there is evidence of contact between Bengal and Sri Vijaya in the 8th century. It is stated that Silacharya Dharmapala of Kanchi (a contemporary of Hiuen Tsang) who lived at Nalanda for 30 years, came down to Swarnadvipa (Sumatra) to settle down (probably at Jambi) and preach the doctrines of Dinnaga, the renowned Mahayanist philosopher who was a disciple of Asanga, the founder of the Yogachara school. We are told that I-tsing himself stayed in Sri Vijaya for a number of
years, labouring at his pious tasks. His advice to fellow-Chinese monks that they should stay at Palembang for a couple of years before going to India is a strong index of the high degree of Sramana learning attained by Sri Vijaya. Ferrand incidentaly passes this deprecatory remark on this episode:

"Such advice (to his fellow-monks) by a Chinese monk who speaks with full knowledge of facts, has an evident significance for us. The teaching of Sanskrit and the interpretation of Buddhist texts were organised (in Sri Vijaya) with such care, method, and knowledge that the reputation of the masters of Sri Vijaya led to their being preferred to those of India proper by a Chinese Buddhist so eminent as I-tsing."* Ferrand, however, adds (slightly by way of self-correction):

"This mastery in the teaching of Malay, of Sanskrit and of the Law, which is a sure index of a high intellectual development, is coupled with an equal mastery in the army and navy attested incontestably by the victorious campaigns in Java, (and as we shall see) on the Malay peninsula, and in Kamboja. Commerce and mercantile marine were not less flourishing. Sri Vijaya was, in some way, a necessary calling place on the route from China to India.......Such is the position of the Sumatran empire in the seventh century. This brilliant prosperity in all domains is so unlike modern Sumatra that it would have remained unsuspected but for the decisive evidence of foreign historians and geographers. The study and comparison of the texts has revealed to us the existence of a new centre of civilization in the southern seas. The Indian alma mater, at a remote antiquity carried over to Sri Vijaya, as to Kambuja and to Champa, her gods, her arts, her literary language, in short, the whole apparatus of her civilisation, and for more than a thousand years of our era these disciples of India did great honour to their educators."†

After I-tsing’s visit to Sumatra (circa 695 A.D.) we have a blank in Sri Vijayan history, except for the Chinese references already mentioned. Skipping almost a century, we come to the famous double-faced stele at Ligor of which some notice has already been made, and which has been the subject of acute controversy. Differing from the opinion of Chabra, and agreeing

* This view is dissented from by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, who thinks that Sri Vijaya was recommended as a preparatory school to save time and labour and not as a substitute for higher learning in Aryavarta.

† Ferrand in a way provides a corrective to Dr. Hall’s theories, referred to supra, which under-rate Indian contributions to Indonesian culture and religion.
with Göedes and Krom, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri takes the two faces as two distinct records, unconnected with each other. The longer inscription, which is in fluent Sanskrit verse in diverse metres, praises the king in somewhat hyperbolic terms. To quote Prof. Sastri:

“This Srivijayesvara-bhupati (is praised as) the abode of so many virtues, the unrivalled suzerain of all the neighbouring kings of the earth, established (according to the sixth verse) three excellent brick buildings, as abodes of Padmapani, Sakyamuni, and Vajrapani*. The seventh verse eulogises these shrines dedicated to all the best Jinas of the ten quarters and capable of bestowing the highest bliss at all times. The next verse records that the royal chaplain (Rajasthavira), Jayanta by name, constructed three stupas to the order of the king. Adhimukti, his pupil, became royal chaplain after Jayanta’s demise, and made two other brick caityas close to the three caityas mentioned above.”

The text makes it clear that Indian artists were employed in designing and completing the viharas. It also reveals the expansionist policy of Sri Vijaya which, while already controlling the Straits of Malacca, now managed to secure authority over the Isthmus of Kra, so as to have a close grip on the alternative overland trade route to China. There is also unmistakable evidence of the spread of Indian religion and culture over the Imperial possessions. A curious fact is that while the earlier inscriptions are written in the old Malay tongue, the Ligor stele has been incised in chaste Sanskrit, thus reversing the trend observable in other areas of Aryanisation (Champa, Kamboja, etc.) where the local tongue took over late in the day from Sanskrit, whose knowledge had slowly gone into decay.

A sharp controversy has raged over the other, and shorter, Ligor inscription (on the other side of the panel) which describes in extravagant terms “the supreme King of Kings, who was called a Maharaja on account of his origin from the Sailendra family”. Chabra has naturally taken the view that the Sailendra prince referred to here was also the ruler of Sri Vijaya mentioned in the other inscription, and this opinion was accepted for some time on the assumption that the Sailendras had become overlords of Sri Vijaya, after the 8th century. Majumdar was the first to

* i.e. of the Buddha and of two Bodhisatvas.
take a contrary view, viz., that the two inscriptions were entirely different in date and events, and Cœdes concurred with him*. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is, of course, in wholehearted agreement with this interpretation of the Ligor stele.

The subsequent history of the Sri Vijaya Kingdom is far from clear and has been the subject of widely differing views of scholars. We have seen that one suggestion (Vogel and Krom) was that the Sailendras were in reality a Sri Vijaya dynasty and that they got established in Java by conquest. We have also observed the other school of thought (headed by Sutterheim) that it was Sri Vijaya which was conquered by the Sailendras of Java. That a Sailendra king was ruling over Sri Vijaya about 850 A.D. is proved by the fact that an edict issued by the Pala ruler of Bengal refers to a vihara built by a prince named Balaputra, "King of Sumatra and a descendant of the Sailendras of Java". The father of Balaputra is named as Samaragravira (or Samaratunga), who is also mentioned in a Keda inscription of 847 A.D. and is further referred to in the Balitung inscription of 907 A.D. Learned writers like Cœdes and Vogel have subscribed to the theory that, although a Sailendra prince might have been installed at Sri Vijaya in 850 A.D., yet the two Sailendra kingdoms (in Sumatra and Java) were not united into one State and that there were actually two Sailendra families ruling at two places on the sister isles. While this might have been true in the beginning, a change soon came about. As interpreted by D. G. E. Hall, the situation at the end of the 9th century was that in Java itself there was a resurgence of Hinduism and a corresponding decline in Hinayana Buddhism. "Thus the accession of a Sailendra to the throne of Sri Vijaya seems to have come at a time when the dynasty was losing its hold on Central Java". The contemporary Chinese chronicle indicates that there was a shift in the Sailendra capital to the west of Java. The inscriptional evidence also attests a falling off in Sailendra influence in Central Java. The famous Balitung inscription (907) listing the Sanjaya dynasty of Mataram, reveals the growing Saivaite influence in an area till then under strong Buddhist traditions, with royal Sailendra support and benefaction. Hall concludes on the basis of this inscription that "the indications are that by the end of the 9th century, while they

* Students of Indian history are familiar with different sets of inscriptions on the iron-pillar of Delhi, inscribed in various epochs.
Early Aryan Colonies in Poornadvipa

HINDU STATES OF THE 7th to 9th CENTURIES IN S.E. ASIA
(the Sailendras) were the ruling dynasty in Sri Vijaya, their power over Central Java had completely disappeared.” As Krom remarks, “a clearly non-Sailendra king of middle Java occurs in 879 A.D. and that is our terminus ad quem. The Javanese Sailendras lasted from 750 A.D. to 860 A.D., after which date the Agastya cult reasserted itself in Central Java and Buddhism suffered a sharp decline.”

It is time that we had a glimpse of the famous and controversial Sailendra Empire which apparently overwhelmed Sri Vijaya, but at the cost of gradually losing its influence in its own homeland in Java. The relation between the two empires is admirably summed up thus by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri:

“Our provisional conclusions on the course of the history of Sri Vijaya in this period and its relation to the Sailendras may be formulated somewhat as follows: Sri Vijaya continued to maintain its imperial position commanding both sides of the Strait of Malacca; though a part of western Java might have been included in the empire of Sri Vijaya, there arose the kingdom of the Sailendra Maharajas in Central Java. The relations between Sri Vijaya and the Sailendras would appear to have been on the whole friendly, and together they spread their power for a time as far as Champa and Kamboja. This outer empire was short-lived and at the beginning of the ninth century Kamboja became independent of the Southern power. About the middle of that century a Sailendra prince comes to occupy the throne of Sri Vijaya which then becomes the seat of the Maharaja. Possibly Sailendra rule continued in Java for some time longer, and if that be so, there were two branches of this celebrated line ruling in Sumatra and Java for a while.”

It is the opinion of Majumdar that in the 8th century A.D. most of Malaysia (covering the Peninsula and the Archipelago) formed the dominion of a great kingdom, viz., that of the Sailendras, who stayed in power for some hundreds of years. The origin of these Sailendras is shrouded in mystery, as we have seen, and we have to do some learned guess-work, mainly on the basis of stray inscriptions. We are already acquainted with the Ligor double-inscription of 775 A.D. This is supplemented by two others, viz., the Kalasam record of 778 A.D. and the Kelurak engraving of 782 A.D. These latter were found in the Yogya-Karta
district of Central Java, and it will be worthwhile reproducing the inscriptions in extenso:

(a) *Kalasam*: "Adoration to Goddess Arya-Tara—The preceptors (Gurus) of the Sailendra king had a temple of Tara built with the help (or sanction) of Maharaja Pancapana Panamkarana. At the command of the Gurus some officers of the king built a temple, an image of Goddess Tara, and a residence for monks proficient in Vinaya-Mahayana.

"In the prosperous kingdom of the ornament of the Sailendra dynasty (Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka), the temple of Tara was built by the preceptors of the Sailendra king. In the Saka year 700, Maharaja Panamkarana built a temple of Tara for the worship of Guru (gurupujartham) and made a gift of the village of Kalasa to the Samgha. This gift should be protected by the kings of the Sailendra dynasty. Sriman Kariyana Panamkarana makes this request to the future kings."

(b) *Kelurak*: "Adoration to the three jewels (Ratnayaya).

"Praises of Buddhist deities.

"This earth is being protected by the king named Indra, who is an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty (Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka), who has conquered kings in all directions, and who has crushed the most powerful hero of the enemy (Vairi-vara-vira-vimardana).

"By him whose body has been purified by the dust of the feet of the preceptor coming from Gauda (Gaudadvipa-guru)......

"This image of Manjusri has been set up for the welfare of the world by the royal preceptor (raja-guru).

"In the Saka year 704, Kumaraghosha (i.e. the preceptor from Gauda mentioned above) set up this Manjughosha.

"This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of religion (dharmasetu) having the shape of the image of Manjusri, is for the protection of all creatures.

"In this enemy of Mara (samararati-nishudana) exist Buddha, Dharma and Samgha.

"This Wielder of Thunder, sung as Svami Manjuvak, contains all the gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara."
"I request the future kings to maintain this landmark of religion (dharma-setu).

"The preceptor, who has obtained the reverent hospitality (satkara) of king Sri-Sangrama-dhananjaya......"

In addition to the above local records, we have the Nalanda *tamrasasana* of the 39th year of King Devapala of Gauda, which reads as follows:

"There was a great king of Yavabhumi (Yavabhumipala) whose name signified 'tormentor of brave foes' (Vira-vairi-matham-anugat-abhidhana) and who was an ornament of the Sailendra dynasty (Sailendra-vamsa-tilaka). He had a valiant son (called) Samara-gravira (the foremost warrior in battle). His wife Tara, daughter of king Sri-Varmasetu of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tara. By this wife he had a son Sri-Balaputra, who built a monastery at Nalanda" (in India).

From these archaeological evidences, it is clear that by the close of the 8th century A.D. the Sailendras were established in power not only in Central Java but also in the Malay Peninsula and the greater part of Sumatra. Apart from this political aggrandisement, the Sailendras propagated the cult of Mahayana Buddhism all over their dominions and symbolised their power by some architectural creations which rank with the best in the world of their type, as we shall see elsewhere. The introduction of a new alphabet into Indonesia (technically known as Indian pre-Nagari) was also one of their achievements.

It is indeed unfortunate that, despite the magnificent record of the Sailendras, there is some dubiety concerning their capital city. We have seen that the general view is that the Sailendras belonged to Central Java and later spread themselves into Sumatra, Malaya, and beyond on the South Asian mainland. On this basis their seat of power would be in Central Java. Other opinions would place their government at Palembang *ab initio*, or even at Kedda (Kataha) in the Malay Peninsula. Majumdar strongly votes in favour of Kedda as the capital district and would trace the origins of Sailendra power to the Malayan Peninsula. These views of his have not obtained support; also his theory, that the Sailendras were immigrants from Kalinga and were related to the Sailodbhava dynasty of that country, has not been generally accepted and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has ably argued contra, pointing out that the appellation Sailendra (Lord of the Mountain) was
often applied to Siva and that the Pandyas of South India also claimed descent from Sankara, and hence called themselves 'Minankita Sailendra', a title which suggests some connection between the Sailendras of Java and those of Madura in South India. Cœdes has adumbrated the theory that the Javan kings might have borrowed their cognomen from the 'Mountain Kings' of Fu-Nan (the embryonic Kamboja) whom the insular monarchs often fought and over whom at one time they even attained temporary suzerainty, as we have seen in a previous chapter, apropos of the luckless king Mahipati. But, as Hall observes, "any evidence that the dynasty had its origin in Fu-Nan is entirely lacking". If one may hazard a guess, it seems likely that the name Sailendra may be connected with the two important Meru mountains (Merubabu and Meru Api) in the Yogyakarta district of Java, where this dynasty had its original grassroots.*

I have spoken of the Sanjaya dynasty of Mataram (in Java) which seemed to have achieved some importance in local history in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., concurrently with the decline of Sailendra power in that region. An inscription of 863 A.D. shows that Saivaite Hinduism was resurgent in Central Java, and the Chinese annals also indicate the same situation. But no coherent sequence of events in this political theatre can be ascertained, till we reach the famous Balitung inscription of 907 A.D. (written in bronze plates and found in Kadu district) which gives a line of kings beginning with the well-known Sanjaya. Sri Maharaja Rakai Watukula Balitung Sri Dharma Maha Sambhu (to give his full name), a scion of the Sanjaya house and ruler of Mataram, records in the inscription his royal lineage from Sanjaya. The genealogical tree (written in a species of 'Manipuravala', i.e., mixed Sundanese and Sanskrit) reads thus:

"Rakai Mataram sang ratu Sanjaya
Sri maharaja rakai Panangkarana
Sri maharaja rakai Panunggalan
Sri maharaja rakai Warak
Sri maharaja rakai Pikatan
Sri maharaja rakai Kayuwangi
Sri maharaja rakai Watu humalang,

* It is indeed curious that there should be a Meru mountain in East Africa. It lies a few miles off Kilimanjaro and is venerated as a 'seat of the gods' by the Africans.
Sri maharaja rakai Watukula
Sri Maharaja rakai Watukula
Balitung Sri Dharma Maha Sambhu”.

The first name, Sanjaya, corresponds to that found in the celebrated Cangal inscription of 732 A.D. (found in a ruined Siva temple near Boro Bodor) recording the erection of a linga by King Sanjaya of Mataram, “in Kunjara Kunjadesa,* in the island of Java, rich in grain and in gold mines”. The names and titles of the 8 rulers who follow Sanjaya includes the author of the inscription, Balitung himself, between whom and Sanjaya there is an interval of 175 years (732 to 907). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri identifies Panangkarana (No. 2 in the list) with the author of the Kalasam inscription, despite the omission of the title “Sailendra” in the Kadu (Balitung) copper plate. Prof. Sastri holds that Panangkarana’s “accession name” was Dharana Indra and that the so-called Mataram kings named by Balitung were really Sailendras of Buddhist persuasion, who had displaced the Siva-worshipping family of Sanjaya. To quote Prof. Sastri:

“It seems, then, that after Sanjaya’s time the native power suffered an eclipse and was pushed eastward by the rise of the Sailendras of Java, and that the recovery of lost ground is celebrated by the indigenous dynasty by a significant though short-lived change from the ordinary reckoning in the Saka era to another that linked them up with the last indigenous ruler of Central Java, viz., Sanjaya. The list of rulers in the Kadu charter of 907 is, therefore, not a record of a continuous succession in one and the same dynasty but only an enumeration of successive rulers in chronological order, which masks a number of important changes in the political fortunes of the land. The apparent unity of the Mataram line from Sanjaya to Balitung that is seen in the Kadu charter is therefore fictitious. It enables Balitung, like his employment of his Sanjaya era, to legitimise his accession to Sanjaya’s throne, but it throws a veil over the rule, in the interval, of the non-Mataram dynasty of the Sailendras.”

The above view has not been accepted in toto by D. G. E. Hall, who, following the admirable analysis made by de Casparis in

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* Controversy surrounds the name ‘Kunjara-Kunja-desa’. Dr. Vogel holds that the original Kunjara-Kunja-desa was in South India. Dr. T. N. Rama-chandran thinks that this region is the same as Anegondi, the capital of Vijayanagar kings in later times. Other writers identify the place with Anamalai in the Nilgiris.
1950, would draw a distinction between the real Sailendras and those shown in Balitung’s list, which obviously contained non-Sailendra names, besides Sanjaya’s. According to de Casparis, none of the Sri Maharajas shown by Balitung were true Sailendras, but really descendants of Sanjaya. In Hall’s opinion:

“During this period, therefore, there were not one but two reigning dynasties in Central Java, the kings of the Sanjaya line being, until 832, subordinate to the Sailendras. On this showing, which accords with Vogel’s interpretation of the Kalasam inscription, Pancapana, the Rakarayan Panangkaran, was not a Sailendra but a vassal of the Sailendra king, Vishnu.”

In the view of de Casparis, Rakai Rayan Pikatan (838 to 851 A.D.) extended his authority over the whole of Central Java, thus putting an end to Sailendra Buddhist rule for ever in that locality. de Casparis contends that on the death of Sailendra Samarottunga in 832 A.D., his infant son Balaputra was too young to ascend the throne; however, his sister, Pramoda Vardhini, had married a Sanjaya Prince (Rakairayan Pikatan), whose father Rakairayan Patapan, was the author of the inscription of 832 A.D. In another inscription of 842 A.D., this princess is described as a Queen, her husband having succeeded his father in 838 A.D. to the Mataram gadi. de Casparis assumes that the youthful Balaputra fled to Sumatra, and married a Sri Vijaya princess there (circa 840 A.D.) and ultimately became the first Sailendra ruler of the Sri Vijaya Empire. In Java, the descendants of Rakarayan Pikatan continued to rule as “Sanjayans”, but adopted the Sri Maharaja titles of the displaced Sailendra dynasty, perhaps out of vanity. To this view Hall adds his own comments: “This is the most feasible explanation of the disappearance of the Sailendra dynasty in Java and its almost simultaneous appearance in Sumatra.” In other words, by a process of intermarriage the Saivaite Sanjayans took over from the Buddhist Sailendras in Java; concurrently, by the same convenient process, the Sailendras substituted themselves for the Sri Vijaya dynasty of Palembang in Sumatra. To the question, ‘Was Balaputra the first Sailendra ruler of Sumatra?’, Prof. Sastri returns an affirmative answer, but he feels that even some earlier rulers of Sri Vijaya might have been Sailendras, although a positive opinion could not be ventured. To cite Prof. Sastri:
"Whether there were Sailendras ruling in Sri Vijaya before Balaputra or not, there can be no doubt that Sri Vijaya and Java were on friendly terms and undertook many enterprises together, with a view to aggrandise their power and influence in the rest of the Archipelago and over Indo-China. The Ligor inscription 'B', if it was not engraved by a Sailendra from Srivijaya, must have been the work of a Javanese Sailendra, probably Panamkarana himself, as the epithet 'destroyer of the pride of his opponents' in that inscription may lead us to suppose."

We have witnessed the decline of Sailendra power in Central Java and the installation of a prince of that family (Balaputra) on the Sri Vijayan throne in Sumatra, circa 850 A.D. By this date the Sailendras had also lost their temporary hold on Kamboja and Champa. It may be remembered that the Sailendra rulers (i.e., the Maharaja of Zabag mentioned by several Arab writers) possessed a very considerable naval armada and had invaded more than once the mainland kingdoms of Khmer and Cham. But by the middle of the 9th century their sea-power had suffered a decline, presumably because of the loss of their possessions in Central Java and the rise of a rival dynasty of kings there. Despite these adversities, the Sailendra Empire was still "the greatest political power in the Pacific region", in the words of Majumdar. The Arab writers are unanimous in their tribute to the might and influence of the Sailendras. The Saracen chronicles are embellished with curious stories. Ibn Khordadsbeg (844-848) calls the king "the Maharaja" and mentions that his daily revenue amounted to 200 mds. (over 16,000 lb.) of gold, worth over a crore of rupees, even at the old valuation. A big gold bar was prepared out of this bullion and it was thrown into the royal lake for safe deposit, each day*. Sulayman (857 A.D.), who gave us the story of the tactless King Mahipati of Kamboja, mentions that the kingdom of the Maharaja extended up to the Bay of Bandon, and he also attests the extreme wealth of the sovereign. Other Arab writers (Ibn Rosteh, 900 A.D., for example) clearly affirm that 'no other king is richer or more powerful than he'. Abu Zaid Hasan (916 A.D.) writes as follows:

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* A similar tale is told of the Nanda Kings of India. If we may give credence to this story, a lot of gold still lies buried in the sands of the Ganga near Pataliputra, since the 4th century B.C.
"The distance between Zabag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

"The king of this town has got the title Maharaja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribouza (=Sri Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) parsangs and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah (Kataha), midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of the Maharaja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There is a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

"The Maharaja exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other. There is one very extraordinary custom in Zabag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank, and the remnant is distributed among the poor."

Another contemporary Arab writer, Mahsudi, has the following to say about the Maharaja:—

"Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman. Now the port of Kalah (Kataha) serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries.

"In the Bay of Champa is the empire of the Maharaja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil."
“In the empire of the Maharaja is the island of Sribouza (Sri Vijaya), which is situated at about 400 parsangs from the continent and is entirely cultivated. The king possesses also the islands of Zabag, Ramni, and many other islands, and the whole of the Sea of Champa is included in his domain.

“The country, of which Mandurapatan* is the capital, is situated opposite Ceylon, (even) as the Khmer country (Kamboja) is in relation to the isles of the Maharaja, such as Zabag and others.”

Lastly, Al Biruni mentions that the island, Zabag, was known as Swarnadvipa and that alluvial gold was obtained by washing in that land.

The Chinese annals make mention of numerous embassies from San-so-Tsi (i.e., the later Sailendra empire with its capital at Sri Vijaya). The trade with China grew so much in volume that a regular Javanese colony was established, and a shipping house opened, at Canton and some other ports. Unfortunately, there are few details relating to the political history of the Sailendra Empire, either in the Arab or in the Chinese accounts. There is mention, by a Chinese writer, of a fight between Java and Sumatra in 990 A.D., but reliable particulars are lacking.† Soon afterwards a catastrophe befell the Sailendras, the full tale of which is worth narrating.

In South India, the Chola empire was at the zenith of its power in the 10th century A.D., after the decline of the Pallavas. With the accession of Parantaka I in 907 A.D., the Cholas embarked on a career of expansionism. Rajaraja the Great (1014 to 1044 A.D.) made himself the master of practically the whole of South India, and pushed his imperial sway into Kalinga and right up to the borders of Bengal. The Cholas became an imposing naval power in his time, and the maritime trade of the Indian peninsula, both with South-East Asia and with the Mediterranean ports, assumed impressive proportions. The valuable commerce with Indonesia resulted in intimate contacts between the Sailendra kings and the Chola monarchs, who were very friendly to start

* Madura the Capital of the Pandyas; Zabag here is probably Borneo—(known as Sabah in Skt.)
† The (East) Javanese King at that time was Dharmavamsa, who tried conclusions with the Sailendras and came off second best. (He was killed on the battle-field.)
with. An old Tamil poem extols the fleet of merchandise flowing from Kalaham (Kedaram, the Kalah of the Arabs) to Puhar, the Chola capital. The famous Leiden copper plates (partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil) mention the grant, by Rajaraja Chola, of the revenues of a whole village on the Coromandel coast for the upkeep at Nagapattana of a Buddhist shrine named Chudamani Vihara and built by Sri Mara-Vijayottungavarman "of the Sailendra dynasty and lord of Sri Vijaya", who had extended his suzerainty to Kalaham and had a makaram as his flag emblem. The copper plate further indicates that, after the passing away of Rajaraja, his son Madurantaka (i.e., Rajendra Chola) continued the revenue grant to the Vihara. The Leiden record thus bears close resemblance to the Nalanda 'tamrasasana' of Devapala of Bengal, which has already been cited. The Chinese annals also refer to the kings Chudamanivarman and his son Vijayottunga, vide the following extracts from the History of the Sung Dynasty:

"In the year 1003 the king Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fa-ma-tiu-hwa (Sri Chudamanivarmanadeva) sent two envoys to bring tribute; they told that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the Emperor.

"In the year 1008 the king Se-ri-ma-la-pi (Sri Mara-Vijayottungavarman) sent three envoys to present tribute."

The Tamil Kedaram (also written as Kadaram, Kalaham, and Kidaram) has been successfully identified with Kataha-in Malay Peninsula (modern Kedah Province). But the Cholas (who conquered Kedaram subsequently) gave undue importance to this area vis-a-vis the capital of the Sailendra Empire, which was at Sri Vijaya (or Palembang) in Sumatra.

Soon there was coolness ending in open enmity between the two Aryan empires lying on either side of the Bay of Bengal. It is surmised that the Sailendras, in their cupidity and arrogance, interfered with the ships carrying the merchandise of the Chola kings and subjected them to troublesome exactions. Rajendra Chola got very sore and sent a naval expedition against Sri Vijaya, which was attended with resounding success, as attested by several composite Sanskrit and Tamil inscriptions.

* This has misled some historians (e.g. Dr. Majumdar) to conceive of the later Sailendras as natives of Kataha, and of Sri Vijaya as a mere appendage of the Kingdom of Malaya, as indicated elsewhere.
found in Choladesa. That the Chola emperor was able to transport a very large army of (perhaps) forty or fifty thousand men over a distance of nearly 1500 miles by sea, to fight and to humble the greatest sea and land power in South-East Asia, bespeaks not only the stupendous military strength of the Chola but his great organising ability and logistic capacity.

It will be tedious and rather superfluous to list out and quote all the Chola inscriptions dealing with this struggle, some of which are of extraordinary length. (The Thiruvalangadu plates, for instance, contain 271 lines in Sanskrit and 524 in Tamil.) Perhaps the Tanjore temple record of 1030-31 A.D. may be taken as typical of the rest;

"And (who) (Rajendra Chola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangrama-Vijayottungavarman, the king of Kadaram, along with the rutting elephants of his army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) the (arch called) Vidyadharatorana at the 'war-gate' of the extensive city of the enemy, Sri Vijaya with the 'jewel-gate', adorned with great splendour and the 'gate of large jewels'; Pannai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyur (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Mayirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; Ilangasogam undaunted (in) fierce battles; Mappapalam having abundant (deep) waters as defence; Mevilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippandur, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle; Talaittakkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Madamalingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilamuridesam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); Manakkavaram whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region; Kadaram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea."

Some of the place-names met with here are familiar to us. It will be convenient to identify a few which have not yet been located.

**Pannai:** The state of Panē in Sumatra (modern Panei), which is mentioned in the *Nagarakrtagama*.

**Malaiyur:** Malayu or Jambi in Sumatra. Marco Polo also calls it Malaiyur.
Ma(ha)pappalam: A state near the Isthmus of Kra.
Ilamuridesam: Lamuri in North Sumatra.
Manakkavaram: Nicobars (Nagna Para) *

Following these conquests in the Far East, the Chola emperors got into extensive diplomatic contacts with the Chinese empire. There is a story recorded in the Chinese annals that their Emperor, on hearing of the magnificent victories of Rajaraja the Great, grew greatly anxious about the safety of his own far-flung domains. He resorted to a ruse to prevent any unwelcome attentions on the part of the aggressive Chola monarch, which was to send out an old ship to the Chola capital, manned wholly by septuagenarians. They were instructed to unfold the sad tale at the Chola court that they were all comparatively young men, and their ship new and trim, when they started on their voyage to India, but it had taken them 30 or 40 years to make the trip from distant Cathay to Puhar! The Chola monarch would, therefore, be well advised to abandon all ideas, peaceful or otherwise, against China, situated at the opposite end of the world! This story is probably apocryphal, although it figures seriously in the Chinese texts.† In any case, ambassadors were soon shuttling to and fro between China and Rajendra Chola’s capital, doing the round voyage in less than 12 months, when the winds were favourable. Numerous Chola envoys (including Kulottunga himself, when he was a prince) were received at the Celestial Court and given awards of high-sounding titles, along with more substantial valuables.

Majumdar thinks that the long-drawn-out struggle between the two Aryan empires “ended in a draw”, and he says:

* In the recent excavations at Puhar many Chola inscriptions have been found in a partly buried temple at Nanipalli, about six miles from Puhar. One text mentions “a gift of 30 kalanjai made to the temple..... in the 32nd year of Parakesari Rajendra Chola Deva, who took Pauravadesa, Gangan and Kedaram”. The location of Pauravadesa is not certain, but it may be Baros island; Gangan is probably Gangan in the Archipelago; Kedaram is, of course, Kataha or modern Kedah.

† A similar story is found in the Old Testament, according to which the inhabitants of Gibeon played a like trick on Joshua. “They did work wilily... and took old sacks on their asses, and wine bottles old and rent and bound up; and old shoes and clouted upon their feet and old garments on them and all their bread and provision old and mouldy... They went to Joshua and said unto him, “We come from a far off country: now therefore make ye a league with us... and Joshua made peace with them”. Later, when Joshua realised the deceit, he spared the Gibeonites but made them ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ for the Israelites.
"After fruitless efforts of a century, the Cholas finally abandoned the impossible enterprise of maintaining their suzerainty over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Sailendra kingdom, exhausted and humiliated as it was, slowly recovered its former position."* After the time of Vira Rajendra Chola, amity apparently prevailed between the two puissant naval powers and we find Tamil Commercial Corporations flourishing in Boros island, without let or hindrance from the local authorities.

The Sailendra Empire lasted for nearly 300 years more, but after the 13th century it was nothing but a name; its rulers were mostly shadows of their great predecessors who had lorded it over the whole of the Archipelago and the Peninsula. The Chinese accounts indicate the existence of the dynasty in the 13th century and this is borne out by the Arab historians, who even then waxed eloquent in their praise of the power and pelf of the Sri Vijaya rulers. A Chinese official, Chau-Ju-Kua, has left an interesting description of the Sri Vijaya State, circa 1300 A.D. He mentions the intense maritime activity in the State, particularly around the Straits of Malacca which it controlled. 15 kingdoms are listed as vassals, all, except Ceylon, situated in Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula. Ceylon is perhaps misdescribed as a Sailendra dependency by the Chinaman on the strength of two expeditions led by King Chandrabhanu of Sri Vijaya to Ceylon to help the local monarch to defend himself against the Pandyan ruler. Both the expeditions were failures, and the second one ended disastrously for Chandrabhanu, who was routed and killed by Jatavarman Vira Pandya, King of Madurai (circa 1260 A.D.).

Chandrabhanu (whom Majumdar considers to be a usurper from Chaiya and not a true Sailendra) was apparently the last great ruler of Sri Vijaya. Java, which had received a new access of strength under the romantic Prince Krtanagara, had become so aggressive as to invade the vassal state of Malayu (Jambi) in 1275 A.D., whose king (Srimat Tribhuvanaraja Maulivarma Deva) was defeated and made feudatory. While thus threatening the very heart of Sri Vijaya rule, Krtanagara met with a sudden and tragic end, and Malayu became independent of both.

* Vira Rajendra Chola actually mentions in an inscription of 1068 A.D. that, having conquered Kedaram, he was pleased to give it back to its own king, "as it was too far off beyond the moving sea".
Java and Sri Vijaya. A bigger foe then appeared on the scene; the Thais from the north had begun knocking at the gates of Sailendra power. Shortly after the loss of Malayu, North Malaya was annexed by the Thais. Hemmed in between Malayu in the south and Siam in the north, Sri Vijaya lost her supremacy in Malaysia and sank to the position of a second-rate power. She herself was soon to become the bone of contention between two growing and aggressive neighbours, viz., the Siamese on one side and the emergent Javan kingdom of Majapahit on the other.

According to Chinese authorities, San-fo-Tsi (Sri Vijaya) dragged on her inglorious existence for another century after the loss of Malayu. By 1375, it had become a vassal of Java and apparently cut up into 3 separate units, all subservient to Java, but plaintively approaching China for direct recognition and help. The condition of Sri Vijaya is described in a Chinese text (circa 1397 A.D.) thus:

“At that time Java had completely conquered San-fo-Tsi and changed its name to Ku-Kang. When San-fo-Tsi went down, the whole country was disturbed and the Javanese could not keep all the land. For this reason, the local Chinese residents stood up for themselves and elected as their chief a man from Nan-hai in Canton called Liang Tan-ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, and who had the support of several thousand men from Fu-kien and Canton.”

It is indeed a sad commentary on the fate of this once-great Imperial power that it should have become the plaything of Chinese adventurers! At the peak of its glory, Sri Vijaya of the Sailendras was easily the greatest capital in South-East Asia, so far as its physical resources, naval strength, maritime activities, and political influence, were concerned. But both the entry and the exit of the Sailendras from the stage of history are clouded in mystery. In the words of Hall, “So far as history is concerned, unheralded they come and unheralded they go.” This is because details of their later political rule from Sri Vijaya as capital are sadly lacking. One may wonder if this darkness is not due to the hard blows dealt by the Cholas during the course of almost a century against Sailendra pretensions. Cœdes thinks that the explanation for this Imperial fade-out lies in the fact that, while Sailendra was a great economic power, she neglected spiri-
tual values and even resorted to tactics smacking of hidden piracy, of the type later made fashionable by Drake and Hawkins* in Elizabethan England. The Sri Vijaya kings were too busy trafficking in spices, precious metals and ivory, according to him, to set much store by administration and culture. Such charges, even if partly true, cannot wholly explain the lack of historical particulars of this great Empire, which produced some of the world's finest monuments of religion, and which at one time was renowned throughout the world as the greatest centre of Buddhist learning, the home of Atisa and Dharmakirti. It is on record, however, that by the 14th century the old capital Sri Vijaya (a city of canals and houseboats like modern Bangkok or our own Srinagar†) was sinking into obscurity while Malauy (or Jambi) was shooting into such prominence that its (vassal) kings sent direct embassies to China and won recognition and titles abroad. Marco Polo (circa 1300 A.D.) mentions Malauy and not Sri Vijaya in his narratives of Sumatra. Over this kingdom of faded glory another ominous shadow fell with lightning force. Islam had set up in South-East Asia as a proselytizing agency after obtruding itself at first into Indonesian waters as a mere trading community. Thanks to the shrewd enterprise coupled with lack of moral inhibitions, on the part of the Cambay merchants, one by one the petty rulers of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula fell victim to Islam's hypnotic power.‡ Soon Malauy and Sri Vijaya were the only states of importance in Sumatra to serve as a refuge of Hindu culture. But

* Besides being something of a pirate, Hawkins (who was knighted by his sovereign) was a confirmed slaver, but he was allowed by the Queen to trade only in 'lean negroes' who were within the means of purchase of the poorer Spaniards. Hawkins's Christian conscience permitted him to record this sanctimonious sentiment on one occasion in his log: "Many thought never to have reached to the West Indies without great death of the negroes and themselves, but the Almighty God, who never suffers His Elect to perish, etc.," (Hakluyt: 111-501).

† Or like the capital of the Aztecs in Mexico, as narrated infra.

‡ The facility with which Hindu and Buddhist potentates in South-East Asia embraced Islam is in some measure, due to glaring examples of such apostasy among princes on the Indian mainland. To go no further than-contemporary Deccan, it is well known that Harihara and Bukka (14th century) flirted with Mohammedanism before they reverted to their ancestral faith with such passionate fervour as to assume the role of the Wardens of the Hindu Marches in South India. Two other Brahmins went over to the Arabian creed, only to found kingdoms famous in Deccanese history. One Brahmin convert, Imad Shah, founded the Kingdom of Berar; the other's son, Ahmad Nizam Shah, gave birth to the independent dynasty of Ahmednagar. Students of Indian history may recall that Mohd. bin Tughlaq's father was half Indian, while Mohammad himself was three-quarters Hindu. So were the Khilji kings who followed Allah-ud-din.
they were no longer great emporia of trade nor were they the enviable capitals of large Empires. The sun of Sri Vijaya had set for ever, and the saga of Hindu-Sumatra was soon over. By the end of the 15th century, all Sumatra and all Java had ‘turned Turk.’

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that its sharply exclusive mercantile policy was an inherent source of weakness for Sri Vijaya, as it provoked rivalries and created enemies all round. The true inheritors of the commercial prosperity of Sri Vijaya were the Arabs who so monopolised the rich traffic in spices that most of Europe became jealous of their privileged position. This started Columbus and Vasco da Gama on their famous voyages of discovery, which resulted in altering the course of history in both the hemispheres. Meanwhile China, which often flaunted such superior ambitions of imperial rule, withdrew within herself and relapsed into the role of a nominal and enigmatic suzerain.

It is easy to profess morality in retrospect and pass harsh judgments, as most Western historians have done, in assessing the role played by the Aryan kingdoms in Malaysia. It is true that the Sailendras were addicted to a ‘forward’ mercantile policy and claimed pre-emptive interests in maritime trade in Indonesia. But the right of search exercised by them was only an anticipation of the tactics adopted by the British, the French and the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries, when they endeavoured, by the use of force and untoward pressure, to oust interlopers. The attempts made by the Sailendra rulers to achieve a close control of the spice trade of the Archipelago was nothing compared to the ruthless levies* and greedy monopolies in commerce, and exclusive rights in exploitation, claimed by the various ‘East India’ companies hailing from Portugal, France, England and Holland, which dubious claims were enforced with an unscrupulousness and ferocity unparalleled in the story of international trade, before or since.†

* For instance, all ships passing through the Straits of Malacca, had compulsorily to put into Malacca port, and pay a twelve percent duty on the value of the cargo, to the Portuguese and later to the Dutch. Part of the cargo had also to be sold to the local factory at reduced prices!

† While the British claimed many narrow seas as their inland waters, the Iberians laid claim to whole oceans as their exclusive domain, on the basis of the Papal bull described by me in a following chapter. This doctrine of mare clausum led Grotius to a vigorous and indignant protest as voiced in his famous work Mare Liberum (1608). It took some centuries for the limits of territorial waters to be fixed at a ‘cannon shot,’ i.e., three miles. Now the limit goes up to twelve miles. Toynbee (The Imperialists) has this to say of the British East India Company: ‘...these Western aliens behaved as the Roman publicani had behaved when the former Kingdom of the Atalids suddenly became the Roman Province of Asia. They behaved, if possible, even worse than their semi- alien Muslim predecessors. Like these, the British trader-tyrants were unjust, oppressive, predatory and corrupt.”
Let us now have a look at East Java. Elsewhere reference has been made to the East Javanese King Dharmavamsa (985 A.D.), who fought the Sri Vijaya ruler and was worsted and killed after a severe fight. Dharmavamsa codified Javanese law and translated numerous Sanskrit books into the old Javanese (or Kawi) language, which had predominant Sanskrit characteristics. The *Mahabharata* was put into Javanese prose (with the mellifluous verses of Vyasa interpolated), thus giving rise to the oldest prose composition in old Javanese.* This monarch with a literary taste was succeeded by his son-in-law Airlingga (who claimed descent from King Dharmodayana of Bali), when Sri Vijaya was fighting its titanic duel with Rajendra Chola. Airlingga hoisted his flag of independence and soon gathered such strength that a Sailendra princess was offered in marriage to him. Following this matrimonial alliance, peace was established with Sri Vijaya and an era of great commercial prosperity soon followed in East Java. Airlingga was a very cultured sovereign, and he greatly devoted himself to the arts of peace. The monumental poem *Arjuna Vivaha* was composed in his time by the Hindu poet, Kanka, and it furnished many themes for the Javanese stage and for the ‘wayang’ or shadow dances famous throughout the two islands. Three religious cults flourished in his kingdom, of which Buddhism and Saivaism were the long-established ones; a new tenet was also in vigorous vogue, viz., that of the Rishis or Ascetics, a development peculiar to East Java. But there was no religious rancour of any sort; the priesthood became so powerful that Airlingga brought them under special royal control. It is not clear if Airlingga himself claimed to be divine, as Hall contends. The opinion of this learned author, given below, does not accord with the accepted traditions of Hindu religion, or with the practices of Royalty in Aryan kingdoms elsewhere (in India or South-East Asia).†

*He himself claimed to be an incarnation of Vishnu. His mausoleum at Belahan contained a remarkable portrait statue of him as Vishnu riding on the man-eagle Garuda. It was the*

* Readers may recall a similar literary effort in Ceylon, a few centuries earlier. The *Mahavamsa* (5th century A.D.) was based on earlier *Mahavamsas*, written in Sinhalese prose with Pali verses interspersed profusely in-between, as a sort of memorial device.

† Even Valmiki depicted Sri Rama only as a valorous and noble prince of famous genealogy, while Vyasa’s princely heroes were very human, not free from venial mundane failings.
common practice for the kings of his line to be worshipped after death in the form of Vishnu. Ancestor-worship was a special task laid upon a king. At certain set times he had to establish ritual contact with his ancestors in order to strengthen his position by the receipt of new magical powers from them. Hence the many 'chandis' scattered about East Java, celebrating a dead ruler in the guise of Siva, Vishnu or the Bodhisatva Avalokiteswara, were all centres of ancestor-worship, and, although outwardly Hindu or Buddhist, represented a culture that was a survival from the pre-Hindu past."

Four years before his death, Airlangga (who had no lawful sons) became a rishi, dividing his kingdom between two illegitimate sons, making the Brantas river the dividing line of their heritage. Luckily for the princes (and also for their people), the two houses became one when an only princess of one branch married the heir-apparent of the other. The renowned Kadiri kingdom was thus born (1130 A.D.), but as usual, historical details of this State are woefully inadequate. The Chinese speak well of the kingdom, mentioning 10 kings as ruling up to 1222 A.D., who are, however, almost mere names. One ruler, Dharmaraja, is known as the author of the allegorical poem Smaradahana, dealing with Kama and Rati, and their fatal involvement in the courtship of Siva and Parvati. Jayabhaya (1135-57 A.D.) figures as the romantic hero of a poem called Harivamsa. In his reign was produced another Javanese masterpiece, the Bharatayuddha, based on Vyasa's magnum opus. Apart from a great burgeoning of literary magnificence, the Kadiri dynasty witnessed much commercial distinction, but its glory was short-lived. In 1222 it was replaced by a new state called Singosari (Simhasri) whose stories are narrated, in verbose and overblown rhetoric, in the Pararaton (or Book of Kings). A low-born malcontent, named Angrok, murdered the Regent of Tumapel and married his widow. He then challenged and defeated the Ruler of Kadiri and set up his own standard of power at Kutaraja (or Simhasri), under the name of Rajasa. A sordid succession of regicides followed Angrok on the throne, till Vishnuvardhana came to power in 1248 A.D. The religion of this dubious kingdom became a curious mixture of Hinduism and Tantric Buddhism. This symbiosis of the orthodox and the heretical persuasions led to peculiar mix-ups in temple architecture, the Hindu and Buddhist motifs being juxtaposed in bizarre con-
fusion. The last king of Singosari was the famous Krtanagara, who succeeded his father Vishnuwardhana in 1268. He apparently became an addict to salacious Tantric excesses and figures in the Pararaton as a dipsomaniac and a lecher. On the other hand, the celebrated historical poem, Nagara Krtagama, composed by Bikku Prapancha in 1365 A.D. (almost a century after the King's death), praises the latter as a saint and an ascetic. As usual in such cases, the odium theologicum on either side seems to have overshadowed truth. The condemnable Tantric practices of Mahayana Buddhism (especially of the notorious Kalachakra school) were doubtless obnoxious to the puritanical author of the Pararaton and led him to exaggerate the failings of this monarch, who was not without touches of real greatness. However, the gloss put on him by the Buddhist Prapancha is vitiated by much suppressio veri.

According to Prof. Berg (who has made a learned study of this dynasty), the imperialism of Singosari was a concomitant of the expansionism of the Mongols, who had to be met on equal terms, militarily and diplomatically. He even makes out that Krtanagara deified himself as Bhairava, following Kublai Khan's formal dedication as a Jina-Bodhisatva in Peking. To consolidate his position, Krtanagara established friendly relations with neighbouring Champa and Sumatra and rooted out all internal opposition. Madura island was annexed (1280), and entrusted to a trusted lieutenant, called Arya Viraraja. Bali and Sunda soon fell before the blandishments of the ambitious monarch, who drew them into a sort of 'Holy Alliance' of Indian faiths against the Mongol danger, which soon materialised in the shape of a demand from the dreaded Kublai Khan for formal submission, in 1289. This was scornfully refused by Krta and the Mongol deputation was even arrested and sent back in ignominy. The Chinese Emperor Kublai reacted by sending a large expedition against Singosari, which Krtanagara narrowly missed intercepting en route. The result was that Java was left with weak defences when the Mongol army landed in 1293. Meanwhile Prince Jaya, a descendant of the old Kadiri dynasty which had been so violently uprooted by Angrok, engineered a successful revolt from within, allegedly when Krtanagara was busy with some private Tantric orgies. Prince Jaya drew away the palace guards by a successful ruse, captured the king and put him promptly to death. The Mongol army had thus to face, not the valorous Krtanagara
but the inexperienced Prince Jaya, who naturally proved quite unequal to the task of resisting the invader and was quickly dethroned by Krtanagara's son-in-law, Prince Vijaya. The latter then began a treacherous intrigue with the Mongols; while pretending to support the invaders, he secretly manoeuvred their forces into such difficult positions that the Mongol Commander (Admiral Yikomosu) abandoned the projected campaign for the conquest of Java, and sailed home with depleted forces. Vijaya promptly installed himself on the throne under the title of Krta Rajasa Jayavardhana, with his capital at Majapahit. A notable feature of the campaigns against the Mongols was the extensive use of fire-arms by the Javanese army, which had been supplied these very weapons by the Mongol Admiral as a friendly gesture. From this time onwards the Majapahit rulers benefited largely by the use of cannon and musket, in their wars of conquest.

Thus was founded the last Hindu dynasty of Java, before the island was overwhelmed by the Islamites. Vijaya, in three inscriptions, conveys the impression that his reign was successful and quiet, especially since 'he had married all the four daughters of Krtanagara, who left no son'. In reality, Vijaya's reign was far from peaceful, as the Pararaton bears out. A series of revolts occurred (nine in all, it would seem), partly attributed to the disappointed supporters of Vijaya and partly to the "Little Java" or anti-foreign party, averse to Vijaya's grandiose pan-Indonesian schemes. The rebellion of Viraraja (a great potentate on his own right) and his son Nambi dragged on for a number of years, even after the death of Krta Rajasa in 1509. In 1316, Jayanagara, who had followed his father, succeeded in giving the coup de grace to Nambi, but after three years a more formidable revolt was engineered by Kuti, a Javanese nobleman of Hindu lineage. The king had to flee from his capital, but the position was saved by the daring and skill of a young officer called Gajamadha, who restored to the fugitive monarch his throne. Jayanagara died in 1328 (through an accident, perhaps deliberately engineered by Gajamadha), and was succeeded by his sister Tribhuvana Devi, daughter of Vijaya through Princess Gayatri of Champa. This lady ruled till 1350, when she abdicated in favour of her own son Hayam Waruk, but real power continued to be

* He was disgraced and confined by the Great Khan.
held by Gajamadha, who was named Maha Patih (Grand Administrator). Gajamadha was addicted to the dubious Tantric rituals associated with Bhairava and Chamundi, but he was a skilled military commander and reduced a number of surrounding states to submission. The *Nagara Krtagama* enumerates a long list of his conquests, which, if correct, would make the Mayapahita empire co-extensive with modern Indonesia plus a greater part of Malaya, the Philippines, and even a part of Formosa. This mighty Empire, probably greater in sheer spread and size than even that of the Chinese monarch, was kept together through a formidable naval armada and considerable land forces, according to the *Nagara Krtagama*, whose evidence, however, is now much discounted. Prof. Berg thinks that Gajamadha’s authority (in 1364, when he died) did not extend beyond East Java, Madura and Bali. Meanwhile, Hyam Waruk invited the king of Sunda with a proposal of marriage, but treacherously attacked and slew him, whereupon the would-be bride committed suicide on the spot rather than marry the regicide. Hayam consolidated the legacy left to him by his great father by maintaining friendly relations with his neighbours (Siam, Kamboja, Champa and Yavana, i.e., Tonking), besides China and even distant Bengal. He provoked a war with the greatly debilitated Sri Vijaya ruler at Palembang and overran his kingdom, which was thereafter left to the tender mercies of Chinese pirates, as we have seen elsewhere.

In internal administration, the *Nagara Krtagama* sings paean of praise about Gajamadha. The land was well surveyed and clearly marked out with stones, as in ancient India. Police duties were carefully laid down, and there was a regular family-census. Occupations were assigned to the population on the basis of hereditary-cum-skill. The Law Code, based on Indian Dharmsastras, was enforced with efficiency by Courts of Justice, which apparently functioned with equity and promptness. The cultivator was well protected and there were fair practice rules for the remuneration of officials and temple ministrants. Taxation was fixed and light, and the ‘corvee’ sat easily on the people. Gajamadha, later in his regime, prepared a set of legal regulations which partially supplanted the Kutara Manava (or the condensed Institutes of Manu), which was the chief source of civil and criminal law all over Java. The legal procedure was expeditious and
fair, and the administration enjoyed popular acquiescence.* To quote Hall:

"A judgment of Rajasanagara's reign, inscribed on copper, shows how judges were instructed to work in civil cases. They had to take into account the law as laid down in the law-books, local customs, precedent and the opinions of spiritual teachers and of the aged. They must also question impartial neighbours before finally reaching their decision."

* For the sake of comparison, I give some particulars regarding the administration of justice in London, in the 17th and 18th centuries. While in India, from time immemorial, guards and watchmen had been organised in cities and villages (under Nagarapalas and Gramapalas), in England there was no such thing as a police force till the 19th century. The rule was to "set a thief to catch a thief"; in other words, to rely on professional informers called thief-takers, who would apprehend suspects for a reward, which was fixed under a regular tariff. The result was such a plethora of crime in the city that it defied description, analysis or explanation. "Whole areas of the city were inhabited only by criminals and none would venture into them. In these districts and many others, each street had its thieves' den, its receiving shop and its brothel. In 1800, there were 3000 old-iron-and-rag shops, all without exception pedlars in stolen property. In addition, there were 5000 public houses and beer shops, many of which were rendezvous of highwaymen, coiners and house-breakers". (The Wonderful Story of London, P. 268.)

As regards the magistrates, no stipend was ever paid by the State; it was expected that they would help themselves to commissions (on the thief-takers' rewards) and accept bribes to make up the balance. (Henry Fielding, on his appointment as magistrate, called his earnings "the dirtiest money on earth"). Many magistrates held court in their houses, or shops or even in taverns! It is recorded that several of these magistrates (in Fielding's time—1750 A.D.) were dismissed officials, ex-convicts, and habitual debtors, who would borrow even from the prisoners! In the 17th century it was customary for judges to take 'presents' from the parties in court. "Bacon was not above the age in this matter and his tendency to keep his expense years in advance of his income forbade him the luxury of scruples." (Will Durant, The Story of Philosophy)

The Penal Code of England was so barbarous that every year more offences were added to the 'capital' list, children being treated exactly like adults. The Law thus provided an endless procession of victims to the public hangman, and a perennial mass spectacle and diversion to the London public. (Windows were let at high prices, and special wooden stands erected, near Tyburn.) Apart from the pillory, even whipping and branding was done in public, to the huge Merriment of the crowds, in which not a few were gentlemen and society ladies. The crime of treason (which was broadly interpreted to include offences like counterfeiting coins) meant partial hanging, disembowelling the still living offender, decapitating him and quartering his trunk—all in public!
Hayam Waruk was succeeded by his nephew (who was also his son-in-law), Vikrama Vardhana (1389–1429), whose reign saw a swift decline in the fortunes of Majapahit. Civil war was the chief reason, and all the states on the outer fringes of the empire soon broke loose. Malacca cut adrift, with its contumacy being heightened by apostasy, as we have seen earlier. The spread of Islam egged on the forces of disruption. China also started fishing in troubled waters, and on one occasion enforced the payment of a large tribute from Vikrama. The famous eunuch admiral of the Hing emperors, Cheng-Ho, paid several visits to Java, but his hand was not overtly directed against Majapahit, whose trade and industry continued undiminished, although the political power behind them was sadly emasculated.

Vikrama Vardhana died in 1429, and was succeeded by his daughter, Suhita (1429–1447). Her brother followed on the throne and ruled for four years (1447–1451). Thereafter there was a rapid succession of minor figures, whose colourless personality and diminishing authority left little impress on local history. There was a prince on the throne of Majapahit in 1516, to whom Albuquerque sent a mission, after he had conquered Malacca in 1511 from the Mussalmans. The last days of the kingdom were covered in darkness, while the Portuguese and the Dutch were contending for power in Indonesia.

Hindu rule was soon finally extinguished for ever in this theatre of history where benign Aryan colonialism had played such a great and glorious role for over 1500 years. If the Sri Vijayas were great, the Sailendras were greater still. Their proud flag (carrying a large carp or makara, like those of the Pandyas) flew for several hundred years over the whole of the Archipelago and the Peninsula, thus vying in size and wealth with the Celestial Empire itself. When the Sailendra sun set, Kadiri and Majapahit came to power in turn, and they kept the Hindu rule going in Java and the neighbouring isles for many scores of years. The Arabs and the piecgood merchants of Cambay first undermined the benign Aryan supremacy. The Portuguese gave it a violent shock and the Dutch completed the tale of its destruction.
The Culture and Civilization of Indonesia under the Hindus

The Chinese rated Java and Sumatra the second and third richest countries in the world (Arabia coming first!). Sumatra was described as having a great store of rhinos, elephants, seed pearls and medicinal spices. “Being an important thoroughfare for the traffic of all nations, the produce of all countries is intercepted there and kept in store for the trade of foreign ships.” The route followed by ships from Arabia is thus described by the Chinese. “The traders coming from Ta-Shi (Arabia) after travelling to Ki-lin (Quilon) in small ships, transfer to big vessels proceeding east. They make Palembang (Sri Vijaya); after this they come to China by the same route as the Sri Vijaya ships.” The city of Sri Vijaya was stated to have walls several miles in circumference. “When the King goes out in a boat he is covered by a silk umbrella and guarded by men carrying golden lances. The people are skilled in fighting on land and water. In facing the enemy and in courting death they have not their equals in the world,” says Cha ju Kua, the Chinese official (1225 A.D.). He adds that, instead of using strings of copper cash, the people transact business with lumps of silver. “In writing documents they use foreign (i.e. Sanskrit) characters and the King’s signet is used as a seal. They also know Chinese characters.” The laws were apparently severe; adultery was punished with death. Upper classes were cremated, and when the king died his personal followers committed suicide on the funeral pyre. Religious benefactions were large, as seen from the following extract:

“There is (in San-fo-Tsi) a (kind of) Buddha (i.e., image) called ‘Hill of Gold and Silver’, and it is cast in gold; each succeeding king before ascending the throne has cast a golden image to represent his person, and they are most particular to make offerings of golden vessels, all bearing inscriptions to caution future generations not to melt them down. When anyone in this country is dangerously ill he distributes his weight in silver among

* South Arabia was known as Sabah from very ancient times, and was considered to be very affluent, thanks largely to the Aryan colonies established there (cf. the episode of Solomon and the Queen Sheba, or Sabah, in the Old Testament). Sabah was a midway entrepot for the rich trade in spices, incense, gems and precious metals, between India, and Egypt and the Mediterranean.
the poor of the land, and this is held to be a means of delaying death."

According to the Chinese, the king bathed in rose water (to prevent floods) and ate only sago (to prevent famine in cereals)! He wore a huge gold crown studded with gems, which few could carry in comfort on their head. The range of articles traded in is thus described:

"Among the products of the country are reckoned tortoise shell, camphor, varieties of gharu-wood, cloves, sandalwood and cardamoms. Arab traders brought pearls, frankincense, rose-water, gardenia flowers, myrrh, aloes, asafoetida, putchuk, liquid storax, elephant tusks, coral trees, cat's eyes, amber, foreign cotton stuffs and sword-blades. All these products, native and foreign, were exchanged for gold, silver, porcelainware, silk brocades, skeins of silk, silk gauzes, sugar, camphor, and so on."

The king was so particular about foreign ships putting in at his ports that he actually stretched a chain of iron across the narrow straits, according to the Chinese, to prevent unauthorised passages of boats. (The Straits of Johore are specifically mentioned in this connection.)

The material concerning the civil administration of Java under Aryan hegemony (which may be considered typical of all the major states in the Archipelago) is unfortunately exiguous. There are three old Javanese books which shed some light on the subject. These are:

(1) The Kamandaka or the Rajaniti, a treatise on good government,

(2) The Indralokha, a lecture on statecraft.

(3) The Nittipriya, which deals with war and diplomacy and is surprisingly modern in tone and outlook.*

The following extracts from the last-mentioned book may be of interest:—

"A good prince must protect his subjects against all unjust persecutions and oppressions, and should be the light of his subjects, even as the Sun is the light of the world.

"It is above all the duty of a prince to take notice of everything going on in his country and among his subjects.

* This diet was of, course, symbolic.

* It seems to have borrowed heavily from the Arthasastra.
"It is a disgrace to a prime-minister for any hostile attack to
be made on the country entrusted to his charge without his
knowledge.

"But a good prime-minister is he who is upright in his heart,
moderate in his fear of the prince, faithfully obedient to all his
orders, kind-hearted, not oppressive to the people, and always
exerting himself to the utmost for the happiness of the people
and the welfare of the country.

"And a prime-minister is good beyond measure, who knows
everything that is going on in the country and takes proper
measures accordingly; who always exerts himself to avert what-
ever is likely to be injurious; who heeds not his own life in
effecting what is right; who considers neither friends, family,
nor enemies, but does justice alike to all; who consults much
with his brother officers with whom he ought always to seek
advice on affairs of business.

"A prince, a prime-minister and the chief officers of the
court should direct the administration of the country with such
propriety that the people may attach themselves to them; they
must see that the guilty are punished, that the innocent be not
persecuted, and that all persons falsely accused be immediately
released, and remunerated for the sufferings they have endured."

The government was monarchical with absolute powers for
the ruler in theory, which, however, were much restricted in prac-
tice. Kingship carried some divine attributes as in India, but
latterly curious and objectionable Tantric rituals got mixed up
with the sovereign's prerogatives. Suggestions of post-mortem
semi-deification (represented as an incarnation) are not wanting,
although this decadent trait is overstressed by Western writers,
who read into the funerary images more sinister meanings than
the situation probably warrants. Under the Majapahits the
kingdom was divided into administrative units, the smallest being
the village (or desa) as in India, under a headman or gramani
and the biggest under a governor or viceroy, who was frequently a
member of the Royal family. The king was helped by a large
group of high state officials who were remunerated by land-grants
instead of cash (as in South India). The inscriptions refer to two
classes of dignitaries, handling respectively secular and religious
matters. The latter are referred to as Adisastrins in Sanskrit and
as Pankur, Taran, and Tirip in Javanese. The title Pitamaha
was sometimes applied to high sacerdotal office-holders. The highest Civil Administrators bore the title of Raka (rajah?) or Rakarayan, and even Princes of the blood-royal bore this title, which probably corresponded to that of Viceroy. Other high officials mentioned in the inscriptions are Mantris ( Ministers), the Senapati (Chief Commander of the Army), and the Sarva-Jala-Senapati (High Admiral)*. The ministers were mainly three, Mantri Hine, Mantri Sri Karan, and Mantri Halu (the exact connotations of the posts are not clear). Sometimes a Mahamantri is named; he was also called Patih or Mahapatih; (Gajamadha was successively, Senapati, Patih and Mahapatih, the highest office in the state after the king.) Other senior members of government were the Rakarayan Demung and Rakarayan Kanruhan, Rakarayan Ranga and Rakarayan Tumengung (often the designations were amalgamated in a confusing manner). These five Rakarayans (including Maha Patih) were known as Panchavi of Vilvātika (Vilvātika being the old Sanskrit name for Majapahit), and these officials formed the High Executive Council. Sometimes a sort of inner cabinet was formed to eschew outsiders, consisting of the king, his mother, uncle, sister and the chief queen, with the chief purohit also included occasionally.

There were two important Departmental Heads, viz., the Dharmadhikarins and the Dharmadhyaakshas. The former were judicial officers described in the inscriptions as “the distinguishers between righteous and evil procedures” and “the propounders of law and of judgings”. There were seven gradations of judges and each member of the judiciary had the title of Acharya and had to be well versed in logic, grammar and (the Sankhya) philosophy. They had also to be proficient in the Kūtara Manava, i.e., in the condensed law-texts of Manu and the various Dharmasastras dealing with law and punishments.

The Dharmadhyaakshas, who were two in number, were spiritual office-holders, looking after the Saivaite and the Buddhist endowments and institutions. Their special responsibility was the care of the learned, particularly the Brahmins and the priests. They ranked higher than the Dharmadhikarins and occasionally discharged judicial functions, especially where religious questions were in dispute.

* The High Admiral was known as Lakshmana in some other S. E. Asian countries.
The administration seems to have been well organised and efficient, particularly in its revenue and judicial branches. The excellent survey system, modelled no doubt on the hoary traditions of South India, bespoke a competent bureaucracy and a widespread knowledge of the three R's among the people. The army too was an alert and effective force, as alien observers frequently testify. The following opinion, found in a foreign (Chinese) commentary, is worth citation:

"Three sons of the king are viceroy and there are four functionaries, called Lo-ki-lien (Rakarayan), who manage together the affairs of the state, just like the ministers in China; these have no fixed pay, but they get from time to time products of the soil and other things of this kind. Next there are more than three hundred civil employees, who are considered equal to siutsai (graduates of the lowest degree) in China; they keep the books in which the revenue is put down. They have also about a thousand functionaries of lower rank, who attend to the walls and the moats of the town, the treasury, the granaries, and to the soldiers. The general of the army gets every half-year ten taels (Chinese ounces) of gold (between six and seven hundred guilders); there are thirty thousand soldiers who, every half year, are paid according to their rank."

**Sumatra-Java Art and Architecture**

Fifty years ago, little was known about the Hindu art in Sumatra, as the latter was wild and unexplored and covered with thick jungles, with a sparse population. Of late several sites have been intensively surveyed with rich results—particularly those connected with the Sri Vijaya kingdom. The peculiarity of Sumatran architecture is the wide use of bricks, in contrast to Java, where stone was the principal material of the builder. In consequence, Sumatran architecture does not possess the magnificent sweep and grandeur of the Javanese monuments.

One of the most interesting monuments of Sumatra (found in Bukit Segumtang) is a restored image of Buddha, about 12 feet high, which shows all the characteristics of the Amaravati school (circa 100 A.D.). Bachhofer dates the image at 200 A.D. and thinks it must have been made at Amaravati and brought over to Sumatra, since granite of suitable quality was not available at Segumtang. To quote:
"The export of Buddhist sculpture from Vengi overseas to the East must have started as early as the 2nd century A.D., for the small bronze Buddha of P’ong Tuk and the enormous stone Buddha of Segumtang belong to a phase in the development of South Indian sculpture which ended about A.D. 150."

Prof. Sastri, however, prefers to think that Indian workmen from Andhradesa made the statue in situ, especially since inscriptions in Pallava script have been noticed on other monuments at the spot. The early dating by Bachhofer probably implies that the origins of Sri Vijaya are much older than we have imagined so far and that Buddhism reached Malaysia almost simultaneously with the orthodox faith.

The body of a statue in granite, found at Kota Kapur (in Boros island) with a peculiar head-dress, is identified by Stutterheim as that of Vishnu of the 7th century, and he thinks that it was brought by invading troops. Doctor Quatrich-Wales sees some Malay cast of features in this stone image and thinks it typifies the spread of South Indian influences through Malay Peninsula, into Sumatra. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri dissents from this view, as well as from the general thesis of the learned Doctor that the Peninsula was the centre of political and cultural inspiration for Sri Vijaya.

Another fragmentary stone statuette of Avalokiteswara found at Segumtang is attributed by some Western writers to Javanese workmanship, but Sri Ghosh (of the Indian Archaeological Department) holds that "in the details of iconography, dress, and embellishment, as well as in the general plastic feeling, (the statuette) definitely recalls South Indian type." Heine-Geldern agrees with this view and attributes the workmanship to Pallava artisans. We can therefore safely deduce that early Sumatran art was ushered in from South India. In Prof. Sastri’s words:

"So far then as the few specimens now available of the earliest phase of Sri Vijaya art enable us to form a judgment, this art was distinctly South Indian in its origin and retained its original features for some time after its transplantation. We do not possess the evidence necessary to trace the subsequent history of this art; but we may note that, as we have seen in our study of the history of Sri Vijaya, live contacts were maintained with South India in many ways throughout the centuries, and it should
be no surprise if we come across typically South Indian forms in the later phases of the art of Sri Vijaya."

In support of the above view may be cited the opinion of Bosch that it was likely that South Indian colonies flourished in Panē (Pannai in Tamil) in sufficient numbers to influence the art and architecture of the land watered by the Pannai river. The use of Pallava grantha in inscriptions, even as late as the 14th century, is indicative of the continued existence of such colonies in this period, according to him.

When the Sailendras migrated to Palembang, they brought Javanese influences with them. The bronze images of this period bear unmistakable impress of the Nalanda and the Pala schools. Certain Buddha statues at Malayu (Jambi) show North Indian traces (of the Gupta period) and so do some fine black bronzes (unfortunately mutilated) representing Bodhisattvas. Côèdes expresses enthusiastic appreciation of these objects de art in these words: "The benevolent serenity of the visage, the mobility of the carriage of the shoulders and the magnificence of the ornaments, class (these) among the masterpieces of the sculptures of India and Indo-China". The later Sailendra iconography shows clear Javanese style and motif. The Tantric influences which dominated Javanese life after the 12th century are also reflected in Sumatra. A large statue of Bhairava which was discovered in Sungai Lancet, is described thus:

"On a pedestal of eight skulls, there is a slab, a double lotus cushion (padmapitha), bearing a lying figure with legs folded under the body. On this stands a short, thickset figure with a knife and a skull in the hands; snakes surround the ankles and wrists, and form arm-bands and ear-ornaments. The girdle is held by a clasp in the form of the head of a monster, and there hangs from its mouth a pearl garland with a bell at its bottom. From the left shoulder where a knot or loop is seen, a broad ribbon falls obliquely on the chest; another ornamental band is also seen in a similar position. Chest and legs are hirsute; there is also the moustache, and at the corners of the mouth are sculptured little projecting tusks. Slant-eyed Nakaras and flowers with hanging seed-garlands serve as ear-ornaments. In the tall coiffure sits the Buddha Aksobhya."

But in striking contrast to the extent and variety of the monuments of Yavadvipa are the remains of Sumatra, which often
lack originality and grandeur of conception. Unless archaeological discoveries still to be made present a different picture, it must be admitted that the Sri Vijayans were less dedicated to pure art and architecture than their confreres in Java, who produced some of the most imposing monuments in the ancient history of the East.

Let us now have a glimpse of Javanese architecture, about which much could be and has been written. It is curious that the Hindu kingdom of Mataram (of Sanjaya) about which so little is known, should have produced the most magnificent monumental remains, not only of all Java, but of all Malaysia. (Only Kamboja, a sister Aryan kingdom on the mainland, could boast of achievements which are comparable). Tradition avers that the Khmer rulers borrowed the idea of building on a grand scale from the Javan monarchs of Mataram and of Yogyakarta, of the 8th century A.D.

In the words of a learned author (Scheltema), the neglect of the ancient monuments of Java by the Dutch has been nothing short of scandalous. "The languid detachment of a colonial bureaucracy, to whom a cash return was the *sine qua non* of activity, took little effort to prevent ruin and dilapidation, not to speak of downright plunder and theft."* Till the time of Dr. Brandeis and

* The commercialism of the Dutch had its English parallels. It sounds incredible but it is nevertheless true that Lord Bentink, as Governor General, seriously considered demolishing the Taj Mahal and selling its marble in the market, to help the E. I. Company. He was only deterred from carrying out his brain-wave because a test auction of the marble columns dismantled from Shah Jehan's Agra Palace produced disappointing results! (See E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, P. 246.) "The Englishman came to India in a mercenary spirit with little training but some general ideas gathered from Victorian England...... After the Mutiny, the Indian craftsman (subordinate engineer trained by the British) imbued a contempt for Indian architecture, as having only an archaeological interest while he himself acquired an inadequate knowledge of English architecture in one of its worst periods. He would be used to erect offices and public buildings at a salary far smaller than the Moghal Emperors had paid their master-masons". ((*The Legacy of India*, P. 405). The result was a 'dak-bungalow Gothic' style of building which lasted well into the 20th century. Only in some Indian States did traditional domestic architecture of good quality survive, as was also the case with the temple renovations in South India. Even Curzon's interest in our ancient monuments was historical, not artistic, and it was in this spirit that he saved partially the Red Fort at Delhi, which had suffered heavily by British military occupation in his predecessors' time,
Dr. Krom (1901-1913), nothing was done to preserve the ancient monuments. (The story is the same in India; up to the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, 1901, practical and legal steps to protect our antiquities were conspicuously absent.) To quote Scheltema:

“Antiquities, except when sold, do not bring in money to the exchequer and the Dutch government’s most holy colonial tenets were diametrically opposed to expenses without promise of immediate pecuniary profit. The architectural marvels unprovided for (were) suffered to crumble away, to be stripped and demolished, the valuable statuary carried off piecemeal by unscrupulous collectors, the lower-priced stones (being removed) by builders of private dwellings and factories, government bridges and dams.”

Geographically, Javanese art can be divided into three groups: the Western area, not overstocked with treasures; the Central, rich in both Hindu and Buddhist monuments of the highest excellence; and the Eastern, which seems to reflect Hindu art in a stage of decline, if not positive decadence. The architectural remains, taken as a whole, are among the best in the world. The strangers who came in increasing numbers from far-off Aryavarta in the first years of the Saka era to the hospitable shores of Negri Java, and whose kindly reception by the primitive local people is marvellously depicted in some panels at Boro Budor, acquitted their debt of gratitude “by building and carving with an energy” (to cite Fergusson) “to an extent nowhere surpassed in their native lands, and dignifying their new homeland with imperishable records of their art and civilization.”

In Java, the Hindu element in art, with a strong Buddhist admixture, predominates. It wholly prevails in ancient architecture, as it does in Javanese folklore and literature; and later Mussalman and Christian influences have been imperceptible. Everywhere in the island we find, under the Muhammadan coating, the old conceptions of life from which Loro Jonggrang and Boro Budor sprang. Scratch the ‘Orang Islam’, the Saivite or Buddhist will immediately appear. Saivism and the Sramana cult had grown strong roots in the island for well-nigh fifteen centuries; their tenacious sway even today strikes the most casual observer. “Islam did little to stimulate art in Java. Christianity did even less, rather clogged it in its application to

* Monumenal Java: (All other quotations from this author are from this book)
native industries, which suffered from the country being flooded with stuff as cheap as possible to make, but sold at the highest possible price to benefit manufacturers in Europe.” (Scherltema)

It is the same story as in British India, but written in the harsh and unsentimental language of Holland.

The art of West Java is typified at Pajarajan, which was once the seat of a mighty kingdom that could put an army of a hundred thousand on the field at one time. But the statuary here is crude, compared with those elsewhere in Java; but from those immature attempts emerged in due course an art which, in the bands of the great ‘sthapatis’ of Central Java, flowered out into poems in stone which had few compeers of their type and age elsewhere in this world. The history of the growth of the plastic arts, and of building, from the crudities of Pajarajan to the impressive magnificence of Parambanan and Borobudor, conceals an enigma to which an answer is still to be found. But there is no puzzle with regard to the decadence noticed in East Java after the downfall of the Hindu empires. Islam was not native to the soil and its sway was not conducive to an efflorescence of art. Nor was it anything better under the Dutch rule. As Scheltema observes, “When the natives were made to toil and moil for alien masters, their virtues and their defects blighted into the defects and failings of apathy”. Nothing is so deadening to native artistic virtuosity as the incubus of a foreign bureaucracy.

In the sweet island of Java, “whose air is balm and where always the delicious sound of running water is heard and where the cult of bathing is perfected by inclination as well as by necessity”, the oldest signs of civilisation are found in sheltered nooks from which mighty rivers spring, or in inaccessible pools high on the hills. Kota Baru near the capital of Pajarajan is one such, where there is a collection of ungainly statues, and impressions of the feet of Poorwa Mahakali. West Java possesses few temples, since the people apparently preferred to pray and sacrifice in the open or in improvised shelters, as the ancient Aryans had done in Sapta Sindhu several thousand years earlier.

Things are different in the wonderland of Dieng (i.e., Adhi Anja = greatly shining) which links the two chains of volcanoes, running like a backbone across Java. The temples in this high plateau are some of the best in Java, although most have been shaken badly by the seismic disturbances to which this beautiful
land is unluckily very prone. The Venggi inscriptions here indicate that the immigrants came from South India. The ruins lie all over the plateau and up the hill slopes; there are spots where Arjuna allegedly tied his elephants and drives where Bhima exercised his chariots. Ancient aqueducts, walls, staircases, foundations of secular buildings, all cluster round the temples in such rich profusion that Dr. Jungjuhn named the place a Javanese Benares minus the Ganges, but plus an unceasing volcanic phenomenon, which did not hesitate to destroy the place. As regards the temples themselves, the oldest structures found in Java, Fergusson described them as interesting, “because they are Indian temples pure and simple, and dedicated to Indian gods. What they tell us further is that if Java got her Buddhism from Gujarat and the mouth of the Indus, she got her Hinduism from Telingana and the mouth of the Krishna; nor are they Dravidian in any sense of the word; they are Chalukyan.” Modern archaeologists have not accepted Fergusson’s verdict without reservation.* Whether Chalukyan or Pallava, the temples had been built by men of great imagination, deep sentiment, and marvellous building ability, working up their thoughts in stone, heavenward. The Chandi-Arjuna, surrounded by other Chandis, of Srikantha, Poonta Deiva (Adhi Swami), Suprabha and Bhima, has a simple but impressive look, graceful and beautifully proportioned. In the words of Scheltema, “Under the tapering roofs, which give the inner chambers an air of indescribable elegance, notwithstanding the cramped dimensions, images of great holiness (formerly) stood on pedestals; the images have been removed, heaven knows whither, and even the pedestals have fared badly at the hands of sacreligious robbers digging for hidden treasure (beneath the idols)”. In the quiet and dry season, the slimy and tossing plateau reveals foundations of buildings, lining long streets well laid out at right angles. (The superstructures have been apparently carried away by vandals.)

* Thus the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1957), Volume XII, P. 225: “The architecture of Farther India and Indonesia is largely of Indian origin— but the forms appear to be developed from earlier Indian types rather than directly imitated from those of the Gupta and Pallava styles. (Chalukyan is, of course, even later in date). Some Indian architectural forms are recognizable also in Gandhara, Central Asia, China and Japan. Some others are traceable in European architecture, having passed, via Alexandria, early in the Christian era, to Rome and Spain”. It must be conceded, however, that lofty columns and pillars are not often present in Indonesia; presumably, this is due to the danger of earthquakes.
number of canals and ditches had been dug (in the 8th century A.D.), the most prominent of which is the Gumpha Aswathama, which is at least 12 centuries old. A Javanese legend says that Asvatthama built himself this canal (which runs partially underground) to attack the Pandavas, particularly Arjuna! The most handsome chandi on the plateau is that dedicated to Bhima Vrikodara (wolf-bellied). Notwithstanding Fergusson’s opinion, competent critics maintain that it is South Indian, instead of Chalukyan, in character. It shows signs of incompleteness, perhaps due to a catastrophic earthquake of the type which simultaneously started the kingdom of Mataram on its decline. Moreover, there are heavy signs of despoiling; numberless statues and ornamental carvings have been appropriated by official and unofficial visitors, to enrich private museums and collections. "The appointment of the Wilandts, senior and junior, as the keepers of the antiquities in a region of archaeological interest equal to Pompeii and Herculaneum, without any funds whatsoever at their disposal, was only an incident in the continuous farce performed by the Dutch East India government... a farce with consequences sad to contemplate," says Scheltema. The half-hearted and spasmodic efforts at conservation by the government of Holland often proved more destructive than simple neglect. Monuments, with inscriptions which had weathered ten centuries of wind and storm, suddenly lost their clarity, owing to the clumsy and amateurish attempts at restoration. However, the latest reports from Java constitute cheerful news. The Republic of Indonesia is awakening to its responsibilities in this line, with a sense of keen pride in its great and historic past. Vigorous efforts are under way to restore the half-ruined hoary vanes to their original condition; where this is not possible, conservation of the status quo is ensured by timely and generous Government help.

The big plain of Parambanan, at the foot of Meru Api in Central Java, is studded with Hindu and Buddhist shrines, mainly on the road from Surakarta (Solo) to Yogyakarta. Leaving apart Boro Budor and Mendoot, these monuments constitute the finest pieces of ancient architecture of Java. The buildings seem to belong to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., when the early Mataram empire was at its zenith and Hindu faith had been impregnated with Buddhist traits. As usual in Java, thousands of the beautifully cut and carved stones have been stolen or misused; many
images have been dismantled and spirited away, primarily because of the sapta-ratna hoards usually buried underneath them by the pious founders.*

Siva was enthroned in these shrines built by the Mataram rulers, as Mahadeva Parameswara and Batara Guru (the national deity). The principal temples, arranged along a large square, are built out of blocks of trachyte stone, yellow and hard to shape but taking on a fine colour and polish with age. The buildings dedicated to the Trimurtis rest on polygonal basements, the inner rooms being at a high elevation because they are built over vault-like halls in the substructure. Vestiges of nearly 160 shrines or chandis originally shut in by lofty walls, can be traced all round. In the Batara Guru temple, images of Siva, Durga and Ganesa are still extant. The image of Durga in the Mahishasuramardini pose is a magnificent piece of sculpture instinct with dramatic life. The colossal Siva, unluckily broken by the falling roof, has been restored to its padmasana position, complete with skull and crescent, the hooded snake as an upavita, trident and string of beads. The images of Brahma and Vishnu, sadly damaged and partially restored, are chastely conceived and portrayed faithfully to the agama sastras. There are numerous human figures adorning the outside niches, which fact has led some to assume that they represent Bodhisatvas and as such the motifs are Buddhistic ones superimposed on a Saivaite base; other critics feel that the verisimilitude between the statuary on the outside of the Siva temple and the conventional representation of Bodhisatvas should

* In post-Reformation Europe, the respect for the sanctity of religious buildings had been greatly eroded. The position of London’s St. Paul’s Cathedral in the Middle Ages is perhaps illustrative of this sad trend. This noble edifice was (in the 16th and 17th centuries) used as a public thoroughfare, and even as a market place because “of the stalls which were set up in the body of the church, instead of in the porch”. Professional letter-writers and even lawyers set up their tables in the nave of the church. ‘Playing of the ball’ inside the building was a common pastime and mules and horses were tethered inside (particularly by Cromwell’s soldiery who also robbed the church of its treasures and broke the statues). “The central aisle of the Old St. Paul - Paul’s Walk - became the greatest promenade in London...... here assignations were kept and more business deals were carried out in Paul’s Walk than in the whole of the Royal Exchange; even a pillory was set up in the churchyard”. (A History of London Life by Mitchell and Ley, PP. 141-142.) John Earle wrote of the Walk, in 1628, thus: It is the general mint of all lies, which are here, like the legends of popery, first coined and stamped in the church—All inventions are emptied here and not a few pockets”.
be explained thus, viz., that the images are symbolic of the
canonisation or semi-deification of eminent kings who founded
these shrines, which apotheosis is itself an offshoot of ancestor
worship. (We find the reversal of this process in Buddhist Mendoot
shrines, thus supporting the latter hypothesis.) Scheltema feels
that this fact and the syncretism discernible in nearly all the
chandis of Java are but an evidence of the great spirit of tolerance
of the people of the Hindu period, who impartially worshipped
the Batara Guru or the Sakyamuni, as the prevailing notions
suggested.

The Siva temple contains many scenes from the Ramayana,
sculptured on the walls in bas-relief, which constitute some of the
finest artistic efforts in Java. The panels are divided by exquisite
haut-reliefs of Apsarasas, in endless varieties of poses, retreating,
advancing, tripping on light toes, doing measured steps in time
with the musical accompanists, and indulging in various voluptuous
gestures which seem to suggest to mortal man the joys in
store for the doers of unalloyed good, in the other world. All in
all, there is such a wealth of detail, such marvellous exhibition of
plastic skill, such realism and breath-taking finesse, that the
imagination of the onlooker is wholly captivated. In the words
of a learned critic, "The illustrations of the Ramayana by the
artists entrusted with the decoration of the Chandi Parambananan,
judging from what we possess (for the third tier of reliefs has
altogether disappeared) marks the apogee of Hindu-Javanese art.
Revelling in accessory ornament, it never surfeits; keeping the
leading idea well in view, every embellishment adds to its
intrinsic appeal."

An important feature of Hindu-Javanese art is the figuring of
animal life as an important factor in human destiny. The Ramayana
panels vividly exhibit the generosity shown to these lowly
companions of the heroes, in the Puranas. The gigantic birds who
aided Rama are depicted with feeling and skill. The monkey-
chiefs gambol round the Siva shrine in such a natural and engaging
fashion that they remind the onlooker that they are also children
of God, created to help man in his need, and not to be exterminated
to serve his passing pleasure. Even Durga is not portrayed
and worshipped as the fiery slayer of the Demon-buffalo, but as the
gentle Uma, venerated by her sex as the dispenser of hope and of
mental and physical well-being. (Even Chinese and European
women bring offerings to her shrine, in the hope of getting a cure for bodily ills.)

Near the Siva temple of Parambanan (Para Brahman?) was found a long inscription dated Saka 396 (474 A.D.), of which the following is a summary, which seems to reflect the light which shone on the sacred plain of Kurukshetra 3,500 years ago and which is a fitting tribute to the spirit of faith and fervour which animated the builders of this group of ancient vanes:

"Honouring the gods is the perfection of conduct. Whosoever strives after that will be smiled upon by them, for the practising of virtue provides access to heaven, which shines in splendour, and all gods will unite with the supreme Siva Batara Indra to assist the practiser of virtue. But whosoever does wrong will go to perdition and his appearance will be monstrous, his shape like the shape of a dog; such a one acts unwisely because he turns away from virtue and obeys his passions, which are his enemies......The teachers must also be respected, without exception, because of their venerable charge, and you must learn of them to honour Batara* above all gods, the Omnipotent, the Ruler and Maintainer of everything.......Honour your parents and the parents of your parents and their teachings, which are inviolable, as they before you considered inviolable the teachings which came to them from their parents and ancestors as received from the God Batara, who opened their hearts to probity....Conduct yourself honestly according to divine direction, acquire discretion and try to resemble the illustrious kings of the past who compassed the felicity of their subjects.......Be no regarder of persons either among the good or among the bad; all are mortals in a fleeting world. If there are any of your subjects who act wickedly, command them to mend their ways; if they persist in evil, teach them to distinguish between what is good and what is bad in their souls, to the advantage of the living.......Excellent men must be appointed to manage the affairs of the people. These three things are of highest importance: that proper instruction be given; that your subjects become prosperous, instead of poor through oppression; that every one of them knows the boundaries of his fields.......Dress cleanly and keep your bodies clean. Nothing is so beautiful and so profitable to you as the conquest of your passions, subduing them to a pure mind and lofty aspirations, vanquishing the enemies of virtue who

*In Java, Siva was usually addressed as Batara Guru and Siva Indra.
reveal themselves. Reflect seriously; some day you must die; ponder over the mystery of life and make the ignorant understand for their own salvation. Behaving in this manner, happiness cannot escape you. The gods will protect such kings to the benefit of their subjects, traders and carriers of merchandise and labourers in the fields. Nothing is denied to the obedient, for the gods ward off evil from their thrones; evil is known in heaven before it touches the mortals on earth. The men of rank and high birth who serve kings must be of middle age. In their fiftieth year it behoves them to retire from the world into prayerful solitude to die as a child dies; let the body suffer for the soul, crowning the end of life. Where does the soul go? It gains in beatitude or, if no progress has been made, it seeks a refuge in the bodies of animals and people of mean appetites. Gaining in beatitude, it reaches heaven, the garden of rest, but hell is the abode of sin. Cleanse, therefore, your thoughts, eschew impurity! Do not favour the wealthy nor despise the poor; all are equally confided to your care. Woman has been created inferior to man; but many men are enticed to wrong-doing by the smooth speech of their womenfolk, who lack perception by the inscrutable decree of the gods. Woman wishes to control man, taking her caprice for wisdom, always pressing him to follow her fancies. The chronicles, however, mention the names of queens like Sri Chitra-Wati, Seeta Devi and Sakjrevati Drupadi. Possess your souls in continence. Batara watches and you are unacquainted with the hour of your death.

Surakarta and Yogyakarta are the heart of the Hindu civilization in Java. In a soil rich beyond the dreams of avarice and amid scenes of indescribable natural beauty, the newcomers from far-off Aryavarta and their kindly and simple native hosts mingled together in free and friendly communion to produce a synthetic culture which flowered, among other things, into great monuments of religious art. As Fergusson observes, "The Hindus overflowed Central Java to such an extent and over such a long period (perhaps a thousand years) that they obliterated the native art and civilization and supplanted it with their own." The earliest monument now traceable is a linga erected at Kadu in 732 A.D. The inscriptions of King Sanjaya (in Venggi characters) point to the worship of Vishnu also. The Chandi Kalasam and Kali Bening testify to the spread of Mahayana Buddhism.
among the people tolerant of all faiths. This catholicity in religious practice is observable sometimes even in the same monument. A Vishnu temple may portray Bodhisatvas; Ramayana scenes are found in Sramana shrines. It is not without significance that one Prince of the 13th century even called himself Siva-Buddha. (The whole set-up is reminiscent of the catholic religious practices in India at the time of Harsha Vardhana Siladitya.)

It is depressing to notice that in this region also the buildings have suffered from all the evils besetting monumental Java. Time and cataclysms of nature have destroyed many edifices; the vandalism of Islam has undone many works spared by the weather and the earthquakes. Christian zealots, who regarded the time-worn shrines as the abode of heathen idolatry, aided and abetted the destruction, especially since the finely-cut stones were such useful building material, and the pagan idols provided such welcome decorations, to private gardens and drawing-rooms. Even when a disturbed conscience led to the sacred loot being put in a so-called museum (often adjoining a Resident's house), it was only a jumble of desecrated collections, a chaotic mass of torsos, arms, and heads of gods and goddesses, often impossible to connect or to identify. Many of the chandis themselves have disappeared behind huge masses of forest vegetation, which none had cared to clear. Of the kingly residences, nothing is left except large and broken terraces, with an occasional magnificent wall or gate, to attest the vanished greatness of ancient Hindu royalty.

Various other temples of smaller note lie about the valley of Parambanan; there are some more of considerable size at Singosari, and at Panantaran. In fact, each active volcano has a shrine built on its slopes. All these monuments show a common trait—they are universally Saivaitic; almost all are built of stone coming from the volcanic lava flowing down the slopes; all are nobly sited, commanding a wide and splendid view of the encircling land. In the words of Banner, "It is abundantly clear that the architects of these shrines would be satisfied with no surroundings that should not glorify, with Nature's utmost loveliness, the Divine beings to whose service they were hallowed." The buildings have been so well constructed that many of them have stood up to the violent seismic upheavals which have afflicted Java during countless decades. They also bear mute witness to the
immense labour spent on them, labour which, traditionally, was
given voluntarily and in good cheer, and not under the fear of the
lash as in the case of the builders of the Pyramids or of the
great Roman edifices; there is absolutely no suggestion in any of
the records of Java that harsh compulsion was used by the kings
who built these hallowed shrines. But the art and artistry which
inspired these great structures have been lost with the downfall of
the Aryan religions. To quote Banner again:

"The harsh puritanism of Islam speedily choked every
artistic faculty, whether temperamental or manual; the modern
Javanese could as easily construct the vaulted roof of Chandi
Mendoot, the symmetrical dagobas of Boro Budor, ... as he
could repeat Paradise Lost backwards in Esperanto"!

Eastern Java seems to have awakened to the promptings of
architecture, after the classic period of Central Java came to a
close circa 950 A.D.; and this lasted till the beginning of the 16th
century, when the Majapahit sway was extinguished. Lacking in
grandeur, East Java offers more variety in architecture, with a
wealth of chronological data in inscriptions. Here the art of
building reached its zenith under King Angruk and his successors,
although it could not match Boro Budor, or even Parambanan, in
style or quality. However, what it lacks in dignity of outline or
richness of symmetry it makes up in profuse, often bizarre,
decoration. The mania for perfection seems to have often over-
come the promptings of simplicity and restraint, as in the case of
the Renaissance buildings in Europe. The finish is, however, never
coarse or degenerate.

Hinduism travelled to East Java under pressure from Bud-
dhism; hence Majapahit art is pronouncedly Saivaite, although
Vishnu does claim his adherents. The Kings of Majapahit were
Saivas, Vaishnavas, or Buddhists (or followers of no particular
creed) according to circumstance. We have seen that under them
government officials belonged to various religious persuasions, but
that perfect amity prevailed among the theological groups. It
should be remembered in this connection that the distinction in
practice between Hinduism and Buddhism was often an arbitrary
one. In both India and China the two cults grew up side by
side; and indeed Hieun Tsang has commented upon the tolerance
of the Brahmins for Buddhism, and vice versa. In China, even
today, the masses worship either at Buddhist or Taoist (nature-
god) shrines, with equal readiness. The Mahayana Buddhism of Java resembled that of Tibet and Nepal in this respect, and differed greatly from the puritan schools of Ceylon and South India. As Groneman, the great archaeologist, has observed, the builders of Parambanan temples, Saivaite though they were, were co-religionists rather than rivals of those who raised the later sanctuaries of Boro Budor and Mendoot. A similar religious bonhomie exists in modern Bali, as we shall observe elsewhere.

The ruins of the great city of Majapahit (or Vilvatika, as it was named by the Hindu immigrants) offer scanty evidence that it was once the seat of a mighty empire, primarily because the palaces were mostly built of brick. There are portions of the city wall and some remnants of lofty gates, bathing tanks, and cemeteries. Here again, the story of reckless spoliation is repeated; factories in the neighbourhood have misappropriated all the ancient brick structures. The Pararatot mentions 76 funerary monuments as having been built by the kings, but these are hard to identify because of bad preservation. Some dates are recorded; for instance, the Chandi Papoh was built in 1301 A.D., and Chandi Panataran in 1319. The former is a refreshingly natural piece of virtuosity amidst an amazing multitude of artistic extravaganza and riotous innovation. In the words of Scheltema, "The Chandi Papoh is a temple whose corner shrines might pass for daintily wrought golden reliquaries inlaid with jewels, when the details of their beautiful decoration are shone upon by the setting sun; and the Chandi Sangraham, when seen against the blue of a measureless sky, might seem as lovely as the lotus in the bliss-bestowing hand of the finely chiselled statue near by." Other chandis are dedicated to the cult of bathing, along with that of worship. The Chandis Jalatoonda and Putri Java thus serve a double purpose, viz., devotion and ablution (as is often the case with sanctuaries in the delightful vale of Kashmir).

Before we take leave of East Java, we may have a look at the Chandi Panataran, the most beautiful in the area and the second largest temple (after Boro Budor) in Java. Built on a brick base,
its magnificent terraces are designed like those of other chandis. It is the only monument in Kediri sufficiently preserved to show its Saivaite origin. Fergusson compares it with the Maha Vihara of Ceylon and calls it a “serpent-temple”, as the whole basement is made up of eight huge serpents, not the seven-hooded nagas familiar to us elsewhere, “but more like the fierce-crested serpents of Central America”, in the words of Fergusson*. Large statues of Siva as Kala and Maheswara adorn the terraces, but of the temple itself not a stone is left. The sides of the terraces contain the familiar Ramayana scenes as well as some depictions of popular tales. Hideous attempts at official restoration have only resulted in further damage and desecration, and the architectural details have been hidden under layers of mortar and cement. Plaster and whitewash have made the venerable edifice look forlorn and slightly ridiculous — “an orgy of ‘conservation’ in the pernicious official connotation of the term, hoary age being ravaged by cheap and disfiguring tidying up”, in the words of Scheltema.

It is time we paid a visit to the great Buddhist shrines of Boro Budor and Mendoot, the pride of Yawadvipa. We know that the Sakyamuni was accepted as a saint out of Eastern tolerance, and out of Western necessity.† Among the Hindus he was ranked as the ninth Avatar of Vishnu, and among the Sugatas, particularly of the Greater Vehicle, he attained the status of a Divine Preceptor. Out of historical compulsion, he also became

* The learned historian’s remarks are pregnant with significance, as the reader will see in later chapters.

† The bulk of the European fairy stories found in Grimm, Andersen, etc., has been traced to Indian sources; (e.g., The magic mirror, The seven-leagueed boots, Jack and the beanstalk, Fortunatus’s purse). Chaucer, Boccacio, and even Shakespeare, have borrowed from the Hindus. (For instance, the Pardoner’s Tale is found in the Vedabba Jataka. The Merchant of Venice is based on the story of the Three Caskets found in the Lalita Vistara). The most famous case of migration is that of Barlaam and Josaphat. The latter was a young Christian prince, who was so affected by the scenes of misery which he encountered on his initial journeys from the Royal dwelling that he left the world to live as a recluse. This story is first found in the Greek work of Johar of Damascus (8th century A.D.); it was turned into an Arabic tale and translated later into many European languages. The narrative became so overwhelmingly popular that, in the 18th century Josaphat was canonised as a Christian saint! It is evident that the story is nothing more than that of the Great Renunciation of Buddha as detailed in the Lalita Vistara (2nd century B.C.).
a Saint of the Christian church*, with a day assigned to him in both the Greek and the Roman calendars. The Mahayanist Buddhism of Java was overlaid early with Brahministic conceits; on the other side, Saivaism lost its more forbidding aspects and became quite human and sweet. The two faiths have intertwined in Java in a kindly but bewildering manner, with an indiscriminate commingling of the dedicated vanes and images, and without any rancour between the communities professing the variant persuasions.

Central Java is *par excellence* the home of Buddhist shrines. The Chandi Kalasam (now in ruins) was built in 788 A.D., as attested by a Sanskrit inscription in pre-Nagari characters. Time and rapine have reduced this magnificent shrine, “this masterpiece of measured luxury”, as Rouffaer calls it, to a melancholy heap of debris. The images have been despoiled and the wall-niches are sadly empty. By the side of the Chandi Kalasam is the Chandi Sari (Sri), built in two stories; it was intended as the living quarters for the monks. Near by is the Chandi Plahosan, probably a Sangharama or college for the students of the religion, on the model of the one at Nalanda; laid out with gardens, shady groves and fountains, so conducive to a life of gentle contemplation and study, it breathes an atmosphere of piety and peace.

As much has been written about the great sanctuary of Boro Budor as about the equally well-known Kambojan monument of Angkor Vat; both of them are products of pure Aryan genius† and unsurpassed in excellence in the world. “So symmetrical and so consistently harmonious is the design of Boro Budor that most authorities are persuaded that it can only have been the work of one man,” says Banner, who adds: “Let us hope that the old artist lived to see his vision a reality—the grey terraces and galleries of his beautiful creation brightened with the yellow robes of the priests and his mighty stair-ways filled with surging throngs of pilgrims.” Even if this supremely gifted *sthapati* did not live to see the laying of the final stones of his magnificent creation, yet his accolade has been fully won. For what better tribute can be paid to him than the fact that, after many decades of Moslem domination and after a lapse of ten eventful centuries since the shrine was completed, even Hajis and Mullahs bring their floral tributes

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* As St. Josaphat.

* *Pace* the disparaging remarks of Dr. Hall, cited above.
to the Siddhartha in a spirit of catholic piety born of countless decades of Aryan indoctrination?

For long years, even the Javanese had seemingly forgotten the existence of Poro Budor, though occasional pilgrimages were in evidence. As in the case of Angkor Vat, man betrayed his trust and the jungle took over; and Boro Budor lay buried, for perhaps 500 years, under thick layers of volcanic deposit and a grim riot of vegetation. It required the labour of hundreds of men, working several weeks, to just remove the bushes and creepers which had overgrown the lofty pile. Situated in the Kadu District, it is 25 miles from Yogyakarta. If Java is the pleasance of the East, Kadu is its garden, full of natural charm and verdant vegetation, soothing to both body and mind. Philistines have called Boro Budor a ramshackle fabric of heathenism; the cognoscenti have run into raptures of praise of this most magnificent vane of Mahayana Buddhism in the world. The temple itself has been built on a slightly rounded eminence, overlooking river Praga, the hill forming part of the sub-structure. The base is a perfect square, and nearly 620 feet on each side. There are two lower terraces, then four galleries, rectangular in form but with many angles to suit the curve of the hill. Above these there are four more terraces, the last three being circular. The edifice is crowned by an enormous cupola, 50 feet in diameter and surmounted by a spire, now unfortunately broken.

The name Boro Budor is a corruption of Bada Buddha (the Great Buddha) and Kern thinks it was built circa 850 A.D. It is essentially Mahayanist, as the numerous statues of Dhyana Buddha testify, and was meant to be a reliquary intended to receive a consecrated part of the body of Buddha (perhaps a tooth). That some part of the statuary was left unfinished is attributed by critics to a religious motive, viz., that no man's work should be complete and thus vie with God's. Though India doubtless furnished its prototype and the religious formulæ of building, the style evolved here on the Solo plains baffles all comparison. According to a Dutch critic, the only building it can be likened to is the Taj Mahal (which is 8 centuries younger). Conceived on gigantic lines, Boro Budoor has been executed with the neatness and precision of a lapidary. In the words of the distinguished Dr. Scheltema, "It opens and closes a distinct chapter in architecture, even as the Taj Mahal does."
The galleries are spaced on the outside by 432 niches, each one portraying a Buddha seated on a lotus cushion. Inside there are bas-reliefs illustrating sacred and profane literature. There are 72 bell-shaped chaityas, containing Buddha statues, without aureole or ornamentation, the idea being to depict the Enlightened One in all the simplicity and dignity of his own varied life. The constructive ability of the gifted builder of this shrine is no less wonderful than his mastery of detail. A clever system of drainage, supplemented by gargoyles and water-spouts, ensures the protection of the monument during heavy rains. The stairways and galleries are constructed with an eye to proportion and symmetry; the naga and kala-makara ornamentation is supremely graceful, while the four approaches to the hillock correspond with the staircases of the superstructure. Looking to the details of the ornamentation and statuary of the galleries, one never ceases to wonder at the subtle co-ordination of the massive architecture with the delicately intricate interior decoration. The two seem to symbolise unity of thought with diversity of expression. The ornamentation, always in the best of tastes, combines originality with sensitive realism and the luxurious fantasy of the sculptors seems to be always closely controlled by the stately design of the principal sthapati. One can revel literally in miles of bas-reliefs, without feeling surfeited, the chaste lines and the smooth arrangements of the panels being such as to never tire the eye or cloy the perception. Fergusson calculated that, taking both sides, the sculptured ornamentation of the shrine extends over 10,000 lineal feet or almost two miles, consisting of over 2,100 panels. As Roger Fry has observed, “In spite of the full roundness of the modelling and wealth of ornamental detail, the unity is maintained by a fine sense of rhythm and discreet massing and spacing.”

The haut-reliefs represent the incidents in the life of the Buddha from birth to mahaparinirvana (544 B.C.), and animal fables are interwoven with Jataka tales. Ruskin compared St. Marks of Venice to an illuminated prayer-book; Boro Budor can, in the same way, be described as a sacred biography in volcanic rock, thus resembling in some measure the Sanchi topes. Increasing in excellence of design and finish as we approach the sanctum sanctorum, the moving tale of the Sakyamuni, a life of dedicated sacrifice and selfless endeavour, is told with the fasci-
Statues inside Chandi Mendoott

The rock inscription of Purnavarman
(referred to in page 191)
nating simplicity of consummate art. The large and bell-shaped chaityas, 72 in number, contained an equal number of sitting Buddhas who could be seen through the openings in the dome. The daghoba or the Holy of Holies is the temple's coronet and the reliquary proper. Its interior is now void, as the sanctum has been thoroughly pillaged, not excluding the sacred relic, brought over all the way from India or Ceylon ten centuries ago.

Much has been written about the soul of Boro Budor; it has been said that a moonlight tryst with this wonderful vane is a night of purification. When the magnificent edifice unfolds itself to the eye, terrace after terrace, gallery after gallery, with a mystic significance, an unseen voice from within the sacred precincts seems to urge one to ferret out the secret it hides. One obeys the summons and the truth dawns on him, viz., the utter spirituality of the unknown builder who created this masterpiece of piety, not with cheap artifices and pretentious decorations, but with an honesty of purpose and sincerity of effort so worthy of his dedicated mission. Out-topping human knowledge, the chaityas teach the meaning of the Universe; for instance, the central daghoba signifies the parinirvana of Buddha, the release of the human soul from its mundane trappings.

It will be appropriate to end this chapter with a brief reference to the famous Chandi Mendoot. An octagonal edifice, surmounted by a huge pyramidal roof (of the 'stepped-gopuram' type), it shows the engineering skill of the builders in vaulting. The exterior is covered with carvings of great precision, rivalling the work of a jeweller. The panels deal with scenes from popular Jataka tales, e.g. that of the Brahmin, the snake, the crab, and the crow. (The Brahmin helps a giant crab; in gratitude, the latter nips off the heads of a snake and a crow which conspire to kill the Brahmin.) Inside the Chandi are three stone statues in an excellent state of preservation. The central one, depicting a Dhyana Buddha, is a veritable masterpiece of the sculptor's art. The Buddha sits here in calm dignity, with closed eyes and with the face exhibiting an expression at the same time serious and sweet, serene and grave. He is flanked by the figures of two Bodhisatvas, Padma-Pani and Manju-Sri, who sit in quiet and eternal contemplation, on their lotus-seats.

Chandi Mendoot is held to have been built circa 900 A.D., probably by the same great, but nameless, Prince that initiated
Boro Budor. Although partially forgotten, it was not undisturbed, as treasure-seekers have done their nefarious work only too well. Luckily the statues inside were too big to be spirited away and the vandal's work has been mysteriously stayed. Fergusson, comparing Mendoot with the Indian caves of Karli, says that the Javanese monument is much more refined and elegant. Rouffaer calls Mendoot the classic model of a central shrine. "The neatly fitting joints, both of the lava cut stones and of the interior brick work, show a mastery of constructive detail rarely met with even at the present day, and certainly not in Java," says Scheltema. The beauty of ornamentation has happily survived the effect of the monsoons, of robbery, and the Government's blundering 'preservation' tactics. "Some animals like the elephant, the deer, and the monkey are better represented here than in any other sculptures known in any part of the world," says a learned critic. The sculptors have written on stone in a vivid and lasting manner, in statuary, in carvings and in reliefs, the history, the ethics, the religion and the philosophy of a great nation suckled in the gentle creeds flowing out of ancient Aryavarta.

About the pictorial art of Java, there is not much to write. It is known that many of the chandis were decorated in beautiful colours on the inside, but no mural paintings have been discovered like those in the cave temples of India. There was a golden age of art in Java, but it ended with the Hindus. "Modern Javanese are quite incapable," says Banner, "of producing any work even approaching......the statues and bas-reliefs which decorate the temples surviving from the Hindu era." Modern Javanese are concentrating on producing curios for the tourist market, in brass and silver, in wood and ivory, tortoise-shell and buffalo-horn, and the paintings of fans, picture frames, etc., in buffalo-hide. The centre of the industry is in Jogyakarta, which fact is significant of the strong Hindu background and inspiration for these new-fangled industries.

The famous gamellon (or native orchestra of Java) is obviously derived from Indian prototypes and consists of three varieties, viz., (1) the 'sekan', which is very classy and is confined to Royal circles; (2) the 'srinen', which is resorted to in times of war or in state processions, and in which the war-trumpet (the rana-sringa of India) figures prominently, and (3) the 'pelog', or the 'kitchen' variety of this accomplishment, accessible to com-
moners and used in shadow plays as accompaniments or in village festivals. The two-stringed rebab or viol of the gamellon has great penetration; the various drums are played, Indian fashion, with fingers. Javanese tunes have a plaintive melody about them and resemble in some measure the simple Indian songs of the villagers.

The Javanese dance consists of two types, the srímpí and the bedaya. The former is a graceful and decorous figure dance at which only the artistes attached to the princely courts are allowed to perform. Picked beauties are trained in this difficult art; the movements are slow and bewitching, resembling very much the abhínaya poses of South India. The costume worn by the srímpís is beautiful to a degree. It consists of a tight-fitting silk garment, with a bright silken petticoat held in place by jewelled belts of gold. The dancer wears, as in India, a gold tiara, armlets and bracelets, and heavy gold necklaces flashing with gems. The hairdo is quite attractive, plenty of flowers being used as with our own danseuses. The comely srímpí performers keep their eyes modestly downcast, with little suggestion of impropriety in their movements. The bedaya resembles the srímpí but is less glamorous, and the performers are not so select. The common folk are addicted to a third variety of dance called the thandak (Sanskrit: tandača), which depends for its effects on the movements of arms and fingers and the head. Every little posture has a meaning of its own, the lazy sinuous movements (especially, the deliberately slow foot-work) resemble those of Kathakali. The dancers, both male and female, are heavily made-up, and sometimes even wear masks. The female artiste, called Ranga, is often a hardened professional, who lets her eyes rove boldly over the audience. Fixing a likely customer, she tosses a scarf to him, whereupon he is expected to jump on the stage and do the dance-duet in the approved manner, without, of course, the unseemly personal propinquity seen among Western terpsichoreans. As Banner*, rather cuttingly, observes, "The

* Writing over twenty years ago! It is curious how manners and habits (and habiliments) travel across the broad oceans. We in India were only too familiar with the draped suit, the panchromatic tie, the flashy belt, the picturesque shirt and the American slouch, imported in the last war; today, it is the sombre-hued drain-pipe trousers, the loud bush-coat, the mincing walk and the brash hairdo of the British Isles, which bedevil our youths, not all of whom are from affluent circles.
Javanese (even of the lower classes) is a creature infinitely higher in the scale of creation than the Western African buck, to whose carnal gin-cum-ju-ju frenzies we (the Europeans), following America’s lead, owe the inspiration of such quasi-epileptic buffooneries like the Charleston.” How much more vitriolic would have been Banner’s language if he had only seen the present breed of crazy jitterbugs doing the rhumba and the twist, not to mention the frug and the Watusi!

The wayang or the shadow-play, using wooden puppets, deserves a brief mention. Borrowed from India, it developed some peculiar local traits. The profiles of the puppets are stereotyped into two classes. The conventional type depicting gods and heroes has long arms, a heavy frame with broad chest, aquiline nose, long almond-shaped eyes, thin and disdainful lips. The villains or the malevolent spirits, on the other hand, have snub noses, low beetling foreheads, full and rolling eyes, coarse mouths, prognathous jaws adorned with ferocious fangs. Although only shadows are displayed, each character is represented by a special expression of face and build of the body, and correct dress for the frame and the head. (Bhima would be tall, broad, vehement, with bright wide eyes, bristling beard and curling moustache; Arjuna, quiet, handsome of face, well-made but slender, with drooping eyes.) The show itself is of two varieties, the poorva and the gedog. In the former, the characters and the subjects are taken from the mythologies of the Hindus. In the gedog, more modern stories and heroes appear. The poorva is always introduced by the recitation of verses in old Javanese (or Kawi) which can be understood only by the learned, and the accompanying orchestra is also slightly improved in quality. In the gedog, the introduction and the exposition are in modern Javanese.

A word about the Kawi language may be useful. In the words of Banner, “The people whom the Hindus found in Java on their arrival were indisputably of a very low intellectual order... .....It therefore came about that the bulk of the Javanese literature was evolved during the period of the Hindu occupation, owed its inspiration to Hindu sources, and was written in the Kawi dialect.” (A few hundred Kawi manuscripts are still extant.) The poems were mostly of a laudatory type (Prasasti), but they identified the current hero-patron with counterparts
culled from Hindu mythology. In more modern Javanese eulogies, the authors do not go farther back than the historical Hindu period to find a heroic figure to be held up as a prototype for comparison with the reigning monarch thus praised in the poems. Kawi writings fall into three groups. The first consists of ethical works like the (Pa) Niti Sastra which is attributed to Adhi Saka; these works are not hieratic but secular, and open for all to read and digest. The second group consists of compositions based on the great Hindu Epics or the Vedic literature, which are usually monopolised by the priesthood; the religious manuals connected with sacrifices, marriages, funeral ceremonies, etc., belong to this group. The third group consists of the Epic poems. The Ramayana in Kawi is only in 6 Kandas, the Uttara Kanda forming a separate work. Similarly, the Mahabharata in Kawi has only eight parvas, against the original eighteen.*

Select pieces from these Kawi poems are recited by the master of ceremonies at the wayong and listened to most attentively by the audience, although practically all of them are Moslems and most of them could understand few words of Kawi (which is 90% Sanskrit). To quote Banner again, “Every word is striking down to something innate in the muddled consciousness of these rude villagers—something more deep-seated and more alluring than the cold, harsh dictates of Islam.” The shadow-play is thus very real to the Javanese, who gently laugh at the antics of the mimics and the vidushakas, weep with the heroine in her distress, and silently applaud the hero in his crowning and well-deserved victories, in much the same way that Indian audiences do at village ‘Kalakshepas’.

We have seen that modern Javanese is descended from Kawi, in much the same way that Sanskrit-based Indian languages are derived from Sanskrit.† But there has been much radical transformation in the common speech of the Javanese. Popular conversation is divided into three categories. The first is kromo (Sanskrit: Krama = excellent, orderly) which is used in high society generally, and which should be used when addressing

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* Perhaps this difference in size may give a clue to the nature and extent of interpolation in this epic.

† To quote a Western writer, “The Javanese and Malay languages are as full of words of Sanskrit origin, as the English language is of Roman words.” In the Javanese tongue, the words are accented as in Sanskrit.
one's superior. The second is madhya (middling, ordinary), which is in vogue with the middle classes and which could be normally used by equals in social status. The third is the ngako* (the sub-standard), which is the lingo of the lower classes and the uneducated. The use of the various grades of speech is regulated by strict punctilio. For example, a servant must address his master (if noble) in kromo and the latter can reply in ngako; a minor official can talk to his superior only in kromo, but the answer can well be in madhya, and so on.†

* Naga: the aboriginal people of the West Coast of India were known in ancient times as Nagas or Ngas. Similarly, certain sections of the original inhabitants of Ceylon bore the same appellation.

† It is obviously incorrect to consider such a socially modulated use of polite language as a sign of servility, even as the incandescent phraseology of a London cabby (or of a Madras vegetable-seller) cannot be held to be a symbol of robust independence and self-respect. The former is the result of chaste and civilised habits of life, even as the latter is the emblem of stupidity and boorishness.
CHAPTER VII

THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST: POORNADVIPA AND THE ENCHANTED ISLE

One of the largest islands in the world is the least known: Borneo (Poornadvipa, as it was called by our ancients), with eight times the area of Java, has a population of less than a tenth of that island (i.e., about 4 million, at a generous estimate). Dense forests overspread the isle, with a large mountain chain running diagonally across them. There are a few large and navigable rivers, and the rainfall is more than adequate. The sago-palm is the speciality of the island forests, which produce in addition excellent timber, gums and resins. Mineral resources are known to be abundant, but are poorly exploited except for petroleum; nor are agriculture and animal husbandry in much better shape. The Dyaks, who form the bulk of the population, are not yet fully acclimatised to the ways of civilization. The river-side and coastal Dyaks are hospitable and intelligent, with a reputation for veracity. Their kinsmen inland, in the forests and mountains, are not very far removed from barbarism and have been frequently stigmatised as head-hunters, with some truth. The island, because of its enormous size and the difficult terrain, never enjoyed unified rule throughout its history. Till lately the British controlled the northern regions, while the Dutch dominated the rest of the island, which had gained added attraction in the eyes of greedy colonialists because of the discovery of rich petroleum deposits. Even after the extinction of European domination, the land is far from united. The British-protected areas are included in the newly-formed Malaysian Federation, with its centre of gravity in Kuala Lampur; the rest of the island is part of the Indonesian Republic, which is somewhat hostile to Malaysia and is meanwhile indulging in some "confrontation"
(i.e. secret guerilla) tactics, which keep both the new governments on eternal tenterhooks.*

The Aryans came early to Borneo, and the oldest colonies at the river mouths must have been well established by the early years of the Saka era. Unfortunately, the most ancient record is only of the 4th century A.D., consisting of four inscriptions recorded on stone stupas found at Koti (Kutei) on the Mahamaka river, which must have been an important port in those days. Three golden images (including one of Vishnu) were also recovered near by. Majumdar summarises the four inscriptions thus:

"King Mulavarman has done many virtuous acts, to wit, gifts of animals, land, Kalpa-tree (?) and other things. Hence the Brahmanas have set up this pillar.

"King Kundunga had a famous son Asvavarman, who, like the Sun (Amsuman), was the originator of a family. Of the three sons of Asvavarman, the eldest was king Sri Mulavarman, noted for his asceticism, who performed a sacrifice called Bahu-Suvarnakanam (much-gold). This pillar (yupa) of that sacrifice has been set up by the Brahmanas.

"The chief of kings, Mulavarman, made a gift of 20,000 cows to the Brahmanas in the holy field of Vaprapakeswara. For that pious act this pillar (yupa) has been set up by the Brahmanas who came here.

"As from king Sagara is born Bhagiratha........Mulavarman..... (the rest is illegible)."

It is clear that sixteen hundred years ago a Hindu kingdom had been thriving in this area. The Brahminical religion was in vogue and the highest caste apparently formed an important element of the population, since no less than 20,000 cows were distributed among them, in grateful token of which munificence the priests erected the pillars under study. Mulavarman's date is unfortunately not verifiable. His father was no doubt a historical person, but King Kundunga (a possible corruption of Koundinya) may be a legendary ancestor, not necessarily preceding Asvavarman, whose name, incidentally, bears a suspicious resemblance to Aswathamana, mentioned as the legendary patron of Koundinya, in other texts. There is no great warrant for

* Recently there has been evidence of some rapprochement between the two Governments; meanwhile, the Philippines are adding to the confusion, by raising claims to Sabah.
assuming, as done by Krom, that Kundunga was a "native chief" inducted into the Vedic faith. (A grandson of a leading Dyak headhunter is not very likely to have performed four of the most important Mahadanas mentioned in Sanskrit Smritis, in the regulation manner; even if it were so, memorial pillars are not likely to have been set up for him by the grateful Brahmms!)

Perhaps Krom was unconsciously influenced by the "native chief" concept figuring so prominently in the writings of Western scholars apropos of ancient Indonesia. For instance, Winstedt would picture the situation thus:

"There is no evidence that the arrival of Hindus in the Malay world was sudden, or violent or overwhelming. A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars, the latter being stone-like agglomerates of salts found in coconut, jack-fruit and bamboo, snake, pig, monkey and dragon, and universally esteemed as antidotes against plague and poison. Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude. For daily speech the newcomers, evidently because they were sparse, adopted the languages of Malaysia and introduced very few words of their own colloquial Prakrit. In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kinship."

It needs no great effort to visualise the fallacies in the above pen-picture. The Hindus exported not 'glass beads and amulets' but cotton piece-goods, edibles like ghee, cereals and oil, gold and silver jewellery, toilet goods, scents and unguents, dyes and embroidery, and hardware of copper, bronze and iron, including all sorts of weapons. Further, if the Sanskrit language was only an unintelligible jargon used as a mystifying stock-in-trade by the 'witch-doctor' Brahmns, we could not find long historical texts and votive narrations recorded in that language and broadcast all over the Archipelago. The more rational view taken by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is worth reproducing:

"Unlike the European contact with America at the beginning of Modern History, the ancient Hindu colonisation movement was not the result of the discovery of a new world. It was but the
continuation beyond the seas of the process by which India proper had been Aryanized, a process which began from the northwest of India in the age of the Rigveda, continued to spread steadily east and south and, when the whole peninsula had been 'converted', was carried over to fresh lands across the seas. If this movement appears to become important about the beginning of the Christian era, it is perhaps because Hindus then began to sail in greater numbers, and for the first time the immigrants commanded sufficient strength to be able to spread their arts and their religion, together with the Sanskrit language, in the new countries. This resulted in the foundation of kingdoms which differed little from their counter-parts in India. In fact, the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of Farther India are not very much later than the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of India proper."

In brief, was the Aryan intrusion into South-east Asia, in the nature of a regular colonisation or was it just an ephemeral contact of the "trading post-cum-small factory" type made familiar to us by the various European East India Companies, which had, to start with, no other objective than to "shake the pagoda tree" and make a quick rupee by any means, fair or foul, in the fabulously rich Indies and get away to Europe to enjoy the loot, Nabob-fashion? A learned historian, Fouchier, thinks that the Aryan peregrination into Malaysia was very different from that of the European filibusters of the 16th and 17th centuries. I quote:

"What they implanted in these rich deltas or these fortunate islands was nothing less than their civilization or at least its copy; here are their names and their laws, their alphabet and their learned language, here is the whole of their social and religious condition, with the closest possible likeness to their castes and their cults: In short, it is not a question of simple influence, but in all the force of the term, a veritable colonisation."

The movement of the Hindus into the Archipelago was accompanied by the spread of a highly evolved civilisation into areas where there was almost a cultural vacuum. This factor implies that the two higher castes must have formed a substantial percentage of the immigrant population. Without their presence it is not possible to explain the deep religious acculturation of the local people, and the spread of Sanskrit knowledge and the Vedic and post-Vedic sacerdotal literature of the Hindus, along
with the myths, legends and folklore, which are an indispensable feature of all movements of ancient peoples across the wide oceans.

To return to the story of Borneo: Remains of Hindu culture have been found in East Borneo in the cave of Kombeng. In two hill-side dug-outs were found 12 sandstone images (both Hindu and Buddhist), apparently taken out of a temple and secreted in the caves to escape desecration. These images are the earliest examples of Hindu art in Malaysia and probably belong to the 4th century A.D. Unfortunately the original site of the temple is not ascertainable, but that it was on the Mahakama river is certain. On the Kapras river also some Hindu archaeological remains have been noticed, including a Mukhalinga and some inscriptions on a rock. (The latter repeatedly recite the pious formula “Agyanāt Chiyate’ Karma” etc.) Some gold plates with undeciphered inscriptions on them, have also been found in a pot at the mouth of the Sampit river. All these bespeak one indisputable fact, viz., that the early Hindu colonists came straight from India and not via Java or Sumatra, as they did in later times.

Unluckily, the political history of these early settlers is a sealed book. A long gap follows their arrival (some time before the 4th century A.D.), until the ubiquitous Chinese annalists come to our aid. The History of the Tang Dynasty mentions, that the King of Pu-Ni (Bruni) sent an embassy to China in 669 A.D. It would appear that Sumatran influence had entered South Borneo, at Sughadhana, after Buddhism had permeated Sumatra (circa 5th century A.D.). Later, Sumatran settlements appeared at Bandjarmasin. Bruni (mentioned by the Chinese as Pu-Ni), on the other hand, was always a seat of Brahminism and its relations with Sughadhana were none too cordial. The History of the Tang Dynasty adds the following details:

The King of Pu-Ni bore the title of Maharajah and the people used cotton cloth, and as marriage presents, the parties sent toddy-drink, areca-nut, a ring, cotton cloth and gold and silver bars to the bride. The city of Bruni is said to have had more than 10,000 inhabitants, living within wooden walls. The King’s soldiers wore armour made of copper, and carried steel swords. Cotton was locally grown and cotton cloth in fine colours was woven locally. The food, marriage and funeral customs were
typical of those prevalent in Malaysia. Bandjarmasin itself was
like Sri Vijaya, since the people lived on rafts or house-boats on
the river. Literacy was wide-spread and the standard of life
was significantly high and comparable to that on the Sumatran
capital of Sri Vijaya (or Palembang).

The Kingdom of Pu-Ni again came into contact with China
in 977 A.D., when its king sent a deputation to the Imperial Court
with a letter which indicated that the mission was the result of a
visit of Chinese merchants to Bruni. The next embassy mentioned
is from Sri Maharaja in 1082, i.e., after a century had passed.
Meanwhile, commerce between Borneo and China continued to
flourish. Almost two hundred years pass by before we hear again
of Bruni from Chinese sources. The famous traveller Cha-ju-Kua
(1225 A.D.) has left an account of the State (which he says was
free), which clearly reveals the strong Hindu influence in that
kingdom, although Buddha was also worshipped. We have again
to skip more than a century before we hear from Wang Ta Yuen
(1349 A.D.) to the effect that the people of Bruni were Buddhists
and had unusual skill in book-keeping and arithmetic. The
culture was, of course, Indian, according to this writer.

Bruni lost its independence—circa 1370 A.D. when it was
conquered by Java, which had already overrun the south Bornean
kingdom of Tanjanpura. Krtanagara attempted the complete
conquest of Purnadvipa, but his sudden demise seems to have
given a breather to north Borneo, which re-acquired its freedom.
Pu-Ni is stated to have sent an envoy direct to the Chinese capital
in 1371 A.D. The Celestial annals mention that the Pu-Ni
Maharaja again sent a successful mission in 1405, following which
the King himself, with his court, came to China, where he was
received with due ceremony. The Maharaja, however, suddenly
took ill and died in China, whereupon the Emperor invested the
Crown Prince with the title of Maharaja and sent him back with
suitable presents, along with "an order" to Java, forbidding the
taking of tribute from Bruni, which "order" was naturally
ignored by Majapahit. The Chinese text records further missions
from Bruni, "which became rarer as the years went by," but trade
between the two nations continued to gather volume and prosper.

Dr. Majumdar dissents from the view held by Krom that
Javanese suzerainty over Purnadvipa existed even prior to the
13th century A.D. The Indian historian, while conceding Java-
nese influences dominating Borneo after the 13th century, maintains that even the elements of the later culture of the country were not all Javanese and must be traced ultimately to India. To quote:

"It is clear that the Indians had colonised different parts of the island during the early centuries of the Christian era. By 400 A.D. several Hindu states had been established there, and Hindu religion and culture made their influence felt. But the history of the progress and development of the Hindu states and Hindu culture cannot be traced any further in the absence of positive information on the point. It is certain that Hindu culture survived to some extent for more than a thousand years. It seems to be, however, equally certain that the stream of Hindu colonisation was not fed here for a long time from the parent source, and hence it decayed and was ultimately almost dried up. In other words, Hinduism in Borneo did not possess sufficient vitality to subdue the native elements for a pretty long time, and so ultimately the indigenous element prevailed upon the super-imposed layer of Hindu culture."

Before we proceed to deal with the island of Bali, it will be useful to dispose of the Aryan penetrations into the Philippine Islands. Concurrently with the rise of Bruni, the Hindus had made a landfall in the Philippines. The earliest mention of these islands is as usual found in the Chinese archives of the 10th century A.D., where it is mentioned that some Hindu traders from the island of Ina-I (Mindoro) brought valuable merchandise to Canton in 982 A.D. From the 11th century onwards, references to the Philippine Island become more numerous in the Cantonese records.

The first Visayan (Vijayan) settlement in these Isles seems to have been made at Panay, by colonists sailing from Bruni. In the island of Panay have been found some manuscript records which indicate that certain high officials (nine in number) from Bruni were exiled by the local Maharaja. With the help of a minister called Dato Puti (Mahipati), these officials with their families and followers sailed in ten large ships from Bruni and landed at Panay, piloted by a sailor familiar with the high seas. The exiles came into contact with the local people called Atis (Adhis), a tall dark-skinned Indonesian type identifiable with deutero-Malays, who dwelt in well-constructed houses and
had some social accomplishments. The newcomers negotiated the purchase of a large piece of land from the Atis by giving them valuable presents in gold and many decorated war-weapons. The manuscript records that the newcomers thereupon performed a great religious ceremony and a Vedic sacrifice to the gods, with the help of the priests they had brought with them. Soon afterwards definite agricultural settlements were inaugurated, and a chieftain elected by the immigrants to administer the colony.

A little later, some out of the original nine Datos voyaged north from Panay and raised a new colony in the island of Luzon, near Lake Bambon. The manuscripts indicate that the descendants of these Luzon colonists again spread themselves out, one group going north and another south. In certain monuments on Bicol peninsula, the names of Hindu gods cited in the Panay manuscript are engraved. Meanwhile, the original settlement in Panay split up into three groups and flourished till the coming of the Spaniards in the 16th century, who found a considerable population, descended from the original Hindu immigrants. The manuscript gives a detailed account of the land distribution system, political set-up, social customs, and religious practices of these Hindus who had come from Borneo round about the close of the 10th or the 11th century A.D.

The term Visayan (Vijayan) was first applied by the people of the Philippine Islands only to the natives of Panay and their further settlements on the island of Negros and its surrounding isles. The Spaniards continued to restrict the appellation to the people of the areas mentioned above, but later on extended it to cover the population of Cebu, Bohol and Leyte, because, as attested by several early writers, the language in these areas was closely allied to the Vijayan dialect of Panay. Owing to the Bornean origin of the immigrants, the name Vijayan was applied by ancient writers of Java to a group of people in Borneo near Bruni. The name was also applied to the people of Southern Formosa, thus showing that, at one time, part of Formosa formed a unit of the great Sri Vijayan or Sailendra empire. The Visayans of the Philippines, who now number about half a million, form a well-knit group, ethnically distinguished from the others. In modern geography, the expression 'Visayan Islands' is applied to the isles of Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, Masbate and a few small islands.
We may now wend our way to the blessed Isle of Bali, to describe which is to indulge in hyperboles. Even European writers not given to extravagant sentiment or exaggerated terminology, sometimes exhaust their superlatives when dealing with Bali, which has been variously described as the Isle of Beauty, the Enchanted Isle, the Paradise on Earth, God's Gift to Man, the Modern Eden, etc.

Bali island lies to the east of Java, separated from the latter by a narrow strait, barely a mile and a half wide. Bali measures a little over 2000 square miles and has a population slightly in excess of a million, which gives it the high density of 500 to a square mile. As in some other Indonesian isles, a volcanic range, rising to over 10,000 ft. in height, runs through the land, which abounds in lovely lakes situated at high altitudes, thus facilitating natural and efficient irrigation. The land is immensely fertile and so well wooded that the whole island looks like an extensive garden. Tropical food-crops, rice, jowar and pulses, are grown, as also cotton and sugar-cane. Recent introductions like coffee and tobacco also flourish. Rich fruits grow in plenitude on the island, where the rainfall is high and evenly distributed. A number of small swift rivers provide irrigation and drainage, but the island has only one good harbour. The wide forests shelter a variety of feral quadrupeds, of the type well known in South-East Asia.

Bali has the unique distinction of being the only Hindu country in the world, outside our own sub-continent. Islam could not force an entry into this charming land, which, because of its insular position, and the conservative habits of its rulers (who severely discouraged foreign intrusions), has retained to a great extent its Aryan traditions and culture in all their pristine purity. Bali’s glorious past and enthralling present are profoundly absorbing subjects of study for the historian specially interested in the spread and growth of the ancient culture and civilisation of the Aryan peoples.

All Malaysia suffers from the blight of historical obscurity, and Bali is no exception. To worsen the situation, the island has yielded few archaeological data of a period earlier than the 8th century. For its early record we have, therefore, to rely almost entirely on the omnipresent Chinese annalists, to whom the island

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* The elephant, however, is conspicuous by its absence.
was known as Po-li. The History of the Liang Dynasty (502–566 A.D.) gives this narration about Po-li: (Chinese sounds have been Sanskritised.)

“The King’s family name is Kaundinya and he never before had any intercourse with China. When asked about his ancestors or about their age, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country.

“The king uses a texture of flowered silk wrapped round his body; on his head he wears a golden bonnet of more than a span high, resembling in shape a Chinese helmet, and adorned with various precious stones (sapta ratna or seven jewels). He carries a sword inlaid with gold, and sits on a golden throne, with his feet on a silver footstool. His female attendants are adorned with golden flowers and all kinds of jewels, some of them holding chowries of white feathers or fans of peacock-feathers. When the king goes out, his carriage, which is made of different kinds of fragrant wood, is drawn by an elephant. On the top of it is a flat canopy of feathers, and it has embroidered curtains on both sides. People blowing conches and beating drums precede and follow him.”

The text adds that in 518 A.D. the king of Po-Li (named by the Chinese as Pin-Ka—Pināka?) sent an envoy, with a successor in 523 A.D. It is clear from this record that even early in the 6th century there was a highly civilised and well-established Hindu monarchy in Bali, and it is reasonable to infer that the Aryans, led by the ubiquitous Brahmin Koundinya, must have come to Bali some centuries earlier. Later Chinese records (of the 6th century) mention the family name of the king as Chariyaka which seems to be a corruption of Kshatriya. A still later chronicle, that of the Sui Dynasty, adds the following tit-bit about this kingdom:

“The people of this country are skilled in throwing a discus-knife of the size of a (Chinese metal) mirror, having in the centre a hole, whilst the edge is indented like a saw. When they throw it from afar at a man they never fail to hit him.

“They have a bird called Sari which can talk. (The Chinese word is an exact transcription of the Indian Sari.)

“Po-Li is also called Ma-li. There are found many carbuncles, the biggest of them having the size of a hen’s egg; they are round and white, and shine to a distance of several feet;
when one holds such a pearl at midday over some tinder, the fire immediately springs from it.

"They perforate their ears and put rings into them. They wind a piece of cotton (kupei) around their loins. Kupei is a plant, whose flowers are spun to cloth. The coarser sorts are called pei and the finer sorts t’ieh."

After this account, there is a blank for a considerable time till we come to I-tsing, the great philosopher-traveller, who describes Bali as "one of the islands in the Suthern Sea where the Mula-Sarvasti-Vada Nikaya has been universally adopted". It would seem that by the 6th century A.D. Buddhism had penetrated the charming land, but historical details of the 7th and 8th centuries are entirely absent. There is a tradition that the Island was conquered by King Sanjaya of Java, which claim cannot, however, be verified; but that Hindu influence again gained the upper hand in Bali is proved by the fact that a number of stone and metallic inscriptions have been recently unearthed, which shed a strong light on the prevalence of Brahminical forms of worship, of the type prevalent in the Indian homeland. The language of these inscriptions is old Balinese (and not Kawi), thus demonstrating the independent acculturation of the island direct from South India, and not through the Indo-Javanese settlers.

The first historically attested monarch of Bali is King Ugrasena (circa 900 A.D.), about whom two inscriptions dated 915 and 933 A.D. have been unearthed, and who is also probably the unnamed king referred to in the copper-plate grants dated 896 A.D. and found at Bebetin. The two successor kings mentioned in the inscriptions are Tapanendravarma Deva and Chandra Bhaṭa Simhavarma Deva, with dates 955 and 962 A.D. respectively. The next ruler was probably Gana Saduvarma Deva (975 A.D.) who was succeeded by Queen (Regent?) Vijayamahadevi (983 A.D.). After a short blank there is mention of King Kesarivardana, but no details of the reigns of any of these kings are ascertainable.

The next important historical event was the conquest of Bali by Dharmavamsa (989 A.D.), who entrusted the government of the island jointly to his predecessor's daughter, Mahendra Datta Devi, and her husband, Dharma Udayanavarma Deva.

* Sanskrit: karpasa, pai, and tira; those words occur in Polynesia also.
(Udayana for short), the parents of the famous King Airlingga (Aryalinga). This joint rule meant a cultural revolution in Bali, as the door was now open for Javanese influence. Udayana died in 1022 A.D. and was followed by a ruler with an equally long name, i.e., Marakata-Pankaja Sthanottunga Deva, apparently a descendent of Dharmavamsa. But it is not clear if he was only a Viceroy like Udayana or an independent sovereign. In Airlingga’s time Java exercised full authority over Bali, but after him a separate ruler seems to have been nominated for Bali, as a sort of Viceroy. Some copper-plate inscriptions of 1049 and 1077 mention a king “who was the youngest child of the goddess who is cremated at Barwan and of the god who is cremated at Banuveka”, meaning Udayana and his spouse Gunapriya Dharmapatni. The king was therefore a younger brother of Airlingga and probably held undiminished power. In 1098 A.D. mention is made of a female monarch called Gunadharma Lakshmidhara Vijayottunga Devi, who probably belonged to the house of Airlingga.

Vijayottunga Devi was succeeded by two kings named Sri Suradhipa (1115–1133 A.D.) and Sri Jayasakti (1133–1150 A.D.), whose relationship to each other and to the predecessor queen is unknown. Nor are we better informed about the next king, Paduka* Sri Maharaja Java Pangu, about whom several records exist (dated 1177 A.D. to 1181 A.D.) mentioning him as the Pati of “Balidvipamandala” (i.e. a circle of seven states on the island). We then read of two kings, Skalendu (1210 A.D.) and Bhatara Parameswara (1204 A.D.), but they remain only vague names. After about 1205 A.D., Java again overran Bali island and Chau-Ju-Kua, the Chinese traveller (1220 A.D.) mentions Bali as one of the fifteen vassal states of Java, though among the most important.

The fall of the Kadiri dynasty of Java in 1222 A.D. with the travails of the next line of Singosari was a heaven-sent chance for Bali to free itself; but, as usual, not even the vague outlines of the political events leading to this situation are known. A king named Parameswara Adilanchana is mentioned with the date 1250 A.D., but soon thereafter Krtanagara reconquered Bali in

* The expression ‘Paduka’ is used in Indonesia in Royal titles to indicate that the person in power was only a regent and not the de-jure sovereign. The analogy is based on the famous episode in the Ramayana, in which Bharata places the Padukas or sandals of Sri Rama, on the throne in token of the absent King’s authority.
1284 A.D., making the king a prisoner. The assassination of Krtanagara and the Mongol invasion probably gave some political leverage to Bali's fresh bid for freedom. Its king started courting the Chinese Emperor, and for the next 50 years (i.e. up to 1350 A.D.) Bali apparently remained independent. A line of kings named Bhalanaguru and Mahaguru is referred to in inscriptions, as also the widow of the latter, Paduka Bhatarasa Sri Mahaguru, who ruled as regent for her son Valajaya (1328 A.D.). This lady was apparently followed by King Ashta Suraratna Bhumi Bendan (1337 A.D.), whose relationship to the Queen is unknown.

The Majapahit rulers would not leave Bali alone, and in 1338 an attempt was made to subdue the island without success. Five years later a strong army was sent to Bali by Gajamadha, and after a heroic struggle, the Balinese king was overwhelmed and his territory annexed to Java. From that time onwards, the island was ruled as a viceroyalty with the headquarters at Samprangan, and later at Gelegel. The culture of Java spread into Bali under Majapahit rule, and the little island formed a great centre of Javanese literary revival, primarily because of its strongly Hindu background.

Fortune took an adverse turn for the kings of Majapahit, after 1400 A.D. Islam, at first insidiously, and later by overt force or threat of force, infiltrated into Indonesia, Java being among the last of its conquests. The last king of Majapahit named Anga Vijayah had a Champan princess (Daravati) as his queen. Her sister had apparently married a Prince of Champa called Rahmat, who had apostatized to the religion of the Prophet. This person came over to Java and organised a coalition against his brother-in-law. The details of this sordid intrigue are clouded by fictional material inspired by the Muslims, but it is clear that the last Aryan kingdom of Java fell through internal strife, aggravated by religious spite. The Hindu king was eventually forced out of his capital (circa 1550 A.D.) and obliged to take refuge in Bali. (A copper plate of 1541 A.D., issued at Vilvatika, i.e., Majapahit, shows the city as still under Hindu control; it is likely therefore that the exodus to Bali took place about 1550 A.D.) All Hindu nobility, with such common people as would not accept Islam, went over to Bali, which became the last refuge of Indo-Javanese religion and culture. Bali thus not only saved herself from an alien religious imposition, but also
helped to save much of the fugitive culture of Java from iconoclastic vandalism. (As an instance of the fanatic zeal of the neo-converts may be mentioned the complete destruction of all Hindu and Buddhist shrines in the island of Madura, after it was overrun.)

The later history of Bali is almost a continuation of the story of Majapahit. (The Balinese even now proudly call themselves the "children of Majapahit".) The king of Java who found asylum in Bali continued to rule the little island in peace and amity, with his capital at Gelgel. His successors led a quiet if humdrum and colourless life till we come to Betu Ranga (circa 1575 A.D.), who managed to obtain dominion also over the neighbouring islands of Sasak, Sambawa, and Balambang. A great patron of letters, Ranga was later regarded as an avatar of Vishnu, because of his piety and munificence. His death spelt great misfortune to Bali, which not only soon lost all her outlying possessions but was faced with serious internecine squabbles. The Muslim king of Mataram invaded Bali in 1639 A.D., and although he was beaten off, the assault left cruel marks on the island kingdom, which gradually dissolved into nine petty and autonomous states, often flying at one another's throats and keeping the country in a perpetual state of turmoil, during which the number of independent Rajahs was reduced to eight (one principality being merged in another). These eight kinglets continued their somewhat inglorious existence for well-nigh two hundred years, till the Dutch laid violent hands on Bali and tried to annex it on behalf of the throne of Holland (1839 A.D.). The conquest was not easy; in the words of Hall, "Bali's products had little economic importance, while the warlike character of its people was a strong deterrent to the Dutch." The faith and valour which had successfully kept Islam at bay for hundreds of years were not to be quickly subdued. The petty Rajahs put up a stout resistance for their freedom and only gave up before the irresistible force of the implacable 'Ulandias'. It was as late as 1908 that the last of the sovereigns, the Deva Agang of Klung-Kung (the surviving scion of the House of Majapahit) was overcome. The story of his end reads like an episode in the Annals of Rajasthan by Col Tod. Scorning all Dutch offers of kind treatment in return for peaceful surrender, and true to the proud traditions of his Aryan fighter-ancestors, this valiant monarch (whose
capital was completely surrounded) clad himself in yellow, went round the sacred fires, and rushed out sword in hand, with all his faithful nobility, to meet an end worthy of true Kshatriyas, at the gate of the royal fortress. The Queens and their female entourage, not to be outdone in bravery and sacrifice, marched out with flashing poniards in their hands and the war conches on their lips, only to face a withering rifle fire from the Dutch mercenaries. Only one woman, a visiting Princess from a neighbouring State, escaped, and we shall hear of her again.

Hindu rule over Bali thus came to a final end over scenes of imperishable martyrdom and glory. It is somewhat comforting to know that the wheel of history has turned another full round; that the Dutch, who thus extinguished the lamp of freedom in Bali and who cruelly exploited the Archipelago for three long centuries, have been in their turn driven out of their ill-used possessions in a veritable blitzkrieg by the kinsmen of the same Malays (short-statured and yellow-complexioned) whom they professed to despise in such supercilious fashion. Their navies sunk in short order, their fortresses blown to bits, and their troops beaten into inglorious captivity, the Orang Ulanda (Hollandermen) had finally to pack up from the Isles of Paradise over which they had larded it for thirty decades of merciless colonialism, with its notorious ‘culture system,’ the inhuman batig saldo, forced labour, and the farming of opium and pawn-shop rights.† Even such a

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** It (the culture system) represented a reversion from liberal to mercantilist ideas. The plan of the system... was based on government’s claim to one-fifth of the produce of arable land (in lieu of land tax) or as an alternative, sixty-six working days a year from all heads of families. This led... to the closest control of commercial agriculture; and the exploitation of labour and production thus secured was accompanied by the fullest monopoly of Java’s exports and imports by Dutch shipping. Java became virtually a State plantation the produce of which was consigned solely to the Netherlands Trading Company”. (Brian Harrison: South-East Asia, P. 186).

† While the culture system reduced the Javanese to economic bondage, the Dutch educational policy kept them in abysmal ignorance. Ninety per cent of the people were illiterate in 1941. Out of a population of nearly 70 million, “only 42,941 were receiving secondary education (lower secondary education in the large majority of cases); only 637 were studying in the University. In that year the number of Indonesians graduating from tertiary institutions in the country was 37.” (Govt. and Politics of South-East Asia, Page 168). The natives were often put to shameful indignities; when meeting a Dutchman on the road, even educated Indonesians had to stand aside, fold their umbrellas and remove their shoes! One Dutch Governor-General (de Jonge) said in 1936, “We have ruled here with the whip and the club for 300 years and we shall be still doing it for another 300 years.” (See Sjahrrir: Out of Exile, a book which makes sad and exciting reading.)
lukewarm critic of the Dutch as D. G. E. Hall has this to say of the infamous "culture system": "This (the system) unfortunately changed its character; it had come into being as an expedient for saving Java from bankruptcy. It eventually became one for saving Holland and, in time, for enriching her at Java's expense." He adds further that the so-called batig saldo (or trading surplus accruing to the Home Government) yielded as much as 900 million guilders over the years, for the benefit of Holland. Says Brian Harrison: "Java derived little benefit permanently from the great wealth created by the industry of its people." (op. cit: P. 187). It may be unbelievable, but it is nevertheless true, that till 1848, the whole of Indonesia (with a population of 60 million) was treated as the personal responsibility of the Dutch Ruler, in which neither the people nor the legislature of Holland had any say; the King ruled the Archipelago as his private estate, in theory and in practice! Our readers may remember that a similar situation prevailed in the Belgian Congo under the Leopolds, with what tragic consequences to the native community, the world has now only too well realised.*

To 'do' Bali tourist fashion, one had, till very recently, to rent a car at Buleleng from a gay and cosmopolitan old lady called Pati Mah (Pratima ?), who owned a small fleet of automobiles and a number of curio shops. This enterprising lady was the same "visiting princess" who escaped from the fortress of the Dewa Raja of Klung-Kung, after the entire Royal family had

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* The following remarks of John Gunther (Inside Africa, Page 642 et. seq.) may interest the reader:

"The Congo Free State was set up as a sovereign state under the personal suzerainty of Leopold II. It was not part of Belgium but part of himself... Leopold's rule was mercilessly exploitive... He became one of the richest men in the world... His Government obtained an absolute proprietary right over the whole country and the most heinous and ghastly atrocities occurred. African natives who failed to bring their quotas (of rubber or ivory) were mutilated or shot. The population, which was 20 million in 1900, fell to 12 million (under Leopold's rule)...... Leopold's regime is believed to have cost in all between five and eight million lives!... Most horrible was the practice of mutilation. If an African boy did not satisfy his boss, a hand or foot, sometimes both, were cut off. Such mutilation was purely a European invention. Labour foremen used to bring baskets of hands to their (White) bosses, to prove their efficiency!" Incidentally, the Congo is larger than Bharat and richer; its exports in 1953, equalled 1400 crores of rupees, nearly double those of India of that year! If India was worth 4s. in the £ to the British (as the Daily Mail used to say in flaring headlines before India became free), the Congo must have been worth much more to Belgium.
either committed suicide or had been mowed down by the Dutch riflemen, as related earlier. This princess alone surrendered to the Dutch; soon thereafter, she married a henpecked Arab Mussalman and set up in business, with resounding success. A lively person with a sense of humour, she did much to acclimatize the globe-trotting foreigners to the mysteries of Balinese life and culture.

Often story books, travelogues and tourist guides praise an attractive country in such superlative fashion that it is difficult for the historian to match reality with the fascinating pen-pictures thus created. In the case of Bali, however, this task is rendered easy, because facts are even stronger than they are portrayed in writing. Let us take a look at the people of Bali, a strange mixture of the Malay and the Aryan, living in the last stronghold of Hinduism in the Far East. In the words of Covarrubias, "No other race gives the impression of living in such close touch with nature and creates such a complete feeling of harmony between the people and their surroundings. The slender Balinese are as much a part of the landscape as the palms and the bread-fruit trees." The Balinese women were much sought after by the slave traders from the time of the East India Companies, till as late as 1830, when the Dutch abolished this human commerce as a sop to world sentiment. The vast majority of the people are handsome, with an attractive body-build and natural ease and dignity of bearing. The women particularly walk with a grace and poise

* The following sample should serve:

"In Bali the women are so lovely to look upon that we all imagine that surely on this island God made man—and woman—in his own image and likeness. It seems the original Paradise... No wonder Balinese women are acclaimed the most beautiful women in the world. xx xx As they swing along the forest paths, with the glint of the sun on their broad shoulders and full-cupped breasts, they seem the natural daughters of Eve."

† The Dutch, who had established, to the eternal misfortune of the Africans, a colony in South Africa, found it cheaper to import slaves, of both sexes, from Indonesia, rather than bring in-Negroes from the African West Coast. The Dutch slave trade is thus responsible, in some measure, for the large 'coloured' (i.e., non-White but non-Negro) population in South Africa, at present. The Great Trek of the Boers in 1836 was prompted partly by their desire to move into a new land free from British rule, which they greatly resented following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. "They wanted (even at that date) to make their own Native policy and they resented so bitterly having to give up their slaves." (Gunther; Inside Africa, Page 478). It may interest the reader to know that the Dutch were pioneers in the Negro slave trade to the Americas and made enormous profits. "They (the slaves) were bought out of the ship naked, being chosen as horses are in a market...... yielding prices £ 30 for a man, £ 25 to 27 for a woman and children at easier rates" (C. Creighton: A History of Epidemics in Britain, P. 260)
which are remarkable, seeing that they are accustomed to unceasing toil and are often outdoors all day long at work. Physically small-boned, the people have relatively wide shoulders, narrow waists and hips, strong backs, slender necks and delicate hands and feet. The women have nature’s winsome curves in more than abundant measure and with all their photogenic appeal. Their colour is a golden brown; those working in the sun have a dark but pleasing tan, but the upper classes have a lemon-yellow complexion, which is highly prized and which is no doubt a gift of the Hindu nobility which had so freely intermarried with the local people. Says Covarrubias, “Watching a crowd of semi-nude Balinese of all ages, one cannot help wondering what the comparison would be, should men and women of our (American) cities appear in the streets, naked above the waist.”

Easy, gentle and courteous, the Balinese can be firm and strong-tempered if roused. They are gay and witty and enjoy a good joke, even of a Rabelaisian character. They are not pusillanimous by any chance, as the incident (already related) of Dewa Raja of Klung-Kung would testify. When the neighbouring Rajas of Mataram and Chakra Nagara in North Bali were surrounded by the Dutch in a surprise attack, all the princes and their wives, the soldiers and their women, committed suicide rather than be taken prisoner. Another example of Kshatriya heroism is worth retailing: In South Bali, when the Raja of Den Pesar was attacked by the Dutch (in 1906), the King ordered a ‘puputan’ (a fight to the finish) to all those who would stand by him. The palace was set on fire; the Raja, his generals, all relations, men and women, got dressed in their best, wearing the finest ornaments and weapons. The ladies were even more enthusiastic than the men, put on men’s clothes, loosened their hair, and rushed forward with their male-folk, carrying their krisses (short poniards) and spears. The procession set off from the burning palace in the morning with the Raja in the lead, under his golden umbrella and carrying his jewelled sword. The entourage (men and women) followed silently, even the boys handling golden spears in the regulation manner. At the fortress gate, they met the Dutch riflemen, who ordered them to halt at a distance. The Raja and his following never halted, but made a last desperate rush at the foreigners, whose first volley felled the King and his immediate companions. The Princes and their women continued to attack
Balinese girls belonging to the lower castes
with sword and spear and were mercilessly slaughtered by repeated bursts of rifle fire. The Queens stabbed themselves and fell over the Raja’s body which was soon covered by the corpses of numerous princes and princesses. When even the horrified Dutch stopped firing, the few remaining women threw handfuls of coins at them, asking them to continue to fire. When despite this gesture the musketeers slackened their volleys, the self-wielded krisses completed the fatal work. Soon none was left alive except the 12-year-old Crown Prince and his youthful companions, all of whom fell on the Dutch with feeble spear-thrusts. Needless to say, the entire youthful crowd was shot down, to share the fate of their brave elders. Not even the royal ladies of Chitorgarh could have excelled the Queens of Den Pesar in such an exhibition of indomitable courage and of fidelity to their code of honour. (It may be mentioned that on the side of the Dutch the deathroll was—one!) Even to the callous Dutch, their dubious victory must have tasted like a moral defeat. To round off the narrative, the next day a junior prince of Den Pesar appeared before the Dutch commander and requested that he be shot, adding that he had been away the previous day from the city. When this request was refused, the prince stabbed himself to death before the awe-stricken Dutchman!

There seems to be some misconception about the Java-Balinese as fighting men. At the first sight, a warlike spirit is the last thing one would credit a modern Javanese or Balinese with. He looks timid and acts timid when he is not strongly provoked; yet as a fighting nation the Javanese have always commanded universal respect in the past. The army of Dipa Nagara, in the great Java-Dutch war (1825—1830), fought with superb tenacity and valour.* Earlier stories (of which the Chinese and the Arab writers give some samples) make out the Indonesian warriors as nothing short of heroic. The reason for the decadence of the modern Javan (which would equally apply to the Balinese) lies in the fact that historically, thanks to the ruthless pax Hollandia, they had ceased to rely continuously on their individual bravery and thus their martial qualities had been deadened. (The same was the case in India). In the words of Banner: “One is driven to the

* It took the Dutch no less than thirty-four years to conquer the small but indomitable state of Achin in Sumatra (1873-1907). The Achinese have strong Tamilian affiliations.
conclusion that, just as a disused organ of the body ultimately loses its power to function, the courageous spirit which shines through the records of old Java had become atrophied by long cessation of the need for its display. Further, the conspicuous courage we find instanced in the record of the Hindu era...may well have been instilled by discipline and patriotism.” Thomas Cavendish, writing in 1587, pays this tribute to the Hindu-Javanese soldier: “The men themselves (are) singularly valiant, being nakedmen (sic) in any action they undertake and wonderfully at the commandment of their King. For example, if their King command them to undertake any exploit, be it ever so dangerous or desperate, they dare not, nor will not, refuse it though they die every man in the execution of the same...they never fear any death”. It is clear that right up to the extinction of Hindu rule in Java and Bali, the Kshatriya warrior-code of courage, discipline and sacrifice was widely observed by the soldiery. Buddhism with its emphasis on pacifism might have affected this spirit somewhat, but when the Mussalmans and the Europeans uprooted the Kshatriya ruling families, the martial fervour of the people seems to have suffered serious damage, along with their patriotism.

The national weapon of the Balinese (as also of the Javanese) is the kris, an iron-bladed dagger somewhat resembling the Gurkha kukhri, being either straight or wavy. This weapon is supposed to have been introduced by the legendary Hindu hero, Panji, in the very dim past. It was universally worn by all adolescent males (except the priests) as an efficient and ready arm in the past, but its use now is mostly ceremonial. The krisses in old families are treated as heirlooms; in village meetings, every adult must wear his kris; if he is absent, his weapon must be sent to represent him! (It is also used in proxy-marriages.) The status of a man is determined by his kris. Gold and precious stones are used in the handles by the rich. The poor make do with ebony or horn or the beautifully mottled wood called pelet. The blacksmiths who make these weapons—a caste perhaps originally imported from India—are called Pande, and are treated with special consideration. Even a Brahmin must use the Kromo language when addressing Pandes, who are exempt from
calling in Brahmans as priests for their own ceremonies.* Sometimes, krisses possess magical power, as, for example that of Ken Arok (or Angruk), who murdered the chief of Tumapel, married his widow, and ultimately became the King of Singosari (as mentioned elsewhere). Associated with a series of curses, this kris is reported to have killed scores of persons, including Angruk himself, till all the curses were fulfilled. The fact that a weapon of attack was thus symbolised as something indispensable and sacred by almost the entire male population seems to indicate that martial traditions must have been very strong with the Javanese and the Balinese from the early periods of their history, as is the case with the Sikhs and Gurkhas today.

Religion and Social Order in Bali:

The religion of Bali (if we exclude the Adi Balis or the earliest Hindu immigrants of the island, who claim descent from a great spirit called Betalu, Sanskrit: Vetala) is patterned closely on that of India, although some of the higher and esoteric developments of Hinduism in India are absent in Bali. Repeated waves of religious beliefs have swept over the island from time to time. Neo-Vedic Hinduism must have been the earliest arrival. Then came Hinayana Buddhism, followed by a Saivaite revival under the Mataram kings. Mahayana Buddhism and Tantrism followed in quick succession, to be supplanted finally by the modified Hinduistic cult favoured by the Vilvatika rulers, who went over to Bali in the face of the advancing Mohammedans. Each epoch left its mark on Bali, but Hindu gods and Hindu practices predominate in the religious life of the people, who were mercifully spared the ‘enlightenment’ of Islam. It is a mistake to think, however, that the primitive pre-Aryan animism and ancestor-worship have been completely wiped out. It exists still to some extent, but under the thick veneer of Hindu pantheism, which, outwardly at least, commands almost universal allegiance from the island. For a Balinese to change his ancestral religion is to court spiritual death. A convert to Islam or to Christianity immediately loses all his or her property and com-

* Students of Vedic lore may remember that the Suta or Twashta or Rathakara (Chariot-maker) was given a special status in Aryavarta. He was allowed to light the sacred fires (adhana) and as a social concession, even to observe upanayana. Today the carpenters in some parts of India practise the last ritual.
munal rights, and in effect ceases to be a Balinese for ever. It has been observed that the religion of Bali is more a set of rules of behaviour than a dogma administered by a sectarian Church with an established hierarchy of priests. This popular approach to religion invests it with a sort of communal and co-operative spirit, as is the case with South Indian Hindus. The villages are ruled in secular matters by a council of elders; the same elders administer the temple and its properties as representatives of the villagers.

The temple is easily the most important institution in the village; it ranges from the small family shrine to great edifices built by the Princes, which are found everywhere—on beaches, river-banks, road-crossings and hill-tops. The typical temple is a well-lighted, open-air affair, with no elaborate gopurams and corridors or gloomy holy of holies, as in India. Within a wall enclosing a rectangular space, there are a few pavilions, empty sheds and small shrines, mostly covered with thatch. Some temples have, however, several bell shaped roofs superimposed on each other in a spiral fashion, as in Burmese and Siamese pagodas. These latter are supposed to represent Mahameru, and there are strict rules regulating the size of the structures. The images are not too conspicuous either in size or workmanship, although they are venerated for their great antiquity, probably having been imported by the Hindu settlers many centuries ago. (In many village sanctuaries, there are no images at all.) Beneath the images are usually buried bowls containing nine precious stones and gold plates engraved with mystic chakras. The rectangular space inside is divided by a high wall pierced by a decorated gate called Padu Raksha and guarded by fierce dwarapalas. This splitting up of the temple space into two is explained as symbolical either of the Siva-Sakti principle or of the philosophical distinction between Prakriti and Purusha. The big temples contain, in addition, an empty stone-made throne (called Padmasana) intended for Surya Deva, who is supposed to arrive in spirit, on important festive occasions. Alternatively it may be considered as the receptable for the spirits of long-dead ancestors.

Each family must have a shrine, and each desa (or village) three; one is the Pura Puseh, the oldest temple of the community round which the villagers originally settled; the second is Pura Desa, the village temple proper, usually with
a village assembly hall attached; the third is the Pura Dalam, built near the cremation ground and associated with the spirits of the dead ancestors. Each temple has a hereditary keeper (often of a low social status) called Pemangku, who keeps the building clean, attends to the daily routine, and officiates at the temple festivals. These are looked down upon by the Brahmana priests, who consider their services to be of a menial, rather than of a holy, character. (In India, a Purohit would view a Pujari with perhaps the same sentiments.) The method of worship on important occasions is the same as in India. Where they exist, the images are specially dressed up with jewels and finery—the devotees bring their offerings (fruits and flowers and cakes often weighing many pounds), kneel before the deity three times (this is called Maha Bhakti), and offer the flowers to the deity after raising them to their forehead. The Pemangku meanwhile goes on ringing his small bell and serving holy water with small ladles into the outstretched hands of the worshippers, who sip the water with reverence, and sprinkle some of it on their head. The installed images have their mobile counterparts, as in India. Small ikons or effigies called ‘Archas’, made usually of sandalwood and brightly painted and ornamented, are taken out of their chests on special days and “made alive” (i.e., rendered fit for outside worship or for procession) by a ceremony named Sunam Surya Karta, intended to draw the spirits of the gods from the immobile idols inside the shrine on to the ‘Archas,’ which are then taken round in sacred procession. The gamellon angklung (the holy music) accompanies the procession, which usually ends in a river where the Archas are bathed by a collection of brightly-clad girls. Picked damsels then chant the praise of the gods and do some ritual dancing to the accompaniment of the gamellon. Often the priest and perhaps a member of the procession will go off into a trance and do a hieratic dance with closed eyes, carrying a burning brazier on his hands or head, as is frequently the case in South India.

In Balinese theology, good and evil are juxtaposed; the gods and the demons are not far from each other. In the same way as the gods have to be worshipped, the evil forces have also to be propitiated, thus conforming to the practice in Aryavarta; and the offerings in either case are different in Bali, as in our own land. The offerings to the gods in the village rituals are flowers
fruits, rice cakes and (understandably enough) fish, chicken, and dressed pigs. These are reverently served before the deities and the Pemangku waves their essence (sara) towards the gods by hand, ringing his little bell all the time, as our pujaris do at the small village shrines dedicated to the lesser gods and usually located at village entrances. Thereafter, the offerings could be eaten by the worshippers as consecrated food. The evil spirits, however, require a different treatment; they are not sutji (Sanskrit suchi = clean) but spiritually polluted. These Bhutas and Kalas, coarse and malicious to a degree, are powerful forces for evil and have therefore to be kept satisfied. They are served appropriately with smelly messes of half-decayed food and strong drink, which have no essence or sara, and which are left behind to be eaten up by the dogs and wild animals. Once a year, on New Year’s Day, called neyepi (Sanskrit = naya paksha) there is a general cleaning out of the devils, even as Yama annually sweeps the nether world of its evil occupants. This cleaning, called metjaru (Sanskrit mahacharu = great sacrifice) is an occasion for boisterous national rejoicing, marked by mock-battles, rough-and-tumble dancing and the inevitable cock-fights, with hectic side-betting thereon. Hundreds of roosters are thus sacrificed in bird-fights, the popular superstition holding that thereby the bhutas are satisfied with the blood spilt for their sake. The Balinese naturally looked askance at the Dutch who had forbidden cock-fights even on religious occasions. To the simple villager a rooster was as dead in the kitchen (under the hands of the butler) as in the village maidan, where at least it had a chance to lick its opponent and thus survive (for a time!). It should be added that in the mahacharu, the Brahmin

* It is curious that the Dutch who were carrying the 'Whiteman's burden' in the Far East (mercilessly exploiting the Islanders, transporting tens of thousands of fair Javanese as slaves to South Africa, and herding off like cattle literally millions of Negroes to the New World at vast profit to the Hollanders) should have had their Christian consciences disturbed over village cock-fights! Let us see what the Londoners' past-time was in the same years. Musical fairs (Bartholomew's was one) was their speciality, in which the crowds ‘attracted the maximum number of rogues and swindlers... and cut purses and pickpockets tending also to spread infections like the plague and other lesser epidemics... Those who flocked to the bull and bear-baitings were the same kind of people as those who attended executions and mutilations. Fine ladies and men of elegance witnessed these exhibitions with perfect composure’* (A History of London Life, Pages 130 et. seq). Royal banquets were followed by bear-baiting, the bear being mauled by greyhounds; alternatively, there was bull-baiting, the bull being
priests and the pedanda-boddha, join the humble pujari in unique cooperation. Powerful mantras are recited by the Brahmins, to supplement the less learned vocal efforts of the humble pujari (called snuhuhu).

To the Balinese the gods are collectively known as Devas, but they are classified as Sanghyang, (Sanskrit=Sangama) Pitara, Kawitan (Vedic), etc. The following is a typical list of the deities commonly worshipped in Bali:

Surya:  —(The chief of the Balinese pantheon)
Bhataraguru:  —The supreme Teacher, the great Brahmana, identified with Siva, in his beneficent form. His wife is Uma, also benign in form.
Brahma:  —The Creator, also called Prajapati, Chaturmukha, etc.
Vishnu:  —God of procreation, riding the mythical garuda (and curiously lord of the under-world also)! His wife is Devi Sri (goddess of beauty) or Devi Malati (goddess of gardens and markets).
Indra:  —Lord of the sky, of storms and rain, surrounded by nymphs called Widedaris (Sanskrit=Vidyadharis).
Durga:  —The goddess of death, who orders Yama about in his duties. Her abode is usually near the cremation ground.
Kala:  —The god of darkness; he is Siva, as the destroyer.
Semara:  —(Sanskrit=Smara) god of love; his wife is Rati.

__tethered and attacked by fierce dogs in succession. (The bears had their teeth ground down and their claws clipped; the bulls had their horns blunted). Often, fights were arranged between men, for the delectation of the courtiers; frequently wrists were cut off or ears slashed, so much so that a foreigner remarked that “there was inhumanity, barbarity and cruelty in permitting men to kill each other for diversion.” Cock fighting was not absent; on the other hand, it was a famous sport among “the Fancy”, the roosters being armed with steel claws on their toes. Bear-baiting was made illegal in England only in 1835, and cock-fighting many years later.\"
Saraswati: — Goddess of learning, arts, and sciences.
Kumara: — The Child god, protector of children; also, god of war.
Varuna: — Lord of the sea.
Anta Bhoga: — The Cosmic Serpent, also known as Vasuki.
Ibu Pertwi: — (Sanskrit=Prithwi) Mother Earth.
Sanghyang Akasa: — Space or Firmament.
Tintiya: — The Almighty (God conceived as the Universal Soul).
Gana: — Ganesa or the Elephant-god (whose worship has now become extinct, however).
Bhatara Buddha: — Not the historical Buddha, but a sort of Hinduised genius who could be very benign and helpful, identified sometimes with Barong or the well-intentioned ghost.

Among the lesser deities in the Bali pantheon may be named Isora (Iswara), Sambu, Rudra, and Kevera (Kubera).

Amidst the amazing medley of religious beliefs and practices in Bali, certain broad philosophical schools may be noticed. The first is the Ciwa (Saiva) Siddhanta to which the majority of the Brahmin priests belong. Its standard textbook is called Purana Kosa, from which the other manuscript texts have been compiled. The Ong (Aum) syllable is sacred to this sect. There is also a Wesnawa (Vaishnava) cult with a limited number of adherents, but these are not influential. The Pasupata school has now completely disappeared; (it specialised in the Linga and Capala symbols and certain objectionable sacrificial rites). The Bhairava sect still commands some respect; it is 'left-handed' (Vamachara) and is given to dark practices connected with black magic. It often sports some male and female witches, viz., the Rangdas, (Sanskrit=Randa or widow) and the Leyaks (Devils). This sect uses Tantric texts of India, especially of the Mahayana school. Luckily this faith is fading out, thanks to the gradual spiritual enlightenment under the impetus of Saiva Siddhanta. The Buddhha or Sogata cult (Buddha or Sugata) has Buddhistic affiliations and has its own mantras and literature. It is not,
however, clearly labelled as Buddhism, but is treated as a sort of unorthodox or second-rate Hinduism. The Rsi (Rishi) cult is a special feature of Java-Bali religion; its followers are Satrias (Kshat-riyas, i.e., the nobility) who by study and meditation endeavour to become high priests or pedandas. (They would correspond to the Raja Rishis of ancient India). These Rsis may recite only ordinary Brahmana mantras like the Pa Suchian (purifying formulae) but cannot pronounce Vedic texts for household rituals. (We have seen how certain Javanese kings professed to be Rishis). The Sora (or Surya) cult was formerly an exclusive persuasion, but it is now merged in the Saivaite sects. The Ganesa school, very influential in the old days, has now practically died out. The Elephant-god now appears only in amulets and charms, and has no special shrines or worship.

The Balinese manuscripts refer to Sad-Kshayangan (six national temples) of which the most important is the Besakhi (Vaisakha) situated on the slopes of the Mahameru mountain in Bali. It is really a cluster of temples, with hundreds of black pagodas, and is meant to be a symbol of all the faiths and nationalities of Bali. Once a year festivals are held in the temple at which offerings on behalf of all the people of Bali are made to the deities by the Raja of Bali, the doyen of the Princely Order. There are differences of opinions as to the identity of the other five national sanctuaries.

We have seen that ancestor-worship is strong in Bali. The reason lies mostly in the fact that the Balinese have intense belief in ‘avatars’ and are persuaded that not only their kings but also the commonalty are derived from semi-divine ancestors. In the same way as Vishnu incarnated himself as Rama to save the world, the Balinese believe that some of the ancient kings had been avatars of Vishnu. From this cult of deified royalty, it is an easy step to conceive of all nobility as having Devas as their remote ancestors; (cf., the Chandra and Surya Vamsas of India). The common people are, in the same fashion, but children of the ancient ‘noblesse,’ through right or left-handed connections. This notion is so widespread that even the Bali Agas (the original Aryan settlers in the island) invoke Batara Rama as their ‘grandfather’ (Kåkå)! (The later Hindu rulers in Java, as we have seen, claim descent from the Pandavas, i.e., the Lunar line of Indian Puranic heroes; this fact may account for some instinctive
antipathy between the Adi Balis and their later Hindu successors.)

We have seen that the worship of the ‘superior’ deities is the monopoly of the Brahminical caste, and of the ‘pedandas’ among this caste. This name means ‘the carrier of the stick’—for each priest carries a staff mounted with a golden or a crystal ball. (They are also called Panditas and Punitas). They must have received training from a competent guru and must be able to read and write the ancient script, though they may not quite understand the meaning (the situation in South India is not dissimilar)! They are conversant with the rituals and the intricate sacrificial regimen; they must abstain from forbidden food and drink and lead a generally pure life. They are not allowed to cut their hair; a beard and a top-knot are their well-known hallmark. The priests are divided into two classes—the pedanda-Siva and the pedanda-Buddha—but there is absolutely no antagonism between the sectarians. Besides casual fees, both make a regular living by selling daily the “toya” (Sanskrit = water) or ‘holy water,’ consecrated by the morning puja (Niranjan Tirtha). In the words of Sylvain Levi, “their pujas are performed......with a wonderful display of mudras in a spirit of dignified gravity and of pure beauty, which cannot fail deeply to impress the mind”.

The pedandas also represent the Law and the majority of the Civil Judges are pedandas. Their exclusive knowledge of the calendar (our panchanga) gives them a high social status. They are indispensable for all domestic ceremonies connected with birth, death, marriage, etc. Only one wife is allowed to a priest and sexual continence is enjoined on him. The social standing of the priests is regulated by the purity of their lineage from the original Brahmin families; pedandas with mixed blood do not command equal reverence from the other castes. The pedanda wears on his head a Cirobrishta (head-band), and the Karnabharana (ear kundalams); and the Rajatharana (made of gani tri stone) are worn crosswise over the left shoulder. He usually carries a ghanta or small bell. The pedanda congregation is called Parareman Para Pandita.

The remarkable affinity between Saivaisim and Buddhism, both in Java and in Bali, is traceable to the fact that both are Tantric in character and partake of similar rituals and ceremonies. To quote Sylvain Levi:
"Bali affords a fine illustration of the large part that was played by Tantrism in the spread of Indian religion united in a common current of doctrine. Whatever may be the discrepancies of opinion on the antiquity of Tantric beliefs and practices in India, one fact stands above all controversy. From the VII-VIII centuries onwards, Tantrism as a popular cult, one may be tempted to say 'democratic', by reason of the political and social causes underlying it—a mixture of cheap mysticism, low magic, with a more or less strong tinge of eroticism—appears suddenly to prevail all around India; in all parts where Indian culture had been introduced; on the very boundary of India, in the mountains of Nepal, and Oddiyana, and beyond them in Central Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, Cambodia, Java and Bali. Bali accepted Tantrism under its two-fold garb, either Saiva or Baudhaja, and it has kept faithful to both. Siva and Buddha are believed to be two brothers; but Siva is the elder, while Buddha being younger, has no right to the same honours. . . . . Here as elsewhere, Hinduism has not abolished the former cults; it has rather preserved them by incorporating them into its amorphous body. . . . Hinduism, even in its Tantric form, has lifted the earlier childish beliefs to a higher range; it has dignified Balinese life to a degree which an average Hindu does not attain; there is probably no other country in the world breathing such an atmosphere of serene gravity."

We have seen that at important festivals, both Saiva and Buddhist pedandas officiate and share the fees and honours. In such 'refined' cults, images are generally absent and the gods are worshipped as pure spirits. When they are to be given a material form, a small piece of gold is held to be an appropriate symbol of their presence. Even though the Balinese are gifted artists and even though the temple walls may be adorned with fine carvings and statuary, the shrines themselves are usually empty. The priests, who recite the ancient Sanskrit texts with quite an Indian intonation, who perform the pujas and rituals in the same form and spirit as is enjoined in our sastras, usually have not the faintest idea of India, its history, or of its people. Their outermost geographical knowledge was probably confined to Eastern Java, at least till very recent times.

Nearly all Balinese sacerdotal literature is written on lontar leaves (tala patra), with a small stylo. The leaves are then smeared with a special powder and kept neatly tied up. Some
libraries have over 2000 such manuscripts. The Sanskrit texts covered by those lontars are of several varieties. The first is, of course, the Veda, which is known locally under that name, and includes the Kalpa sastras. Then come the Agamas and Dharma sastras, Sasanás (rules of life) and Niti texts. The third group consists of Variga literature including Jyotisha, Upadesa (so-called Tutar), allegorical works, manuals on grammar, metrics, etc., and Usadha or Oushadha, i.e., Ayurveda. The fourth category is the Itihasa or Epics, including summaries in prose (Kakavin), Kavyas in Balinese language but in Sanskrit metre, and the Kindung or Kavyas in vernacular language and metre. The fifth classification is babad or historical works and the vamsavalis. The last is the Tantric literature, partly in Sanskrit and partly in vernacular. Unfortunately, the four Vedas are not found in Bali in their pure unabridged form; what the priests call the Chatur Veda is nothing but the Narayana Atharvasiropishad, containing fragments from the four Vedas and called the Siras (head) of the Rig, the Yajus, the Sama and the Atharvan. This Upanishad is mentioned in Gautama Dharmasutra and Vasishtha Dharmasutra of India (6th and 5th century B.C.) In Bali, this so-called Weda is chanted by the priests on new-moon and full-moon days, in a singsong tone. In India (as mentioned in the Rig Vediya Brahma Karma Samuchchaya), the Narayana Atharva Siras is part of the regular morning-recitation of all Rig-Vedic Brahmins. In this connection, the following interesting observation is made by Prof. Sylvain Levi:

"According to O. Schroeder, Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library, Vol. I, Madras, 1908, Preface, p.ix, 'the collection (of the 52 Atharvana Upanishads) is confined to the north of India, and so is the Atharvasissapancaka, of which we have but one copy (in the Adyar Library), though it is by no means rare'. If this statement be true, as it appears to be, the existence of this Upanishad in Bali would be sufficient to show the prevalence of South Indian influence in the Hinduisation of Java and Bali."

It would appear that the Balinese Vedic texts are corrupt and mutilated. For instance, in the Gayatri mantra only the words "Bhargo Devasya Dhímahi" are pronounced; the other syllables are forgotten. Similarly, the yajnopavita mantra is contracted without authority to read only as follows:
"Yajnopavitam Paramam Pavitram
Prajapē Ayusham Balamastu Tejah"•

The simple islanders believe, like all unsophisticated people, in black and white magic. Every Balinese holds that the human body is like an electric battery, a store of supernatural energy called Sakti, that enables one to withstand unseen evil forces. The amount of Sakti that a person possesses depends on his previous Karma and his present conduct. Some achieve superpotency like the pedendas and witch-doctors; some are middling types, while others are low in sakti-power and are always falling ill, physically or mentally. A person’s sakti can be used both beneficently and otherwise; when malefic impulses predominate, the person becomes a vicious witch, a Rangda (Sanskrit: Randa = widow) or a Leyak, an evil ghost. If the sakti is propelled by virtue, the person becomes a Barong (also known as the Vanaspati Raja), a benign genius always countering the evil designs of the Rangda. There is thus a conflict as well as a balancing of spiritual forces. If a person is suchi or nirmala, his potency works for good. The antithesis of this can be easily imagined. Even gods would appear to have phases of malice, as when Krodha (anger) or Raudra (frightfulness) becomes manifest. (In this phase Siva becomes Kala, and Uma, Durga; Vishnu becomes Vishnu (Ugra) Moorthi and Brahma, Brahma (Ugra) Moorthi•)
The spell of magic (black and otherwise) lies strongly over Bali, as is the case in many parts of India and (strange as it may seem, in certain witch-ridden circles in Great Britain! The rites connected with magic bear strong resemblance to those of the Vamacharis and Tantrics of our country. (Mystic mantras are endlessly repeated at night in dark and repulsive spots and in front of

• The full mantra is as follows:

Yajnopavitam Paramam Pavitram ||
Prajapate Yatashaajam Purastat ||
Ayushyam Agriyam Pratimanchasubhram ||
Yajnopavitam Balamastu Tejah ||

• It may be recalled that in ancient Hindu Sastras, prescriptions were laid down for giving the temple images different poses and appearances, like Satvika, Rajasika, and Tamasika. To quote Sukra Niti Sara (IV: 161-166): "The Satvika image is that which has yoga-mudra or posture of meditation, straight back, hands giving blessings and encouragement... The Rajasika image sits on a vahana, is adorned with many ornaments, carries weapons and shows an attitude of courage and blessing. The Tamasika image exhibits the killing of Demons by force of arms, has a ferocious and vehement look, eager for a fight."
offerings of forbidden stuff like arrack, flesh, etc.) The following
description given by Covarrubias will be perused with interest,
especially by those acquainted, even vaguely, with such noxious
Indian rituals;

"The process of becoming a leyak is long and arduous and
can be achieved gradually. First the pupils learn by heart magic
words from the old manuscripts, which, repeated in rhythmical
sequence while in the attitude of meditation (inglekas), put the
student into a state of feverish trance. This is done while
an offering—cones of made rice dyed in certain specified colours,
special structures of palmleaf, amounts of old bronze coins, and a
sacrificed chicken of a defined colour. These rites should be per-
formed after midnight in a propitious place for the transformation.
Most frequently named locales for becoming a werewolf were the
cemeteries, the death temple, the cross roads, the place where two
rivers meet, where corpses are cremated, in the bale agung, in
empty lots where people have never lived, in the family shrine
and magic spots of any kind.

"The pupil achieves communion with the evil deities by
degrees, but before he is successful, he undergoes strange tests of
fortitude: giants appear to him and pretend to chop off his head
with great axes, monstrous snakes will coil around his body, but
he must remain unmoved. Should he laugh if mice appear from
all corners playing on great flutes, the fruit of his efforts will be
lost. The formulas recited during the early stages of training are
simple repetitions of the standard holy syllables (ong, ang mang,
ong, * ang mang) ....... In these, the formula becomes a forceful
prayer of self-exaltation:

"ONG! My will is (to become) Sang Kundewidjayamurti.
Fire from my immaculate abdomen, ONG! White fire from my
heart, red fire from my liver, yellow fire from my kidneys, black
fire from my lungs, fire from my navel, fire from the crown of my
head—ang ang ang ang ang, fire from my head flare up to heaven,
fire of five colours rise as high as a mountain. All you witches
(leyak, desti, teluh, trangyana), all devils of the universe,

* Ong=aum
collapse! Fearfully they all pay homage to me, the whole world reverences me. ONG! Nothing can outshine my brilliancy."

The Balinese use two calendars: one, the Saka, with a solar-lunar year of 12 months, the same as in India. There is a local year of 210 days, called Wuku, which is divided only into weeks of varying lengths. The priests naturally are the pre-eminent calendar-experts, and nothing important can be done without their "marking the time", for an appropriate fee.

The funeral ceremonies of Bali resemble those of India with some pronounced (and not always welcome) deviation. A cremation is not the dull and gloomy rite it is in India; it is often an occasion of gaiety, since it spells the fulfilment of a duty to the dead and is symbolic of the release of the soul on to its journey to Swarga ("which is like Bali, but without illness or other troubles"). The details indicate that the Aryan practices have been grafted on to ancient primitive observances which could not be entirely eliminated, despite some spiritual enlightenment. The philosophy underlying the death rituals is identical with that of orthodox Hinduism. The soul of the dead man (which had its final abode in his head and which has left the body through the nostrils) is supposed to linger near its old abode by force of habit, until the ceremonies for its release are completed. Cremation after due rites achieves this release; otherwise the soul will remain in a state of troubled uncertainty, living in trees and caves. Aboriginal Balinese probably buried their dead or allowed the bodies to be eaten by animals. Nowadays, a grand send-off to the soul on its journey to Swarga, is the life-ambition of every Balinese, although the trouble and expense are considerable.

Besides the priests' fees which range from 100 ranjits to

* For the sake of comparison, I reproduce below a mantra suggested by Kautilya (Arthasastra, page 451) for putting enemy sentinels to sleep: "I bow to thee, Goddess Suvarnapushpi and Goddess Brahmani, to God Brahma and to Kushadvak; I bow to all serpents and goddesses and to all ascetics. May all Brahmanas and Khatriyas come under my power; may all Vaisyas and Sudras be at my beck and call. Oblation to thee, O Anile, Kimile. Vayjare, Prayoge, Phake, Kavyusve, and Dantakatake. May the dogs which are anxiously keeping watch fall into deep sleep... All siddhas have fallen into slumber... I do now cause the whole village to sleep". "The above mantra must be repeated over 108 oblations, by a man fasting for seven nights; he should procure 3 hairs of a white porcupine and bury one of them at the entrance to the village, chanting the above mantra", says Kautilya.
10 ranjits (Rs. 250 to 25) for an Uttama, Madhya and Neecha funeral respectively, there are the costs of the funeral trappings and other paraphernalia and of the feasts which precede and follow the cremation. In fact, the outlay is so onerous that many Balinese postpone (by months and even by years!) the actual burning up of the corpse. This is rendered possible by the universal custom of either first burying the body and keeping it so at the burial ground, or having it embalmed and kept "in store" in one’s residence. The following remarks cover a typical case (of a middle-class person):

The relatives, all observing ‘pollution’ for ten days, surround the corpse, which is kept in a pavilion. When the auspicious time arrives, it is washed, anointed and covered with many yards of cloth. To the accompaniment of much music and some chanting, the body is carried to the cemetery and interred in a shallow grave, where it remains for a minimum period of a mandala (42 days). Assuming that the heir of the deceased has the wherewithal for the next rite, i.e., cremation, a time is immediately fixed for the latter by the high priest. The grave is thereupon opened and such of the remains of the deceased as are found intact are collected in a bundle of white cloth and taken home and deposited in a pavilion, profusely decorated with silk and jewellery, (family heirlooms), peacock feathers, valuable weapons, etc. The priest prepares the kadjang (shroud) by writing on it magical formulas; over the shroud he places the ulantaga (a sort of passport to Swarga), containing Sanskrit inscriptions on parchments of special bark-paper obtained from the Celebes Islands.* Special offerings to Pradjapati and the disembodied soul of the deceased are made, to sustain it on its way to heaven. These consist of flowers, betel leaves and betel nuts, drinks of holy water gathered from hallowed pools or rivers, and sometimes images of gold or silver. The name of the deceased is attached, through neat labels, to all these offerings, presumably to prevent possible error on the part of Yama’s messengers! A great procession is formed to head for the high priest’s house, with all the relatives dressed in their best and accompanied by musical bands and girls in ceremonial dress carrying the offerings and the effigy of the deceased. Fireworks are in order; the priest performs the maweda (Maha Veda) ceremony and the participants return home in the same order to spend the night.

* Compare our ‘Charama Slokas’
feasting and watching shadow-plays, particularly the Bhima Swarga, a tale of adventure covering Bhima’s journey to the lower regions. The next day the procession re-forms and starts for the cremation ground with the mortal remains of the deceased. These are finally deposited in a huge animal-shaped coffin, which is supported by handsome towers made of bamboo, paper and tinsel, representing the Cosmos. The towers have several bell-shaped receding roofs in odd numbers, according to the caste and rank of the deceased. For instance, the roof is one for a Sudra, and as many as eleven for a Prince. The Brahmana has no tower at all, as he is supposed to have been wedded to a life of Spartan simplicity. The animal coffins are also strictly regulated by caste. The Sudra body has to go in a gaja-mina (half-elephant and half-fish); Brahmins use the cow, the Kshatriyas the lion, and Wesiyas, the deer. All along the way to the cremation ground, holy water is sprinkled on the ground; a peculiar custom enjoins that there should be a mock fight (which often does not lack in strong verisimilitude) over the dead body, for the right to carry it. Spear-bearers, orchestra and “baris” dancers join the procession. When the cremation plot is reached, the animal coffin is arranged on a high pavilion and special prayers are recited by the High Priest, who pours holy water on the dead body from time to time. Costly dresses are then put on the animal coffin and a final blessing is pronounced by the Priest, who himself lights up the pyre, producing the ignition not from matches (which are unclean) but by friction or by a sun-glass. It must be stated that the close relations of the deceased refrain from joining the boisterous activities of the mob, but quietly remain in the background with grave and emotionless faces. After the body, along with the coffin tower, etc., is burnt, the ashes are collected in an urn and taken to the sea (or a great river), where the urn is immersed. The congregation then takes a purifying bath before returning home. The funeral rites do not end here; the soul has to be ensured that it would reach Dewa Yang (Devayana), the path of the gods. For twelve days after the cremation, various complicated ceremonies are conducted with the help of the Priest. A peculiar one is of metuhuru, in which a balian (valian or psychic medium) gets into a trance and professes to communicate with the soul of the deceased to find out if it is on its proper way and in a state of appropriate bliss!
A word about “suttee”, which was very widespread in Bali among the aristocracy, till the Dutch put it down by law. It was only the wives of the princes and the nobility (Satrias) who practised suttee. The Brahmins never followed the custom, suicide being un-sastric for them. To the common people (the Sudras) the call for suicide seemed foreign to their nature and not ordained by custom. Two sorts of self-immolation were practised by the nobility. One was called mesatia (Maha Satiya), in which the Royal widows stabbed themselves and then jumped on the funeral pyre of the deceased husband and thus became Satiawatis. The other was the mebelë (Maha Bala) intended for servant maids and concubines, in which the volunteers threw themselves into a fire set apart for them, by the side of their master’s or mistress’s funeral pyre. From the moment a widow volunteered to commit suttee, she was treated as deified and led a life of contentment and adoration, and a Brahmin priestess was always by her side, explaining the glories of suttee. When the time came she jumped into the burning pyre “as into a bath,” says a critical Dutchman. Even unsympathetic eyewitness accounts of foreigners dealing with this rite make it clear that no compulsion was ever used. The widowed women had to make a choice within a specified number of days, but having made one, they could not recant. More details of ‘operation suttee’ are worth detailing. The widowed queens dressed themselves carefully but simply, removed their ornaments and released a dove in token of the release of their own soul to join the husbands. They then raised their arms in prayer and “jumped into the flames, unaided”. Says a Dutch writer of the 17th century who had actually seen some suttees: “When a prince or princess dies, his or her women and slaves run round the body uttering cries, and all ... solicit to die for their master or mistress. The king designates his choice on the following day ... No woman or slave is obliged to follow this barbarous custom ... The concubines and servants who commit suttee, first prick themselves with a poniard and apply the blood to their forehead. They then request to be stabbed over the heart, and while thus dying, they leap into the flames.”

Notes on Balinese family life:

In Bali, a bachelor is a freak; all adult men must marry, and although polygamy is permitted, over 95% of the men take only one wife. It is the aristocracy which can indulge in the luxury of
multiple spouses. Every married man must have a son, who will look after his spiritual welfare when he is no more, "to liberate his soul from aimless reincarnation," as Covarrubias puts it, with a little over-simplification. If a wife is sterile, a second marriage is de rigeur; often the first wife selects her mate. Adoption of male children is, however, permitted and is not uncommon. Pregnant women are given all polite consideration, but their regimen is strict, and hot foods (pepper, mangoes, etc.) are forbidden. The husband must not shave till he becomes a father—a custom no doubt based on sastras and borrowed from India. To facilitate easy delivery, rituals like ‘peuyesah’ (pumsavanam) have to be undergone. Frequently even the assistance of trained midwives is dispensed with and experienced local women help in delivery. Household pollution is observed for 3 days for the man and 42 days for the woman. Even newly-born children are fed with bubur (rice porridge) or palm sugar, and the child is weaned in the third year. Twins are welcome, except those of opposite sexes, which are intensely abhorred* and are considered a calamity not only for the family but for the whole village, requiring special and costly purificatory ceremonies (called Maha charu). If the father is unable to bear the cost, the villagers contribute. When he is 42 days old, the child has his ears pierced, and he is adorned with anklets and bracelets of silver (or bronze). Children are discouraged from crawling on the floor ("like animals", say the Balinese). On his first birthday, the child is given silk vestments and gold ornaments, including a necklace of rubies. His head is shaved (except for a small lock over the forehead) and he is given his personal (or magic) name. (High caste people make a secret of their personal names; in polite society the father is always referred to as the ‘guru’). Children are generally pampered and petted, and "it is extremely rare to hear a child cry," says a knowledgeable writer. "Besides the hybrid education which Balinese receive from Dutch schools, a boy learns to read and write in Balinese from his father or his private teacher," adds Covarrubias.

Girls reaching puberty are subjected to elaborate purification and blessing rites at which the pedanda officiates. They would

* because of the suggestion of incest in the womb! We have seen how much the Indo-Aryans execrated incest, unlike many other ancient nations, albeit some of Aryan lineage (e.g. the Parasikas).
have their teeth filed (to make them pretty) in the old days, but the custom is dying out. The filing is done by an expert Brahmana, with tools specially sanctified. Girls of high caste are usually chaperoned and are not allowed free access to the other sex. In the lower strata of society, however, there is much freedom of movement, but relations between the sexes are kept extremely discreet and proper in public. The marriageable age is 18 for boys and 16 for girls, and juvenile weddings are frowned upon.

The Balinese conception of beauty is something akin to ours: the sharp nose, white skin, blond or red hair, blue eyes and square chin of the Occidental are not admired. Women should have long, black, glossy hair falling to the waist (and even below). A smooth clear skin is a *sine qua non* of acceptability. The complexion should not be dark but golden-yellow, and kept in condition by frequent baths and massage. To aid nature, a toilet powder called boroh is used to keep the skin soft and sweet and to prevent growth of superfluous hair. (Boroh corresponds to our scented turmeric powder.) The face should be round and the eyes bright, and lotus or almond shaped. The mouth should not be too small and must have full arched lips and small, bright, and even teeth. The forehead must be high but narrow, with a deep arch down to the temples. Moles and beauty-spots are greatly admired and considered lucky if properly sited. The torso should be slender but firm and rounded; the conical, pointed or fallen mammae so much admired in the Bantu races are an abomination in Bali. Perfumes and flowers are the stock-in-trade of feminine attraction.

About the sex-life among the Balinese much has been written, mostly with a prejudiced pen (often pro-Balinese). The free and easy relationship between the sexes in the island results in friendly and natural contacts between the boys and girls, ultimately leading to marriage. Puritanical inhibitions and taboos are absent; on the other hand, there is no false romanticism and platonic sentimentality. The Balinese, like all unsophisticated people, are very practical in their outlook on social issues. They do not clothe the facts of life in a romantic veil of illusion and make-believe, as the so-called progressive nations do. On the other hand, they take their responsibilities, once they are put on their shoulders, very seriously, and so to say keep up to their contractual
vows, in the letter and in the spirit. Unfortunately for the Balinese, their essential innocence and simplicity of behaviour have been often taken advantage of by the foreigners who have been attracted to the land from time to time. Some Western tourists particularly, have frequently abused the hospitable and unsuspecting welcome given to them, mistaking friendliness for 'forward' behaviour. Says Covarrubias: "Prostitution had not, until recently, flourished in Bali, but there are in the Balinese language terms that differentiate between a woman who prostitutes herself for pleasure and a mercenary prostitute, a type which is increasing in the centres where there are foreigners."

Among the ordinary people (i.e., Sudras), the marriages are arranged by the lovers, not always with the knowledge of the parents, but ex-post-facto consent is rarely refused. There is also a persistent tradition of ostensibly gathering a wife by kidnapping or capture. In reality, the so-called capture is a fiction resorted to to make the alliance look more spectacular and less mercenary, for every bridegroom has to pay a price to the father of the girl. After the 'capture', the emissaries of the captor approach the girl's father for consent, which is given with feigned reluctance, only after the amount of the 'bride-money' is settled to the father's satisfaction—the price ranging from 10 renjits (25 rupees) to as much as 100 renjits (250 rupees) in the case of the fourth caste.

With the higher castes, particularly Satrias, it is a la mode to have "arranged" marriages (called mapadik). Often the betrothals are made when the parties are mere children, but the actual marriage takes place only some time after puberty. (There are no child marriages in Bali). The mapadik is, therefore, a marriage by consent and within the same caste, and is regarded as highly dignified and proper. (Curiously, mapadik is widely prevalent among the Adi Balis, indicating their original Hindu ancestry.) There is also another difference among the aristocracy. Theconsummation of marriage always follows the wedding and is itself an elaborate ceremony, which somewhat resembles the fast-disappearing "nuptials" celebrations in South India. Among the common people (particularly the Sudras) pre-nuptial intercourse is permitted and is not uncommon. In either case, the actual wedding ceremony is a colourful affair, its cost and splendour depending on the social status of the parties. In an upper-class wedding grand processions are arranged, the couple riding different
palanquins, with much singing and dancing. Formal invitations on palm leaves are sent out (indicating what wedding presents should be brought!). All relatives and friends arrive dressed in their best, with their servants bearing presents. The guests are treated on arrival to coffee, rice-cakes, and pansupari (exactly as in India), and are entertained by professional Katha Kalakshepam experts. Songs in Kawi and Balinese are continuously recited by the learned, till the couple are ready for the actual ceremony. The bride and the bridegroom play-act setting up household (cf. Indian shalipakam); they cook some rice and vegetables which they eat from silver platters, often feeding each other for the amusement of the crowd. The bridegroom then chews some pan, which the bride puts into her own mouth, and they drink water from the same kendih (gendi). The religious ceremony then follows. The High Priest recites the sacred mantras and sprinkles holy water on the couple repeatedly. Flowers are offered to the couple with suitable mantras, and these are placed on their heads by the parties. Coloured ropes weighted with coins are then put over the left shoulder and across the chests of both the groom and the bride with suitable mantras, thus forming a sort of Upavitan for the couple. A long prayer in Sanskrit then follows, the priest making various signs and mudras with his hands, which completes the ceremony, after which a great banquet is served to all the guests.

There is perfect equality among the sexes, and the woman has absolute right over her own property and her income as well as her share of the combined income of joint enterprises. The man is, however, the master of the household and represents the family in law and at religious ceremonies. The inheritance is patriarchal. While the husband could be incontinent with impunity, infidelity on the part of the wife is a dreadful crime, and in the old days could be punished with death. But divorce laws are simple and easy, and woman has equal rights with man in this respect. (The village authorities constitute the divorce court). Widow remarriage is permissible. As already mentioned, marriage with a foreigner means excommunication, and “civil death.”

Balinese Art and Architecture:
The primaeval ancestors of the Balinese (the proto-Malays) have left behind much neolithic trace of their civilisation.
According to Dr. Goris, the use and working of metals came to Bali from Further India, some time after 390 B.C., perhaps from the region of Indo-China, where, as we have seen, Hindu colonies had been established in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. Soon Indonesians were themselves learning to work in bronze (circa 1st or 2nd century B.C.), and casting-moulds for bronze articles have been found in Java, where there are also the remarkable kettledrums (resembling the bonang of the gamellan orchestra), which were originally imported but were subsequently made locally; the famous “moon-drum” of Pedjang in Bali, which is 6 feet high, is an instance in point. Bali is rich in bronze remains, jewels, weapons and instruments, which are usually kept in temples. As regards megaliths (i.e., uncut stone monuments), which are frequently noticed in Bali, Dr. Goris observes thus:

“This megalithic culture occurs through a large part of the world. It runs across a definite area: from Scandinavia along North-West Europe including British Isles along the coastal area and islands of the Mediterranean along Egypt, India, Indonesia and Polynesia, right into Central America. There is probably a cultural link between megaliths in the whole of this area.”

Dr. Goris holds that the Balinese temples developed from megalithic, and not from Hindu, prototypes and he instances the fact that while in India Surya is represented by a god-like figure riding a wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses, in Bali only a vacant stone seat is kept for Surya, who is supposed to descend, in spirit, into it. Further, to use his words, “In India or Hindu Java, the temple is a house or hall; in Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.” The learned Doctor may be correct in his surmise, but it is possible to explain the vacant seat as intended for the spirit of the ancestors, who are expected to come down to witness the temple-worship as well as the semi-religious domestic ceremonial. (The Adi Balis claimed descent from the Sun, through the House of Ayodhya.) As regards the worship of megalithic products (especially, those volcanic or meteoric in origin), this is not unknown in India. Any stone shaped like a Linga or a Ganesa immediately attracts a crowd of enthusiastic devotees, who do not hesitate to build colourful myths round it.

* Curiously, a similar drum has been found in Mexico.
Dr. Goris makes another interesting observation, about which I reserve comments for a further chapter:

"In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. In Polynesia these 'marae' are very well known. In Western Java and in Sumatra they occur also on a small scale. The upright stones were often placed on the upper terrace of the pyramid. Much has been written about these stepped pyramids of Egypt and about the "ziggurath", the artificial hill in Mesopotamia, to which also the Tower of Babel belonged. The lower structure of the Hindu temples on Java and of the Borobudur also seem to be related to these". *

We have seen that the Chinese records of the 5th century A.D. mention "Poli" as an island ruled by Hindu princes, where travellers were received by priests blowing conches. King Sanjaya of Mataram (8th century) probably ruled over Bali. After him Saivam prevailed in the island under the independent king of Pedjong and Bedululu, where there are some ruined Hindu temples in the classic style. In the 11th century, Airlilingga governed Bali through his brother and made old-Javanese the official language of the isle, giving old-Balinese a secondary place. The practice of universal cremation is also stated to have been introduced in his time. Various archaeological sites connected

* The Meru of India and the 'marae' of Polynesia had their counterparts in the Near East, in the shape of 'High Places', frequently mentioned in Biblical literature. The deity usually worshipped in these 'High Places' was Ashtoreth or Astarte, the Canaanite goddess (borrowed by the early Hebrews) who was appeased only by the spilling of much human blood. "Sacrifice of the first-born was a common Semitic practice; a survival as is seen in the Genesis 22, where Abraham attempts to offer Isaac as a sacrifice to Jehovah". A History of the Bible, by Gladstone Bratton, Page 62). The 'ziggurats' built by the Sumerians, with the Holy of Holies on the summit, were substitutes for natural 'High Places' like hills and mountains. The Tower of Babel was, in a sense, a Maha Meru. Gladstone Bratton thinks that this biblical Tower of Babel is probably a reference to the Sumerian ziggurat built by Ur-Nammu four hundred years before Abraham. King Kanishka of India (1st century A.D.) built a similar 'High Place' or stupa, which contained Buddha's reliquary. According to the Chinese pilgrims, its basement rose in five stages to a height of a hundred and fifty feet, the wooden superstructure to another four hundred feet, and the iron mast, with twenty-five copper umbrellas eighty eight feet more. (see Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957, Vol. XII, Page, 226).
with this Javanese Ruler are extant. At Gumung Kawi ("poetical mountain") have been discovered some monuments, plain and sombre and resembling burial towers (Buddhistic?); and nearby are cave dwellings, resembling the rock-cut monasteries of India. It is doubtful if these cells were intended for exposing dead bodies as Lekkerkerker thinks. At Bedulu there is a fine statue of Airlingga's mother Mahendra Dutta,* in the form of Durga. Bedulu also contains the famous 'elephant cave' (Guha Gaja) of the 11th century, perhaps the residence of a hermit (as there were no elephants in Bali).

Elaborately carved on the outside of this cave is a monster-bust of a god with a clenched fist, supposed to represent Pasupati who is reported to have broken Mahameru into two with his fist, planting both halves in Bali. In Pura Panulisan are some fine statues of kings, unfortunately damaged by earthquakes. The largest statue in Java is found here, that of Dava Ratu Panchari Jagat, over 12 feet high and kept secluded in a Bali Aga village temple, on the top of the hill adjoining Panulisan.

After Airlingga there was some decadence in architecture, especially when the island had shaken off Javanese rule. When the Majapahit monarchs regained supremacy over Bali, after defeating the last Pedjung ruler Dalam Bedalu, the art of Bali underwent heavy transformation. Under Raja Sanagara (alias Hayam Waruk), Javanese (and Balinese) art became realistic and mundane, partaking of the character of a season's folk art, intensely decorative and even bizarre, but with little religious significance or background. There was no restraint in the ornamental details and the designs became more and more fantastic. Tropical vegetation became the chief motif in architecture, and religious symbolism became lost in the welter of excessive decoration. Before the Hindus came to Java and Bali, the islands had no knowledge of stone-cutting or carving. As Dr. Goris observes, "The fact that the old-fashioned walls are still made of clay or piled boulders, and that in old houses there are no stone floors leads us to decide that the use of stone for this purpose is of Hindu practice." Use of stone in architecture, both domestic and state, gained great impetus under the Hindu rulers, as did also sculpture. In Bali the carving of gates and temples and palace walls is so profuse that an enormous number of sculptors must have been

* She was a notorious witch, the proto-type of all Rangdas.
employed. Domestic buildings still remain mostly of wood and thatch, but the temples and palaces are fine examples of the builder’s art; the sthapatis are both the architects and the sculptors, employing masons and wood-workers under them. Often there are no detailed plans and drawings; the master-builder merely makes out the design, and the details and the proportion are worked out and carried in his mind! The Balinese are skilled tunnel-builders; tunnels several miles in length had been made by the local craftsmen, many centuries ago, to lead water down the mountain lakes. The excellent irrigation system, probably inspired by South Indian experts, bespeaks a high aptitude in irrigation engineering. The intensive cultivation of rice in a series of stepped terraces on hill slopes has not been surpassed anywhere else in the world, but the Incas of Peru were close rivals in this technique, as narrated elsewhere. The best draughtsmen and sthapatis in Bali are a large family of Brahmins, in the village of Mas.

Unfortunately for Bali, volcanic hard rock is not available in the island, which possesses only the soft sandstone, which is really hardened volcanic ash. It is easy to work and takes on a good polish, but it weathers easily and is thus unsuited for the windy, moist climate of Bali. Stutterheim thinks that in times gone by the carvings were protected by a sort of weather-proofing cement, the secret of which has since been lost. In buildings the same stone is cut into convenient blocks and fitted nicely in the walls, etc., without any mortar or cement. The temples follow set patterns authenticated by ancient manuals in the custody of the master-builders. The motifs for the carving in the panels were, in the old days, taken from literature, like the *Panchatantra Tales*, *Arjuna*

* Ancient India excelled in irrigation practices, including tunnelling. The earliest extant tanks go back to the 4th century B.C. The irrigation works "evidence early skill in engineering, particularly in building services; they form examples for later similar works, anticipating some of the advanced developments of modern construction". (Dr. Coomaraswamy, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*). The Jataka tales mention the excavation of big irrigation tunnels. The Vedic literature frequently refers to lift and gravity irrigation. The Sukra Niti mentions hydraulic pumps, used for sending water-jets upwards. The kings' palaces were provided with artificial fountains, playing in the Royal courtyard in Puranic ages, according to the Epic poets. (These amenities seem to have travelled to the New World, along with the Aryans, as described in succeeding chapters.)
Vivaha, the Ramayana, or the Mahabharata. At present, however, a modern note is often struck, particularly in North Bali, which is as a rule less conservative in such matters. In this area, the designers put in the temple panels all sorts of comic-strip reliefs, like Dutchmen drinking beer, a motor-car being cranked up, and a soldier molesting a girl (an episode of the Japanese occupation)!

In the art of wood-carving, the Balinese have reached a high standard. Originally the carvings were of a utilitarian character (doorways, beams, gables, etc.) Later on religious motifs supervened, and statues of gods, demons and heroes of mythology, dressed in classical attire and profusely ornamented, became common. Recently, however, the art has been commercialised, to pander to the tourist trade, and we find exhibited for sale, little figures of women in the nude, bathing, hairdressing, etc., with little ornamental work and cut out of hard-grained white wood. (The art has now degenerated into even carving of coconut shells.) To the art of painting (or rather the lack of it) some reference has already been made. The painting of canvases or murals had made little progress in this land till very recent years, when some schools have been established under foreign inspiration. The Balinese, however, did paint, from time immemorial, handmade cotton cloth (called ider-ider) which is a foot wide and which is put up below the pavilion roofs and shamanas, or used as door or window curtains. The paintings were from scenes of mythology and in the old Hindu-Javanese style, with the poses stilted and the attitudes grimly stylised. Sometimes fantastic love-scenes were put in "as a sort of charm to avert the evil eye!" Everything was restricted for the painter—subjects, types, materials and composition; and here is a case where conservatism had petrified art. Of bhatik painting (i.e., printing designs of various colours on cloth) as practised in Java, there is not much evidence in Bali. But mention must be made of the lovely scarfs dyed in 'ikat' process, in which elaborate designs are woven by dyeing the warp and weft strands in sections such that the designs stand out on the finished cloth. Both the bhatik and the ikat have been obviously borrowed from India, as the technical terms clearly indicate.

Illustrations on palm-leaves are, however, the island's speciality. The lontars (or talapatras) are the material on which

* This practice is not unknown in India.
the sacred manuscripts are preserved in Bali. In between the
scripts are the picture paintings, like Bhima Swarga, Adi
Parva, Draupadi Lelangam, which are veritable masterpieces of
art. The miniature pictures, usually a square inch or so, are
incised with an iron stylus on the lontar leaves and rubbed in with
soot or oil. They present a graphic and pleasing picture of the
scenes verbally described by the poet, and bear evidence of great
skill and realism. Sometimes the pictures are painted over in
light colours, to heighten their effect and to lend verisimilitude.

Silk brocades are a special feature of South Bali, gold and
silver thread being woven in intricate designs on to the silk cloth.
Silk is usually decorated by the "tie and dye" process, called
plangi. Silk cloth is also gilt, with pure gold-leaf being glued on
to it by a special process. As in Java, the most magnificent
workmanship in metals is found in the krisses (short daggers),
once a formidable weapon of attack, but now mostly ornamental.
Often an old kriss is an heirloom, invested with special magic,
like Batara Kawitan, but only the blade is sacred and inalienable;
the sheath and the jewels in the handles can be sold or pawned
in case of need. Some krisses are worth thousands of rupees, the
handles being set with enormous rubies and diamonds. After the
mass carnage at Den Pessar in 1906, the Dutch collected an
unbelievable horde of jewelled krisses, along with much other
jewellery, from the bodies of the fallen men and women.

Music and Drama:

About the gamellan (the village orchestra), something has
been already said. A peculiar feature of the gamellan is that the
performers are all amateurs, not professionals. There are few
professional musicians in Bali and all performances are given
free, except that the feeding of the artistes has to be provided for.
A prince might be (and occasionally was) the leader of the
gamellan, and musical clubs are organised in every desa or
village, by common contributions, which might amount to some
thousands of rupees. A leader and a treasurer are appointed and
the musicians are then recruited by them. The latter receive no
pay, and may even have to make a cash contribution to the
common fund; this does not deter applicants, as it is considered an
honour to belong to a gamellan, where there is absolutely no
distinction of caste or class. A good musician must play more
than one instrument, and he must be training a worthy pupil all the time. The leaders are, strangely enough, the drummers (the tabalas)* and metallic percussion instruments predominate in volume and importance over the bamboo xylaphones, the flutes and the two-string violins. The music is never written but memorised, as in India.† Westerners find more appeal in Balinese music than in that of any other country in South-East Asia.

Balinese dancing is essentially exhibitional, but it has a religio magic background. It amuses the community but at the same time praises the gods, and wards off the evil spirits. (Sometimes the dances can be violently self-sacrificial under a powerful spiritual impulse, and the dancers have to be physically prevented from stabbing themselves.) Dancing is supposed to be the gift of Bhatara Guru (or Siva) who invented the musical instruments, and of Indira who created the Dedaris (Vidyadharis), the celestial nymphs, "who danced so well that even the gods on their way stopped to watch them". A Balinese legend somewhat playfully suggests that as the Dedaris walked round Indra and Brahma in respectful obeisance, the two deities got heart-stricken, and in their painful effort to follow the movements of the heavenly beauties, Indra developed many eyes and Brahma four faces!

Originally the dansueses were attached to temples and the dances were altogether religious in character, but with the passage of time they have assumed a theatrical colour, and even when the themes are non-secular, the interpretations tend to become popular and humorous. The following are the stories which are usually staged; the Smaradahana (Kama the Love-god’s destruction), the Rangda (the widow or the witch), the Barong (the benign animal spirit), the Kulit and the Wong (Mahabharata, Ramayana, etc.),

* Our ancient Niti-sastras give the pride of place to the 'tala' expert, in a musical troupe. Sukra stipulates that 50% of the earnings should go to him!

† Musical notation (a graphic method of representing sounds to the ear, through the medium of the eye) originated in India. "It is probable that the earliest attempts at notation were made by the Hindus... from whom the principle was transferred to Greece". (Encyclopaedia Britannica. XVI, P.21). The Rik-Pratisakhya (of about seven or eight hundred B.C.) has the following sloka: "The twin note is not to be distinguished without the other note; the seven notes are the twins, or the twins are different from the seven". In addition to the seven notes (which are mentioned in the Vedas) ancient Indians had two scales (A+ and A) which would not clash. "As these scales came to be started from different tonics, the struti spread all over them." (The Legacy of India, P. 312.)
the Baris (ritual dances with spears), the Topend (mainly comical and historical), the Gambuli (classical with stories from the Malat), the Iger Iger (modern musical comedy), and the Ketjak or Kathak (group chorus-singing and dancing, with episodic plays intertwined).

Although in Bali the dramatic troupes are all amateurs, technical perfection is needed for good acting and long preparation and training are indispensable. The teachers are, of course, all honorary. In Classical and Kathak dances, all movements are set and traditional, and no improvisation is allowed. The most rigid discipline is enjoined on the performers and much depends on facial expression, general personality, and footwork. But even here the clowns can ad-lib as they like, and an element of surprise is expected of them. In popular performances the actors are gay, exuberant, and very free with their gestures and their talk. Balinese dancing is uninhibited, expressive, robust and classless, unlike that of Java, where it is confined to the Princely courts and is formal and heavily subsidised. The prudish Javanese call Balinese dancing noisy, rude, and vulgar; the Balinese on their part consider the Javanese technique dull, insipid and lifeless. (Much of the difference is probably due to the deadening influence of Islam.) Till very recently, however, even in Bali, the female characters were acted by superb male impersonators. Once a year literary manuscripts are symbolically worshipped by the artistes and the day is dedicated to Saraswati, when no one may open a book or read. (This corresponds to the Puja day in South India.)

The Legong is the finished Balinese dancing and is performed at festivals, under a canopy of palm-leaves. The dances are performed by little girls (mostly under 14) who wear silk costumes and glittering ornaments. Their ears carry big ear-plugs of gold, and heavy necklaces cover the chest. Covarrubias thus describes a Legong dance:

"When a large enough crowd has assembled, the orchestra begins the dance music and the tjondong (thandavi) gets up lazily and stands in the middle of the dancing-space. Suddenly, at an accent from the orchestra, as if pierced by an electric current, she strikes an intense pose: with her bare feet flat on the ground, her knees flexed, she begins a lively dance, moving briskly, winding in and out of a circle, with an arm rigidly outstretched, fingers tense
and trembling, and her eyes staring into space. At each accent of
the music the whole body of the tjondong jerks: she stamps her
foot which quivers faster and faster, the vibration spreading to her
thigh and up her hips until the entire body shakes so violently that
the flowers of her head-dress fly in all directions. The gradually
growing spell breaks off unexpectedly and the girl glides with
swift side-steps, first to the right, then to the left, swaying from
her flexible waist while her arms break into sharp patterns at the
wrists and elbows. Without stopping, she picks up two fans that
lie on the mat and continues dancing with one in each hand, in an
elegant winding stride.

“At a cue from the music, the two other girls straighten up
and begin to dance with their hands, neck, and eyes, still kneeling
on the mat. Then they rise and dance with the tjondong, forming
intricate patterns with six arms and thirty fingers until the musical
theme ends.”

The ‘baris’ is essentially masculine and is a stately war-dance
in which middle-aged warriors (often of the Principely order) dance
in a double line, with spears in their hands. “No dance in the
world can be more manly than the baris,” says a writer. It typifies
the strength and elegance of the finished fighter, who must possess
also a sonorous voice. Every part of the body, from the toes to
finger-tips, is in action; and every muscle of the face should be so
controlled as to express the full gamut of human emotions, wonder,
surprise, passion, anger, love, tenderness and pleasure. To quote:

“But as the music grows more violent, the dancer becomes
more and more tense, raising himself on his toes until he gives the
impression of growing in height; his eyes seem ready to jump
from their sockets, his whole body trembles, making the flowers of
his headdress shake violently. So raised on his toes and with his
whole body at high nervous tension, he slaps his thigh and points
an accusing finger at his enemy, as with wild yells of ‘Wah!’* ‘Adoh, Adoh!’ he draws his kriss and struts aggressively towards
his foe, who comes forward at the same moment; before they
meet, the dancers stop defiantly, cursing each other, and when the
clash comes, with tiger-like grace they perform a stylized duel to
music, in which the routing of one of the characters indicates the
end of the dance.”

* In New Zealand, the Maori war-cry is ‘Hau’ and ‘Ago, Ago’.
We have already seen something of the wayongs or shadow-plays, performed through marionettes. These were the primary vehicles used in the propagation of Hinduism over the island. The Hindus brought with them not only occult lore and temple worship but poetry and drama which had a wider mass-appeal, and effectively captured popular imagination. Heroes like Rama, Arjuna and Bhima not only became models of conduct but were even projected as the ancestors of the Balinese race and thus helped in the easy spread of the Aryan faith, in propagating which, otherwise, no systematic conversion techniques, of preachings-cum-pressure, were ever used. As we have seen, in Java the Epics were re-written in Kawi, the highly Sanskritised literary language. Kawi soon spread to Bali, where it became the vehicle of poetry. But in Bali, the Indian Epics are preserved in a more correct form than in Java; the narratives are contained in verse (slokas) which are cast in 47 different metres. In popular performances the Pandita or story-teller recites in Kawi, while an assistant interprets in Balinese; in many places, however, the Kawi verses would have been already learnt by heart by the multitude, who chant them, often without understanding the meaning, much as our own temple choirs sing devotional songs in Sanskrit without always realising their full import. Apart from the great Epics, other Indian tales (like the Panchatantra), native folk-lore, and even Chinese stories, have been worked into Kawi, for the use of the story-teller.

The Hindu caste system is firmly established in the island; at the top are the Brahmanas, who are usually priests, judges, poets, skilled architects, native doctors, etc. Their most sacred mantra is a sort of Panchakshara, viz., ‘Om, Hram, Hrum, Sah, Parama Siva Adityo Namah’. Their rules of private life are severe, but the eating of flesh (except beef and pork) and fish is allowed. Teetotalism is compulsory. During their pujas the Pedandas often go into a trance, during which they profess to hold converse with their favourite deity. Next in rank are the Satrias (Kshatriyas), who constitute the ruling Princely families. Below them are Wesiyas (Vaisyas), who supply the bulk of the armed forces, and are not merely the traders, commission agents, and shopkeepers we picture them to be in India. Last of all come the Sudras, who form about 95% of the population. They are allowed to eat all food except beef, and to indulge in strong drinks of local manufacture. They are the backbone of the agricultural economy, and
Terrace cultivation on hillside in Bali

Old Kawi manuscript of Bali
they are also petty shopkeepers, market salesmen (more often, women) and travelling vendors. Intercaste marriages are rare; a person of the higher caste, however, can take a wife from a lower one, but not vice versa. In the case of the Brahmanas (especially those who are poor), elaborate cremation ceremonies are eschewed. The body is merely taken to a funeral pyre straightaway, and the ashes are then scattered on the holy waters. It is only for the other three classes that the elaborate funerary practices (described elsewhere) have to be gone through as a sort of religious and social obligation.

This chapter may perhaps be ended with some interesting tibits, some of which are indicative of the strong Hindu influences on Balinese culture. Although the conservative Balinese of both sexes usually leave their torso bare, yet when meeting important strangers, or on formal occasions, they must throw a heavy scarf (or chaddar) over their bodies (in the same manner as in old-fashioned Kerala). The Saiva Pedandas do not wear a sacred thread, but run a black sash across their chests over which they wear strings of sphatika stone and rudraksha seed. They also wear a high ornate turban in the same fashion as the Pandara Sannadhis of South India. The worshippers, when receiving consecrated water (nirajana tirtha) or other pure articles, must extend their right arm but simultaneously place their left palm below their right elbow, as is the custom in India. The old lipi or script of Bali is derived from South India; the Sanskrit inscriptions are in old Javanese or Kawi characters (i.e., Venggi script) and those in the old-Balinese language are in pre-Nagari characters of South India. It is now generally accepted that the horse, the cow, the domestic buffalo, and the goose were introduced into Bali by the Hindus. Among the Indian flora imported into Bali may be mentioned the malati (jasmine) and the champaka flowers and the warinjin or banyan tree (ficus bengalensis). It is probable that rice-cultivation was also an Indian gift to Bali. In any case, the lake or river irrigation systems, the terrace-cultivation, etc., are all of Hindu inspiration. In Bali there is some disparity in the sexes; the female population is appreciably in excess of the male. Like the Hindus, the Balinese abhor mouth-to-mouth kissing; tender 'smelling' of the head and of the cheeks is the approved method of showing affection. While old-Balinese is practically like Prakrit, modern Balinese language has a strong Sanskrit admixture.

* Social habits are changing all over Indonesia.
Technically all land in Bali belonged till recently to the gods and man had only an occupational right. Even today the temples own large landed properties which are cultivated on a usufruct basis. Absolute individual ownership of agricultural land is the exception and not the rule in Bali. In a village, no land can be sold to an outsider without the consent of the Village Council. The term Sudra (which denotes the fourth caste) is seldom used in Bali; the common people are called Djabba (i.e., outsiders) by the Trivamsas or the three upper castes. There are no untouchables in Bali and no ‘fifth’ caste. Christian efforts at conversion have made little progress in the island, as the Balinese dislike proselytization under pressure, economic or otherwise. (The Dutch had learnt a wise lesson from the grim Portuguese failures to “redeem the heathen”.) Everybody bathes twice a day, sometimes thrice. The Balinese are essentially landlubbers; they have no tradition of sea-going like other Malayans peoples, and have little skill in navigation.

* It is of interest to record here, that the Dutch and the Portuguese filibusters clashed, of all places, in far off Japan. The Jesuits led by Xavier had infiltrated, along with the Portuguese traders, into Japan in the 16th century but they attempted at setting up an imperium in imperio there (relying, no doubt, on a papal bull described by me elsewhere); their aggressive and unscrupulous methods caused such a hostile reaction that the Shogun Hideyoshi, issued an edict enquiring: (1) on what authority the Jesuits forced the Japanese to become Christians; (2) why they incited the converts to destroy Buddhist temples; (3) why they persecuted Buddhist priests; (4) why they ate animals useful to man, like cattle; and (5) why they allowed the Portuguese to carry off Japanese men and women as slaves to be sold in the Indies. He simultaneously ordered the Jesuits out of the country. The Shogun was particularly incensed to hear a Spanish Captain boast that “the Catholic King first sent his ministers of the Gospel to convert the natives, who later uniting with the soldiers of His Majesty, made their work easier”. The Dutch prudently desisted from religious aggression and even aided the Shogun militarily against the Catholics, who were, however, unwilling to abandon their most profitable Japanese commerce. In 1637, the Catholics foolishly attempted to provoke a rebellion, which was fiercely put down. Following this event, Christianity was practically wiped out from the Japanese Isles. Christians were officially named “the wicked sect”; and in several cities the ritual of trampling down the pictures of Virgin Mary and of Christ, in the first month of the year, was enforced for some two hundred years [i.e., till 1856]. The vandalism committed by the early European filibusters against Indian sacred places were numerous and horrifying. Quartering of beef and pork-eating troops inside temples and mosques was quite common; in many instances temple valuables were looted and the images mutilated. Readers may recall the damage caused to the fine statuary in the Elephanta Caves by wanton Portuguese cannonading. When he conquered Malacca (1511) Albuquerque promptly demolished the fine mosque built by the apostate Sultans, and uprooted the royal tombs; from the stones thus collected he built a tall donjon tower or keep.
NOTE TO CHAPTER VII

AGASTYA AND DRAVIDA MUNNETRAM*

Euhemerus held long ago that all mythology was based on history and that many classical gods were only deified heroes. Indian legends provide ample support to the Greek; one of the most outstanding examples of 'euhemerism' is Agastya, who began as a Vedic seer and ended up as a divinity, taking precedence along with the Trimurtis, and included in the fourteen Great Ones† whose feet are symbolically worshipped at sraddhas, by all pious Hindus. It is a curious fact that the only two patently human personalities thus apotheosised, (Agastya and Kasyapa) should represent the two geographical terminals of Aryavarta, viz., the glorious vale of Kashmir in the north and the rich plains of the Tamraparni river at the tip of the Peninsula.‡ Is it possible that even in those dim pre-historic days (when our domestic rituals took shape) the geographical unity of India was thus visualised by our great Smritikaras? In the face of this ancient decision, who could doubt that Kashmir (the very cradle of the Aryan race) was nothing but an integral part of our great land from time immemorial?

Agastya figures in Indian legend and literature on many an occasion and in diverse contexts. He makes his debut in the Rig Veda, in a famous Sukta where he is reported as having fulfilled his conjugal duties under the promptings of his wife, Lopamudra. (Both he and Kasyapa figure as Rishis in the Veda.) In the Epics his role is prominent; in the Ramayana, he instructs Sri

* ‘Munnetram’ in Tamil means ‘up-lift’.
† The following closing invocation figures in the sraddha mantras:
   Isana Vishnu Kamalasana Karthikeya
   Vanhittrayarkha Rajanisa Ganeswaranam
   Krounchamarendra Kalasod bhava
   Kasyapanam padan namami.
   
   “I salute the feet of Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, Karthikeya, the three Agnis, the Sun, the Moon, Ganeswar, Krouncha, Indra, Agastya and Kasyapa”.

‡ The reader is aware that Kashmira is really Kasyapamarga; Pothiyil, the mountainous source of the Tamraparni is the legendary resting place of 'Agastya.
Rama in the supreme military efficacy of the ‘Adityahridaya stotra’ and thus saves the day for the Devas. In the Mahabharata, Vyasa endows him with an evangelical mission, that of “restoring the balance of population south of the Vindhya”, i.e., leading Aryan tribes into the Dakshinapatha and inculcating the denizens of the Peninsula into the speech of the Aryans, and their spiritual and social practices. He is credited with achieving such a resounding success in this task that his revered name is still one to conjure with, in the lands south of the Vindhya.

In the Puranas, Agastya is attributed several achievements; e.g., that of drinking up the inland sea (of Rajaputana?) and of humbling the Vindhyas mountains. Colourful legends surround his peregrination; the story of Vatapi and Ilvala will be familiar to the reader. [This legend probably conceals a historical truth; perhaps the uprooting of oppressive and cannibalistic Asura rulers at Vatapi (Badami) and Aryapura (Aiyavole), two towns in the Deccan named after the mythical Danavas. The later Puranas invest the sage with immortality and eventually transform him into a star (named, appropriately, by the Romans as Canopus, roughly meaning ‘pitcher born’).]

Various places in South India are associated with the Rishi’s name and numerous are the temples dedicated to him, thus commemorating his yeoman service to the southern peoples. Popular tradition makes him an ascetic of indomitable energy and courage, large hearted (though of a somewhat diminutive stature) and very catholic in his views. Even in the Rig Veda this broad-mindedness of the Rishi is referred to in a famous Sukta where he is described as a friend of both the varnas, i.e., helping not only the conforming Deva-worshippers but also the non-conformist Asuras. This description doubtless tallies with his later semi-historical image as the precursor of the Aryan acculturation of the South, where he had no doubt to woo the local population and win them over to a belief in the Vedic Gods through a process of benevolence and mutual trust. It can well be claimed that Agastya founded the first (one-man) ‘Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam’, in South Indian tradition.

Agastya’s services did not stop with our shores. He became the standard bearer of a Greater-India movement and all South-East Asia felt his presence, if we lend credence to the tradition

* In Latin, Canopus means a jar or a vase.
A Statue of Agastya found in Java

Mother-Goddess motif in sculpture at Boro Budor
even now vigorously alive in this area. In effect, Agastya not only up-lifted the Deccan and South India but spread his benign evangelism to other lands across the Kalapani.*

The sage figures more than once in inscriptions in South East Asia† where Aryan influences had spread. I would particularly cite the following verse recorded on stone in Central Jawa, in stately arya metre.

Vihite Kalasaja namna
Bhadrlokahvaye vibudhagehe
Tasyatha putra-pourah
Bhavantu labdheshtapadajivah

"The 'Pitcher-born' (Agastya), having made a divine house (i.e., a shrine) which goes by the name of Bhadraloka (probably after the god enshrined who is called here 'He of good appearance or beauty') may his sons and grandsons (i.e., descendants) and other souls achieve their hearts' desires (or realise their ambitions).”

In another Javanese record he is referred to thus:

"In the Saka year 682 (arrived at by the chronogram, nayana (2) Vasu (8), rasa (6) i.e., 682 by reading backwards as is the custom in South India), in the month of Margasirsha-on Friday, the first day of the new half moon at the union of the dark light moon, in Kumbhalagna, by this king who was extremely clever (or intelligent) was installed (an image of) the 'Pitcher-born' (Agastya) with the help of priests learned in the Vedas, ascetics and sculptors and artists who knew their job very well”.

In like fashion, in another inscription in Eastern Java dated about 760 A.D. there is a reference to Agastya in the following words:

"There was the best of islands, Yava (Java) by name, wide, rich in grains, paddy, seeds and the like, filled with gold mines, and by the immortal daily......, where (is found) a supremely divine and wonderful abode (temple) of Sambhu (Siva) taken or transferred as it were from the family or clan (vamsa) that lived

* Agastya was the great patron saint of sea-farers; as the old Skt. proverb states, 'Agastyodaye Jalani Prasidanti' [when the (star) Agastya rises, the waters become calm.]

† In Chapter IV reference has been made to a Kambojan inscription citing sage Agastya as marrying the daughter of a local king.
in the prosperous country (desa) called Kunjarakunja, for the prosperity of the world”.

The picture of Agastya as depicted in Tamil sculptures shows him to be short and squat with matted hair, a luxuriant beard and a somewhat protuberant belly. He usually carries a pitcher (kamandalu-patra) in his hand along with the forked stick and a rosary. (A similar imagery is found in Jawa and in Ceylon.)

In Tamil literature, Agastya is given the pride of place and is credited with the most ancient work in that language, named after him as Agastyam (or Agatyam)* which work has, however, been lost. The earliest extant Tamil work written by Tolkappianar (viz., the Tolkappiam) is the work of a follower of Agastya, who uses the sutra style of grammatical composition, perfected by Panini. The original name of Tolkappianar is Trinabindhu and he appears frequently in Javanese inscriptions as a disciple of Agastya. About the ancient age of Tolakappianar there is unanimity of opinion, and it is conceded that he lived long before the Christian era. The date hitherto accepted was the 3rd or 4th century B.C., but recently it has been contended that this date should be pushed back by another 2 or 3 centuries.

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* Agastya is also identified with the Saiva-Siddhanta school of Philosophy. By tradition, he is the founder of the Siddha Cult, which has very ancient roots in South India.
CHAPTER VIII

THE ARYAN MARCH TO THE EAST: THE ARYANS IN POLYNESIA

SECTION 'A'

We have traced the progress of the Aryan peoples from their original home in Saptā Sindhu to the remote islands of Bali and the Philippines. This movement had started in the early periods of pre-history, some time in the first millennium B.C. Trekking over the mountains and forests of Aryavarta and braving the 'unknown terrors of the oceans' (to use Lord Meston's words) the early Aryans travelled literally thousands of miles, over land and water, to set up outposts of Aryan civilisation in far-off corners of South-East Asia and in the numerous islands constituting the great East-Indian Archipelago. These small colonies grew, in the course of centuries, into considerable kingdoms; ultimately some of them became great land and sea empires, rivalling in extent, power and civilisation, not only the contemporary empires in North and South India, but the Celestial Kingdom itself, which was the leading power in East Asia at the time.

But the Indian people did not stop within the confines of the Archipelago. The 'unknown terrors of the ocean' with which they had become, during the five or six centuries preceding the Sakabda, only too well acquainted, and which they had conquered in such astonishing fashion, did not deter them from searching for "fresh woods and pastures new" further east across the broad waters of the Pacific. Having mastered the art of deep-sea navigation,* the restless Aryan tribes felt an irresistible urge to explore

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* The Indian sailors discovered early the strength and utility of the monsoon winds which drastically reduced the sailing time between India and Italy from four months to six weeks, if the vessels sailed straight across the Indian Ocean, instead of hugging the shores. As The Legacy of India (P. 16) avers, "India was nearer to
the vast expanses of the largest ocean on earth to see if there were more lands like Java and Bali, where Aryan culture could take fresh root, and where “Koundinya could plant his spear”, to the delectation of the local denizens.

The Pacific is full of mysteries. The broadest and the deepest of the oceans on earth, it hides many secrets, whose truth historians would very much like to know. For instance, in New Zealand which was separated from the Asiatic land-mass millions of years ago, present-day adventurers seeking gold have found traces of gold-mining by man, of which neither the Maoris nor the many Polynesian islanders of the north have any knowledge. In fact, the Polynesians inhabiting the Pacific Isles had no active knowledge

Europe in the first century A.D. than at any time prior to the middle of the 19th century (when steam replaced wind as the motive power of ships).” The references to Indian visitors to Europe (merchants, philosophers and ambassadors) and vice versa are numerous about the beginning of the Christian era. Strabo mentions a Pandyan embassy to Augustus, headed by Zarmanochegas (Sramanacharya), who after tendering presents to Cesar, tarried as a preacher, and ultimately ended his life voluntarily on a funeral pyre, even as Kalanos had done at Babylon in 323 B.C. Alexandria had a substantial Indian colony, including some philosophers, prominent among whom was a Buddhist monk from Barygaza (Baru-Kaccha or Broach). The Milindapanna refers to Indian merchants travelling to Alexandria; and Dio Chrysostom, (1st century A.D.) says that he met Indian residents there and discussed philosophy with them. On the other hand, many foreigners tasted Indian spirituality at the fountain-head. Plato probably visited India; the famous miracle-monger, Apollonius of Tzana (A.D. 50) stayed at Taxila as did Bardasanes, the Babylonian Gnostic who became an adept in Vedanta and Buddhism. Plotinus travelled east to sit at the feet of Brahmin philosophers. “The resemblances between the Neo-Platonism (of Plotinus) and the Yoga-Vedanta systems are very close”. (The Legacy of India, P. 18). The well-known Gnostic, Basilides (120 A.D.) borrowed the wisdom of the East which he interwove in an astonishing fashion into the framework of Christianity. The doctrine of Karma is basic to his teaching, as is also matempsychosis.

As already mentioned, Clement of Alexandria (150 A.D.) was well acquainted with Sramana monks at Alexandria, and he mentions Buddha by name and refers to stupas raised over his relics. Meanwhile, adventurous Indians had travelled to East Africa across the ocean, long before Christ was born. Madagascar, particularly, received full Aryan acculturation early, as already narrated. “The population (in this island) shares a number of characters with the peoples of Indian and Pacific archipelagoes, physical appearance, mental habits, customs and manners, and above all, language. Their traditions point the same way (to India). Van der Truk, Marre de Marin, and W.E. Cousins have shown conclusively the close relationship between the Malagasy language and those of Malaya and Polynesia” [Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957 (XIV) P. 602].
of any metal, leave alone gold, till the White man appeared on the scene. Yet the inhabitants of many islands called themselves khanaka, which in Sanskrit means a miner, especially a gold miner. The Polynesian islands had always a magnetic reputation for auriferous wealth in the eyes of Europeans, especially after the Spanish Conquistadors started sending bullion-loaded galleons across the Atlantic, to the gold-hungry rulers of Europe. We find the lure of the precious metal striking a dominant note (even overshadowing the quest for spices) in the directives issued to the various East India Company officials by their principals. For instance, the practical and not over-conscientious Board of the Netherlands East India Company wrote to their Governor-General at Batavia thus (September 1638):

"Your worship has acted wisely in giving further attention to the discovery of the Southland (i.e. Australia, then called New Holland) and the gold-bearing islands, which will be of great use to the Company in order, in time, to get over its heavy burdens and to come into the real enjoyment of the East India trade."

It is true that gold has been found in the Pacific lands, particularly in Australia; even New Zealand contributes a modest quota, but this is nothing like the vast hoards of the yellow metal which the European filibusterers of the 17th century hoped to spirit away to their mother countries, even as the Spaniards and the Portuguese were doing on the other side of the world. I hope I shall not be accused of rash and wishful thinking if I suggest that some at least of the vast quantities of gold which the Khambu and Sailendra rulers accumulated and displayed so lavishly in their temples and in their palaces might have been gathered from the "gold-bearing islands" of the Pacific, whose treasures have now become exhausted.*

The islands of the Pacific lying beyond the Indonesian Archipelago and stretching for nearly 160 degrees of longitude (i.e., almost half the length of the equator) are commonly known as Oceania, and they are divided, in modern terminology, into three groups, viz., Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The first cate-

* Sir James Lancaster (1592) goes into ecstasies when describing the procession of the Rajah of Achen: "Two hundred elephants armoured in gold, an equal number of attendants carrying swords of pure gold, the Rajah's horse wearing a saddle of beaten gold and the Prince himself robed so richly that the scene was indescribable."
gory consists of those clusters of isles which lie north of the Equator and east of the Philippines. The principal groups in Micronesia are the Marianas, the Carolines and the Marshal Islands, all of which can, for our present purpose, be disregarded. The term Melanesia applies to the group of islands to the north-east of Australia, particularly New Guinea, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, New Caledonia and the Gilbert Islands. The name has arisen out of the fact that most of the inhabitants of these islands are dark-skinned and frizzy-haired, unlike the Malay or the Indonesian types to the west. These primitive Melanesians (who bear some resemblance to the negroides of India) belong to the original strata of the Austronesian stock and have little imported blood in their veins. These aborigines, who have been probably living in these islands ever since man appeared on this globe, are as a rule short and less well formed; the face is coarse, broad and flat with an excess of jaw and mouth. The features are unrefined; the nose is short and wide, with flaring nostrils. Thick lips and scrappy, wrinkled and coarse hair complete the ensemble. But even among these people some Aryan influences had probably penetrated. In New Guinea, for example, the village headmen are called tamburans,* as in Kerala today. The villagers often bear names like Ombilian, Kakekumbar, Kattan, etc., which are reminiscent of names borne by the forest-dwellers of South India.

We are mainly concerned in this chapter with Polynesia proper, i.e., the large group of islands (many of them of small size) scattered over the immense distances of the Pacific Ocean extending up to the South American sea-board. Polynesia lies east of a line drawn from Hawaiian Islands in the north, to New Zealand in the south. The main island groups are, besides Hawaii and New Zealand, Samoa, Tongan Islands, the Phoenix Isles, Cook Islands, Society Islands, the Tuamotu Archipelago, the Marquesas, the Pitcairn and Easter Islands, and the Galapagos and the Juan Fernandez Isles in the South American waters (which were till recently uninhabited). With the exception of New Zealand, which lies in the temperate zone and contains the most numerous Polynesian population, all the other units of Polynesia lie within or close to the tropics. All are real oceanic islands, lying far away from the continental shelves, and the distances separating them are truly

* 'Tamburan' is the equivalent of 'swami' (e.g.: gramaswamin or village headman).
enormous, contrary to the deceptive evidence of small-scale maps. This extraordinary isolation of the island groups (distances of over 2000 miles of ocean between the groups are common) accounts in some measure for the fact that man set his foot in Polynesia well within the historical period, perhaps in the early centuries of the Christian era*. In some islands, he arrived as late as 1000 A.D., as we shall see.

In contrast, Melanesia has had human inhabitants almost since the time man appeared on this earth. It is surmised that during the glacial period, when the sea levels were much lower and the contiguous land masses much larger, it was possible for primitive man to move easily from one area to another in Melanesia. From time immemorial people of varying physical features but belonging broadly to the negroid species, and with different achievements in culture and of unequal mental equipment and speaking a diversity of tongues, had been gradually moving into Melanesia, a region which is relatively compact, compared with the stupendous distances of Polynesia. The aborigines of North Australia belong to the Melanesian group. Reference has already been made to the fact that in language and in physical features these people resemble the adivasis of South India. The use of the boomerang, both in lower India and in Australia, is perhaps indicative of the cultural affinity between the primitive inhabitants of these two widely separated areas. It is a permissible inference that the Aryans, in the course of their migrations eastward, had taken with them some of the adivasis of South India and deposited them at various points in Australia, in circumstances which did not permit the Aryans themselves setting up permanent colonies in these areas, as they had done in the Indonesian Archipelago.

All writers on the subject of Polynesia are unanimously of the opinion that the people who ultimately settled in this vast area should be considered one of the greatest maritime nations of

* Even Heyerdahl, a staunch advocate of American colonisation of the Pacific Islands, concedes that "the Polynesian vortex of migration swept East Pacific and peopled all the major Polynesian islands in the early centuries of the present millennium". R.C. Suggs thinks that the Polynesians (Malay-Polynesians) came to Oceania much earlier. He suggests that Melanesia was touched by 750 B.C., and Tahiti by 200 B.C., and Hawaii reached in 100 A.D. "Between 1800 and 200 B.C., the greatest part of the Pacific had been spanned by swift-sailing double canoes". (The Island Civilizations of Polynesia, P. 227).
all time. In the opinion of Marjorie Appleton*, "The Polynesians, who must be accounted among the most magnificent seamen the world has ever known, were at that time, far in advance of their European contemporaries in the art of navigation. Their expeditions over the open ocean far outstripped in magnitude even the greatest voyages that had been undertaken by the ancients and were not to be equalled until the navigators of Western Europe embarked upon their golden age of maritime exploration and discovery at the end of the 15th century A.D." Another writer (T. E. Donne, The Maori, Past and Present), who considers the Maoris to be of Malayan extraction, observes as follows:

"The men of Malaya were good seamen, hardy and of a courageous disposition. They sailed their canoes 'south and about' from island to island until they had helped to people nearly all the islands of the Pacific ocean; their entrance into Oceania commenced about the beginning of the Christian era."

James Cowan, a sympathetic observer of the Maori race, has this to say about their seamanship:

"We may readily picture the eastward progress of our daring sailors through the Pacific. From one island to another they spread, exploring each and carefully weighing its suitability as a home. Fiji (Whiti, or Viti) and Samoa appear, from the evidence of history, tradition and song, to have been their homes for many a generation. From Samoa as a centre they made many great canoe voyages, exploring all parts of the Pacific, north, south, east and west, in search of new homes, new kinds of food, new adventures. What Mr. Frank Bullen wrote in Our Heritage the Sea of the early Italian and Spanish and Portuguese navigators is equally true of these still earlier and even more daring seamen, the Polynesian pioneers: 'They had become so far familiar with those apparently illimitable breadths that they put forth in all confidence that they would fetch somewhere or another, and that wherever it might be it would be well worth the visiting and annexing'."

We shall discuss the origins of the Maori race elsewhere. Meanwhile, some striking features of the people who filled the

* In her book They Came to New Zealand. Sir Peter Buck called the Maoris, "The Vikings of the Sun-rise". Suggs adds: "Truly those Polynesians, at a much earlier epoch of human history, quite surpassed the sea-faring abilities of the hardy Norsemen" (The Island Civilizations of Polynesia, P. 13).
The great Polynesian Triangle.
isles of Oceania in the early centuries of the Christian era, should be mentioned. The various groups of this race, despite the continental distances separating them, are extraordinarily homogeneous in physical type and culture, and they all speak dialects of the same language! For instance, an inhabitant of Hawaii can easily understand the speech of a native of New Zealand, even though the distance separating them be nearly 60 degrees of latitude or almost 4,500 miles. *

When Captain Cook came to New Zealand, he brought with him a native of Tahiti (which is 2,000 miles away), who could understand the Maoris perfectly and vice versa. This fact struck Cook so forcibly that he made the following significant observation in his Diary:

"How widely this nation diffused itself in so many detailed islands so distant from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean! We find it in New Zealand in the south and in the Sandwich (i.e., Hawaiian) islands in the north; and in another direction, from the Easter Island to New Hebrides, that is, over an extent of 60° of latitude or 3,600 miles and 83° of longitude or 4,980 miles east to west. How much farther in either direction its colonies reach we do not know. We are authorised in pronouncing it to be the most extensive nation upon earth, though not the most numerous." As a matter of fact, the distances mentioned by Cook should be greater if we take the extreme limits of the various islands mentioned by him.

Granting that all the Polynesian peoples (who may now number about a million) belong to one racial stock and speak roughly the same language, the interesting question then arises as to how and when these far-flung islands were populated and wherefrom the immigrants originally came. Various theories have been put forward from time to time and the question has often been the subject of warm controversy, as will be seen later in this chapter. Even as regards the level of culture attained by these people before the Europeans appeared on the scene, opinions are divergent. Certain broad facts, however, are undisputed. The early European navigators who chanced on these islands at various

* "The Polynesian languages are members of Thai-Kadai-Malayo-Polynesian language stock with their roots in the coast of South Asia.... There is evidence that a form of script may have been part of the Polynesian cultural heritage" (Suggs op. cit. P. 46).
points of their peregrination, have always commented on the fine physical make-up, the tall build and elegant features, and the remarkable good looks of these people, judged even by European standards of attractiveness.* While most of the sailor Captains of the 16th and 17th centuries have described the complexion of the natives as olive, tawny or "light copper", some have referred to a golden-yellow skin colouring, "no darker than a European who has lived long in the Indies". One famous voyager even thought "they were no darker than South Europeans". Pedro Fernandez de Quiros (who was probably the first European to see a Polynesian at home at the Marquesas in 1594) wrote that "the islanders are of a very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, with most beautiful flowing hair and extraordinarily light skins". Quiros (writing in 1609) mentions seeing "400 natives of Fatu-Hiva almost white and of very graceful shape—a boy about 10 years of age looked like an angel—not fair, but white. The women's complexion, if it cannot be called white, is nearly white." Tasman, who visited New Zealand in 1642; thus describes the first natives he saw:

"As far as we could observe, these people are of ordinary height; (they had) rough voices and strong bones and the colour of their skin is between brown and yellow: they wore their tufts of black hair right on the top of their heads surrounded by a large thick white feather." Captain Wallis, the first European to make the acquaintance of the Tahitians, wrote enthusiastically about them, particularly mentioning their fine appearance and agreeable manners. He wrote that if they dressed in Western fashion they might pass for Europeans. He compared his own skin with that of a local lady and found hers to be whiter! Captain Cook, the first Englishman to sight the New Zealanders, recorded in his Diary as follows:

* Captain Cook took with him a young commoner from the Society Islands to England. Although not so good-looking as the nobles of Polynesia, this boy, Omai, became the rage of London society. He was presented at Court, had his portrait painted by Reynolds, and moved "among the brilliant circle of the first nobility". He cut such an elegant figure in well made clothes that Dr. Johnson, seeing both Omai and Lord Mulgrave together "was afraid to speak to either of them lest I should mistake one for the other". Fanny Burney said this of Omai "He seems to shame education; his manners are so extremely graceful..... that you could think he came from some foreign Court."
The huge stone figures on Easter Island

Reynold's portrait of Omai in his tapa robes
'The people living all along this coast are as strong, well-made and active a people as any we have seen.... Their canoes are large, well-built and ornamented with carved work... They handle their arms with great ability, particularly their long pikes or lances against which we have no weapon that is an equal match, except a loaded musket... All their actions and behaviour towards us tended to prove that they are a brave, open, war-like people and void of any treachery... We never had an instance of their attempting to surprise or cut off any of our people, when they were ashore, even though many opportunities existed.'

Most of the European navigators have, however, mentioned that in every Polynesian island there were some people "of a blacker cast", with bushy hair and broad flat faces, less majestic in build and less graceful generally than the great majority of their neighbours. These darker people were usually found at the bottom of the social scale and were assigned to menial tasks. This situation indicates that, when the fair-skinned peoples marched east over the Pacific, they took with them as captives or servants some people of the pronouncedly Melanesian type, who became domiciled in Polynesia and gradually lost contact with their own speech.*

* R.C. Suggs thinks that the Polynesians are a compound of Caucasoid, Mongol and Negretoid elements. "The Mongoloid component of the Polynesian is as weak as the Negretoid, relative to the overwhelming Caucasoid contribution". (op. cit. P. 32). "Racially the Polynesians are akin to Europeans, being of the Caucasoid group, one of the main divisions of mankind. In their sojourn in the south-east tip of Asia, they seem to have mixed to some small extent with the Negretoid and Mongoloid races who were present in that area". (A Short History of New Zealand by Condliffe and Airey—P.9).

I may also cite here the considered opinion of the writer in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, [1957, XVI, P. 699]. "There is general agreement, on the evidence of oral traditions supported by physical, linguistic, and botanical evidence, that the ancestors of the Polynesians...... must have come in a series of migratory movements from the Asiatic continent. Their starting point cannot be definitely fixed; hypotheses vary as between India (Ganges or Chota Nagpur), Assam and the Cambodia-Siam region of Indo-China. In favour of the latter view is the fact that people speaking an allied language (Mon-Khmer) and having physical affinities with the Polynesians are still living there. They had probably settled in the Indonesian archipelago by the latter part of the first millennium B.C., whence they proceeded in at least two streams of migration, via, Melanesia and Fiji to Polynesia. Hawaii seems to have been first reached by a direct migration from Indonesia...... The view that Oceania was peopled by migration from America finds little support at the present time".
These astonishingly enterprising peoples, who made a landfall at practically every sizable island in the Pacific, found that, for all their pains, there was no adequate recompense in the shape of facilities for a good life, in the new regions. There was little food except fish; the coral islands had a paucity of useful vegetation; the volcanic ones had richer, but still insufficient, growths, including some wild edible roots and fruits. In consequence, the local food supply had to be heavily augmented. All the useful vegetable culture now found in Polynesia was introduced by the Polynesians themselves. Throughout this extensive area the same food plants were grown, thus indicating the common origin and common habits of the early life of the inhabitants. Most of the edible fauna must have been brought by the intrepid migrants from their original homeland.* The yam and the taro were the two tubers which were widely propagated from the Asiatic mainland. The same was probably the case with the sugar-cane, the coconut, and the banana, which however would not grow on Easter Island because it was too windy, and in New Zealand because it was too cold. The bread-fruit tree, which was borrowed from Indonesia, would not also grow in these two regions, but large gourds of the type familiar in India flourished in plenty all over Polynesia. Strangely enough, among the few animals available as human food must be mentioned the dog (of a breed known only in Asia), whose meat was considered to be a luxury reserved for special occasions. Some Pacific islands had also the hog and the fowl, but New Zealand had neither, till the White man’s arrival in the 19th century.

In the case of the sweet potato (called ‘kumara’ all over Polynesia and also, very significantly, in South and Central America) some detailed comments are called for. The sweet potato has been found to be grown in such distant places as Easter Island, Hawaii, and New Zealand, long before the Whites intruded into the Pacific. In the Peruvian Quechua language it was variously called kumar, kumal and komal†. In Polynesia the name generally current was

* "There can be no scientific doubt of the origins of the Polynesian food plants. The bread fruit, the pandanus, yam and sugar are all of South-East Asian origin. The coconut is likewise but seems to have been carried by ocean current, or by Polynesians, to Central America. The taro probably originated in South-East Asia or India". (R.C. Suggs, op. cit. P. 23.)

† Kamala = Komala = edible lotus
kumara, but in Tahiti it was named umara and in Tonga, kumala, and uwala in Hawaii (cf. Indian alu). This tuber was, along with the taro and the gourd, the staple vegetable diet of the Maoris, who, as already mentioned, could not grow the other specialities of Oceania, like the bread-fruit, the coconut and the banana, because of climatic reasons. Two varieties of the sweet potato were grown in New Zealand—the red and the white. The red root was called kakau (Sanskrit: kaka = mean, low) and it was not in great favour with the populace. The white variety was, on the contrary, known as anurangi (Sanskrit: anuranja = agreeable, pleasant) or mononehu (Sanskrit: mononuga = pleasant) and was highly prized. It is extremely significant that in India also there is a decided preference for the white root, which is approved for ceremonial use, while the red sweet potato is considered 'unasastraic' by the orthodox. The fact that the sweet potato* (Hindi: mithalu or sakkarkand) is an approved vegetable for use in our sraddhas is conclusive evidence that its use in India must have prevailed from very ancient times, at least from the age of the Smritikaras, i.e., *circa* 500 B.C. It is also well known that on occasions like religious fasts, the sakkarkand, either boiled or roasted, has been the approved diet for the orthodox, from time immemorial.

The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is not of the same species as the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*); the former is a root tuber proper, while the latter is a stem tuber, i.e., a stem swollen underground to resemble a tuber. The fact that all over Polynesia and in some portions of Central and South America the sweet potato is known as kumara or kumala with variant spellings (Sanskrit: kumara = easily perishable) has led to a spate of theories, attributing the origin of this vegetable to the New Hemisphere, from where, it is alleged, the Polynesians imported the sweet potato into Oceania, whence it seeped into the whole of South Asia, perhaps about 1500 A.D. (somewhat like the real potato which came to the East with the Portuguese). Toynbee votes for an American origin for this vegetable and says: "The question whether the mariners who brought the sweet potato from America to Polynesia were Americans (i.e., the native Indians) or Polynesians is one that is noto-

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* Tamil Sanskrit = Sarkaravalli
riously in dispute.”* Even a shrewd and understanding writer like Marjorie Appleton has fallen a victim to this strange and inverted theory which was given prominent currency by the authors of *Aku-Aku* and *Kon Tiki*. To quote her: “Tilling the soil with simple instruments, the Polynesians cultivate the yam and the toro which originated in Asia and the kumara, the sweet potato, which comes from Central America and Peru. The kumara was exceptionally important to them and numerous legends were told relating to its coming into their possession. One such legend asserts that the kumara had a miraculous genesis, being the offspring of a god and a woman.”

One may ask, if so many edible plants were taken over to Polynesia from South Asia (perhaps in the early years of the Christian era), what was the occasion for one lonely plant to be imported from far-off Peru? Further, if the sweet potato was imported from South America, why was not the ordinary potato, so much a native to Peru and so richly nutritious as food, similarly acclimatised by the Polynesians before the White man discovered the Pacific? Historically the *Solanum tuberosum* was introduced into Asia *via* Europe, by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and it probably reached Polynesia in the 18th century A.D., where it is now grown in large quantities, in suitable soil and climate. I should like to mention here the theory of F.W. Christian, that the word “kumara” is derived from the Sanskrit ‘kumud’ or the edible lotus. He thinks that kumara was introduced into Polynesia by Javanese navigators (*circa* 1150 A.D.), “who seem to have also introduced the plant in Peru and to have founded the Inca dynasty about this time”.

As mentioned earlier, the sweet potato is a native of Asia and was not at all imported from America. The name kumara has a positively Sanskritic ring about it. It means, in the learned tongue,

*“Heyerdahl takes this (the similarity in native names) as proof that the sweet potato originated in the home of the Peruvian Indians and was carried by them to Polynesia. This is similar to maintaining that coca-cola originated in Arabia because the Arabians now use the word. Obviously, one can read the argument in the opposite direction quite easily. The word kumara and related forms are found in all Polynesian languages indicating it was part of their language before the Polynesians dispersed so widely. It is found in only one language in Peru which indicates that it is probably an introduction. Thorough studies of cell stucture and genetics as well as...... parasites, indicate Africa or South Asia as its probable source.” (R.C. Suggs, *The Island Civilizations of Polynesia*, P. 23.)
“perishing quickly” or non-preservable. Probably this name was
given by the Polynesians to the vegetable because, unlike the yam
or the taro, it would not keep well in its raw state. It is common
knowledge that the people of Oceania had (and have) the practice
of storing the yam in large bins for about eight months following
the harvesting season, so as to have a ready supply of food in the
lean months of the year. The sweet potato, however, could not be
so preserved in the raw; to keep it for long it has to be roasted,
and the soft meat ground into flour (in the manner widely practised
in South India for the tapioca). The modus operandi followed
by the Polynesians was as follows. The roots to be treated were
first scraped neatly and put into the hangi (earthern steam
ovens) and kept there for a night. The cooked tubers would be
taken out in the morning and dried hard; afterwards they would
be stored in baskets and kept in the ‘pataka’ or elevated store-
house, where the dry roots would keep for two years. When needed
for eating, they would be powdered and mixed with water to make
a sweet and highly palatable mealy paste called ‘kao’ (Sanskrit:
khadya = food; Hindi: khao = eat).

Concerning the legendary origin of the kumara, as mentioned
by M. Appleton, I may perhaps refer to the South Indian tradition
associating the plant with Kumara (God Skanda) and calling the
creeper kumara-valli (the kumara-creeper), perhaps as a sort
of pun on the name of Skanda’s spouse, who is known as Valli in
local legends.* The Polynesians treated the kumara as a sacred
plant; even the ground in which it was cultivated was holy, and
none but authorised persons could walk on the ground till the roots
were dug up. On the other hand, the ordinary potato was called
by the Peruvians (who grew them first), as ‘papa’ i.e., sinful.

It will be appropriate to deal with certain other aspects of
ancient Polynesian civilisation (of circa 1000 A.D.) at this stage.
The peoples here produced fire by friction, as did ancient Indians,
and cooking was done in earthen ovens, usually in the open. The
Polynesian had no clear knowledge of metals and of the potter’s
wheel, but, as observed by Hermann Leicht (History of World Art),
“isolated words in the native language are a distant recollection
of the metals of Insulind or of the primæval Indian homeland”.

† Incidentally, another popular edible root of South India, the astringent
‘karuna’ is similarly associated with the jasmine flower, which is accordingly
called, in Sanskrit, “karuna-mallika”.
They grew no grain, and did not know how to weave cotton. Their tools and weapons were made of stone or of hard wood and (sometimes) of animal bone. Instead of pots, the shells of gourds and coconuts were used, as done by primitive people in India at the time. The best garments of these widely separated islanders were made, not of silk, wool or cotton, but of the bark of the tree called ‘Atiu’ (or Aute)* in the local tongues, and the paper mulberry, otherwise known as the “cloth tree”. The fabric was dyed with vegetable extracts, and stamped with patterns, like the batik cloth-printing of Java, which art was introduced from India, as we have seen elsewhere. The upper classes in particular used bark cloth liberally in their personal wear, but the ordinary folk made do with a minimum of clothing, thanks to the warm climate. Normally, men and women went about naked above the waist in the warm weather, except in New Zealand.

Coarser fabrics for sails, covers, etc., were made from the pandanus and similar plants endowed with strong fibres, which were worked in a manner which is known as “false weaving,” i.e., similar to the technique used in India and elsewhere in basket-making and the plaiting of palm leaves. All Polynesians tattooed themselves (excessively so, according to modern ideas), and sometimes they painted their bodies with red ochre. They were strong believers in ancestry and tradition; although technically illiterate, they preserved the history of their families as well as their tribes, with punctilious care. Accurate information was handed down by oral teaching from generation to generation, with scrupulous adherence to details. The powers of speech were greatly admired and the art of eloquence was deliberately cultivated by the chiefs and the priesthood. The speakers were adept in the art of adding emphasis to speech with powerful and telling gestures. Success in sport was another accomplishment which was highly rated. On all important occasions there were ceremonial displays of personal strength, skill and valour, and the competition was always keen and lively. Running, boxing, wrestling and spear-play figured prominently at their communal festivals, during which the competitors would parade before the onlookers, in the manner reminiscent of Sapta Sindhu in post-Vedic times.

* Ata = banyan (Ficus Bengalensis)
Dancing was a passion with these simple people, and the performers went through their enthralling acts with skill and grace; the Maorian male-dance called 'haka' (about which more anon) particularly fascinated the Westerners by its verve and agility. All the islanders had a rich store of mythology, some held in common, but many legends and proverbs had a strong local colour, as was but natural in a nation scattered over a distance of nearly six or seven thousand miles. The tales of their ancestors and heroes, many of them surrounded by a semi-divine halo, were clothed in striking imagery and popular appeal. As the Polynesians pushed further and further eastward towards the land of the dawn, the old legends were given a fresh background and a new setting, suitably to the new environs of the seafarers. Often plaintive and emotional folk-songs embellished these mythical tales, to be intoned en masse on festive occasions, and to be handed down from generation to generation as priceless cultural heirlooms. The myths and songs concerned not only philosophical speculations like the origin of the universe and the destiny of man in it, but also more human themes, like the exploits of historical personages and the travails of these ancient peoples, wandering in fragile boats over the limitless expanses of the Pacific, often at the cost of much suffering and mortality.

Wherever they lived, these unsophisticated islanders shared the same beliefs and observed the same codes of honour and courtesy. They also shared the same artistic urges and the technical know-how. The common inspirations for these came unquestionably from their original (Indian) homeland. In the words of Hermann Leicht:*

"During the European stone age (1st millennium B.C.) favourable conditions in Central and Southern Asia caused light-brown and yellow-skinned people to evolve; as the so-called Old Malays came southward in their great double boats, and catamarans, to the (Indonesian) Archipelago, and from there made their way further east, the cultural encounters thus caused resulted in great artistic productiveness. The shores of all the Melanesian islands were...largely overrun by the (Old) Malayan newcomers and an awakened people...gave themselves up to a delight in artistic creation which found its expression in wood carving of almost unsurpassed quality. One is surprised by the

* History of World Art
number and variety of the objects which are reproduced with the
poorest tools such as stone chisels, coral rasps, shells and bones,
mineral pigment and vegetable dyes.... These people and this
total culture spread from India through the island world in
waves of migration of which all record has perished.... The most
decisive influence was certainly that of Indian sculpture, and the
(Indian Garuda) bird-motif so often found in it, occurs in the whole
of Oceania in a thousand variations.

"Micronesia and especially Polynesia, seem poor in art, at the
first sight, as compared with the Melanesian area.... The contact
with the Europeans has led to the disappearance of many things
and only the relics in the museums—mostly statues, feather
mantles and such personal adornments—testify to the great artistic
achievement of these people. These regions (Micronesia and
Polynesia)....were an ancient Indian colony."

This great Art-critic is clearly of the view that it was the
'Old Malays' (really ancient Indians) who colonised Polynesia.
But, in the course of their migration and as a result of contact
with primitive Austronesian races, the Aryan people had lost
much of their artistic and cultural purity and skill. As a result,
grotesque beliefs in magic took the place of reasoned theistic
faith,* and crude ancestor-worship overlapped the adoration of the
neo-Vedic Gods. Although Totemism as such scarcely existed in
Polynesia, the social hierarchy was sharply defined and preserved
even when the ancient Aryan culture had disappeared. In
Polynesia the chiefs were powerful to the point of being semi-
divine, as in ancient India and in Indonesia. But owing to the
great distances between the islands, the original migrants, once
they had left the Indian shores, received no fresh stimulus from
without. In the earlier years of this race-movement, the Aryans
were too often preoccupied with their astonishingly successful
attempts at colonisation and religious uplift in South-East Asia
and in the Archipelago. They were probably so busy consoli-
dating their cultural and political achievements in this area that
they had not much time to devote to the keeping up of the
threads of their connection with the daring mariners who had
settled themselves in the far-off Pacific islands, many of which,
to tell the truth, were small, inhospitable, and quite short of
pabulum. Later, another serious complication supervened in

* Such debased ideologies are met with in Indonesia also.
the shape of the Mussalman invasion of the Indian subcontinent, which had itself meanwhile fallen a prey to internal strife and cultural degeneration. Upper India was receiving hammer-blows from fierce invaders from the north. In the Peninsula, the great empires of the Cholas and the Pandyas had disintegrated, thus putting an end to those magnificent maritime activities in this region, which had borne witness to signal achievements in South-East Asia and Indonesia.

In Polynesia, marked differences in the art of the several island groups developed. In the decoration of flat surfaces, the Maoris showed special aptitude; in fact, this skill reached its climax in the weird art of tattooing. (This word comes from the Polynesian word ‘tatau’, which means ‘order’ or ‘lineage’. It is probably derived from Sanskrit ‘tantu’, which also means lineage.) The tattooing of the face among the Maoris was almost a ritual and was an index of genealogy. If the Japanese were the indelible markers par excellence of the human torso, the Maoris were the master face-carvers of the world. It may be mentioned that the art of tattooing was called ‘moku’ in Maori (which word is a corruption of Sanskrit mukha = face), thus indicating the portion of the human anatomy selected for this ‘beautification’. But the practice has now practically died out, as we shall see below.

When the Polynesians moved eastward from their Asiatic homeland, is a problem not easy of solution. There is strong evidence to show that they had reached their main bases in East Polynesia by at least the fifth century A.D. Competent observers, however, are inclined to antedate their arrival by two or three centuries, thus making their first appearance in Oceania coincide perhaps with the Indian Saka era of 78 A.D. From their bases in East Pacific, the intrepid seamen made voyages of literally thousands of miles over the wind-swept and interminable ocean expanse. Moving from one island sanctuary to another, ever toward the land of the dawn, they eventually populated practically every habitable island in this vast ocean, however small it be, provided it would support human life at a minimum level. They grew to know and to love this tempestuous stretch of water, misnamed the Pacific. The mariners learnt of its winds and currents, currents so strong and so fiercely set in their courses that they have been called “rivers of the ocean” by geographers. But they did not depend on the winds and the currents alone,
which were often contrary, but relied on their faithful ocean-going
craft and on their own intrepid seamanship. Hornell has testified
to the great skill which had been attained in the technique of
ship-building, both in Polynesia (and significantly, in South
America) before the advent of the European. In his words, "In
Polynesia double canoes of large carrying capacity were possessed
by the people of every island-group and the Polynesians made
systematic long-distance voyages of exploration, ultimately reach-
ing the American coast itself." In A.D. 1526, Pizarro's Captain
Bartolomeo Ruiz, seized, on the voyage between the Isthmus of
Panama and Peru, a thirty-ton balsa raft with bipod masts (like
the Burman and Indonesian boats) with cotton sails and rigging
made of herrequen (agave) fibre and of the type familiar in South-
East Asian waters. The great historian, Toynbee, feels puzzled
by the unquestionable evidence of Polynesian culture in South
American waters. To quote him:

"Mason holds that the elements of culture shared by the
American Societies with Polynesia and Melanesia and South-East
Asia are too many and the correspondence too close to be
dismissed as being accidental coincidences. At the same time
he points out that 'the Polynesians did not reach Easter Island
before the 14th century A.D.'* and that there is no evidence that
they had any predecessors who were their equals in navigational
skill. He also notes that there is no infusion of Polynesian blood
in the pre-Columbian population of the Americas...... But
account should also be taken of A. Sharp's thesis that there were
no deliberate voyages even between eastern and western Polynesia
and that 'all these separate worlds were settled by one-way
voyages of isolated canoes and no accounts of deliberate two-way
contact have been found'. I shall let these remarks of Toynbee
rest here, for a more detailed treatment in the next chapter.

As we have seen above, the Islanders had large ocean-going
vessels, with sails made of fibre mat or of palm leaf, which could
beat to windward as well as a modern schooner. When the winds
failed, teams of rowers using short paddles took over, facing the

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* R.C. Suggs points out that recent C/14 tests have indicated a date of
circa-400 A.D. for some human remains in Easter Island "The authorities who
have devoted most effort to the study of Easter Island pre-history incline to the
view that Easter Island occupation was definitely Polynesian with its roots in the
Marquesas Island culture of approximately 4th century A.D." (P. 177, ibid).
direction of rowing (unlike the Europeans). As their blades cut the water, the rowers sang in unison their age-old songs, in rhythm with the falling oars. They guided themselves by the sun, the moon and the stars, and their courses were set by expert ‘stargazers’, who rarely made mistakes. In the long canoes dug out of tree-trunks, or in sailing vessels built of sewn planks, and with the sky as their guide, the Polynesians explored the world’s largest ocean, braving the elements and the ever-present threat of death by starvation or thirst. For steering they used a large-bladed oar; and for baling they employed wooden scoops or the coconut shell; for anchorage they utilised big stones secured with strong fibre ropes. On short voyages their provisions usually consisted of bananas and coconuts, the latter providing both food and water. On long or unknown voyages, they laid in preserved esculents like taro, dried fish, kao (dried kumara), bread-fruit, and the product of the Kalpaka Vriksha, the coconut. Water was also carried in the shells of big gourds, and in hollow bamboo cylinders. It is said that, prior to long-range ventures, the men who foresaw the possibility of thousands of miles of rowing ahead, underwent “drills” which included training in abstinence from food and water for prolonged periods. Luckily for these daring adventurers, when supplies ran short, food and drink were usually available on the high seas, in the shape of sea-fish and rain water. Despite all these precautions, their folk-lore is full of stories of grievous hardship and loss of life on the long voyages into the unknown.

As in the course of centuries these sturdy sons of the sea progressed eastward from island to island, they made each fresh territory their new homelands; gradually the latter would become a base for a still further drang nach osten, and a new generation of explorers would go out from it in search of fresh lands and fresh adventures. In the words of Marjorie Appleton, “From such a base established by their forefathers, a later generation would go out and bring back word of fresh discoveries and presently a party of emigrants would say good-bye to their native land and set off to colonise the new territory; and sometimes new waves of emigrants from the same source would go out to join the previous settlers in the colony. By passing on their oral traditions to their children and grandchildren the people of the new colony would keep alive the memory of the homeland from which their ancestors had come.
But presently this new colony itself would become a centre from which explorers fanned out when news of fresh lands to the east was brought back". There was thus a continuous stir and movement, a restless quest for new habitations, largely because of food shortage and because "the beehive was getting overstocked". But the old traditions, myths and stories never died. The new colonies always harked back to their parents, and the parents' parents, with a nostalgia which reminds one of the homesickness of the Greek colonists of the Mediterraneann. In Polynesia, of course, the distances were enormously larger than in the land-locked European sea; there was also no tradition of an oceanic colony making war on its own mother, as occasionally happened with the Greeks.* The suggestion, quoted by Toynbee, that the movement of peoples and ideas was always one-way and that there was no interchange of contacts between a mother country and its colony, does not seem to rest on sure foundations, as we shall see in due course.

Although the basic features of the Polynesian language are similar, yet there are dialectal differences in the tongues spoken over areas widely separated by distance and time. In fact, a study of these dialectal variations often provides a clue to the course of the movement of the peoples and the pattern of their migration. The changes in speech chiefly relate to the mutations of the consonants (as had happened in the Aryan homeland to the west of Sapta Sindhu). Curiously enough, the most important shift is between the $s$ and $h$ sounds, just as was the case in the Near East. It is likely that, as in the Avesta, Greek, etc., the change was from $s$ to $h$, since most philologists agree in treating the $s$ words as older than the $h$ words. This is also proved by the fact that in Samoa (which is the Polynesian island group nearest to South-East Asia) the $s$ dialect prevails, without any $h$ sound. (It is just the reverse as we travel eastward.) There is a particularly close resemblance in speech between the Maoris of New Zealand, the Hawaiians, the Tahitians and the Cook Islanders, all of whom (as also those further east) are $h$-speakers. This verisimilitude of language is indicative of the comparatively recent separation of the peoples in these island-groups. As we shall see presently, it is from the Society Islands (particularly Tahiti) that emigrants radiated in a wide arc, some of them going as far north as the Sandwich Isles (i.e., Hawaii) and

* and with the European colonies in the Americas.
some deep down south to New Zealand.* Oral tradition, kept alive by rigorous memory-training, shows that the Tahitians, the Hawaiians and the Maoris, had many ancestors in common. For instance, a remote progenitor of a date *circa* 1000 A.D., called Whiro, Hiro and Iro (Sanskrit: *vīra* = brave one) is shared by all these islanders. Affinities in social customs, arts and crafts also point to a common home for these people in the remote past. Captain Cook, who had no suspicion of the racial implications of his discovery, was struck by the similarities in habits of life, arts and crafts, weapons, etc., between the islanders. He says: "The Sandwich Islanders, who use gourds for pottery, stain their shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles and other figures of a black colour, instance of which we saw also practised in New Zealand." He observed other similarities, e.g., in the treatment of the cloth of the bark-tree and in the use of sharks' teeth as a saw.

Concerning the genesis of the race who thus filled the Oceanic islands with a vigorous and attractive population, opinion is not unanimous as I have already indicated, but almost all are agreed that the race came from the west, and from the Asiatic mainland. The Polynesian has no resemblance to the Austronesian races, either those classed as aborigines (decidedly negroid in appearance) or those called by anthropologists Proto-Malays or Deutro-Malays. The features of the Pacific islanders are clearly Caucasian, especially in the upper strata, where there has been no deleterious blood admixture. There is height and symmetry and agility of frame, somewhat belied by the heavy figure. Ample forehead, moderate jaws, a rounded chin with a small firm mouth and thin lips; a well-raised, straight and narrow nose, with elliptic nares; wide-open and prominent eyes beneath substantial eyebrows; complexion clear and bright, ranging from 'light dusky' to a 'pale yellow'; all these complete the picture of these people who conform to the ordinary Aryan type, which has been somewhat coarsened by slight ethnic dilution and the rough and hard life imposed on the people deprived, for centuries, of the advantage of cultural contacts, either with their homelands or with superior civilisations in their new habitat. It may be broadly stated, without any intention to cast undue reflection, that the average Polynesian looks like an Aryan slightly run to seed because of hostile geography in his new

* Marjorie Appleton even thinks that it was the same Society Islanders who did all the journeying eastward, even as far as the Easter Island.
environs, and because of adverse history in his own ancestral culture-ground in India.

There is an extreme school, taking its stand on slender evidence, which holds that the Polynesians came from Central America; still another holds that these are the 'Lost Tribes of Israel', while a third strongly feels that these people must have come from the Land of the Pharaohs. These theories must necessarily be dismissed as fanciful and supported by exiguous data. While there is general agreement among historians that the original home of the Polynesian race must have been on the Asiatic mainland and that the people must have migrated eastward some time before the Christian era and reached Oceania during the early centuries of the Christian era, after halting for a time in Indonesia and in the Solomon Islands, there is no consensus of opinion about the original home in Asia werefrom the initial impetus began. There are writers who seriously maintain that the Oceanic islanders are of a mixed Aryan-Mongolian strain emanating from South-East Asia. But the absence of Mongolian characteristics in the physical features of the people, and their total dissimilarity in language-structure and philology, militate against this suggestion. James Cowan sponsors a rather fine-spun theory which commands respect, if not full agreement:

"It seems to me reasonable to suppose that from the start the eastward movement of the migrants, whenever it began, was for the most part by sea; from the shores of Arabia and the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf across the Indian Ocean to India, thence by the island stages upon which most writers are agreed. The ocean, with which the Arabs and their kin were familiar, offered an unobstructed highway to the East, whereas by land there were the enormous difficulties and dangers of rugged mountain country, deserts, hunger and thirst, and hostile tribes. The coastal people of South-Western Asia were from ancient times navigators with a knowledge of the stars; they were among the earliest sailors. They coasted down the eastern shores of the African Continent at any rate as far as the Zambesi and they also visited and partly colonized Madagascar; this would account for the resemblance between the Maori-Polynesian language and Malagasy."

* I have already drawn attention to the cultural and ethnic affinity between Madagascar and the west coast of India.
“The south-west monsoon would take them across the Arabian Sea to India and again across the Bay of Bengal to Indonesia. In Sumatra they probably remained for some centuries; several eminent Polynesian scholars look upon Sumatra as one of the great Tawhitis or Hawaikis of the race. Java and Borneo were later Hawaikis. Then the north-west monsoon, ranging ten degrees each side of the Equator, would carry them on to Ceram, Gilolo and other islands of the Molucca Archipelago, thence to the great island of New Guinea, and so fairly on into the Western Pacific...........

“That the fair-haired lighter-complexioned strain in the Maori came from Asiatic shores there is little doubt. As far back as 1772, Crozet, the French navigator who came to the Bay of Islands with Marion du Fresne’s expedition, noted this and other Caucasian characteristics of the race. Describing the Ngapuhi people, whose stockaded villages dotted the coast-line, he says, ‘Their colour is, generally speaking, like the people of Southern Europe.’ Some of the men were as white as the French sailors, and there was a young girl of fifteen or sixteen ‘as white as our French women’.”

Cowan would in effect make the Polynesian an offshoot of the restless and enterprising Phoenicians (or Panis) living in the Near East, about whose Indian origin I have argued elsewhere (Vol. I). Here again there is little direct evidence connecting the Maoris with South Arabia which was known to the Aryans as Sabah at the time. The Maoris themselves are clear that their people came ultimately from Aryavarata. The great Maori statesman, Sir Peter Buck (whose native name is Re Tengi), in his book The Vikings of the Sunrise, holds this view, although he admits that it is not possible at this distance of time to pinpoint the original home in the Indian subcontinent or to trace the progress of the race from India to Oceania. J.B. Condiffe (Short History of New Zealand) expresses himself thus:

*To quote Sir Peter: “We may sum up the present position by saying that in remote ages the ancestors of the Polynesian people probably did live in some part of India and worked east...... They must have sojourned in Indonesia to reach the Pacific; the Polynesian language has affinities with Indonesian dialects. During their stay in Indonesia, the sea-salt entered into their blood and changed them from landsmen to seamen”. (I may add that the sea salt was already in the Aryan blood; the Aryans were the greatest sea-farers of ancient history and even of pre-history—vide Vol. I, Aryatarangini.)
"We may sum up the position thus: viz., that in remote ages the ancestors of the Polynesians probably did live in some part of India and worked east, but the myths and legends transmitted orally do not go back thus far. They must have sojourned in Indonesia in order to reach the Pacific. Racially the Polynesians are akin to Europeans, being of the Caucasian group but mixed to some small extent with Negretoid and Mongoloid blood."

Mr. Percy Smith (the eminent author of Hawaiiki) gives this version of the origin of the Maoris: "The ancestors of the Maori were living in a land known to them as Atia Te Varinga Nui (Athi Devaranga Nāya?) which he himself considers to have been in India. At that time they were reigned over by a great king called Tu Te Rangi-marama, who lived about 450 B.C. About the beginning of the Christian era the tribes began to emigrate to the islands of the East Indies. For a time they settled in Java, from where they moved further eastward, ultimately spreading over Melanesia and Polynesia." Tregear, the great anthropologist who has compiled a Polynesian Dictionary, is positively of the opinion that the Polynesian was of Aryan descent and came originally from India. The weight of enlightened opinion therefore seems to be in favour of treating the Oceanic islanders as of Aryan extraction and as hailing most probably from India, the movement taking place about 2,000 years ago.

It seems that the issues still in doubt over this question of the origins of the Polynesian race can well be considered in relation to one important group of this race whose recent history is fairly well known and whose language and traditions are sufficiently crystallised to enable useful conclusions to be drawn therefrom. I refer, of course, to the Maoris, who incidentally form the largest single group of this race, the inhabitants of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands coming next. It is not as if there were no evidences of Aryan penetration in Hawaii. The Hawaiians belong to the same ethnic group as the rest of the Polynesians and speak a dialect of the same tongue. Moreover, substantial evidences of Indian culture have come to light, of late, in this region. According to Dr. Chabra, lately of the Indian Archaeological Department, a civilization akin to that of the Indus-Valley existed long ago in the Sandwich Isles, where petrographs, (carvings of human and animal motifs on rock) have been found in very large numbers. Among these carvings have been found the
sun, the lotus, and the wheel symbols, and some pottery which is highly suggestive of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The learned Doctor holds the (tentative) view that the language of Hawaii is a family relation of the (Magadhi) Prakrit of India, (without the /r/ sound, however). The ancient religious practices of Hawaii also bear close resemblance to popular Hindu rituals.

However this may be, the material available in the case of the Maoris is more extensive and significant than that of the Sandwich Islanders. Thanks to the good sense of the New Zealanders, much sympathetic research has been undertaken and a number of books got out about the Maori and his culture. A strong local tradition fixes the date of his arrival in New Zealand about 1350 A.D.* As the story goes, there was much trouble in ‘Hawaiiki’ (the previous homeland) due to civil wars, and a noted chieftain called NGa-Hue fled Hawaiiki to escape suffering. After many moons he returned to Hawaiiki with wondrous tales of a new and empty land which he had discovered at a distance of hundreds of miles, with large mountains and forests, big rivers and safe harbours full of fish and attractive birds and, best of all, large deposits of mephrite or green jade (which had an irresistible fascination for the Polynesians) of which he brought samples. Soon a large contingent of emigrants (about a thousand) left for the Promised Land in eight historic ships, each a hundred feet long and carrying over a hundred people. One of the boats was named Matatua (Sanskrit: Maha Tantwa=great lineage) and it carried the chiefs and the highborn women. Steering by the stars and with the help of the sea-god Tangaroa (Sanskrit: Tarangarodha=Restrainer of the Wave), the voyagers reached the North Island of New Zealand, which they called Ao Tea Roa. It was midsummer there (December), when the ferns were in full bloom and the trees were brilliant with foliage and flowers. Soon other contingents arrived from different tribes and they spread themselves all over the North as well as the South Island, except for the central and lower regions of the latter, which were too cold for the liking of the Maoris.

* R.C. Suggs believes that New Zealand was first colonised in approximately 1000 A.D. from Tahiti. These first-comers were moa-hunters. As these birds grew scarce, the tribes moved inland and by 1350 Maori culture had taken firm roots all over New Zealand. (The Island Civilizations of Polynesia—P. 204.)
Where was this Hawaiiki from which the Maoris came to New Zealand?

It is generally considered that Rarotonga in the Cook Islands was this Hawaiiki. But this identification hinges upon another tale firmly lodged in the nation's memory. It would seem that one Te Kupe of the Society Islands went over to Cook Islands in 925 A.D. in command of a boat named Mata Hau ("Mother wind", Prakrit: hava=wind), accompanied by another chief, Ngake (Nagaka?). From Rarotonga the chiefs journeyed south-west for about 1,700 miles to touch New Zealand, which they circum-navigated and returned to the Cook Islands to spread the enticing tale of this wonderful uninhabited land. Meanwhile another navigator of Tahiti, Raka Taura, had also discovered New Zealand about the same time and confirmed the information given by Te Kupe. For 200 years, however, nothing was done to follow up this discovery. In 1150 A.D. an expedition was fitted out from the Cook Islands, but when it reached the North Island (of New Zealand), it found a large population of Polynesian stock already established in the Bay of Plenty. The newcomers made a landing, despite some resistance, and set up a colony of very considerable size in the area. The earlier arrivals were either pushed out (to Chatham Islands) or absorbed in the new community. Subsequently there were numerous voyages radiating from the Society Islands to other remote corners of the Pacific. Hawaii (Sandwich Islands) was occupied about this time (1225 A.D.) and fresh landings were made in New Zealand (1250 A.D.). Constant contacts were kept up between the home country (Tahiti and Rarotonga) and New Zealand, thus belying the theory of certain writers that all migrations in Polynesia were a sort of one-way traffic. The Society Islands received regularly the representatives of the new colonies, who were entertained in public assemblages collected in "marae" or elevated sacred grounds on Tahiti, where the returned adventurers would regale the audience with tales of their great oceanic saga.

Before proceeding further, a few remarks about the "marae" will be apposite. The word 'marae' is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit Meru or Mahameru. In a previous chapter the opinion of Dr. Goris has been cited to the effect that "in Polynesian sacred places, there were often, on one side, a stepped pyramid consisting of one or more terraces built of unhewn stone
and gradually growing smaller as it rose higher. In Polynesia these ‘marae’ are well known .... The lower structure of the Hindu temples in Java and of the Boro Budur also seem to be related to these”. As I have had occasion to emphasise elsewhere, the Meru motif had a great fascination for the Hindu mind, as it symbolised, not only godhead but also the centre of the material world, especially of the Aryan nation. Wherever colonies were established by the Aryans, a Meru symbol had to be located. Thus we had a Mount Meru in Malay, one in Sumatra, another in Java, and still a further one in Bali, all usually associated with high peaks in the area. Apart from this, the stepped-pyramid design was resorted to even in temple buildings to signify this concept of Mount Meru. As mentioned by Dr. Goris, as far as Polynesia is concerned, the primitive equipment of the immigrants precluded the building of temple pyramids on a grandiose scale, but small, raised and ‘stepped’ platforms were put up at sacred meeting-places, which did duty for temple halls and were venerated by the people as Meru (spelt ‘marae’). We have also seen that in Burma and in Thailand the bell-shaped pyramid-like pagodas were supposed to represent the idea of Mount Meru. The practice noticed by Dr. Goris in Polynesia, and the name used by the tribes, seem to be strong evidence of the Indian origin of the Polynesian people. It may be added that the ‘marae’ at Raiatea Island near Tahiti, seems to have been a particularly important one, as it constituted the national Meru shrine for these “original families”, a claim which was reinforced by accurate genealogical evidence based on the oral traditions of their descendants.

To return to New Zealand: some tribes here claim on good authority that they came earlier, with the migrants of 1125 A.D. and of subsequent years, but long prior to the Great Fleet. Such pretensions are put forward particularly by the tribes connected Nga group, as for example, the Nga-Puhi, and the Nga-Whatua. Some other tribes have even longer family tables.

* It is a curious but unmistakable fact that there is great affinity between the Nagas of north-east India and the NGa’s of Polynesia. The main food in both areas consists of taro and yam. Dogs are reared for edible reasons in the Naga hills and in distant Oceania. In weaving and wood work there is great similarity, “Material culture (of the Nagas) shows many links with Indonesia and Melanesia... ...the tribes make huge wooden xylophones, often suggestive of dug-out canoes, which are beaten to raise alarm or celebrate an important event”. *(Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVI, P. 59.)*
going back much further than 1000 A.D., but some doubt is cast on the accuracy of the calculations supporting them, as arithmetical errors seem probable in their case.

In Polynesian, "Hawaiiki" is sacred land, the original consecrated territory from which the race left on its maritime travels, which name they gave to many of the Pacific islands in turn. For instance, Tahiti was known as Hawaiiki and so was Easter Island and the principal island of the Sandwich group. The same name appears in the Marquesas and in the Chatham Islands also. In the Tonga islands a place named Savaiiki is found.* I have already suggested, for reasons which I hope are generally acceptable, that this sacred ground must have been originally in India. It is likely that a great sacrifice had been performed there by the voyagers before they left the Indian waters for the unknown and far-off destinations. In Sanskrit, Hava(na) and Sava(na) both mean sacrifices, and Iki or Ili or Ihi means a house; and this might perhaps account for the name universally given to the point of embarkation in the dim past, where a great sacrifice was always performed by the priests before the boats set off on their perilous journeys.

Various tribes were involved in this large-scale exodus from the Asiatic shores. Some were called Arawas, a name perhaps suggestive of the people of Cholamandalam who were known as Aravudu; [curiously, there is a Cholamandalam (Coromandel Coast) in New Zealand]. Some called themselves Maoris, and others MaMari. The NGa peoples were also quite prominent. Let us now picture to ourselves a hypothetical, but none the less historically veracious, exodus from the Indian terrain. The date was the 22nd regnal year of Emperor Asoka Vardhana (circa 250 B.C.) and it was the month of Chaitra, which ushered in the Hindu New Year. The locale was Kalinga (Ud gala or Odradesa), where a sanguinary war had recently been fought between the Mauryan Emperor and the refractory Prince of Kalinga, in which the latter had been worsted with heavy loss of life on both sides.†

*‘S’ and ‘H’ are interchangeable. One island, in the Samoan group is called Sawayu. Suggs thinks that the Tonga and Samoa islands jointly constituted the Hawaiiki of the Polynesian legends (Island Civilizations of Polynesia, p. 87). Pottery of a crude sort was found in Tonga, when the Whites arrived.

† Over 3,00,000 people were reported killed in this war and the subsequent famine.
carnage and destruction had so affected the kindly Emperor that he took a vow renouncing for ever resort to the 'ultima ratio regum'. The Imperial army was gradually denuded of its strength and numerous disband ed soldiery were either sent home or encouraged to go overseas, if they so wished, to found settlements abroad. A large body of such men along with their women and children had gathered together at Gopalpura, (which was a flourishing port in those days) intent on seeking a fresh home in the sea-girt lands across the Eastern Sea (the Bay of Bengal), about which glowing reports had been brought back by traders and by the Buddhist missionaries who were frequently going over to the kingdoms of Hamsavati, Ramavati and Malayam on the other side of the broad waters.

The emigrants belonged to many parts of India; some had come from Vanga and Magadha and were simple villagers drawn to soldiering for pecuniary reasons; some belonged to Udgala and hence called themselves Kalingas. Other groups, who had come from far-off Takshasila, Malava and even Kashmira and Gandhara, belonged to “Fighting Corporations” (Ayudhajivins) and these collectively called themselves Mayuras, after the famous family name of the saintly monarch, who had been for long the Viceroy at Takshasila. In dress, deportment, arms and speech, the emigrants differed widely, but all understood the Pali language,* which was the lingua Indica of the time and was largely used in the decrees and royal proclamations throughout the Imperial domains, stretching from Mahisura (Mysore) in the south, to Gandhara, Rohita, and Kapisa, beyond the great Himalayan passes in the north-west.

† It is easy to visualise the scene at the sea-port-of Gopalpura, with its quiet harbour lined by coco-palms and its neat, if not very impressive, jetties bristling with activity. An air of sombre expectancy broods over the place where an Adhyaksha of the Emperor has stationed himself to supervise the great mass-exodus of the motley crowd drawn from the distant corners of the Empire. By the special order of the Council at Pataliputra all customs duties and formalities have been waived. A number of two-masted and three-tiered ships with folded sails and eased

* Inscriptions in Brahmi script and in Dramili language have been found all over the Tamil country.
† To enliven the narrative, the present tense has been used.
outrigger ships are riding at anchor in the roadstead. The ships are partly constructed at Tamaralipti in Vanga and partly at Korkai and Puhar in Choladesa and Pandyanad. The vessels are big enough to carry two or three hundred people each, along with the necessary provisions for a long voyage. Experienced captains, some of them speaking the chaste Tamil of the Sangam territories, command the ships; captains who sail by the sun during the day and by the stars at night and who have been well primed with astronomical lore by the nautical Punditas. As has been reported, the sailor-chiefs use a magic calabash, a sort of combined sextant and compass, to ascertain the latitude and fix the orientation. These seasoned mariners can distinguish all the important stars and locate their position in the heavens at particular months of the year. The Adhyaksha has taken care to see

* Later the Andhra kings were to issue coins (circa 150 A.D.) exhibiting such ships; these would also appear in bas-relief in the panels of the Boro Budor temple showing their arrival in Java and the uprorious welcome given to them by the simple villagers of Yavadwipa. Concerning the size and quality of Indian ships, the following remarks of Marco Polo (circa 1295) will be of interest: "They are mostly built of the wood which is called fir and pine (really teak). They have one floor, which with us is called a deck, one for each, and on this deck there are commonly in all quite sixty little rooms or cabins and in some more wherein each, a merchant can stay comfortably. They have one good-sweep or helm, which in the vulgar tongue is called a rudder, and four masts. They often add two masts more with sails. Some ships have as many as 13 (water-tight) holds, made of strong planks nailed together..... They do not use pitch but they take lime and hemp chopped small and they pound it all together mixed with an oil from a tree. And after they have pounded them well, these three things, it becomes sticky and holds like birdlime. And with this thing they smear their ships and this is worth quite as much as pitch. Moreover, the ships want some 300 sailors, some 200 sailors, some 150, some more, some fewer, according as the ships are larger and smaller. (For comparison, Vasco da Gama's three ships were all below 120 tons and the total personnel carried was less than 200 !) They also carry a much greater burden than ours. And formerly in time past the ships were larger than they are now at present; because the violence of the sea has so broken away the (Malaysian) islands that in many places water was not found enough for those ships so great, and so they are now made smaller. And of small ships, which we call boats, they take quite often ten to wait upon the big vessel in many ways".

It may be added that while ships built of oak last 10 or 15 years, ships built of teak easily last 50 years. It is common knowledge that the East India Company built its best ships in Bombay, "where labour was cheaper and building far more substantial than in England". Some of the ships built in Bombay more than 150 years ago by Indian craftsmen, are still afloat, as training ships, in England!
that all the captains have voyaged before to Suvarnadwipa, Yava and Samudra and are familiar with the Eastern Sea and the Indonesian waters, which are only too subject to the perils of the sea, not excluding piracy. Each member of the crew has been specially selected for skill, endurance and character, and all have been trained in the use of arms. The ships would do about 10 miles an hour in a good breeze and could with some luck, make the voyage to Samudra in about 20 to 25 days, after touching at the Nagnapara Isles (Nicobars) for water and provisions, including honey for which these isles are justly famous, even as they are dreaded for the ferocious and unpredictable behaviour of the rude inhabitants.

Finally, word comes round that the embarkation is on. The ships are frantically taking on water, vegetables and fruits, most of all green coconuts full of delectable food and drink. Amid the blowing of trumpets, the Emperor’s representative arrives at the quay on horseback, surrounded by a squadron of brilliantly accoutred cavalry. The jetties are crowded with people bidding farewell to departing relations and friends (most of whom may never see Aryavarta again). There are huggings and pranams; prostrations and touching of feet among the men, and tears and cries among the womenfolk. Garlands are thrown round the necks, and flowers over the heads, of the departing; sacred ash and kumkum are put on willing foreheads. The Adhyaksha makes a farewell sign with his hand; warning conches are thereupon blown from the ships, whose captains do not want to miss the tide and the favourable land-breeze which has sprung up. The emigrants march up the ships, climbing ramps and ladders, the women and children going first and the men following with their impedimenta. Before each ship casts off, coconuts are smashed, after a brief prayer, on the jetty to ward off evil influences.* Each vessel carries a purohit, who strews flowers on the harbour waters and chants a sonorous mantra praising the gods Varuna and Vayu and soliciting their good graces for the voyage. The priests have already performed a Yatrapuja and blessed every part of the ship with flowers and sacred ash. The previous day they had joined in a grand Maha-Yagna (at the local “Havana Vithi” or Hall of Sacrifice) intended to propitiate Indra, the deity specially watching over voyagers crossing the wide

* In modern times wine bottles are smashed on the hulls, in European lands, in India coconuts are still used.
kalapani. At this juncture the ships’ crew and some of the passengers join in a chorus recital of a farewell song, full of devotion and hope, allegedly composed by Sage Agastya himself centuries ago. Each purohit meanwhile deposits, in a specially consecrated place on his boat, the vigrahahas of the chosen deities which he is carrying to the new territories for being installed in the local shrines. A garland is also put on the carved image of Garuda on the ship’s prow, which is the symbolic “head and eye” of the ship to enable it to see its way through darkness and storms. The purohit finally takes his special seat at the stern, which is decked with mango leaves, strings of flowers, and small plaintain shoots.

The last loads of water and food are finally on board, as well as the stragglers among the passengers, who are frantically bidding good-bye to those near and dear to them. The Adhyaksha finally waves his hand as the signal for departure and his entourage blow a smart trumpet farewell. The lofty sails are unrolled and hoisted and the mooring ropes cast off. The gentle breeze soon fills the sails made of ‘pai’ (interlaced fibre) and the ships begin slowly to move into the sea, amidst a last burst of farewell shouts and tearful cries. There is a long wail of voices, from the shore and from the ships, and on every anxious lip is the sacred name of Har Har Mahadev. It seems that in the gentle breeze, the swishing coco-palms lining the harbour also bend their tops a little in token of “god-speed” to the courageous mariners who are seeking a new home in a far-off and unknown land, at a distance of literally thousands of miles from Aryavarta.

There are ten ships in all, all of them flying the Emperor’s flag (showing the sacred peacock with its beautiful plumes raised) and carrying between them almost three thousand souls. The gentle wind wafts them along towards the eastern sun which is now about the height of a palmyra tree over the horizon. Soon the land recedes and even the coco-palms are out of sight. The light ocean swell heaves the big boats onward and the sails take a tenser curve; they are trimmed well to south-south-east, to make for Nagnapara, a distance of almost 120 yojanas from Gopalpura.

The travellers mostly stand their journey well, although to many the undulating ship is quite a novel abode. The fine March weather holds for a few days and all is well with the flotilla, except for some cases of sea-sickness, which are promptly attended to by the bhishaks whom the ships are carrying. Before their bows
dart schools of flying fish and occasionally playful porpoises jump suddenly upward and do a somersault to amuse the passengers, who once even see a mighty sea-monster (a tropical whale) rise majestically to the surface and send up a spout of air and water forty or fifty feet into the air. Night after night the stars come out to cheer them and the moon shines in all its equatorial splendour. But after a week out, luck begins to change. When they have passed Anda Dwipa and are nearing Nagnapara, it starts blowing heavily, although the regular rainy weather in this area is a month and more off. The ships soon begin tossing about like cockle shells over the turbulent waters and many passengers get very sick. Down come, with a shriek, tropical rain squalls which all but blot out the sun. Some say that Indra is riding the heavens weilding his vajrāyudha which flashes and thunders in terrifying fury for many an hour. Prayers to Arjuna (the son of Indra) are intoned by the priests to intercede with his angry father. The captains bravely hold the ships to their course, shortening sails and tacking in an expert manner which is the admiration of their charges. One ship, however, gets adrift from the flotilla and is not seen again for many days. But to their intense delight the other migrants (who had many friends in the missing vessel) are to hear later that it has made its way safely to Kota Raja, at the tip of Samudra Island. Ultimately this truant vessel reaches the agreed rendezvous point, viz., the Vanga Island (north of Samudra) after considerable delay.

Soon the prayers are answered and the rains stop; the sky is filled with the wondrous glow of Indra's bow (the rainbow) arching over the path of the sun to the delight of the relieved voyagers, who soon have the pleasure of seeing the palm-girt isles of Nagnapara in the distance. Here an adventure befalls them, which needs retailing.

One of the ships built at Korkai and bearing the name of Kavataraja, after the ancient capital of the Pandyas* is manned by a Tamil-speaking captain called Athi Muktu. Among his two hundred passengers is a Mayura family hailing from distant Kashmiradesa where the Emperor had recently founded the city of SriNagara, on the banks of the Jhelum. The family consists of a

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* about which Valmiki had said 'Kavatam Pandyanam Yuktham, Mukthamani Bushitham'. In Marco Polo's time the most famous port on Maabar (Coromandel) was Kayal in Tinnevelly Dr.
beautiful young girl (called Hemalata) and her parents, who are travelling east to better their fortunes, by founding a trading post in spices, in Yavadvipa. The girl, perhaps eighteen or nineteen years of age, is wondrously fair, tall and slim, with heavy black tresses falling on well-filled and rounded shoulders. With a brilliant complexion matching the eternal snows of the Kashmir peaks, with a touch of the peach on her dimpled cheeks and of the red rose on her smiling lips arched like Kama's bow, her gazelle eyes and tripping walk, she is the cynosure of a hundred admiring looks. With her close-fitting silk dress trimmed with lace, and a light woollen chadder thrown over her head, she forms a bewitching picture of pulchritude and grace. Travelling on the same boat is a well-set-up and attractive young man, on the right side of thirty. His tall brow, flashing eyes, finely chiselled features, sun-kissed blondness, noticeable breadth of shoulders and narrow waist, bespeak high breeding and strength. The youth calls himself Snehadasa and professes to be a mere servitor in the employ of a Trading Corporation of Korkai, which has affiliations in Samudra, whither he is proceeding on business. His bearing and speech, however, seem to belie his humble pretensions, and his fellow-passengers treat him with deference, especially after the captain is seen to greet him with a respectful anjali. Only the captain (who is sworn to secrecy) knows that the handsome youth is really Sethu Varman, a junior member of the Pandyan princely house and an officer in the Southern monarch's secret employment, who is travelling incognito to Samudra, to find out how efficient the local political and military administration is, and whether it would be feasible for the Pandyan king to extend his influence over this fabulously rich isle (as he had done in Ceylon) and thus steal a march over the much-dreaded Chola ruler, who is also casting covetous eyes on Suvarnabhumii.

Soon the nine ships of the flotilla are riding at anchor near a small sheltered bay at Nagnapara. The captains have warned the passengers not to go ashore without proper precautions, in view of the terrible reputation of the savage local population, who are quickly prone to violence. But some enterprising people, using the ship's small boats, do land on the shore, attracted doubtless by the lovely and wild flora of these lands and the nuts, fruits and gourds of honey, displayed for barter on
the beach by the natives. Among those who thus get on to terra firma are the family from the banks of the Jhelum, who in all innocence, are admiring the scenery and inspecting the market exhibits on the shore. The young Pandyan officer is also nearby, apparently lost in contemplation of the local landscape (where all nature is lovely and only man is vile), but he was keeping half an eye on the Kashmiri group among whom is one who has made his heart unconsciously and inexplicably flutter in a manner he had never experienced before. This party soon turns back to the small boat to be rowed to the ship. The young girl who is a little behind is just a hundred feet from the boat when two savages, clad in nothing but fierce hair and scraggy beard, and lured perhaps by the bright golden jewellery on her arms and neck (and by what other barbarous animal urges, one knows not) spring suddenly from behind a thicket and lay violent hands on the tender maiden and start dragging her into the bushes. Hemalata lets out an agonising cry for succour; while the aged parents are looking on in helpless horror from the boat, the Pandyan noble darts like lightning after the abductors. A blow from his mighty fist falls one of them unconscious on the ground. The other meanwhile lets go the girl but takes out his blow-pipe to shoot a deadly poisoned arrow at the rescuer, who with great agility of mind, immediately rolls his elaborate headgear into a sort of shield which he holds in his left hand, while with the right he draws from its sheath a short broad-bladed dagger which he is carrying strapped to his waist. The savage discharges his blow-pipe, but luckily the arrow is caught in the folds of the improvised shield without touching the skin; Sethu Varman swings his arms and throws the heavy knife on his adversary with such true aim and force that it goes deep into the naked chest and drops the savage like a log. Fearing hostile reinforcements, the Pandyan loses no time in picking up the now-unconscious girl and making a dash for the boat which he vigorously pushes away from the shore after depositing his precious burden in it. He swims after the boat, partly propelling it with his vigorous strokes, and soon reaches the ship, whence eager hands pull the sorely beset

* Marco Polo, who visited the island circa 1300 A.D. says that the natives were rude, ferocious and completely unclothed; they, however, liked to get by barter bright kerchiefs and scarves which they would prominently display on poles, erected in front of their primitive dwellings!
party on board. The girl soon revives; and looking at the young hero (who had carried her so easily on his broad shoulders) her rose-tinted cheeks suffuse with an uncontrollable warmth and there is perhaps a new light in her eyes which is not one of mere thankfulness. Her parents' gratitude knows no bounds, but the young nobleman, pretending all the time to be nothing more than a Trading Corporation's servant, modestly, disavows any special merit for his deed and immediately withdraws into the ship's depths. However, the incident has established a bond of gratitude and friendship between the north and the south. How this gratitude grows into love, which is consummated in a happy marriage (in Yawadvipa and under priestly auspices) and how Sethu Varman becomes a famous Pandyan general and takes the Simhala monarch prisoner - these are stories which should be told elsewhere.

In due course the flotilla reaches its destination, which is Vanga Island, off Samudra. A great welcome is given to the immigrants by the local monarch (himself of Aryan lineage) and by the Valakkai (Right-hand) Trading Corporation which is firmly established there. Some of the voyagers stay on in Vanga. Others prefer to go on to south Samudra, which has little population and much fertile land suitable for cultivation. Yet others proceed to Yavadwipa, where, as I have mentioned elsewhere, there was in later times a strong tradition of a Kalinga Prince establishing a large Aryan colony of over 20,000 souls in Central Yava. This colony, however, does not flourish for long in situ, for what reason it is impossible now to say; many of the so-called "Klings" leave Yava on a long trek eastward, sailing daringly into Melanesia, and later on, to those far-off islands of the Pacific with which we are now concerned.

I have given above a somewhat imaginative account of one of the early movements of the Aryan people into the Pacific waters, but I make bold to suggest that this account can be taken to be roughly true of the migration of the ancestors of the Maoris, who reached the Society Islands (Tahiti) a long time before 1000 A.D. The Maori is obviously Indian by remote genealogy as is proved by tradition, personal appearance, and such facts of history as are discernible in connection with this great racial exodus. Let us now delve a little into the Maori language,
customs, religion, arts and crafts, and social life in search of analogues which will provide confirmation, if such were needed, for the Aryan ancestry of the Polynesian peoples. We shall then proceed with a brief sketch of the history of the Maori people in New Zealand, especially their behaviour towards the pakehas (Whites) and vice versa.

When the European first saw them, the Maoris were living in a stone-age culture, which contrasted strangely with their enlightened ideas of religion, their colourful community-life and their high sense of artistic values. This was an enigma which puzzled Western observers, especially because they were either unaware of the Asiatic origin of the Polynesian peoples or they were unwilling to admit it, despite unmistakable evidence. If the Maoris came from India, they could not have started on their peregrinations much earlier than four or five hundred B.C., when there was a restless urge in the Indian nation, particularly in the South, to travel beyond the confines of India into new lands situated across the wide waters. Ceylon and Burma were then colonised, and the South-East Asian mainland occupied next. The Archipelago then followed as per schedule, and its extreme eastern limits had been visited and Aryan out-posts set up before the early centuries of the Saka era. The impetus to move forward was even then strong; the urge to seek out new lands had not been exhausted. The result was fresh waves of migration, firstly to Melanesia (where, however, only small enclaves were set up, because of discouraging surroundings) and then to western Polynesia, which must have been reached perhaps by four or five hundred A.D. In the subsequent centuries, the islands in central and eastern Oceania were occupied, the Society Islands being reached circa 800 A.D. We have seen that, as these islands got over-filled, especially by tribes who would not live in peace with each other, new migrations took place from these bases both to the far eastern Pacific (towards Easter Island) and to the newly-discovered, extensive and vacant territories lying in the Southern Hemisphere (i.e., New Zealand).

It is obvious that one of the world’s greatest regressions in civilization must have taken place in this process. In India, by

* The great anthropologist, Rickard, says: "Whether we accept the time of their departure from the Asiatic mainland as B.C. or A.D., it is remarkable that the descenadants of these Polynesian migrants should have lost all knowledge of pottery and metals. Apparently we have here an interesting example of retrogression in human culture".
the 4th century B.C., an iron-age culture had been firmly established for many centuries. The Aryan peoples were familiar not only with gold and silver, bronze and copper, but also with iron, lead, tin and mercury, as the Vedas, the Puranas and the Arthasastras (particularly of Kautilya) amply bear out. The Indians had domesticated a large number of animals, including the horse and the elephant. Their standard of living was high; they travelled on horses and elephants and in animal-drawn carriages and wheeled chariots. They wore costly and artistic jewels and dresses, and their food habits were luxurious and refined. Their weaponry was highly advanced, and in the use of iron implements they were far ahead of the rest of the world. In philosophy, poetics, grammar, rhetoric, medicine, mathematics, chemistry and astronomy, they had reached heights of achievement which other nations found impossible to excel and difficult to emulate. It is from such an Aryavarta that the ancestors of the Maoris set out, about 2500 years ago, using the ports in the Bay of Bengal for their exit.

The remote ancestors of the Maoris when they left India must have carried this culture with them in a substantially undiluted form. In a hospitable soil, like that of Kamboja or Java, this culture not only sustained itself but in some respects (e.g., in temple architecture) even excelled the Indian counterparts in size and floridness, if not in firm artistic sophistication. But as the nation marched eastward, it suffered a sharp retrogression in all directions. Even in Bali and in the neighbouring isles of Celebes and Moluccas, this slipping back was noticeable; in Melanesia it became pronounced, all the more so for the fact that the none-too-scanty aboriginal population was thoroughly negevroid, without any strong leavening strain of the Proto, or the Duetero, Malay race. The Aryans apparently made no strong cultural impression on Melanesia; or rather, whatever impression they made was swallowed up in the resurgent barbarism of the aborigines. In Polynesia the situation was somewhat different, though the final results were equally unfortunate. By all evidence there were no natives in Oceania, and the Maori peoples were probably the first human visitors to these countless islands big and small, spread over the vast Pacific. It is likely that, when the Maoris came to the islands, their civilisation was intact, to the extent that voyaging in small and crowded ships over long
-distances was not a militating factor. But once the daring adventurers landed in Polynesia, they were cut off, more or less permanently, from their parental support and inspiration. There was certainly no two-way traffic, in population and goods, between Indonesia and Oceania, following the first waves of migration. After the initial impulses towards racial movement there were few contacts between the centres of Aryan civilisation in Indonesia proper and the Pacific islands, apart perhaps from occasional visits of enterprising sea-captains adventuring on their own in either direction. As most historians visualise it, there was a large migration from Java or Samudra towards Melanesia, followed perhaps at short intervals by further waves of emigrants mainly from Java. These exoduses made no impact on New Guinea, Solomon Islands, etc., in Melanesia, except for small enclaves set up there, useful only as transit camps. In Fiji (called by the Maoris Viji or Viti, i.e., Vijaya) probably a prolonged halt of some hundred years was made by groups of mariners; but here again conditions were hostile for a permanent Aryan home to be established, as the aborigines were truculent and unfriendly to a degree. From Viji the move was then on to Polynesia proper, i.e., the Phœnix, the Tokelau, the Samoan, Tonga and Cook Islands in western Oceania. From these regions the next step was towards the Society and the Marquesas Isles and the Tuamotu archipelago, where perhaps the bulk of the wandering tribes stayed for two or three centuries, before feeling the urge and the need for a further quest for new habitats, owing to overcrowding and incessant strife in the above-mentioned island groups.

Wherever they went, the hardy travellers carried with them some remnants of their Aryan culture and learning and the original group-name they adopted (viz., Mayura or Maori) when they left the sacred soil of Aryavarta. But it is clear that, during the several hundred years which elapsed while these movements were taking place, the migrants gradually, but unmistakably, deteriorated in their standards of culture. Their stocks of metals (weapons, implements, etc.) had got worn out and lost without any possibility of replacement in their new locale, which produced no iron or other useful metal. Articles of civilization like the wheeled carriage became useless and forgotten, as there were no draught animals in the Pacific islands and none could be
regenerated from the imported live stock, which soon became extinct through death or slaughter. To those who would ask if the Polynesians retained traces of the ancient Aryan words for wheel, circle, or carriage, it may be mentioned that in most of the islands where they landed, the immigrants had little level ground for the deployment of carriages or wheeled transport. Even if, as in Tahiti or New Zealand, such a facility was available, there would be no draught animals, as the few imported ones would soon have died or been eaten off by the ever-hungry colonists. But the Island people did have many names for a sphere, a circle, a wheel and for roundness, as I shall show elsewhere.

One by one the habits of enlightened life dropped off. This was most noticeable in dress; no silk, wool or true cotton was available in these islands; when the original stocks of clothing gave out, the inhabitants would have been reduced to a state of absolute nudity (like the Australian aborigines), but for the fact that they learnt quickly to weave serviceable and even handsome garments from the plentiful birch-bark and the mulberry (as was the practice with the less culturally favoured tribes of India), and from the fine flax, which grew wild on many of the islands. Gold and silver ornaments also gradually got worn out and disappeared in the dust, and new ones could not be thought of. The old three-tiered sailing ships disintegrated with the passage of time and could not be replaced, but the art of navigation was not forgotten and was transmitted from generation to generation by oral teaching. [In this respect, the Maoris significantly differed from the aborigines of Melanesia, who had never acquired real skill in deep-sea travel.] The Pacific wastes rendered water-transport indispensable and the adventurers learnt how to use their ship-building knowledge by producing out of the local flora some of the most efficient and artistic canoes (dug-outs) the world has ever seen. The books of learning (probably kept in tala patras) all vanished as did (perhaps) the art of writing. With the exit of all these refinements of living, the people sank into a kind of semi-barbarism which was however relieved by the few remnants (and the larger memories) of their pristine culture. In philosophy, religion, practical astronomy, and agricultural skill, deterioration was arrested by knowledge transmitted through the highly-trained memory for which the Aryan people were always noted. But the substantial disappearance of the priestly and the learned classes
as well as the instruments of learning, led to a coarsening of behaviour and the adoption of objectionable personal habits like the eating of the flesh, not only of dogs (as the Nagas do even today) but even that of fellow human beings killed in war, as we shall see. In sum, the Aryan tribes who travelled deep into the Pacific lost most of their old civilization because they were cut off from the mainsprings of their mother culture and, what is more important, because there was no possibility of developing a new civilization in the spiritually and materially poverty-stricken soil of Oceania. That severe adverse circumstances brutalise even “highly-evolved” man, is a well-known phenomenon. To give only one instance, when Japanese soldiers, cut off in some lonely islands in the Second World War, faced starvation they did not hesitate to indulge in cannibalism; the same allegation has been made against some White fighting men who got lost in the foodless Indonesian jungles. Highly civilised men, when cast among savages without hope of rescue, often “go native”, with all the regressive implications of this change.

Let us now examine in some detail the customs and manners of the Maori (whose name is derived from the family name of Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander*) to identify their Aryan affiliations. The two most powerful men in a Maori community were the chief and the priest, the two offices being normally divided, as in India, although exceptions, as also in India, were known when the same person held both the offices. The chief was known as Ariki (a corruption of Aryaka?), a tribute to the Kshatriya ancestry of these hereditary leaders. (In the Society Islands the name was pronounced as Aiki.) A chief of pure descent and unbroken genealogy was called Ariki Rangi (ranjah = bright or skyborn); some of them could trace their pedigree, in established detail, for 30 generations, i.e., about 700 years! The person of the tribal chief was sacred; he was not to

* The Mayura tradition did not die with the fall of the Mauryan Empire. Scions of Mayura families were heard of centuries after Pushyamitra Sunga came to power. The Chinese traveller Huien Tsang mentions one Poornavaran Maurya as ruling in Magada in his time. There were Maurya rulers in the Konkan who were conquered by the Chalukyas of Badami in 600 A.D. A Maurya chief named Govindaraja is referred to in a XI century inscriptions in Khandesh. The Mauryas are also mentioned in Kannada inscriptions of the same period. Very recently, Maurya families claiming descent from Asoka, were noticed in Portuguese India.
be put to any manual work, and it was the duty of the whole community to protect his person and his prestige. If these had been violated even unwillingly (by a White man for example), proper vengeance should be exacted without fail. This fanatic loyalty explains some of the seemingly treacherous acts of reprisal which some Maoris committed against the early Whites, who had perpetrated gross indignities on the local Ariki, sometimes unintentionally. In recent history some chiefs called themselves kings (e.g., King Mahuta) and were recognised as such, and even received in person by Queen Victoria. The son and heir-apparent of the Ariki was called tana (Sanskrit: tanaya = son) like the ‘Infante’ in monarchical Spain.

Next in importance to the Ariki was the priest, called tohunga (tohuna in the Society Islands), possibly a corruption of the Sanskrit word dahanaka or fire-maker, since it was the priest who was in charge of the sacred fires, which he prepared by the ritual process of attrition. In the words of T. E. Donne, “He was a seer, prophet, astrologer, astronomer, botanist, naturalist, poet, historian, and generally a wise man........ He could cast spells, remove ‘tapu’, counter-act witch-craft, name children, and attend to the disposal of the dead............ He was, as a rule, ‘the gentleman behind the throne’, wise, subtle, discreet ...... ...... and he could make the tribe dance to any tune he cared to play.”—He was responsible for the education of the tana and other noble youths, particularly in the genealogy of the prominent members of the tribe, and in the chants and ceremonies, songs and traditions, of the community. The students were required to commit to memory all this lore by persistent rote (as in India). Those whose memories were unequal to this task were relegated to the ‘fighting’ units and could not qualify for priesthood. (The practice today is not different even in ‘civilised’ communities.*) The most promising of the young boys was ordained as a ‘tauira’ (Sanskrit: sthavira = praiseworthy) or assistant tohunga and initiated into all tribal mysteries. Writing of these tohungas, F.W. Christian (*Eastern Pacific Islands*) observes as follows:

*The name is derived from the old Aryan root—tah or toh, knowledge or science. This shows clearly that in the early days of Polynesian migration, science and knowledge, art and cunning

*It is well known that among the English upper classes, the bright young men join the ministry; those less favoured became soldiers, etc.
workmanship were the monopoly of the priestly caste, who wielded tremendous power. These wise old gentlemen sometimes exercised a remarkable censorship over the spoken language even to the extent of tabooing a good many words and arbitrarily substituting new ones.” He mentions a curious story to show how greatly the priests regarded their own amour-propre. In Polynesia, as in ancient India, none could stand or sit higher than a chief or a priest. One stupid French engineer got annoyed with some priests because they would not do ‘corvee’ (compulsory manual labour) in building a bridge in Tahiti. To punish them, he had the priests bound up and kept below the bridge and he asked the women of the village to run on the bridge over the heads of the priests. The latter, on being released, expiated this unimaginable indignity by committing suicide on the spot en masse!

Tregear, the great savant, has some interesting observations about these tohungas, which I would summarise thus:

They knew the names of all the stars in the sky; theirs were the gifts of the second sight and the quick eye to read every sign of the weather. They claimed the power to heal by charms and incantations and boasted they could hold a spirit as obedient to their wish as a dog in the master’s leash.*.......They could drink deadly poison without hurt. Sometimes one of them would turn

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* Western anthropologists have been very sceptical of such magic. Frazer calls it ‘bastard science’ and Taylor ‘a monstrous farrago’. But magic is not always a pseudo-replica of applied art. “The magical rites performed in agriculture, for instance, are of undoubted efficacy to the native. By proceeding step by step in close contact with the actual stages of the work, of which it regulates the times and the seasons, by imposing taboos and by investing the task with serious import and super-natural sanction, the magic reinforces order and punctuality and acts as a very valuable factor of organisation...It gives man the much needed psychological backing of confidence and assurance which is so essential to the accomplishment of his desire” (Encyclopaedia Britannica-1957-XII-627).

The curious reader may be interested in the following remarks of Marco Polo (circa 1293 A.D.):

“There are in the Bay (i.e., Gulf of Mannar in South India) a multitude of great fishes (sharks) which would kill the (pearl) fishers going down into the sea. The (pearl) merchants take with them certain magicians called braaman (Brahmin) who, with their enchantment and diabolical art, control and stupefy those big fishes, so that they can hurt no one. These magicians make their spells by day which they break the following night (as fishing is not allowed at night)......nor is any found how to make such enchantment except these braamans”. (Travels, P. 174)
“moke” (Sanskrit: amukha* or recluse) and take up a solitary abode in some lonely hill, where they were looked upon as men of great sanctity and were unapproachable.

I may perhaps also add here F.W. Christian’s comment on their learning. “The reader will be surprised to know that the larger Polynesian communities had schools and universities of their own before Eton was a college and Oxford a University, before the Crusaders were butchering the Saracens and even earlier. The wharekura† was the name given by the Maoris to a kind of college where the sons of the priests and the chiefs (Ariki) were taught mythology, history, agriculture, astronomy, etc. No females could approach the building and food cooked outside was brought to the building by special messengers. The course of study was 5 years.......There was also a Herald’s College, Aka Ariki. (Sanskrit: Aham Aryaka=House of Chiefs)......Compare with the Haurcu or Varaku, an order of knighthood into which youthful aspirants of princely Inca blood were admitted in ancient Peru.” There was even a whare-purakahu (Sanskrit: varah purakatha), dedicated to the telling of stories of old events and ancient heroes, always with a highly didactic purpose, as in our Kalakshepas.‡

Below the priests were the nobles called Tangata Rangitira (Sanskrit: Janata Ranjita=men of brightness), who would correspond to the Kshatriyas in India. Next in order came the Tutua or ordinary citizens, who, like the Wesyas in Java and Bali, supplied the fighting forces. Last in the recognised social order came the “ware”§ or the lower, or servitor, classes, comparable to the fourth caste in Aryavarta of the time.

*Same as in Java which contributed the word ‘amuck’ to the English language: e.g., ‘run amuck’.

† Sanskrit: varah = covering or house and kula = collection of nobles.

‡ Elsewhere in these writings a well-earned tribute has been paid to the Bhagavata, who by his magic art has helped to keep the fires of religion and dharma alive among our masses. Contrast the situation in Western countries, particularly non-Catholic. Here the working classes “think religion a mug’s game” and “one affected by dogma, a crank or a near-lunatic” (R. Hoggart: The Uses of Literacy P. 91)—Church going has dropped alarmingly; few who go listen with real fervour to the Padre’s soporific sermon (especially after a ‘heavy’ Satur-night!). The Bhagavata, on the contrary fills every hall to over-flowing and holds his audience spell-bound. None can hear a Kalakshepa, without being spiritually chastened and morally stirred.

§ A word probably derived from Sanskrit: ‘varah’ meaning also a multitude.
The political authority in the tribe was somewhat of the "King-in-Council" type; the Paramount Chief (Ariki) could act only in consultation with all the noblemen of the tribe, whose majority opinion would decide important issues. But precedence and dignity rested with the Ariki, whose influence otherwise varied enormously with his pedigree and his oratorical powers (which were highly valued). A silver-tonged Ariki was always supreme in council, especially if the tohunga were on his side. But in matters of war and peace, the Ariki always listened to his veteran warriors, whose counsel was generally deferred to.

Land was the dominating material factor in Maori life. Land was owned by the right of discovery, original occupation, continuous use, and capture, as well as by heritage. Land was often gifted on marriages and to adopted children (as in India). Agriculture was considered to be a dignified occupation, and even chiefs participated symbolically in it. Certain operations like fishing were carried out on a communal basis, and the harvest was equitably distributed. Forests, oyster beds, etc., were common property, as well as meadows containing edible plants. In the villages a sort of primitive communism was in vogue. All residential houses were built by experts, without any direct recompense from the tenants, thus reminding us of the Aryans village artisan system, under which most skilled work was done by artisans for the villager without direct cash payment but for remuneration in kind, at the time of the harvest. Women wove clothes and cooked food, in common. There was no currency, no payment even in kind, and no rule of barter in the villages. Men and women gave their labour to the community and received food and shelter in return.

There were some traits in the Maori's character, and some aspects in his social behaviour, which are strongly reminiscent of India. The most important factors in his life were mana, tapu and utu. These words require some elucidation. Mana to the Maori meant his prestige, "face", power, and self-respect. (Manah in Sanskrit means respect, honour and regard.) Among the Maoris, while mana came to the gods by divine right, it came to the chief by inheritance (i.e. by divine parentage); the greater his pedigree
the greater was the chief’s *mana.* The tohunga got his mana by his learning and mystic power, and the warrior by his courage and skill. The ordinary man’s mana depended on his rectitude, professional ability and conduct which should be “tika” or correct (Prakrit: tika=straight). To a Maori the wounding of his mana was a great misfortune and this led to the concept of utu, which can be roughly translated as the restoration of self-respect by reprisal or revenge. The *lex talionis* prevailed in some measure in Polynesia; any wrong, even if most unwittingly done, must be met with punishment in satisfaction of utu. For instance, if a man hit another accidentally, the sufferer will have to land a resounding blow on the offender; otherwise utu will remain unfulfilled. (The word might have some connection with Sanskrit “vidamb” which means discreetable or bringing disgrace on oneself). Such retaliation was not only just but obligatory; otherwise the disgrace will go on sticking†. The third powerful factor in Maori life was *tapu* (which strangely enough resembles the Tamil tappu, the Prakrit tapaka, etc.). In Maori tapu means “sinful or forbidden”; to incur tapu is to incur the sin of doing a sacrilegious act. We have a similar conception in the Sanskrit ‘tabuva’, which occurs in the Atharvana Veda, where a mitigatory prayer is enjoined on the offender.‡ The word ‘tapas’ has also a similar connotation, as it implies undergoing severe physical distress for purificatory reasons. (The modern expression taboo also bears the same significance.) In New Zealand, there were infinite variations of tapu, which could be either personal or local; tapu was also a sort of quarantine law. Infraction of tapu was a serious offence and entailed condign punishment. For example, the plot cultivated with kumara was

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*“Mana may imply also occult power and in this sense it is used throughout Polynesia. Its origin is uncertain though probably introduced by immigrants from the West (i.e., South East Asia)..... It (also) stands for the ‘divine right’ of the aristocratic class..... In the Pacific region the word ‘noa’ (nava or new?) is used to signify the opposite kind of object or situation, which is common or ordinary.” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957, XIV, 771/772).”

† The same ideas of self-respect prevailed in Java.

‡ Prof. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that the Atharva Veda word ‘tabuva’ was connected with the Polynesian ‘tapu’, and ‘taboo’ of the other areas. This was the opinion of Weber and Barth also. Sri S. K. Chatterjee (The Vedic Age, P. 151) thinks that the original expression must have been proto-Australoid and that the Atharva Veda borrowed it!
tapu; if any one infringed it by walking across the plot he was awarded a stiff amercement. Similarly, if a person under the tapu of death-pollution was touched by another, the latter had to undergo the severe penances enjoined on him by the tohunga. Dead bodies, heirlooms, weapons of departed warriors, sacred images, were all tapu, and none could handle them without proper post-purification.

The Maori theology bears unmistakable signs of an Indian origin. As James Cowan says, "There was much that is sublime in the ancient (Maori) cosmogonies. The Maori could conceive of uncounted aeons of darkness and chaos, gradually giving place to light, until the AO-Marama (Sanskrit: Tejomayam?), the World of Light, evolved. Many tribal genealogies go back to the source of all things when the world was 'without form and void'." The dual principle, the male and female, the active and the passive (like the Purusha and Prakriti of Indian philosophy), was very strongly ingrained in the Maori religion. The mystic First Cause or Creator was known as 'Atua or Hatua' (Sanskrit: Satwa=good, true, pure). He was also known as AO or IO (Sanskrit: Oja or Ojas=strength, power, energy; Greek ego). Rangi (Sanskrit: Ranjita=bright one) was the Sky-Father and Papa ("a word universally interchangeable with Mama" says Cowan) was the Earth-Mother; Ruai-Moko (Sanskrit: Roha Mukha=red-faced or fire-spitting) was the god of volcanoes and earthquakes; Tane or Mane (Sanskrit: Manush=man) was the god of man (and also of forests and birds). HA† (Sanskrit: Vayu) was the god of wind and the breath of life. The Maori believed that all living things had a soul which he called maui.† The Maori calendar consisted of 12 months, with another month intercalated when needed, as in the ancient Indian lunar system. The Maori buried his plebeian dead, but there prevailed the same curious custom as in Bali of collecting the deceased's bones after

* In comparison may be cited the last-but-one Sukta of the Rig Veda [X 190]

"Truth of thought and truthfulness of speech were born of arduous penance; then night was generated and then also the watery ocean. From the latter was the year produced ordaining nights and days, the rulers of every moment. Dhatri (the Creator) in the beginning made the sun and the moon, the heaven and the earth and the grand firmament."

† wind, from Sanskrit Ha=to move.

† Perhaps from Sanskrit Mauli, meaning "highest, best, fore-most".
one or two years, and after cleaning them, taking them to a sacred spot for immersion or interment. This practice seems to be a compromise between the cremation of the higher caste. Aryans and the simple burial usually prescribed for the fourth caste. In the case of chiefs and tohungas, the bodies were invariably cremated after being carried to the cremation spot by other chiefs or tohungas.

Belief in makutu (witchcraft) was universal and the lower type of tohunga was credited with much power, both for good and evil, in this respect. Says Cowan: "After making allowance for exaggerations and myths there is sufficient of fact left to suggest that the learned Maori of old enjoyed certain faculties which were widely possessed in the early stages of human history, but which through disuse and civilization have been lost to general knowledge." The really superior tohungas never dabbled in witchcraft. The fear of makutu had occasionally its uses since it restrained the bully and the thief, but its capacity for abuse was always there; so much so that a movement to counteract makutu has been recently set afoot by the Maoris themselves. This new evangel is called worship of God Dhario (or the morning star, Sanskrit: Dhruya) and has attained such success that the power of the malefic tohungas (many of them converted nominally to Christianity) has waned of late in Maori-land.

The life of the Maori from birth to death was tied up with rituals. These were collectively called karakia (Sanskrit: karya kriya) and the tohunga was associated with all of them. There were rituals addressed to the spirit of the waters or wai (Sanskrit: vari = water) and to the spirit of the fire called aki (Sanskrit: agni). There were other ceremonies connected with marriage, demise, etc., and for casting away evil spells. The latter consisted of powerful chants always ending with a long-drawn and mystic syllable pronounced HaUU (obviously the Sanskrit AUM).

* It need scarcely be emphasised that the so-called magical rites had travelled all the way from India to distant Polynesia, even as they had journeyed to Egypt, on the other side. Everywhere the spoken formula had to be pronounced exactly as prescribed, to be efficacious, accompanied by the appropriate motion or gesture. "The choice of word and act is based on the doctrine of sympathy and homeopathy, i.e., the belief that two things which have once been connected may continue to react on each other even when separated and that like has power to effect like". In Indian rituals, a song from the Rik or the Atharvan should produce the same results as followed when the Rishis sounded the incantation.
Now a word about the tangi (Sanskrit: tanka = life of misery and distress) or the primaeval grief-note of the Maori which sounded unsubdued throughout the community when a great sorrow overtook them. It was at a tangi-hanga (Sanskrit: sangha = assemblage) or funeral gathering that one saw the real Maori. It was more than a lamentation for the dead; it was a cry for the passing away of the old order and of the fabled times when the Maoris were part of an ancient Aryan community, rich with all the blessings of civilisation and glorying in a culture rarely equalled elsewhere in the world at the time. The whole community sang the funeral dirges with a heart-piercing loudness; and with heads bent in sorrow they grieved over the departed great. In doing so they seemed to raise a lament for the long-vanished golden days of yore, when they were a free and happy nation in a rich and glowing land, untramelled by the perpetual scarcity and internal strife which was their lot in New Zealand.

The Maori was not only a famous sailor and a warrior, a skilled craftsman and an artist in decoration; he was also a poet and a mystic. As Cowan observes, "No other race had evolved such a treasury of poetry and folk-song revealing a soul and a mental culture that lifted the Maori high above the peoples still living in a savage state." The poems abound in rhythm and imagery and they conform to set prosodic principles. The philosophy and the tradition of the race is embodied in these poetic compositions, as well as much of their history and social custom. The themes are natural and full of beauty; the language is often lofty and instinct with vivid metaphor and simile. Living close to nature and ever dependent on the earth's vagarious gifts, the Maoris had an unwritten literature breathing a spirit of realism and robust love of life. At the same time it reflected the music and the mystery of the high mountains, deep forests, the torrential rivers, and the limitless seas amidst which the people lived, waging a hard and perpetual struggle for existence. There was

In Egypt a burn might be cured by reciting the song which Isis (Ushas) sang to heal the burn on her son Horus (Surya); and one may cause an enemy damage by maltreating a wax-image of him, (cf. the Atharvan). The same spirit and belief obtained among the Maoris. According to Marco Polo, China was full of astrologers (i.e. priests), whom he calls Tebet and Kashmur (Tibetans and Kashmiris) who were adepts in the super-natural. Among other skills, they could produce food and drink at will, create and abate rain and storm, and put all living creatures to sleep.
often a note of sadness in the songs; all the noble thoughts were touched with a little melancholy, perhaps in memory of those wonderful days in India or in Java where life was so rich, so varied and so different! The Maori poems were always chanted (like the thevarams of South India), and the chant is the oldest form of verse, as the Vedic rishis showed us long ago.* The Maori songs seemed to be taken from the sounds of nature, from the mystical whisperings of the elemental gods. Some of their chants like "My eyes are like the flax flowers" or the "Deserted girl’s lament" are fit to go into the Golden Treasury of the world’s best poetry. If ever evidence were needed to show that the Maoris had regressed from a highly advanced civilization, their poetry would furnish all the testimony.

About the arts and crafts of the Maori, much could be written. Their dress was far removed from savagery. They wore robes woven out of flax fibre and of different kinds. Some were rough, rain-proof garments in common use; others, of superior quality worn by the notables. Some robes and shawls were veritable pieces of art, with intricate patterns and fanciful designs woven into them; the outer side would be covered with thick and soft layers of fine bird’s feathers, like that of the kuku or pigeon (Sanskrit: kukubla = woodcock) or that of the kiwi (Sanskrit: kira = parrot). Sometimes the hair of the dog or kuri (Sanskrit: kakkura = dog) was put on the outside. Normally, neither sex wore bodily garments above the waist; below the waist they wore mat-like skirts made of flax, but no undergarments or leg-wear, despite the intense cold in winter. (No animal skins were available in New Zealand.) The race was quite fond of personal ornament, but having no metals or precious stones, it used jade, called pounamu, instead. Both sexes allowed their hair to grow long and dressed it with elaborate care; the men made a knot of it high on the head with a feather thrust on the knot (as is still the case in India with hill folks of Andhra and Orissa). In the case of married women, the hair was gathered together on the top of the head and ornamented with feathers or with a whale-bone comb. Unmarried girls allowed their hair to flow down on their shoulders and back. Although generally the tresses were jet-black, some women of originally superior racial stock had what was known as urukehu (Sanskrit: uru = superior;

* particularly in the Sama Veda; ‘saman’ means melody.
kesa = hair), i.e., a sort of golden hair. Both sexes had their ears pierced (as per the ancient Indian custom); in the case of women, the holes were gradually enlarged with wooden ear-rings or heavy pendants of jade. The women wore also bracelets and anklets of shells or of twisted and painted flax. The important males carried, both as an ornament and as an object of utility, a club called patu (Sanskrit: pat = to strike, hit) made of jade, which was highly prized. They also often wore on their waist a short instrument, shaped like an adze, with the handle made of red wood and the cutting portion carved out of the finest jade. I have already mentioned the practice of tattooing of the face (and in some cases, of the legs also) in the case of male warriors. (Tohungas never tattooed themselves.) In tattooing, the face was cut with incising instruments and the process was extremely painful. But for this very reason it was considered appropriate for a warrior to have an elaborate moko (Sanskrit: mukha) or warrior face-tattoo, thus showing his indifference to pain.

In wood-carving the Maories revealed unquestionable skill of a high order. Superficially barbaric, the carvings exhibited the Maori genius for tracing exquisite designs on wood and on bone, which designs, far from being haphazard, were meant to express the forms of trees and flowers, of bird and animal life, as well as the stories of the tribes, in an esoteric pattern which could be understood only by the initiated. The carvings showed perfect symmetry and easy flow of lines. There were spoked wheels, circles, spheres and angular motifs, which clearly indicated that Maories had at one time the knowledge of the wheel and the circle.

In many a Maori house, the porch and the interior were rich with carved effigies of ancestral heroes, cut out of solid slabs of totara (devadaru) wood, stern figures with huge heads, grim mouths with a red tongue often hanging out, and three-fingered hands (perhaps representing the three vital principles or the Trimurtis) gripping stone weapons. The wooden faces were tattooed in exact imitation of the moko of the living men. The head and face were often finely executed, but the torso was disproportionate and grotesque. Frequently these effigies were arranged one above the other in a perpendicular pole-like arrangement, strikingly like the totem poles which one saw in Red-Indian villages in America. The leading motif in Maori art was the spiral, called pitou; it was boldly designed and beautifully executed and appeared every-
where, in launching boards, in canoe figure-heads, in tattoos of face and body, and in the effigies adorning the houses. Although evolved out of nature studies in New Zealand, it had many likeness with similar Indian art; curiously the same motif repeatedly appeared in the decoration of the Maya and Inca cultures of America.

The Maoris lived in stockaded villages which they called pah (Sanskrit: purah). There were usually two rows of fencing, with a shallow trench in between. Sometimes a high tower was erected inside, from which a broad view of the countryside could be commanded. As in Indonesia, a hollowed-out tree-trunk was used as an alarm drum, whose vibrant notes would carry a long way.* In days before fire-arms were introduced, the palisades were practically impregnable; indeed, some of them withstood remarkably well the battering by the British army with old-type cannon balls. It must be admitted that the Maoris as a class were fond of war; the menfolk kept themselves always fighting-fit and needed small provocation to launch a sanguinary strife. The causes of tribal wars were often trivial; a petty quarrel over a piece of land or a fancied insult to a chief would start a rumpus which might end with the loss of hundreds of lives. Tribal warfare was a chronic failing with them; perhaps the presence of a large body of well-armed and powerful men was a sore temptation to try their mettle on the other fellows. In history, an over-eager fighting force has often been the cause of war, instead of merely being its obedient instrument.

In Maori-land war was never started without proper ceremonies. Following Aryan practice, the God of Battle, Tu (Sanskrit: tuj = to strike) who was also called Whiro or Vira, was propitiated; oracles were consulted and omens read. As in our Epics, warriors claimed to become invisible by chanting mantras called huna or suna (Sanskrit: swapna = sleep) or could conceal themselves in magic mists.† On return from battle a cleansing ceremony had to be undergone, the warriors dipping in water, while the tohunga chanted the purificatory songs over them and

* Such drums were known in South-East Asia and in China.

† The curious reader may refer to the Atharva Veda for a number of magical chants, conferring invisibility on the singer. Kautilya (Bk. XIII-Ch. III) details several mantras of the same type, with explanations regarding their correct application (prayoga).
sprinkled holy water. The tohunga was also a sort of secret-service agent; he was supposed to guess the strength of the enemy from various omens and dreams. When going to war, the soldiers cut off their top-knots, reciting during the process the names of ancestors. Military alliances with other tribes were sealed by the peculiar process of both the parties eating a lizard raw! (The lizard was called maka, i.e., makara, as it resembled a crocodile.) Before the opposing armies clashed with each other in the open, songs of defiance were sung and the haka or wardance was performed by both sides, both to intimidate the enemy and to hearten one's own ranks! In the first clash, wooden staves would be used and there was a lot of thrust and parry, counter-thrust and feinting; but once their blood was roused, the contestants dropped their staves and started their real business with stone cudgels and clubs. In this grim work no quarter was asked for or given, and much warrior-blood invariably drenched the battle-field.

Captured prisoners became slaves (as approved in our own Smritis); i.e., when they did not end up in the cooking pot, for the Maori male had become a cannibal, long before the time the White man came round to the Pacific. T.E. Donne makes the following observation on this subject: "The available information appears to indicate that with the Maori, cannibalism was initiated more as a ritual than in satisfaction of appetite." Cannibalism was apparently forced on the Maoris initially by lack of food and the difficulty of maintaining prisoners.* Subsequently the habit grew strong, as with other nations in the world, till enlightened religion and the march of civilization extinguished the abomination for ever. In India no traces of this habit have been found for over three thousand years, but it is clear that the Rakshasas of the Puranas were anthropophagous.† The reputation of the Maori for cannibalism had a most curious side-effect. When it was proposed to exile British convicts to New Zealand (as to Australia), the House of Commons voted down the proposal, "as the White convicts are likely to be eaten up by the heathen cannibals"; and New Zealand thus escaped becoming a penal settlement!

* The females never touched human flesh, a fact which proved that the practice was considered abhorrent to the community as a whole.

† Cannibalism existed in Europe till the IX century A.D.
Chiefs and Rangitira (nobles), when captured in battle, would earnestly ask to be killed straightaway, preferably by another chief or noble, because for a fighting man to be killed in battle was an honour, while it was the reverse to be made a prisoner. Escaped prisoners could not return to their own tribes, as they would be treated as outcasts, having been disgraced by capture and slavery. A chief could take a captured woman as an additional wife, but her offspring would have no standing in the tribe. (Among Maoris monogamy was the rule; only the chiefs and nobles could afford to have more than one spouse.) It was a point of honour with the Maoris to recover at least the heads of their chiefs fallen in battle. Such heads would be treated by a special process and preserved in a near relation’s house, as an honoured relic. Unfortunately, with the arrival of the White man, these relics became an object of commerce. Trade in preserved heads commenced with Captain Cook’s visit (1770 A.D.) and soon attained brisk proportions, thanks to a morbid interest in these objects in some sections of the English society. Skull-collectors presently created a hectic demand and the English sailors soon saw a quick profit in this ghastly commerce. The result was that the Maori warriors often cut off and preserved the heads of their enemies (especially those with glowing and attractive tattoos) for being exchanged for a musket or some gunpowder. The whole business was treated as quite a lark by the Maori soldier, till he realised that he himself (or rather his embellished head) was becoming a thing of special attraction for his enemy! This gruesome trade became so mercenary that it got positively unsafe for an aged and well-tattooed warrior to go abroad at night when the London commercial traveller (in preserved heads) was in the vicinity! The final upshot was that tattooing among fighting-men fell into severe disfavour, being an extremely unhealthy form of personal decoration. The White missionary who says that he helped to stop face-tattooing is probably boasting; it is his countryman addicted to this grisly commerce, with his shrewd appraising eye and well-filled wallet, who should take the credit!

In his fighting with the Whites, the Maori often showed great magnanimity and forbearance. An English missionary has recorded this of the old Maori fighter: “He displayed some of the highest qualities which man possesses, a noble scorn of
Tattooed Warrior Skulls

The Maori Haka or War-dance
treachery, with bitter sarcasm for the traitor and the most intrepid coolness under heavy fire." In the Maori wars (of the eighteen-sixties between the Whites and the natives), the Maori fought with the utmost gallantry. The fighting at Orakau is thus described by the English writer, T.E. Donne:

"At daybreak on the 31st March, 1864, the Imperial and Colonial troops surprised a mere handful of Maoris in an unfinished pah at Orakau. The Maoris were outnumbered 6 to 1 and were caught unprepared, badly armed and without provisions; they had women and children with them and their expected reinforcements were intercepted.

"The British and Colonial troops, all disciplined veterans, attacked the pah with their guns and blasted them for 3 days. The Maoris had little food, no water and many dead and wounded. On 2—4—1864, General Cameron, being desirous of avoiding further bloodshed, sent an official to ask the Maoris to surrender or in any case to send out the women and children under safe cover. The case of the Maoris was hopeless and they knew it. The men however declined to surrender and the women declined to leave them, saying 'If our men die why should we live? We will die too'. It is recorded that Rewi Maniapoto, the principal chief, then stood up fully exposed to the guns and rifles of the British and called out: 'We will fight on for ever and ever.'"

Other typical instances of Maori chivalry are recorded by the same writer:

"On another occasion some of the British troops were in such a position that they could not make contact with their supply depot and had nothing to eat for several days. The leading warrior on the Maori side concluded that there was no virtue in fighting men who were hungry, so he ordered the fighting to stop till the Pakeha could gather some food.

"The sporting nature of the Maori is further illustrated in an incident which occurred during the Anglo-Maori war. At that time it would have been quite simple and proper for the Maori to have cut the line of communication and prevented the British troops from receiving supplies and starved them into retreat. But the Maori did not play with loaded dice; he fought fiercely, but he fought fairly. During the fighting, Mr J. W. Williams and his brothers, who were farming at Pakaraka, had sold a number of
cattle and sheep to the British troops for their commissariat. The contract provided that the stock should be delivered at the military camp. While the live-stock was being driven there, the drovers were met by a large contingent of Maori warriors who asked them where they were going. On being told that the animals were being driven to the British camp as food for the soldiers, the Maoris said, ‘Good, very good, we will help you’. They all stopped and helped the drivers to drive the animals to within gun-shot of the camp when they withdrew, to pursue their business which was at that time to destroy the British Army!"*

I have mentioned elsewhere the haka (war-dance) of the Maori, which compares with the ‘barhis’ of Indonesia, performed by the princely captains of Bali. In Maori-land this war-haka was one of scorn, hatred, defiance and martial vigour. Even in a make-believe and put-up show it was wild, frenzied and almost demoniacal. But there were other hakas than that of battle, e.g., the haka to greet the rising sun or to bid farewell to a worthy person. For vim, vigour, action, thrill and song there was nothing to compare with the Maori haka; it was really the dance of supermen and highly trained women. But there was no suggestion of sex in any of these dances and no unwholesome physical contact at all. Says a distinguished writer:

“These song and dance exercises, however, were the means of developing the whole physical system of the boys and the girls on sane and sound lines; causing expansion of the chest, improvement to the lungs, breathing of the nostrils, strengthening of the loins and the training of abdominal muscles and the hardening of the bodily system in general, the result being the production of high-class physical efficiency."

To show the matchless bravery of the Maori, one missionary has recorded that in 1860 when a Maori position was under constant fire, the dead were gathered at night in a rifle pit and buried “with Divine service read in full”. The British fired 170,000 rounds at the enemy during the day and night, from about 150/200 yards. The Maori dead were interred under active fire

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* Maori tribesman once surrounded a group of Britishers and kept them pinned there for several days until their ammunition ran out. While ‘the thin red line of heroes was making ready to put up a last show’ the Maoris sent an envoy to the British with offers of ammunition, “so that the fight could be more equal”!
during which the Church of England Burial Service was calmly read. Rev. Mr. Wilson adds, "A fact that has probably no parallel in the annals of war. The farewell honours to those bold spirits were literally paid by the guns of British artillery and the unceasing volleys of the British troops."*

Now for some miscellania relating to the Maori race, before I proceed to give a brief sketch of their recent history, vis a vis the European intruders.

The people always ate their food in silence as in ancient India; the women would never eat with the men. The blue-gum tree (out of which the long canoes, often 70 or 80 feet long, were fashioned) was called ka-oori, perhaps after the Indian kadhira or khair tree. The boats were called waka (Sanskrit: vahaka = conveyer or carrier on water). The New Zealand cuckoo was called kōkō (Sanskrit: kokila). The olive-brown parakeet was called kaka (Sanskrit: kaka), and the bright parrot, kakapo. The land rail-bird was named weka (Sanskrit: vega = swift). The frigate-bird or condor, was the kotahu or kotavu (Sanskrit: garuda = celestial bird; cf. Peruvian kontor and kuntur). The dove was termed rupe (Sanskrit: rupa and Peruvian urpi or rupi). The snake was ngata in Tahiti (Sanskrit: naga). As in Iceland, there were no snakes in New Zealand. There were also no other animals than the dog and the rat in Maori-land. Pigs and fowl were introduced by the Europeans, who later acclimatised many other domestic quadrupeds, especially cattle and sheep, which are today the sheet-anchor of the local economy. Cooking was known as tumu (Sanskrit: daahanu); mother was termed mata—vahine (Sanskrit: mata; bhagini = sister). When a chief died his principal wife always cut her face and body with sharp stones in token of excessive sorrow. Occasionally the devoted mate of a chief would also commit suicide, in order to be burned with her husband. The Maoris believed that there were several worlds below the Earth and several above. According them to the human body contained a major spirit called Vairua (Veerya?) which had eternal life; besides, the spirit (or soul) there were some six local spirits (five corresponding to our indriyas plus the

* The rifle was called by the Maoris "Tupang", i.e., Dupaka or fire-weapon in Sanskrit. The Pathans call it Tupak, even today; in Tamil, it is Tupaki.

† The Smritis always enjoined silent eating. The wife should take her food only after serving the husband, the guests and the servants.
manas) which were associated with bodily functions and which
died with the body. While thus closely following Indian philo-
sophy, the Maori speculations showed some deviation. To quote
Donne: "Manah (manas) was the general authority over the
subordinate spirits, one of which, manawa-ora, regulated the life-
breath; mauri kept the heart moving while mahara looked after
the stomach...... Hau developed wind, as distinct from regular
breathing; hine-ngaro* prompted thought, and nga-kau inspired
affections......Vairua had the power to leave the body during
sleep in search of knowledge of importance to the well-being of
its physical casket, to whom on its return it conveyed warning and
advice, often through dreams. Hence the Maori always refrained
from awakening a person suddenly but always did so gently and
kindly so as to allow the wandering spirit time to re-establish
itself in the body".† These remarks will, I am sure, clinch the
issue regarding the culture-parentage of the Maoris, as the
spiritual beliefs of the latter seem to be clearly based on an Indian
substratum. Alcohol was unknown in New Zealand before the
Whites appeared; nor were there any of the typical diseases of
civilization, like consumption, venereal afflications, plague, smallpox
and cholera. Many of the insects which bother humanity (e.g., the
mosquito) were the gift of the pakeha or White man (literally,
stranger—Sanskrit: parakya = stranger) to these innocent people.

Finally, it was long believed that the Maoris were ignorant
of the art of writing. The treaty of Waitangi (1835) which the
Maori chiefs concluded with England showed that the Maoris had
a script of their own as evidenced by the signature of the two
chiefs who signed for their nation. In the words of Herman
Leicht, "These characters have inherited something from ancient
India and perhaps from the very first writing of the human race,
as we may see by comparing the two (i.e., the signature of the
Maori chiefs and the script of the 'speaking board' of Easter
Island) with the oldest seal impressions from the Valley of the
Indus."*

A brief sketch may be attempted here of the history of the Maori
nation after its contact with the Europeans in the 18th century.

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* Hine ngaro = juana-indriya?
† Among Hindus it is forbidden to awaken a sleeping man suddenly; he should
be gently patted into wakefulness, as the soul goes wandering away during sleep.
* History of World's Art. P. 54.
We have seen that this race of ancient Indian lineage came to New Zealand from the Society and the Cook Island groups, some time between 950 A.D. and 1350 A.D., the latter date marking the arrival of the "Great Fleet". By the time the White man set his foot on these cold and not-too-fertile islands in the last decade of the 18th century, the Maoris had been settled in New Zealand for well-nigh six or seven hundred years. They had spread themselves over the whole of the North Island and a major part of the South one. They had every right, therefore, to be considered the natives of the land and its owners by the right of discovery, continued occupation, and reasonable exploitation. There were fixed settlements and permanent habitations all along the coast, and the community had developed a political and social system and strong racial traditions, which would have entitled them to international recognition in normal circumstances. But the circumstances were not normal; to the average European of this era, the law of the jungle was the fundamental article of his creed, at least so far as non-Whites were concerned. The European nations of the 17th and 18th centuries considered themselves to be entitled to rule and to exploit those portions of the world (by divine right and by Papal bulls!) which were occupied by coloured peoples, who had neither the power to resist nor the acumen to thwart the greedy and unscrupulous interlopers. The story which was written in streams of innocent blood in the two Americas was enacted on a smaller scale in Polynesia.

Captain Cook paid a fleeting visit to the two islands towards the close of the 18th century and was very favourably impressed with the people, whose strength he estimated at 150,000 (circa 1780 A.D.). Some other observers put the figure at 400,000, which is obviously an exaggeration, but it can perhaps be reasonably taken that there were approximately two lakhs of Maoris in the two islands and its environs, by the time the Whites came in some strength, i.e., by about 1830 A.D. The American War of Independence spelt the doom of Polynesia, in a way. It closed the door to migrations, to the deportations of convicts, and to general adventuring in the New World, for the European countries, Canada being too cold and inhospitable to count. Further, the dispossessed loyalists of America cried aloud for fresh homes and this was found for them for a time in Australia. The latter had been receiving, meanwhile, the criminal scums of the British Isles,
which to escape summary execution at home were willing to be transported to the antipodes, since the American colonists would no longer take them. Whalers followed in the wake of the convicts, and outdid them in brutality and crime. It was not long before the missionaries also found it necessary to step in, ostensibly in the cause of religion, "and to save the heathens" of Australia.

For all these people it was an easy step from New South Wales to New Zealand. The whalers were the first to touch at the strange land, mainly in order to escape the harbour dues in Australia and in order to obtain fresh food and ships' spares at easy cost, from "savages" who would take payment in beads, fish hooks, and occasionally a blanket, for tons of potatoes and timber. The whalers introduced also tobacco and alcohol as media of exchange, to the eternal discredit of the European, and to the utter demoralisation of the Maori. To use the expertise of the latter as rowers and harpooners, the greedy whale-hunters did not hesitate even to kidnap them. Some chiefs were thus captured and put in irons and flogged if they refused to do manual work. In the words of Marjorie Appleton:

"For the most part rough and ignorant men, the masters of whaling vessels and their crews do not seem to have considered that, as uninvited guests in New Zealand, they owed courtesy to the inhabitants, or that it behoved them to find out something about the customs and outlook of the people of the country. . . . .

"At that time flogging was a usual punishment aboard whaling ships from Europe and the United States. Whether or not the New Zealanders were aware of this circumstance, it did not lessen the seriousness of the insult when it concerned their own people. And for a chief to receive a blow was sacrilege indeed."

Missionaries led by Samuel Marsden came to New Zealand about 1820, and did something to halt the plunder and maltreatment of the natives. The Bible was translated into Maori (1827),

* "Male convicts were pardoned in large numbers whenever England was at war—and she was during the greater part of the 18th century—if they would enter either the Army or the Navy. Many of the soldiers and sailors who gave their blood to create the British Empire... were gaol-birds of the deepest dye, bred in the London slums and reared on crime of the vilest description". (The Wonderful Story of London, edited by B. Webster Smith, P. 271). India received a liberal quota of these 'heroes' of Britain, and Maori-land was not spared either.

† They Came to New Zealand.
and often the chiefs would bring a few sacks of potatoes in exchange for one copy of the Book! By 1838, thirty-five missions were functioning; they were mostly self-supporting, as they were able to obtain enormous tracts of most fertile land for just a song. In one instance, 1500 acres were obtained from a chief for 36 axeheads, worth perhaps 50 shillings! The average price paid was half a shilling an acre, but in many cases the Maoris were dispossessed without compensation. The new converts to Christianity worked the land for a share of the produce (and perhaps a few nails and fish-hooks thrown in) and every one was apparently happy, for some time at least.

Meanwhile, other (and different) Europeans were also busy with the fortunes of the Maori. These were escaped prisoners, deserting sailors and stowaways from Australia. The desperate sailor-captains also added some variety to this melange of evil. "To permit such men to get into New Zealand was tantamount to emptying a prison into a country in which there were no laws and no police," says a writer. The trading stations set up by these people became hotbeds of crime and loot, and the fair islands were becoming a plague-spot in more senses than one, a refuge for scoundrels gathered from the slums of English ports, and congenital malefactors who were not above setting tribe against tribe, merely to fish in troubled waters. The confusion and terror caused by these wretches, possessed of modern weapons and a hardened conscience, can be easily imagined. One incident of a particularly revolting nature may serve as a sample of the general situation.

I quote:

"In order to avenge his uncle, Te Rauparaha obtained the help of a trader named Stewart, who in 1830 came with his brig Elizabeth into Cook Strait. For a payment of thirty tons of New Zealand flax, Stewart agreed to take Te Rauparaha and his armed warriors, hidden aboard the Elizabeth to Akaroa.

"Stewart there posed as having come to trade, and the Chief, Tamaiharanui, and his party were lured aboard the ship.

"Thus the most august and high-born chief of the South Island, with his wife, his young daughter and a large number of his people, including lesser chiefs, were trapped. Te Rauparaha and his followers set the village on fire; a few of the inhabitants escaped, the rest were killed. The chief himself, who was put in irons, and his wife, were held in captivity. Another trader, a
Mr Montifiore of Sydney, persuaded Stewart to release Tamaihareanui from irons; but the chief and his wife were still held prisoners as security until the flax was delivered. They were then handed over to Te Rauparaha and his tribesmen, to meet death as Te Rauparaha chose.

"An account of his infamy having gone before him, Stewart was arrested on arriving at Sydney. But he went unpunished for the lack, it is said, of enough witnesses of his misdeeds!"

To add to the horror of the situation, the whalers and the escaped convicts introduced new and deadly diseases to the unimmunised population. The white and black plagues (so familiar to the British) and some disreputable social infections newly propagated from Europe played havoc with the Maoris, as they did with the populations in the other Oceanic lands, as we shall see later. In New Zealand, half the population (perhaps a hundred thousand souls) was wiped out by these diseases in the course of about 25 years. This, against which the healthy natives had no immunity, destroyed no less than 50,000 people in a decade. At the end of the 19th century, the Maori population had been reduced from 200,000 to about 25,000! It was one of the greatest near-genocides in history, its saving grace being that it was not a planned one. But British statesmen were not wanting who thought the Maori was earmarked for eventual extinction, even as the Red Indian was thought to be. The missionaries, of course, protested against this view; apart from other considerations, the disappearance of the heathen would have closed down most missions and left these Soldiers of Christ without a vocation.

Meanwhile, the misconduct of the whalers and the other seafaring gentry (several hundred of whom were visiting New Zealand annually) assumed such a terrible magnitude that the Governor of New South Wales was appealed to for protection, mainly in the interest of the peaceful White settlers themselves, but without avail (1832). At that time the White population was put at 150, but in 1838 it had multiplied fourfold. To the good of the Maori (or rather to his misfortune) the climate of New

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* We can only hope that the death was short and swift for this Chief (who should be considered a sort of King).

† The present Maori population of New Zealand is put at 180,000 (including those of mixed blood).
Zealand was found suitable for European colonisation. Soon companies were floated in England for establishing large British settlements in the islands. One Mr Wakefield (who had sojourned in an English prison for 2 years) took the lead in this adventure, after some initial ventures had ended in disaster. The missionaries naturally opposed European colonisation, mostly from genuinely humane considerations. They were, however, accused of not facing reality and of being Utopian. In the words of Marjorie Appleton:

"When Europeans arrived in New Zealand, about 100,000 or perhaps 200,000 people were occupying a land of potential fertility and wealth and of an area similar to that of the British Isles. Yet it was so undeveloped that its inhabitants lived on the edge of want. For a people with their primitive methods of obtaining food, it was over-populated. In European eyes, it was scarcely populated at all, and someone was going to fill this empty land. A farmer in Britain today who farms his land ill, may be deprived of it; and it is difficult to imagine the great American Continents having been left sacred to its barbaric civilisations and its nomad tribes, so that today it would be without any of its White population and the great modern states of North, Central, and South America would not exist.

"The supporters of organized colonization did not wish to take from the native people something of which they were making use, but to develop that which, on account of the primitive state of their civilization, they were incapable of using."

The arguments of this well-informed writer have only too familiar a ring. The Japanese flaunted these sentiments in their adventures in Manchukuo. Hitler used a similar reasoning to support his onslaught on Russia in the last war. In the not-distant past they have been used not only with reference to the two Americas, but also apropos of the European exploitation of the coloured man in Africa, particularly in the Congo and in Nigeria. How well can these very pleas be used to justify the onward march of the Aryan peoples, to the east, as well as to the west, of Sapta Sindh, a march which was characterised, not by bloodshed, decimation and rapine, but by friendship, uplift, and benign acculturation!

* and against the White-Australia policy of the sixth continent. There are millions of acres of good land in Australia suitable for settlement by coloured peoples, which are lying untilled because of this policy.
To continue: The bid to "make the wilderness bloom" (of course, to the advantage of the White man) continued unabated. Wakefield succeeded in floating his New Zealand Colonisation Company, and he set sail in May 1839 with the first band of colonists (including a Maori guide) after evading a Government attempt to stop him. He had already sold 100,000 acres of land in New Zealand (at £2 an acre!) and there was a rush from various quarters to stake claims in Maori-land. The story of New Zealand land purchases is one which should make every European hang his head down in shame; it is a saga of deceit, coercion, and downright swindle, as we shall see. Meanwhile, the British government, (prodded doubtless by the missionaries) announced that it was unwilling to assume political rights over New Zealand, "unless with the free, intelligent consent of the natives", and issued a proclamation that all land-purchases in that country would remain unrecognised, unless derived or confirmed by a grant from Her Majesty's Representative in the Islands, Mr. Hobson, who soon arrived at Waitangi and summoned all the local chiefs for a conference to decide if Britain should assume overlordship of the Islands. This palaver resulted in the famous Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 (called in Maori 'Puka'—Sanskrit: Pustaka or Book) which two leading chiefs of the North Island signed on behalf of all the rest. The two articles of the Treaty read as follows:

**Article the first**

"The chiefs of the confederation of the united tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely, and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said confederation or individual chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess, over their respective territories, as the sole sovereigns thereof.

**Article the second**

"Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in
their possession. But the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on that behalf."

It is one thing to make a treaty and quite another to translate it into practice, as the confiding Maori chiefs (who represented only a fraction of their race) only too soon found out. On paper everything looked right and proper. High-sounding expressions professing loyalty to the native land-owners’ paramount interests were copiously used in official decrees. Copies of the Treaty were distributed all over the Islands to as many as 550 chiefs.

Meanwhile the Maori had become a great grower of wheat and of other vegetables like the ordinary potato, which had been introduced by the Westerners. In the pre-European days the Maori was the most industrious of men, as universally attested by foreign observer. In a regressive stone-age culture he had carried out large-size irrigation works and agricultural operations by communal labour. He cleared hills, felled trees, and built beautiful houses and substantial fortifications by his own labour, initiative and ingenuity. But he was not left to enjoy the fruits of his labour without serious ado.

The land-deals which followed the Treaty of Waitangi form a sordid story. The Europeans took advantage of the chiefs’ love for fire arms, to put through deals which were, to say the least, most unfair; instances are on record where whole villages had been obtained for a few muskets and a barrel of gun-powder. Further the deals were always accompanied by scenes of drunken orgies and dissipation which were something totally foreign to the New Zealand scene. The Maori’s first taste of European civilization now was usually via the bottle of rum which the Whites so temptingly dangled before him. Grog-shops were set up by low-Whites near the Land Registration Offices, and often the Maori signed away his estate for a mere handful of money, in a daze of intoxication. Not infrequently thousands of acres of good land were thus bartered away for a few bottles of liquor. This disreputable state of affairs struck even the Government as undesirable; it moved the Land Record Offices away from the rum-shops. "The trusting and unsophisticated chiefs were often victimised in a more
blatant fashion through the chicanery and double-dealing of Pakeha agents,” says a writer, who is not otherwise too critical of the Whites. In one instance, 40,000 acres were bought of a Maori nobleman for 50 spades and a few axes!

The result of all this was a sudden moral and physical degeneration in the condition of the Maori in general, and of the chiefs in particular. The latter often found themselves in dire want once they had spent away, in a hectic spree, the few hundred (or occasionally, thousand) pounds the wily White buyers had passed on to them. Within a few years of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), the situation was that the 200,000 Maoris had with them only four million acres of land, while the Whites (whose population at that time could not have been much larger) had collared 57 million acres, i.e., 90% of the useful land in the two islands. The colonial government tried to correct the mischief by establishing Land Dispute Courts but without any success, as these courts were notoriously partial to the newcomers and its rules and procedure were often a mystery to the chiefs. Although the sale of all the 57 million acres was challenged in these courts by the Maoris, the courts could or would do little to right the wrong. Forcible measures were taken by the settlers to oust the natives; in one incident, 20 Europeans lost their lives while trying to dispossess Te Ranpurata, a well-known chief. As a sequel to this contretemps, the new Governor wholly surrendered to the land-sharks and even waived the pre-emptive right of the Crown to buy half the land at agreed prices, a right which had been put in the Waitangi Treaty obviously to protect the Maoris. The New Zealand Colonisation Company was also exempted from the ceiling on land purchases which had been imposed on it to prevent excessive exploitation of its known bargaining strength and lack of scruple. The new Governor (Captain Grey) moreover took rigorous action against chiefs allegedly defaulting on their ‘agreements’ with the New Zealand Colonisation Company; for instance, Te Ranpurata was arrested and coerced, even though it was proved that the alleged sale was unconscionable, and that in fact he (or any other chief) had no right to alienate village lands which, as we have seen, were the joint property of all the villagers, held and utilised by them in common.

The grant of self-rule to New Zealand in 1854 spelt more misfortune to the Maori nation. Previously all important decisions were either taken in London or approved there, and the conduct
of local officials was subject to scrutiny by the Colonial Office, which was not without its recurring attacks of liberalism and good conscience. With the transfer of power to the settlers themselves, the Maori’s cause was as good as lost. He was left with only four million acres of land (75% of which was mountain, forest and sand) while 57 million acres of land suitable for agriculture and cattle and sheep-farming, were left with the Whites, whose population continued to mount meanwhile at a phenomenal rate. The natives were badly disillusioned. When they signed the Puka of Waitangi they went about saying, “We have given the shadow to the Queen and retained the substance with us”; but now, after 20 years, they were wiser and much sadder. Threatened with wholesale evictions from village communities, on the basis of ‘sales’ which were in all cases illegal and in many instances fraudulent, the leading chiefs formed in 1859 a League Against Land Sales, under the headship of the venerable Te Rangitake and Te Tamihana. These two approached the Governor for an interview, but were refused permission to see him. In defiance, all the chiefs met and elected as ‘King’, Te Whero, with authority to treat with the Governor on equal terms. The latter, of course, refused to recognise the ‘King’ and expedited measures for the forcible occupation of the villages. The patience of the Maori race soon reached the breaking point and war-drums started sounding in many villages. The famous Maori War of 1861 was quickly under way, and it was to last, with one or two uneasy breaks, for 10 years.* Governor Browne declared King Whero an outlaw and Imperial (British) troops started pouring in to help the colonials. After a few inconclusive engagements a truce was arranged in 1862, but this was soon broken by the Europeans, who now had an added reason for dispossessing the Maori, as gold had been discovered in 1863. Soon the scums of the mining villages were pouring in from Australia, where the gold boom had meanwhile abated. In the Second Maori War, a unique feature was noticed, viz., that of the Maori fighting with the Whites, against his own kith and kin. The professional soldiers from Britain, with their better arms and training were able to inflict severe defeats on the Maoris who, despite

* A Royal Commission of 1926 (appointed to examine the land deals) said: “The natives were treated as rebels and war declared against them before they had engaged in rebellion of any kind; and in the circumstances, they had no option but to fight in their own self-defence.”
their indomitable courage and knowledge of the terrain, could not withstand the numerical superiority of the British or their quick-firing artillery. The Maoris were persuaded to surrender, but in 1868 the Third Maori War broke out, which lasted till 1871, under the brilliant leadership of the famous guerilla fighter, Te Kooti, who thwarted all British attempts to capture him.

The ten year war had put back Maori progress by fifty years; apart from the loss of the flower of their manhood, the natives were driven away from all the best lands and reduced to sore straits for a living. But out of evil comes some good, often unexpectedly. The wars had opened the eyes of the colonials to the real character and worth of the Maori, whose reckless courage and chivalry had received considerable notice in the British press. The Maori had fought against great odds and had come out with his reputation un tarnished. Many were the tales which were told by the White soldiery about the natives’ magnanimity and sporting spirit. Further, much Maori blood had been shed in the British cause and this was not forgotten. Under promptings from the British publicists, the local colonial population gradually came to realise that the Maoris were no ordinary ‘native’ race, and a new respect was born for this simple and valorous people. Furthermore, the intrepidity which the Maori had displayed in the wars was such as to deter, once and for all, even the fool-hardy colonials from trying conclusions with the ‘natives’ on the battle-field again!

After the peace of 1871, a vigorous attempt at rehabilitating the Maori was initiated by the Whites, whose conscience was far from easy at the causes and the consequences of the wars. Today the Maori is a highly respected member of the community. Education is widespread among them and their old habits of life are yielding place to new ones, not all of them desirable. Some Maoris have reached high office (such as that of Ministers), and there is no colour bar against a race which had so uniquely proved its moral fibre and its mettle. But the 180,000 Maoris now living

* “The Maori warriors proved to have courage and a strange kind of sportsmanship that made the British military might look sickly...... The British could never defeat them decisively and were often at a moral as well as at a military disadvantage”. (R.C. Suggs, The Island Civilizations of Polynesia—P. 203).

† Like Sir James Carroll, Sir Maui Pomare, Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir R. Buck.
in the two islands have still only four million acres of land, which is woefully inadequate for an essentially agricultural people wedded to an active life in the free and open countryside. The Maori now feels crowded in his own villages and there is an unhealthy drift to the towns, to the habits of which he is by nature unsuited. Where there was always a strident song in his heart in former days, there is now often a little ache; while the 'tatau' on his face has disappeared, there are other sad lines etched on his countenance, betokening economic instability and political regression.

NOTE ON MAORI COSMOGONY

and

RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES

I The Origin of the Universe.

The religious ideas of the Maoris are definitely of the imported, and not of the indigenous, variety. They reveal, as do their social organisation and physical achievements, the inspiring influences of the complex culture obtaining in those areas from which their ancestors had migrated to the basaltic or coral islands of the Pacific. To quote Donald Mackenzie:

"It is evident that the seafarers who discovered new homes in the Pacific did not forget all they had previously known, and begun afresh to formulate religious beliefs and customs of a 'primitive' character. They were accompanied by priests who formed a hereditary caste and perpetuated the lore and mental habits of that caste. At sea they acted as pilots, and were supposed to be able to propitiate the gods in times of peril; on land they were the spiritual guides of the people. The chiefs ruled by divine right, and were supposed to be descended from, and to be earthly representatives of, the gods."

It is true that the detailed pattern of religious practices and beliefs varied from island group to island group (e.g., in the method of the disposal of the dead) but such differences existed even in India (the putative Hawaiiki of the Polynesian). In broad outlines, the basic religious beliefs and ideas about cosmogony were uniform throughout the whole of the Pacific Islands. It has to be recognised that the high priests of Poly-
nesia (like religious heads elsewhere) did not reveal all they knew to the common people. In New Zealand particularly, there were distinct grades in the spiritual hierarchy. The highest class consisted of the very aristocracy of religion, the exponents of the cult of the Supreme Being, called AO, or IO of the Hidden Face, by the Maoris. This cultus was confined to the priests of the first rank and their secrets, practices and teachings were highly venerated and were intensely 'tapu' so far as the common people were concerned. The lower-grade priests were concerned with the village and tribal gods and some were no better than shamans. It was this low class which came easily and closely in contact with the Pakeha, with the result that the latter often assumed these shamanistic practices to be typical of Maori religion as a whole, without gauging the metaphysical profundity of that religion.

Maori beliefs have much in common with Hindu ideas of the neo-Vedic times and Mackenzie finds traces of their influences even among the Aztecs of Mexico. To quote:

"There are references, as in India and Mexico, to cataclysms by fire and flood before the creation of the present world. 'Creation begins,' as Dixon says of the Hawaiian account, 'in the origin of a new world from the shadowy reflex of one that is past. . . . . . ."

The Supreme deity of the Maoris was known as Tangaroa (or Taaroa) and the following poem was recited by the High Priests about him:

"He abides, (exists). Taaroa by name,
In the immensity (space).
There was no earth, there was no sky,
There was no sea, there was no mankind.
Taaroa calls on high.
Existing alone he became the universe.
Taaroa is the root (origin);
The rocks (foundation);
Taaroa is the sands;
Taaroa stretches out the branches (is wide-spreading);
Taaroa is the light;
Taaroa is within;
Taaroa is (? the germ);
Taaroa is below (beneath);
Taaroa is enduring (form);
Taaroa is wise;
He created the land of Hawaii,
Hawaii great and sacred
As a crust (or shell) for Taaroa."

We know that in Hindu mythology the egg-shell legends frequently appeared under the name of Brahmanda (vide, e.g., the Hiranya Garbha sukta in the Rig Veda).* In the Manusmriti it is stated that the "Self Existent Being desired to originate living creation. He first created the water called 'narah' and then a seed; he flung the seed into the waters and it became a golden egg which had the splendour of the sun. From the egg came forth Brahma, father of all, and having come from the water, was called 'Narayana'." The Vayupurana carries the same story, in which Purusha entered the egg and broke it into a twain from which the earth, the sky, the quarters, etc., were evolved.

I give below a translation of another Maori religious chant which is remarkable for its sublimity of thought and expression, which is quite out of tune with their regressive stone-age culture; and which seems to echo the spiritual beliefs which found first expression on the banks of the Sindhu six or seven thousand years ago.

"I dwelt within the breathing-space of immensity;
The Universe was in darkness, with water everywhere.
There was no glimmer of dawn, no clearness, no light.
And he began by saying these words,
That he might cease remaining inactive:
'Darkness, become a light-possessing darkness,'
And at once light appeared.
(He) then repeated those self-same words in this manner
That he might cease remaining inactive:
'Light, become a darkness-possessing light,'
And again an intense darkness supervened.
Then a third time he spake saying:
'Let there be one darkness above,
Let there be one darkness below (alternate),
Let there be one light above,

* Rig Veda X 134; the reader will be interested to know that one of the Hindu mahayajnas was Hiranyagarbhadana, the gift of the Golden Egg. This was frequently observed by our ancient royalty, as numerous epigraphs testify.
Let there be one light below (alternate),
A dominion of light, a bright light'.
And now a great light prevailed.
(Io) then looked to the waters which compassed him about,
And spake a fourth time saying:
'Ye waters of Tai-Kama, be ye separate:
Let Heaven be formed.'
Then the sky became suspended.
'Bring forth thou Tupua-boro-nuku.'
And at once the moving earth lay stretched abroad.'*

D. A. Mackenzie observes in this connection thus: "The metaphysical concepts of the Maori, which appear to have a history rooted in India, have a striking character..... The extracts of their memorised ancient literature of the higher priestly class resemble the speculations of early Hindu thinkers."

**II. The story of the Great Deluge**

Elsewhere in these chapters, I have indicated the undoubtedly Vedic origin of the Great Deluge myth, so vividly described in the Brahmana and Puranic literature. I have shown that the myth, travelling west to Sumer and Babylon, ultimately reached the Aryan colony of the Khetas, from whom the Hebrews appear to have boldly and bodily lifted the story.

But the Deluge legend of the Aryans travelled east also with the movements of the race. It is usually connected in the Oceanic Islands with the Yuga theory of the Hindus, but there are exceptions. The legend finally also travelled to Mexico, where the Yuga principle was developed along with that of a cataclysmic deluge (the maha pralaya of the Hindus).†

* It is curious that the Bible should convey almost identical theories. "In the beginning......the earth was without form and void and darkness was on the face of the deep...... God said, "Let there be light" and there was light...... God divided the light from the darkness and called the light, Day, and the darkness, Night...... and God made the firmament and divided the waters which were under the firmament from those above and God called the firmament Heaven". (The Book of Genesis I) Incidentally it has been suggested that the monotheism of Ichchnaton, the 'heretic' King of Egypt, may have influenced the authors of the Old Testament. (For instance, Psalm 104 is considered as traceable to Ichchnaton's "Hymn of the Sun")

† vide Chapter X of this Volume.
The Maoris were also not strangers to the Deluge theory, but they gave it a peculiar twist. In New Zealand the disaster is brought about by Puta; and S. Percy Smith equates Puta with Buddha. "The word Buddha" (he says in his book Hawaiiki) "is an impossible form in any Polynesian dialect, as at present constituted and it is quite clear that the form which the name would take in Polynesian will be Puta." According to the Maoris, Puta was asked by God to instill theism afresh in man. "He built a temple to teach men to be noble but the people would not heed him." In great chagrin, Puta ordered the turning upside down of the whole world. All perished except Puta and his people. In another variation of the legend, he is reported to have caused a great flood, with similar consequences. He himself built a great raft which he filled with much food and dogs (!) and holy water. After 5 days of rain the raft sailed down the river Tohinga (Deva Ganga?) and finally reached dry land in Hawaiiki, or the original sacred home of the Maoris. It is clear that the New Zealanders have adopted the Hindu legend of Manu and the great fish, but given the story quite a twist by introducing Buddha into it. Incidentally, the story shows that when the Maoris were in Hawaiiki (i.e., India) Buddha had been recognised as a great semi-divine figure (perhaps in Asoka's time), and as the Prophet of man-kind.

III. The Fire-walking Ceremony

Walking over red-hot charcoal or white-hot stones, in honour of goddess Draupadi, is an ancient South Indian custom, to which references are found in the pre-Saka literature. From India the rite seems to have travelled all over the world, wherever Indian races or religious ideas have permeated. In China and Japan, in Mexico and the Pacific islands (particularly Society Islands, Tonga and Hawaii), the ceremony had been in practice for many centuries. In New Zealand also, the rite was formerly widely in vogue, but has died out within living memory, presumably because of the restrictions by the missionaries. Mr. Elsdon Best, writing on the subject, says, "So far as I can see in New Zealand its purport was to add mana, prestige and renown to the religious functions at which the ceremony was allowed to be performed. It was called Umu, because of the ovens (umu) at which the stones were heated."
THE ARYANS IN POLYNESIA

SECTION-B

We have done with the Maoris (or Mayuras); we may now take a rapid look at the other big Polynesian insular groups, mainly to spot out such evidences of their Aryan lineage as might come to view. We have seen that New Zealand was originally populated from colonists hailing from the Society Islands; Tahiti is the most important of them. Today it is the Little Paris of the Pacific; here flourish the bougainvillea, the croton, the oleandar, and a veritable wilderness of roses of all hues and sizes. The air is thick with the scent of flowers and one is struck by the incredible productiveness of this rich oasis of the ocean, with its luxuriant orchards of orange, lime, mango, banana, avaca-pear and 'Malay apple', producing them in such profusion that it could supply the wants of ten times the population of these Islands.*

The people are gay with an abandon characteristic of the French culture which they have imbibed; they have been called lotus-eaters, and charged with taking life easy, and without thought for the morrow. Their numbers dropped alarmingly in the last century, practically half the population being wiped out by the disease of tuberculosis, kindly gifted by the Europeans to their innocent hosts. Fortunately the ravages of this disease have now been overcome and the fall in population arrested. Tahiti now boasts of the same population which it had 150 years ago, but its composition meanwhile has vastly changed. The half-caste is now a material factor in society.

Tahiti is a charming roundish little island only 30 miles across, and with a peninsular appendix like a bunched tail. It is highly mountainous, with a volcanic peak, nearly 8000 feet high, rising in the centre. It is surrounded by coral reefs enclosing lagoons, whose calm waters reflect the colour of the azure deep. About the charms of Tahiti many literary figures have sung paeanos of praise, not the least of whom is R. L. Stevenson, whose grave is not far off. Beatrice Grimshaw thus describes her reactions: "Nowhere in all the South Seas is anything to be found more lovely, more fascinating and more full of subtle lingering charm than exquisite Tahiti. Its mountains are as beautiful and

* Bougainville, the French traveller, wrote: "I found in Tahiti the realisation of a Roussouesque dream; often I thought I was walking in the Garden of Eden."
The Islands of Tahiti, Hawaii and Easter.
grand as the best of the volcanic peaks which dot the blue Pacific. Its women are admittedly the most beautiful in the South Seas. . . . .

It possesses in itself a glamour, an atmosphere of romance that only Keats could have reproduced; Pierre Loti tried and succeeded moderately; Stevenson tried and failed altogether." In brief the magic of Tahiti is not to be drawn through the point of a pen or a brush or caught through the shutters of a camera; it must be experienced to be fully understood. Tahiti is the land of the eternal spring; the days are always breezy, thanks to the trade winds; and the nights are delightfully cool, without being cold. It was the scene of the epic adventure of the Mutiny on the Bounty (1813) and it was the land from which six beautiful vahines* were kidnapped and taken to Pitcairn Island by the mutineers. 150 of their descendants are still living today in Pitcairn!† Hermann Melville deserted his ship and look refuge here; and great many other white sailors also did a vanishing trick, when they saw Tahiti's exquisite climate and its adorable women. The Island was ruled by kings and queens of Aryan extraction for many centuries. The last dynasty, that of the Pomares, lasted till 1891, when the family became extinct and the French quietly took over de jure authority of a land, over which they had already had de facto power for over 50 years.‡

The Tahitians apparently formed the cream of the incoming Aryan peoples moving out of Indonesia in the early Saka centuries. Apart from outstanding physical characteristics, they were the most daring and skilful of the navigators, veritable Vikings of the East, who outdid the exploits of the Norsemen tenfold. Mr Percy Smith has recorded (from reliable evidence) the following voyages of a famous Tahitian sea-captain named Tangayya.§

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From Tahiti to Mauke and back</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,, Tahiti to Samoa and back</td>
<td>2,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,, Tahiti to Savaii</td>
<td>1,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>,, Savaii to Avaiki and back</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Sanskrit: bhagini = woman, sister.
† The total mixed population in the Pitcairn island is over 1000 today.
‡ C/14 tests indicate that the earliest arrivals in Tahiti came in the I or II century A.D. Handy thinks that a second wave led by Ariis (i.e., Aryas) came in 600 A.D. The latter built many temples or maraes, which were put in charge of an organised priest-hood
§ A rather intriguing name to South Indians!
From Uvea to Upolu, Samoa .......................... 270
" Upolu to Uvea and back .......................... 540
" Upolu to Fiji ........................................ 480
" Fiji to Easter Island ................................. 4,200
" Easter Island to Moorea ............................. 2,400
" Moorea to Porapora .................................. 150
" Porapora to Fiji ...................................... 1,680
" Fiji to Paumotu ....................................... 2,400
" Paumotu to Taha ............................... 720
" Taha to Rarotonga .................................. 540

Total .................................................. 18,360

Mr. Smith is of opinion that Avaiki was in Indonesia, but
as he could not exactly locate it, he could not give the distance
traversed. The Maoris depicted in their ancient carvings, and
remembered in their traditions, a tusked sea-monster which
appears to be the walrus, or the sea-lion or the sea-elephant.
"Long before our ancestors had learnt to venture out of sight of
land," writes Mr. Smith, "these bold sailors had explored the
Antarctic seas and traversed the Pacific Ocean from end to end."
As regards the identification of Avaiki, in the above list, Donald
A. Mackenzie makes the following observation:
"Mr. J. R. Logan says that the name 'Java, Jaba, Saba, Zaba,
Jawa, Hawa is the same word' and that it is, in Indonesia, used
for rice-fields which are irrigated. The word is primarily con-
nected with the flowing of water. He says further that 'Sawa,
Jawa, Saba, Jaba, &c., has evidently in all times been the capital
local name in Indonesia', and adds that 'the Bugis apply the name
Jawa, and Jawaka to the Moluccas'. It is possible, as has been
suggested, that the original Hawa, Jawa, Java or Sawa was an
area in India. The Polynesians who settled on the islands of the
Pacific were not only acquainted with agriculture, but in some
cases irrigated large areas. In Hawaii it is said that the term
kanawai, which is used for laws in general, originally referred to
the ancient irrigation laws.

"According to Maori tradition, Hawaiiki-nui (new or great
Hawaiiki) was situated in a land called Iriihia*, which the New

* Can Iriihia be the same as Aryaka or Aryake, known to ancient authors?
* Ptolemy mentions Aryake as does the author of the Periplus. Varahamihira
* refers to Aryaka in South India, along with Kanchi, Maruchippattana (Muziris),
* Simhala and Pandya-nad. Modern historians equate Aryaka with Arya-nadu,
* lying to the north of Kanchipura and extending up to the West-Coast.
Zealand scholars identify with India, as has been indicated. Mr. Elsdon Best says that, according to the Maoris, Iriñia was 'an extremely hot land, wherein grew the prized food called ari—(arice=rice?) a land inhabited by many dark-skinned peoples, a land of great extent'. From Iriñia the seafarers migrated to the Dutch East Indies about 65 B.C., and about the fifth century A.D. Samoa was reached. New Zealand appears to have been first visited about the seventh century.'

Concerning the remark of Mackenzie about 'kanawais,' the following interesting information may be worth recording. In the Kauii Island (in the Sandwich or Hawaii group) there are remains of two irrigation canals several miles in length, called anawai (kanawai) whose size and skilled design for taking water downhill for irrigation, astonished the early Europeans. I have already referred to tunnels, some of them miles in length, constructed by Aryan engineers in Indonesia, to let down water from mountain lakes, for rice-culture lower down.

About the sea-faring abilities of the Tahitian, some evidence has already been given. James Cook was wonderstruck with the size and seaworthiness of the Polynesian craft (of which there were three varieties) and the ability with which they were handled by the Tahitians. They were all shaped by hand, by painstaking finishing with stone implements. Some were made out of the trunk of only one tree (a few 80 to 100 feet long), but the bigger seagoing vessels were made of planks cunningly joined together and bound by fibre ropes and caulked with resin and copra fibre. William Lockerly (who was a prisoner in one such boat) writes: 'Cooke's account of the swift sailing of these vessels is quite correct, however incredible it may appear to those who have not seen them. With a moderate wind they will sail 20 miles an hour.' Small huts were built on these vessels, in which images of the gods were carried. The number of war canoes owned by the Tahitian king was very large, and regattas and naval reviews were common, in which the sacred boats carrying the images (kept in charge of the priests) were the largest and most magnificent. Cook at one time saw 160 double canoes "very well equipped, manned and armed, the warriors wearing breast-plates and helmets," along with 170 smaller ones, all of them carrying.

* Such boats are common, even now, in South India. Madras has a large number of them, in addition to the famous 'catamarans'.
about 8000 men. Ellis was reminded of the Argonauts and of Homeric vessels when he saw the Tahitian navy. In double canoes, two sails (made of pandanus fibre) were used. The single canoes had outriggers, without which they would capsize quickly in rough seas, but those operating in lagoons, harbours, rivers and quiet waters discarded this device. When there was no wind, the boats were paddled; the oarsmen worked their paddles most rhythmically and in unison, at the command of the leader. Preserved food and drink were carried over long voyages through ingenious contrivances; (e.g., coconuts and water-bottles of gourd were floated in fibre nets and dragged after the boats to prevent over-loading and excessive draiage). The ancient mariners also knew of a leaf* (now forgotten) which would assuage thirst for several days, and even enable them to safely drink salt water.

The Tahitians have lost neither their seamanship nor their spirit of sheer adventure. The following two instances narrated by Major de Curton, will suffice to confirm the truth of this statement:

"Somewhere about 1936 a party of Paumotou, from the island of Tureia, set off to harvest copra on a tiny desert island thirty or forty miles away. After a few weeks the men, tired of waiting for the boats which were to take them home, resolved to improvise a raft out of tree trunks tied together with strips of bark, with plaited coconut leaves for a sail. They steer'd for Tureia but soon a strong south wind drove them from their course. Not in the least disconcerted, the Chief, Maru, decided to let the raft drift and, living on a few coconuts, the little party accomplished

* Was it the coca leaf? This leaf was known as "Gods' gift" in Peru and used moderately and under rigid control, as narrated by me elsewhere. It need be scarcely emphasised that Aryan culture and spiritual beliefs were severely opposed to the use of narcotics, except for medicinal purposes. The reader may be interested to know that opium was un-known in India till the coming of the Mussalmans. (There is no word equivalent to it in Sanskrit or in Prakrit.) The poppy plant was first grown in the Mediterranean and used by the Greeks (as mentioned in the Iliad). The Arabs brought it to India in the 10th century, and later carried it to China in the 14th century. (Marco Polo does not refer to it in his Travels.) The Chinese became addicts, 27% of the adult males smoking opium in the early 20th century; and the British used force to continue the valuable opium trade with China. Free India has abolished this nefarious commerce and the Chinese seem to have conquered this national scourge."
a journey of six hundred miles which brought them to Tahiti where they landed neither proud nor surprised at their performance.

"At about the same time three young Mangarevians, the eldest hardly sixteen, made up their minds to go to Tahiti to taste the joys of modern civilization. They got hold of a fourteen foot sailing-boat, shipped some coconuts and a sack of flour, and one night slipped quietly out of the lagoon of Mangareva. Guided only by the setting sun, they arrived in sight of the peaks of Tahiti, after covering a thousand miles. But the weeks at sea gave Nano, the leader of the expedition, time to ponder the consequences of their escapade. Fearing severe punishment from the island authorities for arriving in a stolen boat, they gave up the idea of landing. But there could be no question of turning back, as their supplies had run out and, more important, lack of thread prevented them from mending their tattered sail. Hio (number two in the boat) suggested going to some deserted bay in the Leeward Islands for a fresh supply of coconuts. So another four hundred mile voyage brought them to Bellinghausen, the last island in the group, beyond which lies only the vast expanse of the Pacific. Unfortunately the island was inhabited, and the fine adventure came to an end when the intrepid travellers were handed over to the police. Torn between duty, which ordained punishment for such unquestionable larceny, and admiration for the boys' valour, the magistrate contented himself with putting them and their tiny boat on board a schooner which took them back to their starting point—without having allowed them to enjoy the pleasures of the capital or the cinemas which had been the point of their adventure."

How many races can produce teenagers who would sail over 1000 miles across a tempestuous sea, in a boat only 14 feet long, merely to eat cookies and see a cinema show at the other end? It is no wonder that the great Tangayya was able to go almost round the world on his doubtless much larger canoes! Says Edwin Grant Burrows (a UNESCO expert): "Of all the peoples who have found their way about the earth with the aid of this kind of applied astronomy (i.e., nautical star lore) the Polynesians have the best claim to be world champions."

Of the beauty and grace of the Tahitians who first met the Whites, the reports of the latter are uniformly enthusiastic. Says

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*Distance between England and Iceland.
one explorer: "The men are noted for their fine stature and grace-
ful easy bearing. The women are tall, with smooth wavy hair and a
sweet, gentle expression. They have large eyes fringed with long
lashes; their noses, though slightly broad, are generally aquiline;
and the clean lines of their figures are remarkable. Their rather
large ears and feet are their only weak points." Alas for the
Tahitians! Since 1850 much interbreeding with foreigners
(Chinese and low-Whites, particularly) has told on the average
physiognomy of the nation. The natives of the Marquesas on the
other hand are still remarkable for their light skin and handsome
features, as they have eschewed promiscuous liaisons. Says Major
de Curton (a former Governor of French Oceania): "They (the
Marquesans) are the whitest and purest of the race and their
features are more regular and clear-cut; they bear a distinct
resemblance to the Asiatic Aryan type. Their impassive
countenance often reflects sternness, pride and nobility." The
Tahitian women, especially when young, are beautiful to a degree.
"They are pleasant, gentle, merry and sparkling. The Tahitian
women deserve all the admiration of painters and poets, won by
their charm, easy bearing and graceful carriage. Many of them
look like goddesses and have retained the gentleness of feature
which is part of the spell of Polynesia," says this French writer.

Although living in a stone age civilisation in the midst of
cruel wars and incessant tribal enmities, these ancient Aryan
peoples had their own high code of honour.* Wars were never
started without previous notice to the enemy (a red flag waved
over a mountain crest). Armistices were always arranged for the
enemy to collect and honour his dead, and even for a rest. After
the fight both parties fraternised, each sending presents to the
other's gods. "In fact," says a knowledgeable writer, "these wars
were more a sport than a demonstration of harted or thirst for
domination. They were more a game in which every one cheer-
fully took part, each anxious to out-do the other in daring and
strength."

The Tahitians had the same social organisation and religious
customs and laws as the Maoris of New Zealand, which is not
surprising. To quote de Curton:

* Honesty was a strong characteristic of the people. Parkinson, a companion
of Cook, after mentioning that their houses were without any fastenings, added
"Locks, bolts and bars are peculiar to civilised countries, where their moral theory
is of the best and their moral practices generally of the worst".
A 'marae' or sacred ground in Tahiti

A Tahitian girl picking pineapples.
“Community life was well ordered. In Tahiti the population was divided into three classes: the Arii or nobility, the raatira or land-owners, and the manahune* or the mass of the people. Laws generally took the form of taboo, infringement of which meant death. Taboo or sacred prohibition was a system of despotic rule imposed by the priests, whose power over the tribe equalled and often exceeded that of the Chiefs.”

The Tahitians worshipped many gods, and their mythology had something in common with that of the Greeks who borrowed heavily from the Hindus. The father of their gods was Taaroa, a sort of Jupiter (Sanskrit: Dyaus Pitar) to whom the Orero chanted in mystic poetry:

“Taaroa was his name; he was in the void; neither earth, nor sky, nor man. Taaroa calls but no answer comes. The only living thing, he became the world. The mountain peaks are Taaroa, the rocks are Taaroa, the sands are Taaroa. So has he named himself. Taaroa is the light of the sun, he is the seed, he is the root; he is the Incorruptible One, his was the strength which created the great and holy universe which is but a shell for Taaroa; it is he who sets it in motion, it is he who gives it harmony.”

As with the Maoris, music and dancing were the very breath of Tahitian life. The Tahitian ‘himene’ are remarkably attractive and their mass-singing is very impressive. There is enormous variety in their dance and both men and women display a sense of rhythm, animation and grace of high artistic appeal.

Finally for some Tahitiana: there was no cannibalism in the Society Islands, although ritual human sacrifices were not unknown. Mild spirituous liquor flowed freely, even before the Whites introduced stronger drinks. The coco-palm (which would not grow in New Zealand) furnished toddy and the orange tree a kind of wine, called pia anani. Pineapple (probably introduced from Indonesia) grew in plenty, along with the other familiarities of Polynesia. Today the half-caste women are not as handsome as the pure Polynesian, but many have blue eyes

* Manugana, in Sanskrit i.e., Common People.
† “Taaroa dwelt in a shell like an egg and it revolved continuously in space in darkness..... All was in a confluent state, until the Supreme One, breaking open his covering, created the earth, using one half of the shell as the sky”, says another song.
(gifted by White ancestors) and display an aptitude for clerical service. In the old days, the chiefs called Arii (Arya) were despotic and full of fight; most of the land was owned by them and by the Raatira or nobles (the Rangitira of New Zealand). But now land is more equitably owned and there is some social democracy of a very Bohemian type. The hold of utu was never very strong in Tahiti; insult was soon forgotten and revenge had not that overpowering attraction which it enjoyed in New Zealand. The male Chinese have intruded heavily into the South Sea Islands and have married local women in large numbers, thus creating a considerable half-Mongol population. All Society Islanders are now nominally Christian, but this alien religion seems to sit very lightly on them.*

Let us now have a look at the Oceanic island group which contains the largest Polynesian and mixed non-White population today (over half a million) and which Cook named the Sandwich Isles, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. The Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands lie in the extreme north of the giant triangle of Polynesia. Hawaii is nearer America than it is to either Easter Island or to New Zealand, which constitute the other two corners of the triangle. We have seen elsewhere that if Indonesia were placed over Europe it would extend from Ireland to Asia Minor, and Polynesia is four times larger than Indonesia in extent! Yet the inhabited area is small and the population extremely limited. Substantially the same language was spoken, and the same gods worshipped, in all the islands falling within this large triangle, a fact which makes it clear that, some time in the hoary past, the ancestors of these Islanders must have lived together in the same land, and inherited the same religion and culture. As mentioned elsewhere, the tradition of a common home was (and is) very strong among the Polynesians. Hawaii and New Zealand had the same historical memories of ancestral voyages from the common home. The Maoris called it Hawaiki and Tawhiti. The Sandwich people called it Hawai and Kahiki. It is clear that the Tahiti group of islands has the strongest claim to have been the base of operations of these ancient mariners, to whom a voyage

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* The whole island looked like one village, to the first Europeans. All houses were built 50 yards apart from each other; "under the shade of trees and surrounded by odoriferous shrubs" (Cook). Fruit trees and flower groves abounded everywhere, as in Kerala today.
of 2,000 miles without a stop-over was no extraordinary experience.

Because of the vast stretches of water over which they travel, the winds of the Pacific rarely suffer interruption and they blow more regularly and uniformly than the air-currents in other parts of the world. The winds blow over this ocean in two directions; from the equator down to 30° south we have the south-east trade winds; further south are the strong westerly winds known as the "Roaring Forties", winds which, for example, took the migrants back from Easter Islands to Tahiti and to Cook Islands, and Heyerdahl's Kontiki from Peru to Polynesia. North of the equator it blows steadily for 300 days in a year in a north-to-east direction. On the equator itself wind blows mildly and steadily eastward. With two trade winds to help them, it was not difficult for the Polynesians to sail long distances both ways. That they were well acquainted with these wind-streams and their seasons is clear from the traditions and the folklore of the Islanders. The winds could, of course, blow from unusual directions on occasion and develop into fearful storms, which were called "kona winds" in Hawaii; (Sanskrit: kona = angular, not straight).

The precise route by which the Aryan adventurers came to Hawaii is in some dispute. We have already noticed earlier the strong tradition, which is confirmed by various extraneous indications (e.g., the close similarity of language),* that the bulk of the immigrants into the Sandwich group came straight from Tahiti, about the same time as the Tahitians ventured southwards to New Zealand. But there are other theories; e.g., that the migrants into Hawaii (whose ancestors came from Indonesia and ultimately from Aryavarta) might have travelled via the Marianas, the Carolines, and the Marshall Islands. The establishment of Polynesian enclaves at Fatuna in the New Hebrides, at Reniel in the Solomons, and at Ontang Java (Sanskrit: Antara-yava) in the Lord Howe Island, indicates in this view the direction taken by the bulk of the Aryan colonists; consistently with this supposition it is possible that Samoa (which was probably reached in the 3rd or 4th century A.D.) might have served as a base for the northern exploration of the Pacific, via the Ellice, Gilbert and Marshall Islands, right up to Hawaii, a distance of over 2,500 miles in all.

* Wrote Cook in his diary: "The language in both places (Tahiti and Hawaii) may be said to be, almost word for word, the same".
As already mentioned, the boatmen guided themselves by the sun, the moon and the stars. It is not known if they used a compass, although the Aryans knew of a magical metallic fish, floating in oil inside a small box, and always pointing north. But the Polynesians had crude charts constructed out of sticks, in which the crests of the trade-wind belts were indicated by parallel pieces of wood stretched on a frame, and the number and position of the various islands included in that particular chart were shown by little pieces of coral attached to the sticks in accurate position. (Such stick-charts were in use till the early years of the 20th century.)† Probably most voyages started at night, when the friendly stars beckoned the hardy adventurers, who recognised many of them on the set courses and knew their positions in each month of the lunar calendar. Sirius was a favourite, but there were in all 13 “canoe-steerers,” whose positions were memorised with extraordinary accuracy. In the Northern Hemisphere, the guiding stars were the North Star and Aldebaran; south of the equator, the Southern Cross was the main guide. Navigation was taught in Hawaii (and other islands) to students who were expected to view the heavens as a cylinder on which were marked the paths or highways of the navigational stars, one such highway being

* In Hawaii, the Royal family preserved a calabash, which had a missing lid, and holes below the rim. It was used ‘to hold the winds’. By opening the lid a little and intoning the appropriate sacred song, an adept could call forth whatever strong breeze he wanted! The claim that the Chinese were the first to use the magnetic compass at sea is now somewhat discounted. To quote the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (XII P. 637): “Soon after 1100 A.D., the Chinese, Chu Yu, reported that in the period 1086-1099 the compass was used in navigation by foreign sailors going between China and Sumatra”. This trade was mostly in Indian or Moorish hands. It is likely that both these used the compass, long before the Chinese.

† The Polynesians were not ignorant of mapping the outlines of their insular habitats; “Tupapaya a Tahitian, when on the *Endeavour* (Cook’s) gave an account of his navigations and having a complete knowledge of the islands and having soon mastered the meaning and use of charts was able to give directions for making a chart of the (Society) Islands. Raraka (another Polynesian) was able to draw a map in chalk of the Panmore archipelago on the deck of Captain Wilkes’s vessel. Marshall Islanders possessed curious cane charts. Far superior were the maps found among the Mexicans, when the Spaniards invaded their country. Cadastral plans of villages and maps of the provinces of the Empire of the Aztecs, of towns and the coasts existed. Peru of the Incas had not only maps but also maps in relief. They were the (world’s) first relief maps”. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1957, XIV, P.837).
from the North Star to the Southern Cross. They were also told of the strange stars which would be seen outside the usual navigational paths, as for example, when going from Hawaii to New Zealand, across the equator. *

We have already seen what types of boats were used by these intrepid sailors. Those used for the long distance journeys were the outrigger canoes equipped with sails. Building such craft was a specialist’s job and the community therefore employed superintendents who were experts in boat-building. Each canoe had a name and special ceremonies accompanied its manufacture and launching.

We have seen something of the food situation in these islands. Broadly speaking, the pioneers must have been bitterly disappointed with the food, or the lack of it, on the Islands to which they came after bravely facing the elements. The Pacific islands were at that time notoriously lacking in comestibles. They had no animal life except fish and a few birds. The useful vegetables were scanty in the extreme. The cabbage tree, the pandanus, a few ferns and seaweeds furnished all the non-animal food, and even where they grew well, they could not sustain a large population. Grossly disillusioned (as they must have been after their sojourn in Java and Bali particularly), the pioneers had to transplant all the edible vegetables from Indonesia, viz., the plantain, the coconut, the breadfruit, the taro and the yam, and the sweet potato. † In addition, the dog and the fowl were imported and perhaps also the hog, although the latter never flourished in the islands to any extent. Pork was always a princely luxury.

The Hawaiians, like all the natives of Oceania, were in a technically stone-age culture, when the Europeans under Captain Cook first saw them. They produced fire by friction and had no metals in use, nor any pottery. They cooked in umus or ground-ovens of red-hot stone. They had no beasts of burden and no

* The famous astronomer, Dr. Maud Makemson, holds (by combining astronomy with mythology) that the pilots steered from the Society Islands to the Marquesas in the months of June, July and August, by following Spica as the morning star, and that they continued thus-wise till they reached the latitude of Hawaii, where Aldebaran appeared just over the sea. From Society Islands to Rarotonga the guiding star was Antares. From the latter to New Zealand it was “Venus by night and Sun by day”.

† To the list must be added the sugar cane and a variety of gourds.
written books. Yet they showed remarkable skill and powers of invention. In building, in irrigation works, in clothing, in their art, their systems of government and their philosophy, they showed themselves to have reached a high stage of development, a situation which obviously indicated that their stone-age culture was something forced on them by repressive geographical conditions. This was particularly the case with Hawaii itself and its environs, where a slightly advanced way of life had developed in the 500 years before the first Europeans touched the Islands. The native dress here showed greater variety and skill; in the making of the ‘tapa’ cloth, from the inner bark of trees like the paper mulberry, and in dyeing it in attractive colours and patterns, a good deal of ingenuity was exhibited. In the language of Kuykendall:

“To make an ordinary piece of coarse plain tapa is difficult and requires great skill. Even greater skill and knowledge were demanded of the few men and women who could dye the tapas with delicate shades of grey, red, brown, blue and yellow and print on them the beautiful patterns which make the old Hawaiian tapas priceless.”

The art of making ‘tapa’ cloth must have been taken from India, where our ancient literature frequently makes mention of “tree-garments”, to be worn even by the highly cultured members of the society, as a penance or in token of forsaking all the luxuries of civilization. The love of personal ornamentation is another prominent trait of the Hawaiian. By the use of flowers and of bird’s feathers in head and other dresses, and by tattooing their bodies in vigorous patterns, they tried to improve on nature, which after all had not been too niggardly in its gifts. In the

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*History of Hawaii.*

† Tapa in Sanskrit means penance. In the Ramayana, the gentle Sita abandons her fine embroidered silk - and - woollen vestments for apparel made from tree-barks, when she accompanies Sri Rama in his long exile into the Deccan forests. Kamban, the Tamil poet describes the scene thus:

“...When I prayed her to remain
At home and serve my mothers, as forest paths
Were thorny, wild and steep, her eyes grew red
And with a cloth of bark put on, she came
And stood beside me...”

(Rama’s message to Sita, sent through Hanuman.)
Picture of a Hawaiian Warrior as drawn by Captain Cook

A hula-hula dancer of Hawaii
words of a European writer, "The Hawaiian feather cloak ranks with the Persian carpet as a master-piece of human skill."

In gardening and agriculture, the Hawaiians revealed in full the genius of the Polynesian race. They made use of such native plants as were suitable for food, clothing, and medicine, and introduced many plants which were better than the ones which they found in the islands to which they came. They raised crops of sweet potatoes and taro sufficient to feed a large population, which implied that they had a good knowledge of soil, water and weather, and knew when and how to plant and to cultivate. Among the remarkable examples of ancient Hawaiian skill and industry are the irrigation channels (called anawai), which wind along the slopes via walled stone ditches and cross the gulleys in wooden flumes.

The language of the Sandwich Islanders was soft and musical without the harsh intonations one met with, occasionally, in New Zealand. The 'r' sounds were entirely replaced by 'l' (as in modern Chinese) and the 's' sounds by the 'sh', as a rule.* The vocabulary had more than 20000 words, and the number in daily use was remarkably large for a people who had no written books. The words and their combinations were capable of expressing a great variety, and fine shades of meaning. Much attention was paid to proper diction and to pronunciation. Children were taught to make a selective and appropriate use of words; young men who had not learnt this skill were not allowed to speak in public. Ungrammatical talk was severely frowned upon in good society, in the same manner as in other Aryan countries.† The chiefs, the priests and court officials were, of course, trained speakers, and most of them were true orators. In fact, even a crown prince who had not the 'gift of the gab' ran the risk of being passed over for succession. Poets were highly honoured and much impromptu versification was indulged in on occasions of national rejoicing and during festivities. Story-telling in Hawaii deserves some detailed comment. Daytime and evenings, groups of men women and children might be seen listening to

* Thus Hula-Hula really meant Sura-Sura (cf. the Swaram in Baratanatyam.) In Polynesia name-syllables were often repeated; hence sura-sura-Kamehameha etc.

† An ancient Hindu benediction reads: Sabeyo Yuva—"Let the Youth be fit for the Sabha, i.e., let him be expert in debate and discussion."
tales of gods and heroes and to the stories of distant lands. These tales were told by a special class of story-tellers who did little or nothing else but make up such stories and recite them with all the art of expert talkers. Besides the tales which were widely known and related by the common people, there were others told in a special language understood only by the Alii,* or the chiefs. Much time was also given to propounding riddles and conundrums and to playing games based on some form of fairy tales or mystery stories. Hawaiian compositions have much local colour; they are woven in a setting having the waterfall, the forest, the rainbow, the volcano, and the beautiful surf breaking on the coral reefs, as back grounds.

Associated with the story was the sonorous chanting (as in our katha kalakshepas), both as a pointer and as an embellishment. The Hawaiian ‘Oli’ was a story wholly recited like a chant (like our Oviam); the ‘mele’ was a spoken katha, ornamented by appropriate chants. The ‘hula’ (Sanskrit : sura, i.e., swara) was a musical chant accompanied by gestures; (this will perhaps correspond to our katha kali). While the Tahitians and the Marquesans specialised in chanting, in Hawaii the emphasis was always on the dance; the famous ‘hula-hula’ is a world-known specimen.

Close attention was paid to body-culture. Swimming and surf-riding were national pastimes; even women and children could swim long distances in the open sea and do a lot of diving.† Wrestling was a sport indulged in, rather curiously, by both sexes, and matches (never mixed) were frequently held.‡ In spear-throwing contests, a group of contestants was expected to catch the spears thrown at them by another group and to throw them back. In such contests the air would be full of flying spears,

* ARii = Arya.
† There were special beaches for surf-riding. Cook says that he and his men were amazed at the skill shown by the Hawaiians in swimming and surf-riding.
‡ The Sukra Niti (III 228) suggests that “the best exercise (for a king etc.,) is fighting and wrestling with expert athletes”. The student of history will be aware that even kings of our land called themselves ‘Mallas’ or wrestlers (e.g., the Chalukyas of Kalyani). Female wrestlers were not unknown in Indian Royal Courts. A European traveller records that Deva Roya I of Vijayanagar had a body-guard of 4000 Amazons among whom were many wrestlers. All of them rode on horse back. The Moghul Emperors had a large guard of Tartar females, who were expert in wrestling and archery.
and woe to the one who failed to catch the spear aimed squarely at him with lightning speed. Memory-training was systematically practised at the numerous schools in the Hawaiian Islands, run by selected teachers. The children of the chiefs and the nobility were taught astronomy, law, geography, history and language; and this was in addition to elaborate tuition in arms and in elocution. The training was intensely practical and the trainees were even expected to go without food for days when engaged on a specially rigorous course. The young were taught to be strong and to fear nothing; courtesy and hospitality were the ideals of the race and these were even embodied in public laws (as visualised by our own Smritikaras). For instance, the following rule was laid down in the Islands by a king:

"Look not with ungracious eye upon a traveller who passes your door. You must bid him enter. Your pig must be killed, your bowl must be greasy from the food that you offer him. Whosoever does not respect this order is to be taken to the public place and shamed; his sin shall never be hidden; with the chief shall lie the right to confiscate his lands in punishment."

To the Hawaiian, religion was part of his daily life; spiritual thought went hand in hand with physical effort. For all important domestic events, appropriate religious rites were prescribed, to be carefully gone through under the direction of the priests. The people believed in the regularity of nature, and thought that the forces of nature worked in harmony with one another, under the direction of the gods, who were themselves often personifications of natural forces. A famous local god was Rono (or Lono, in Hawaiian), who is generally equated by modern critics with the Rudra of Indian mythology. Kane, Ku, and Lono formed a well-known trinity in the Sandwich Isles; Kane was course, the Tane of New Zealand and Tahiti; this earliest of the nature-gods is identified with Mane or Manu or Manus, the first human in Asiatic and Egyptian folklore. Tu or Ku (Sanskrit: Tug=to strike) was the god of war par excellence; his Indian prototype would be Skanda or Kartikeya, but the identification is

* In India hospitality was not merely a social obligation; it was a religious duty. Offering food to a guest is a ‘sacrifice’, one of the five daily ‘mahayajnas’ of the house-holder. The aithi or guest becomes a ‘deva’ for the occasion. The Sukra Niti (III, 277) says, "One should never eat food without offering it to the gods and to guests. The man who cooks food for self only, lives merely to go to hell".
rather difficult to establish. Regarding Lono (or Rono) there is less dubiety, since, according to competent anthropologists, he closely compares with the Aryan post-Vedic Rudra, who himself was often the God of War (or “Rana” in Sanskrit.)

In Aryan mythology, the initially forbidding and rather terrible Rudra became gradually transmogrified into the benign and protective Siva;* Rudra was originally red and fair-haired, but he became swarthy and black-crested in the later form of Siva. (The trident symbol of Siva has been found in Hawaii.) It is surmised that the dark-haired Rongo of the Mangaia Islanders and the fair-haired Rono of Hawaii, might be both derived from the Vedic Rudra.

The Polynesian gods mentioned above, could, like Rudra, be propitiated by prayers and made to divert their wrath to one’s enemies. The gods were also carriers of contagious diseases, and could also be great physicians and healers. It is clear that, following the Aryan beliefs, the Polynesians had become adept in flattering their gods, so that they themselves might be spared their wrath, to the detriment of their foes. The Hawaiians thought that Lono could sail from island to island and spread good (or evil) according to the prayers addressed to him. Here is a typical prayer addressed to Lono (which incidentally reveals the drinking habits of the people):

“Here is ‘ava’† for you, O gods! Look kindly towards this family; let it prosper and increase; and let us all be kept in health. Let our plantations be productive; let fruit grow; and may there be abundance of food for us, your creatures.... Here is ‘ava’ for you, O sailing gods! Do not come on shore at this place; but be pleased to depart along the ocean to some other land.”

I may perhaps conclude this commentary on Lono with the following observations of Donald Mackenzie:

“In the Hawaiian trinity of Kane, Ku and Lono, the influence of the post-Vedic Rudra appears to have been deeply impressed. These deities were not sharply defined. Lono and Ku acquired some of the attributes of Kane as well as those of each other..."

* Ancient Sanskrit scriptures picture Rudra as coming to dwell among human beings “roaring and blustering.” As an example may be cited the Vedic passage: “Vrishabo Roravithi Marthyam Avivesa”

† Hava = Sava = fermented drink (Sanskrit: Asava)
These differences in the Polynesian treatment of deities were not apparently wholly due to local political changes, however. The various migrating bands who settled from time to time on the South Sea Islands appear to have imported new groupings of deities which had been effected in Asia. The influence of the Rudra cult must have had something to do, for instance, with the transformation of the dark Rongo of Mangaia into the fair Lono of Hawaii. It is evident that deities like Tangaloa, Tane, Tu and Rongo cannot be accounted for and fully explained by reference to the Polynesian evidence alone. Their history like that of their worshippers is rooted in Asia."

The Hawaiians apparently believed in the reappearance on earth of departed gods, as the episode of Captain Cook vividly shows. Such ideas of re-incarnation were commonplaces of Hindu mythology. In pre-Columbian Mexico, Quetzalcoatl, the fair Aztec god in human shape, who had been forced to emigrate from the country, was expected back. In Mangaia also, the god Tangaloa was expelled his country, but his reappearance was always considered imminent. This similarity in legendary material has led Donald Mackenzie to make the following significant observation:

"It is improbable that similar historical happenings in Mexico and in two widely-separated groups of Polynesian islands were productive of similar myths. A more reasonable view seems to be that the original expulsion myth had been formulated either in South-Eastern Asia or in India, and subsequently carried to America on the one hand, and Polynesia on the other, by groups of sea-farers."

Captain Cook arrived in Kanuui Island of the Sandwich group in January 1778, and he was immediately taken to be God Lono who had returned to the land of his worshippers. His ship was considered to be a Lono temple, and his crew (who wore pig-tails) were considered at first sight to be women devotees. Two chiefs, and a priest named Kuohu, ventured aboard and prostrated themselves before Cook, with prayers. Meanwhile, one of the chiefs had seen some iron implements and nails which he immediately recognised as something extremely useful, as the Hawaiians had previously a knowledge of iron and their language even contained a word for it. When the chief (who had brought some presents) tried to walk away with some iron material, thinking he was
doing nothing wrong, he was shot dead by a sailor. In revenge for the chief’s death, his followers wanted to attack the ship, but darkness came on and Cook fired a few guns and some rockets to frighten away the raiders. By now the priest Kuohu had doubts about the divinity of Cook, but his fellow-men still thought Lono had arrived in person, especially since there was an earlier tradition of two fair-skinned gods having visited the island in company with an ancient chief who had roamed the high seas. The descendents of these two earlier “gods” were alive at that time, in the shape of some local priestly families.

The next day, the natives were reminded by their leaders of an ancient prophesy that white foreigners would come riding on big dogs with long ears (horses?). Meanwhile Cook passed over to Nuhau island, where he remained till February 1778, all the time bartering with the natives his stocks of trinkets and bits of iron for plentiful supplies of hogs and vegetables. He finally sailed away to the coast of America without sighting the bigger islands, especially Hawaii. He returned after nine months (in November 1778) to Maui, where also a brisk barter trade was carried on. At this place, the King of Hawaii, Kalanipou, visited him, accompanied by a prince, who later became the king of all the Islands, under the name of Kamehameha, the Great. Cook travelled to Hawaii without making a landing. In January 1779, Cook’s two ships (the Resolution and the Discovery) anchored at the Kealakekua Bay in Hawaii, where he was visited by the King’s priest (named Koa), who presented the Captain with a red shawl and a pig, explaining that this was the usual offering to their ‘Eatoos’ (Devas?) or gods. On invitation, the Captain disembarked and was conducted to a sacred ‘marae’ about 14 feet high. Certain images were presented to Cook, along with the usual red cloth and a live pig. The party was then conducted to a temple, where offerings were made to the chief deity. A feast then followed and later Cook was conducted back to his ship, the onlookers on the way prostrating themselves. The next day the Captain made astronomical calculations in a potato patch, which was specially made “tapu” (i.e., desanctified) for him. The King of Hawaii again made a visit in royal style and presented Cook with a magnificent cloak and helmet, along with innumerable

* They were probably Aryan priests who had been brought over by a voyager to distant Indonesia.
other gifts. The relations between the visitors and the natives continued to be extremely friendly, but the presents made to Cook and his crew practically drained the countryside of all comestibles. Further, the sailors who had been allowed to mix freely with the people, abused their hospitality and misconducted themselves with some women-folk, who were soon infected with the abominable venereal disease carried by the ship’s crew; (the same thing happened at other islands).

Cook set sail, but had to return to port to effect some urgent repairs. In revenge for a bad case of indecent assault on a woman, a chief grabbed a ship’s boat and broke it up, in order to recover the iron materials in it. Greatly annoyed with this ‘theft’, Cook declared a blockade of the port and himself landed with an armed party, threatening to capture and hold the King (who had been so generous to him) a prisoner till the missing boat was returned. Meanwhile, a canoe from another island which ran (perhaps unknowingly) the blockade was fired upon by Cook’s sailors, and a chief travelling in it was killed. The murdered chief’s brother thereupon rushed to the King with a complaint just at the time when Cook himself was menacing the monarch with violence to his person, to get his wrong redressed, (a practice he had resorted to successfully on other islands). An English writer describes the scene leading to Cook’s death somewhat in these words:

He (Cook) was interviewing the king when a warrior flourishing a spear rushed in and, approaching Cook, said his brother (the blockade-running chief) had been slain by the White sailors and that the death should be avenged. Cook fired at him with a pistol and killed him. Another native interfered, and he was also shot dead. Cook also drew his sword and slashed at a chief, who instinctively seized Cook with a strong hand, “thinking merely to hold him and not take his life for he was supposed to be a god and could not die.” Cook struggled to free himself and, as he was about to fall, uttered a groan. The people immediately cried aloud ‘He groans; he cannot be a god,’ and instantly slew him. Although killed in this manner (and justly so, according to native opinion), his bones were considered sacred and were deposited in a purified place, where homage was paid to his memory for a long time. The bones were annually taken round the island in proces-
sion and worshipped as replicas of Rono. (In 1820 the bones were secretly buried in a concealed cave.)

Besides Cook, four mariners among those who accompanied him, were also killed, but not before the armed party had shot dead twenty natives. The sailors began thirsting for further revenge, but were controlled with some difficulty by Captain Clerke, who succeeded Cook in command. Friendly relations were re-established with the King and the people, and the ships left the Islands with every token of affection and goodwill on the part of the populace.

At the time of Cook's visit, the Sandwich Islands were divided into four kingdoms, each under its own Moi (Sanskrit: Mahi=Kingdom) or king, the most important of them being, of course, Kalanipou, the King of Hawaii. Under Kamehameha, the nephew of Kalanipou, all the kingdoms were united under one monarch. This prince (born about 1740) must have been less than forty at the time of Cook's visit. He had been well-trained in all the arts suitable to his rank and was very accomplished. After his bravery and loyalty had been tested on many a field of battle, his uncle entrusted to him the highly sanctified image Kaukailimoku (Ku Kaliya mukha?) for special keeping. Kalanipou died in 1782, whereupon civil war broke out between his son and successor Kiwalao, and Kamehameha; the latter ousted and slew the new monarch, and Hawaii was divided into 3 units, over one of which Kameha ruled. Ten years of almost ceaseless wars then followed, with varying fortunes for Kameha. At this time (circa 1790), foreign ships started visiting Hawaii regularly, in pursuance of the profitable fur-trade between China and Russia. Kameha bought guns and ammunition from these sea-captains and even induced some of them to enter his service. Soon military success attended his arms, and one by one all the islands came under the sway of Kamehameha, who reigned till 1819. His son Liho-Liho, who succeeded him under the title of Kamehameha II, was responsible for the abolition of many ancient customs (including human sacrifices and the laws of tapu) and for introducing Christian missions into Sandwich Islands. He visited England in 1824 with his Queen, but both died of measles in England. The next King was the boy-son of the deceased, who assumed the title of Kamehameha III and ruled till 1854. His period marked the entry of the U.S.A. into
Hawaiian affairs, in which she soon obtained a predominant voice to the chagrin of England, which consequently lost all her prerogatives. Kamehameha III died in 1854. The new king (a cousin of his predecessor), Kamehameha IV, adopted a cooler policy towards the U.S.A. and tightened up court etiquette and ceremonial, which he thought had grown lax. He married a girl who was half-English and possessed marked sympathies towards Great Britain. But the American missionaries were powerfully on the other side, and so were the bankers and the sugar-plantation owners (largely American), who would have liked Hawaii to be annexed by the U.S.A., so as to benefit by the tariff concessions which were available to all U.S. owned territories. The fourth Kameha died in 1863, and was succeeded by Kameha V (his elder brother). The latter was faced ab initio with political troubles, which were aggravated when he introduced a new Constitution with a suffrage based on property and educational qualifications, and with the monarch vested with some overriding powers. This king died in 1872 without leaving a direct heir, and the unique process of having a king elected, first by an unofficial popular vote, and later formally by the legislature, was gone through in Hawaii. An able chieftain named Lunalilo was elected King (1874), but he died within a year, leaving no heir. A fresh election resulted in another prominent nobleman, named Kalaukaaua, being voted King. The latter became a great traveller and visited Japan, where he received (in 1878) a stupendous welcome. His reign was marked by an acute political struggle between the American landed and financial interests which had become ominously potent in the Islands, and the King's Party which wanted to consolidate native Hawaiian economy and prevent Yankee annexation at all costs. A revolution was engineered by the U.S. clique, and the King was forced in (1887) to sign a new Constitution, which gave almost complete power to a Cabinet, which in its turn drew its support and inspiration from the influential foreign Cabal. One curious article in the new Constitution vested the right of creating the order of nobility, not in the King as hitherto, but in voters who had large property or income qualifications, i.e., in the hands of the very foreigners who alone had the property or income qualification needed for the purpose! The privilege of voting was also extended to all those foreigners (including recent arrivals), who would take an oath to support the
Constitution, provided they were of American or European
descent. (The large Chinese and Japanese colony was thus
cleverly excluded.) The new Constitution ushered in a period of
political confusion and chaos. The King’s sister led a Royalist
party which received considerable popular support, but the
foreign interests had the Army under its control and the King was
powerless to checkmate them. Secret societies (of an anti-
American type) began to flourish and there were some upheavals,
in the midst of which the King died without leaving a son (1891).
His sister, Princess Liliuokalani, who was declared monarch,
faced a severe trial of strength with the so-called Reform Party
backed by foreign interests, which defied the Queen, even though
it was obvious that the people were with her. The Reform Party,
being afraid of liquidation, secretly engineered a coup d’etat
aiming at putting an end to the monarchy and at annexing Hawaii
to the U.S.A. In 1894, a so-called Committee of Public Safety
took over all government buildings, read a Proclamation ending
monarchy and constituting an Executive Council of Government
composed of four Americans (including S. B. Dole, the pine-apple
king)! The Queen and the Cabinet were forced to surrender after
troops were landed from a U.S. warship, found conveniently in
the harbour. A formal request for annexation was made by this
foreign caucus to President Cleveland, but it must be said to the
credit of the latter that he hesitated to grab Hawaii in such
dubious fashion, without fuller enquiry through his special
representative, into the circumstances of the coup d’etat. This
representative reported adversely on the conduct of the Committee
of Public Safety and the Executive Council, and thought that the
American troops had been illegally and wrongfully used by the
agitators to further their own sinister objectives. Despite this
finding, the Queen and her followers were arrested by the
Executive Council and sentenced to imprisonment by a White
judge. A proclamation was issued, ending monarchy and declar-
ing Hawaii a Republic!

Hawaii was nominally a Republic for four years, i.e., till 1898,
ruled over by an American President, (the pine-apple king, Dole)
and the natives were reduced to the status of second-rate citizens.
Meanwhile, the islands became strategically very important,
especially since the Japanese threat was ever gathering size, and
since the U.S.—Spanish war which had just then ended, had
demonstrated the need for an American naval base in the Pacific. In these circumstances the U.S. authorities thought it prudent to make Hawaii a U.S. dependency, rather than leave its fate to the tender mercies of the planters, financiers and speculators who professed to run the government. Hawaii thus became U.S. territory, which it remained till very recently. In 1959 it was made part of the U.S.A. (as the 50th State of the Union) and was given the right to send two Senators and four or five Representatives to the American Congress.*

To the question whether there was a decimation of the Hawaiian race in the same manner as in New Zealand and in Tahiti, the answer is an emphatic 'yes'. At the time of Cook's visit the population in all the Islands could not have been far short of 200,000. By about 1840 it had been reduced to half the number, thanks largely to the contacts with the White fur-traders and the whalers, who spread a choice variety of contagious diseases into the Islands, which had never known such scourges as malaria, plague, smallpox, cholera, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and most dreadful of all, leprosy.† The sharp decline in population assumed alarming proportions, after the various foreign missions and their trading clientele started business in real earnest. The worst scourges were T.B. and venereal disease, but smallpox

* Strangely enough, one of the present Senators is a domiciled Japanese, thanks to the large percentage of Japanese population in the Islands today. The other is, of course, an American.

† Leprosy (originally known as elephanthiasis Gracorum and as lepra Normanus) was a wide spread scourge in medieval Europe, and contemporary writings are full of its terrors. Many prominent personages had this disease; (e.g., Robert Bruce of Scotland; Henry IV of England). "It is absurd to think that leprosy became common in Europe because returning Crusaders introduced it from the East, as if leprosy could be 'introduced' in any such way...... We have no difficulty in finding the noxious element in the diet of the Middle Ages which the dietetic hypothesis of leprosy requires...it is not only half cured or semiputrid fish but half cured or semiputrid flesh of any kind; just as for pellagra (a similar disease widespread among maize-eating Europeans), it is the semi-putrid or toxic character of the bread or porridge". (C. Chreighton: A History of Epidemics in Britain, Ch. II). Leprosy afflicted the British Isles so heavily after the Norman Conquest that hundreds of leper asylums were scattered throughout the Islands. London got so congested with diseased beggars that Edward III evicted them by law from the city. Elsewhere they were styled "Christ's Poor" and allowed to solicit alms, in relaxation of the anti-beggary laws. Leprosy disappeared from England as the diet of the people improved.
also took its own fearful toll. By 1872, the native race had shrunk to about 50,000 souls. This tragic picture was not relieved with the passage of years; in 1910, the pure Hawaiian population had dwindled to 38,000, the lowest figure in the history of this people. Subsequently there was a slight upsurge, which has been sustained by the careful and considerate policy of successive governors of the ‘Territory’, who were afraid of charges of genocide being levelled against the U.S. government, and who were also anxious that the labour force required for exploiting the ‘Territory’ should not be completely wiped out. The story in this respect is similar to that of the Maori race, with this vital difference, viz., that colonisation on a large scale by White settlers was ruled out in Hawaii for climatic reasons. Further, the catastrophic fall in the native Polynesian population rendered it necessary to import cheap labour from abroad, to keep the foreign-owned plantations going. Frantic efforts were made to procure workers from India and Malaysia, without success. Chinese, Japanese and Puerto Rican workers were consequently imported in large numbers, with the unexpected consequence that they have now practically swamped the original inhabitants of the Islands. Today the Hawaiians of Aryan descent are actually in a minority in their own homeland, being outnumbered by people of Mongolian and Negroid extractions. The bulk of the trade and commerce is naturally with the Americans, who own immense estates all over the territory.

A curious feature of the pre-Christian economy of Hawaii was the availability of sandalwood in large quantities. Sandalwood was probably introduced by the original immigrants (circa 500 A.D.) from the Malayan archipelago where it had been propagated from the Indian sub-continent.* The plant took to the climate and the soil, and soon sandal was growing wild over large tracts on the hill-sides. This fragrant timber was not well exploited by the natives, as they had lost the art of extracting the oil and much sandal was not required for use in their own religious ceremonies. The coming of the White fur-traders altered the situations dramatically, as these adventurers found an

* The presence of sandalwood in Hawaii (and nowhere else in Polynesia) perhaps points to some direct contacts between Java and the Sandwich Islands via the Carolines and the Marianas, after the initial colonisation of the Islands from Tahiti. [But sandalwood was known in Easter Island !]
insatiable market for the wood in China, whither they went to sell their Alaskan furs. In consequence a frantic demand grew up almost overnight for the wood. As in the case of the fur business, the traders in sandal were all Americans of the buccaneer type. The king was persuaded to make sandal exploitation a royal monopoly and to enter into forward contracts with the adventurers on the basis of a small royalty. When Kamehameha I died, the American traders took advantage of the inexperience of his successor to push on the sandalwood export to extravagant limits. Cutting this wood became a national mania, and to make matters worse, forward sales were made by the kings and the chiefs against future slaughter-cuttings. In the words of Kuykendall: "The traders paid for the wood not in cash but in merchandise on which they themselves fixed the price in such a way that the Hawaiians were compelled to pay exorbitantly for all goods they received. The traders made two profits; one on the goods they sold and one on the sandalwood they bought, and both these profits were made at the expense of the Hawaiians". The magnificent sandal forests which were the pride of Kameha I were almost stripped bare within 20 or 30 years of his death. Today the sandalwood tree is practically extinct in Hawaii, and is found only in small government reservations.

* * *

We have seen something of the bigger island groups in Oceania; we may now have a look at some of the smaller ones, before we go on the mysterious Easter Island.

Nearest to the Tahitians are the Paumotas and the Marquesas.* The Tahitians have been called the Irishmen among the Polynesians, stalwart men, often six feet in height; even when they fail to reach this height they are beautifully proportioned. "Most of them might stand for sculptor's models," says Christian. The people of the Paumotu Islands are, to use the same simile, the Lowland Scotch of the Pacific; they are wiry and

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* R.C. Suggs thinks that the Marquesas had been occupied by the Polynesians from Tahiti, as early as the 1 Century B.C. (op. cit., Page 112). That the Marquesans belonged to the elite of the Aryan community is borne out not only by their appearance but by such customs as the denial of re-marriage to widows, a stern interdict on marriages among near relations and the practice of something like suttee among the higher strata of the community. Marriage of cross-cousins was, however, permitted as in South India!
dark, hard-featured and very prosaic in character. The Marquesans, on the other hand, seem to be fashioned like the Highlanders of Great Britain; they are said to resemble most closely their original Aryan forebears. They are shy, modest, strongly independent, and rather gloomy in temperament. The men are tall strapping fellows, six feet in height being very common. Their complexion is between tawny and light yellow.*

"The women are shorter and comely of feature rather than positively lovely," says Christian, who adds, "but they are delicately and beautifully moulded, like old Greek statues." Despite their reputation for ferocity, the Marquesans are afraid of the dark, and they populate in their fancy the forests, the rivers, and hills and the ancient 'maraes', with evil or mischievous spirits ready to spring on the unwary. In the past they practised some mummification of dead bodies. Like the Tahitians, the dress of both men and women alike, consisted of two units; one was the pareu or waist cloth, (Sanskrit : parivana = garment) tied round the middle and falling down almost to the feet; the other was the tiputa or upper cloth (Sanskrit : dupatta = scarf) which was often pulled over the head. These clothes were usually made of the beaten out inner bark of the Ao (Sanskrit : Ata) tree or the banyan; alternatively it was made of the paper-mulberry and dyed in many colours. (The Tahitians, particularly, produced a brilliant crimson dye from the berries of a tree which they named 'mati'.) People living in sun-scorched atolls producing neither the ficus bengalensis nor the paper mulberry, (e.g., the Paumotans) clothed themselves in fibremats or with the finely plaited leaves of the coco-palm.†

The double canoe used by the Marquesans was called aria; (it was karika in the Cook Islands). It was a marvel of

* Wrote Cook in his Diary: "They are the finest race of men I have ever seen". Clarke called them beautiful. His colleague Forster wrote, "Many of them might be placed near the famous models of antiquity and could not suffer in comparison". Quiros thought that young boys with long locks "had the faces of angels". The women were described as the most beautiful in the South Seas, by the Spaniard. Another writer calls them preeminent among the many finely built races of Oceania.

† R.C. Suggs estimates that the population of the Marquesas must have been over 100000 by 1400 A.D. Food cultivation was more than adequate, thanks to excellent agriculture and careful plant culture, especially breadfruit and taro. When the French took over the Islands the population was 20000 (1842). By 1941, it had fallen to 3000.
construction, using only wooden pegs and fibre ropes instead of nails, wires and rivets. The raft boat (the balsa or catamaran) was called patvi (Sanskrit: pavi = to cross over, row across).* The mast holding the sail was called tira (Sanskrit: tira = a cover, a curtain). Their knowledge of the heavenly bodies was astonishing; they knew that the earth was round and they had a conception of the equator and of the two tropics on either side. They distinguished the five planets (which they called moving stars) from the fixed ones, of which they could name a hundred and more. Historical tradition was strong among the natives of the Society Islands that, when the chiefs from Tahiti visited Hawaii (over 2000 miles north and several hundred miles west), the sailors first travelled due north, till the twinkling orbs over their heads told them that they were on the correct latitude; they then turned right and steered due west till they made landfall at Hawaii.

In the Marquesas, stone-building reached a perfection not attained elsewhere in Polynesia proper. "The construction of many of the ordinary platforms could hardly be bettered by the Europeans," says Ralph Linton, who adds, "it is not improbable that the ancestors of the Polynesians were familiar with the construction of stone-faced terraces before their departure from their Asiatic and Indonesian homeland." This opinion of Linton is dissented from by E.S. Craighill-Hardy, who says, "What probably happened is that during the hundreds of years of active voyaging some Polynesians visited America and returned to Polynesia, having seen the Mexican and Peruvian stone-work and possibly bringing a few stone craftsmen with them. The fact that both in quantity and skill there is a diminution in the art of building with stone, beginning with the Marquesas, running through the Society Islands and ending at Tonga, is strong evidence in favour of the hypothesis that some eastern Polynesians, probably Marquesans, borrowed the art of stone construction from the west coast of South America; and that within Polynesia the art spread from east to west." He adds that he found reliable evidence of a chief of the Marquesas having sailed steadily towards the rising sun till he reached land, when he again returned to his Marquesan home. Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, while

* Panini was familiar with the boat of logs. He calls it Bharata and it must have resembled the present-day catamarans of South India.
conceding possible contacts between America and Polynesia, considers it unlikely that the American influence could have travelled very far westwards. "The most probable working hypothesis is that the direction of movement has been from West to East," he says. William Ellis, an anthropologist and a missionary, recognises the strong cultural affinity between South America and the South-Sea Islands, including numerous points of resemblance in customs, beliefs, myths, and even physical characteristics. "Many words in the language and several of the traditions and customs of the Americans, so strongly resemble those of Asia, as to warrant the inference that they originally came from that part of the world." He is not sure if some of the Asiatic mariners did not reach America or "whether some enterprising Americans did not sail to Easter Island and sailing westward, did not meet a tide of emigrants from the Malays".

Leaving the question open, he adds:

"A variety of facts connected with the past and present circumstances of the inhabitants of these countries authorize the conclusion that either part of the present inhabitants of the South Sea Islands came originally from America, or that tribes of the Polynesians have, at some remote period, found their way to the American continent."

J. Macmillan Brown definitely takes the view of a Polynesian acculturation of South America. To quote:

"Every feature of Polynesian great-stone work is repeated in the great-stone work of the Andes; and the impetus did not come from America, if we are to judge by the absence of all American products and arts in the Pacific; it must be the other way, as we find purely Polynesian products and methods, on the coast of America and evidences that Polynesian warriors swooped down upon the wealthy cities that were approachable by sea. The most probable history is that since even the fatherland, Hawaiiiki, began to be too narrow for its population, expeditions went off in search of new land; most went west; but some must have made for the east by getting south into the latitude of the westerlies. And these may have taken the taste for Cyclopean stonework and the art of it; and from the coast, their influence went up with the people of the coastal empires to the high valleys and plateaus of the Andes."
Samoan girls doing the Siva-Siva dance

A price-less Hawaiian feather-cloak
Having briefly stated some of the conflicting views on the subject of the cultural borrowings between the two hemispheres, I shall reserve the topic for further detailed discussion in the next chapter.* As regards the know-how in stone buildings, there was a close correspondence between woodwork and stone structures in the Marquesas. Some of the monuments obviously served as altars or places of sacrificial offering. Abraham Fornander (the eminent author of *An Account of the Polynesian Race*) sees some connection between the stone emblems of the Marquesas and the linga motif of Siva in India. He particularly draws attention to the fact that the word Siva (pronounced Hiwa in the Marquesas) meant not only dark or blue, but also sacred. He emphasises that because of the sacred association of the stone emblems with the linga symbol, all the important islands in the Marquesas group were named Siwa, like Nuka-Hiwa, Patu-Hiwa, etc. (Sanskrit : Nuthana Siva, Patu Siva) He also points out how the Marquesans are passionately attached to a form of dancing called by them Siva-Siva, which is supposed to resemble the cosmic dance of Lord Nataraja, familiar to South Indians.

The various types of stone-work like walls, terraces, platforms, vaulted chambers, were broadly divided, in these islands, into two categories, viz., the ‘Tohua’* and the ‘Marae’. The former appears to have been popular in character and open to all the community for use; the latter was a tribal sacred place dedicated to religious rites and usually surrounded by banyan trees. It could be approached only by the priests and the Arii.

Regarding the use of stone in buildings by the Polynesians generally, it should be perhaps emphasised that stone-building comes by imitation and association, and not by natural instinct. The theory that stone is always used because it is available in plenty is not supported by history. (The Vikings when they went to Iceland still built in wood although stone was locally available without limit. The same could be said of the early European settlers in the Americas.) The Marquesans, who had no metal

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* As already cited supra, Suggs pooh-poohs the ‘American Indian’ theory of Heyerdahl and holds that the Polynetians came from South Asia and were overwhelmingly Caucasian by blood and appearance.

* Devaga? Suggs calls the megalithic architecture of the Marquesas, astounding; there was use not only of huge well-cut stones, but lavish utilization of polished red alfa, regarded as sacred (*op. cit.*, P. 125).
tools, displayed great ingenuity in selecting, quarrying and setting up their stone buildings. Many of the stones used were of great weight, ranging from three to ten tons. "To transport and place such masses of rock was an engineering feat of no mean order," says a writer. The stone blocks were removed by "undercutting" and roughly dressed on the spot. They were then carried on slings by humans and taken to the erection site where the final dressing and placing took place. Says Donald MacKenzie:

"When we find a people possessed of the knowledge how to select and transport suitable stone and use it for building with considerable skill and success, it is evident that they are drawing upon long accumulated experience. Beginners cannot be expected to adopt spontaneously the methods of quarrying and transporting stone which has been learned very slowly in the centres of ancient civilization. If they have not received a hint or an instruction from outside, we should be able to follow every stage of the development of their industry from its rude beginnings, and to detect their blunders and failures as well as their successes. We should, further, be able to discover the psychological motive for the use of stone for religious purposes and demonstrate how that motive had origin in ideas rooted in local experiences........ It is, therefore, hazardous to assume that anywhere in the South Sea Islands, including New Zealand, a people began spontaneously and independently to undertake the laborious and skilled work of quarrying stone without a single suggestion from an outside source, whether or not wood was easy to obtain. ........ That the early peoples who migrated into the South Sea Islands from Indonesia were possessed of considerable knowledge of how to quarry and transport stone and use it for building is made evident by the wonderful megalithic buildings of the Caroline Islands. These are not only walls and enclosures of impressive character, but also artificial islets of solid masonry."

The reference by MacKenzie to the Carolines (which are outside true Polynesia) is particularly interesting, as there is some evidence to show that the natives of these islands had some knowledge of iron used in the making of axes and knives; (we have seen a similar situation in Hawaii). The people of these islands, as well as of some western groups near by, used to refer to iron as wasi, asi and wasei (Sanskrit: ayas and asi).* When the supply of iron

* 'Iron' is derived from 'ayas': O.E. aesen; German iesen.
instruments ran out, the stone and coral implements used in their stead were also called by the same name as the iron ones. In this connection, F.W. Christian remarks as follows:

"It may be presumed that some of the early settlers in the Carolines brought with them a stock of iron or steel weapons, or wrested them from stray pirates of a later day. When these rusted or got broken, and could not be replaced, the traditional name would in all probability remain, and the natives under stress of necessity would fall back upon the handiest materials available to supply their place."

The stone builders of the Carolines must have obviously hailed from a centre of civilization where architecture in stone had been widely practised. The people of the Carolines were imitators rather than pioneers. In one of the islands they built a walled enclosure 200 feet by 100 feet, with basalt rock walls varying in thickness from 9 feet to 15 and often reaching a height of 25 feet. There were four gate-ways, with a canal nine feet broad running round the enclosure. Close by there was a network of canals, with 50 or 60 artificially-made islets, all of them situated within a lagoon. These islets occupied an area of 11 square miles and were protected by a giant breakwater many miles long. This strange dwelling-place, now in disuse, has been called the Venice of Micronesia. The breakwater and the artificial islets were the work of men possessing considerable engineering skill and commanding a social organisation which enabled such immense schemes to be put through, with primitive equipment. As to who were the builders of these Cyclopean works, the opinion generally held is that they were the ancestors of the present Caroline Islanders. F.W. Christian thinks, however, that "the actual builders were an intelligent minority swaying an ignorant majority". He further suggests the language of these people "appears to be a crabbèd form of some ancient Asiatic tongue allied to the Dravidian languages (of India) coloured with a tint of Malay ....". The Island is full of relics of a vanished civilization; embankments and terraces, solid roads neatly paved with regular stone blocks, stone platforms and enormous council houses of quaint design, with high gables and lofty carved pillars". It is quite clear from the above description that the Micronesian peoples of this area must have possessed a high degree of culture in the remote past, a culture no doubt drawn
from the migrating communities of Indonesia who travelled north, even as they moved eastward into Polynesia.

It would appear that among the settlers in the South-Sea Islands were worshippers of the sun and the serpent, who erected megalithic monuments, including walled enclosures, stone-built tombs, platforms, etc., having connected stone, as a "life-giver" and "spirit body" or "good body", with the sky world. They constructed canals for irrigation and transport, practised agriculture and were accomplished navigators and builders of vessels. They had evidently, before reaching the Pacific, come under the influence of an ancient civilisation. The traditions of that civilization survived in some areas until those were reached by Europeans. "Several South-Sea Island races are not now savage in any sense," wrote Sir Cyprin Bridge long ago, "and never deserved that epithet in its sense of 'ferocious'. There is no finer people on earth than the Tongans, and the closely related and but slightly less vigorous Samoans ....... The grace of manner and general dignity of bearing habitual with members of Chiefly families could not be surpassed in the most polished European courts."

The tribute paid to the peoples of Tonga by Sir Cyprin Bridge is interesting. In a somewhat far-fetched sense, the Kingdom of the Tonga Islands is the only still independent Aryan monarchy in the world, outside Nepal. (All other regnant houses in Polynesia have been uprooted by the European colonialists.) Tonga has been ruled by hereditary monarchs for hundreds of years, and according to the thesis advocated in this book, the ancestors of the Tongan peoples and their rulers must have travelled to Polynesia from the shores of Aryavarta in the dim past, of which history now holds no record.† The Tongan regal

* Tongatapu (sacred Tonga) was intensively cultivated and full of orchards and grassy lawns, beautifully kept. Wrote Clarke "The regularity of their plantations was admirable; their roads were as good as those in England".

† One wonders whether Heyerdahl would claim the Tongan rulers to be descended from the "white bearded giants", allegedly emigrating westward from the valleys of Peru, a thousand years ago!
A Tongan youth

A long-eared Easter Islander as seen by Cook. [Cf. the Lambakarnas (long ears) and Moriyas (Mauryas) of Ceylon.]
dynasty could be traced back, with certainty, to the 10 century A.D., at least. 

The Tongans are also *sui generis* in another sense, for theirs is the only area in Oceania in which bows and arrows were used as weapons, till the time the White man arrived on the scene. In this connection some general observations regarding the cultural differences as well as the similarities, between the various far-flung units of Polynesia may be useful. Although, as we have seen, the bulk of the Polynesians belong to a single race probably emanating from the Indian sub-continent, and although they all speak an idiom which is strikingly homogeneous in many respects,† despite vast distances in space and time, there are as many dissimilarities in customs and manners as there are resemblances. The following details will bear out the correctness of this observation:

In the Marquesas and in Hawaii, the houses were rectangular; in Samoa and Tonga, they were oval. Only the Marquesans and the Moaris carved their house-posts. Canoes in the Marquesas, New Zealand and Hawaii, were mostly dug out of logs; in Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga, they were normally built of planks sewn together. The shape of adzes, poi-pounders, and stone images differed in different islands. Wooden bowls with legs, which were common in Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga, were rare in Hawaii and were not found in the Marquesas. In war, spears, clubs, and slings were used in all Polynesia, but the bow and arrow was an important weapon only in Tonga. The shell trumpet‡, the nose flute, and some kind of drums were used nearly everywhere; but the wooden trumpet was played only in New Zealand and in the Marquesas, and the musical bow was a prominent instrument only in Hawaii and the Marquesas. All Polynesians engaged in boxing, wrestling, and dart-throwing, and all except the Tongans used surf boards. But kite-flying was mostly a game for Maori children,

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* Cook was ecstatic about the appearance and manners of the Tongans. "They showed every kind of attention and civility... (they had) genuine benevolence and goodness of heart". Their drink 'kava' was made out of roots, which were first chewed by the men and then spat out and allowed to ferment (cf: the practice in Peru).

† For instance aloha in Hawaii, aroha in New Zealand, kaoha in the Marquesas, and alofa in Samoa are merely different spellings of the same word.

‡ The Hindu war-conch.
while bowling with ulumaika stones and coasting downhill were games for Hawaiians. All Polynesians except the Maoris made tapa (bark cloth), but the tools for making it and the figures stamped or painted on it were different. Feathers were used for dress or ornaments in all the islands, though in different ways, but the wondrously beautiful feather cloaks were made only in New Zealand and in Hawaii. All Polynesians carved in wood, but little attention was paid to this art except in the Marquesas and New Zealand; the method of representing the human figure in carving, painting and in petroglyphs, was also different. The Marquesans and the Maoris were cannibals, and they hunted heads of enemies and preserved them as decorations; the Tahitians, Samoans, and Tongans only hunted heads but did not keep them. The Hawaiians were neither cannibals nor head-hunters. Burial customs were some-what different in each island group. In the Marquesas and in New Zealand, there were regular schools for the training of young people; in other parts of Polynesia, education was not so organised. Similar instances can be multiplied, but enough has been said to show that in Aryan-dominated Polynesia, there was great unity amidst diversity; that while the ensemble was harmonious and homogeneous, the individual details were often dissimilar and strongly affected by local geography or history.

Easter Island, in Farthest Oceania, is reputedly a spot of mystery, and it is worth while having a close look at it, to find out how far the facts available with regard to this much-discussed territory fit in with the general thesis of these writings. According to the argument developed by me in the foregoing pages, the immense area covered by the Polynesian triangle (one corner of which will be Easter Island) was peopled, during the course of about a thousand years, by waves of immigrants of Aryan extraction and ultimately hailing from the Indian sub-continent. In this connection, I may refer to an interesting theory put forward by Oldham in his book, The Sun and the Serpent. He cites the Mahabharata as saying that in the olden days the big oceans were the abode of the Nagas and the Asuras; Oldham sees in this statement a reference to the migration of the Aryan peoples towards Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. The learned author identifies the Nagas with the hill-tribes of Northern and Western India and the Asuras with the Dravidians of South India, "who had attained a high degree of civilization and who even claimed to be
able to revive the dead"; (a reference apparently to the Tantric and Siddha schools of esoteric spiritualism which flourished in Tamil Nad in the hoary past). According to Oldhan, these Nagas and Asuras worshipped the Sun, held sacred the Naga or the hooded serpent, deified their kings and ancestors, venerated certain trees, and used tribal emblems and totems. That these Asuras (or Dravidians, according to Oldham) were a great sea-faring nation is borne out by incontestable historical evidence. In the opinion of Rhys Davids, whom Oldham quotes, these South Indians had a brisk commerce with Persia, Arabia and the Mediterranean, even as early as King Solomon's time (circa 9th century B.C.). These same people subsequently turned east and carried their trade and culture into the far-off lands situated in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. To quote Oldham:

"The civilization of Burma and other Indo-Chinese countries is ascribed by legend and by native historians to invaders from India. And these are connected with the Naga people, of Magadha and the north and the west of India. The ancient mariners, too, who carried the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions, the worship of the Naga, and of Sanskrit and Pali languages, to Java, Sumatra, and even distant Celebes were Indian people, and they were descendants of those 'Asura dwellers of the Ocean', who are mentioned in the Mahabharata."

It would appear that, in the opinion of Oldham, the so-called Asuras and Nagas of our Puranas and Epics were really the tribes living in South India and in Magadha and adjacent territories, and it was these people who led the waves of migrations into the Far East and Oceania. Prof. Elliot Smith (the distinguished author of Migrations of Culture), who is well known for his 'diffusion theory' of civilisation, evinces a pronounced leaning towards attributing the home-source of all ancient culture to Egypt and the Near East. He thinks that the Asuras referred to in our Puranas might even be Phoenicians. In his words, "There is accumulating a considerable mass of evidence to suggest that even if the Asuras were not themselves Phoenicians, they (the Asuras) acquired their maritime skill from those famous sailors and traders...... The advancing wave of Western culture thus swept past India into Indonesia and the Pacific and on to the American littoral." Both Oldham and Elliot Smith agree that it was the Asuras (either Phoenicians or Dravidians nurtured by the
former) who propagated the culture of India into the Far East, Polynesia, and even into the New World. The latter writer would naturally credit the Phoenicians with the initial inspiration for the maritime skill and trading proclivities of the redoubtable South Indian communities.

As I have contended elsewhere, the so-called Phoenicians were really Aryan by race and none other than the Panis, referred to in the Vedic literature as “fallen sacrificers” and non-conformists to the Aryan standards of conduct and of social morality. Regarding the ‘Dravidian’ theory of Oldham, it rests on such nebulous evidence that there is perhaps no need to elaborately argue the case against the assumption of a separate Dravidian race and culture, allegedly imported into India prior to the apochryphal Aryan invasion of this land, which is dated about 1500 B.C. After the discovery of the Indus-Valley civilisation and after the revelations regarding the existence of such a civilisation in areas extending deep into Rajaputana and North Gujarat,* the theory of a Dravidian invasion of India has received a rude shake-up, if not its final coup de grace. The Asuras referred to in the Puranic literature are as much part of the primitive Aryan community as the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. It is therefore quite understandable that the Asuras should have been credited with commercial enterprise and maritime skill, attributes which they shared with another great Aryan community, viz., the Panis or the Phoenicians.

Easter Island is a small bare land-mass, about 45 square miles in area, consisting mainly of basaltic rock and volcanic ash. It lies about 2000 miles west of the South American coast, in the same latitude as that of Brisbane in Queensland (Australia). The Island was (and is still) known to the native inhabitants as Rapa Nui† (i.e., Great Rapa) and this name was given to it by the immigrants who had come to the Island from another Rapa (called Rapa Iti or small Rapa) in the Tuamotu Archipelago, about 2400 miles away in the west. Easter Island has sparse vegetation and has few facilities for a really comfortable life. Yet it has played a not inconsiderable role in the drama of the Aryan occupation

* Recent discoveries at Taxila reveal the existence of a Harappan type of culture, of circa 2500 B.C., in this area. Similar discoveries have recently been made on the banks of the Tungabhada.

† Sanskrit: Naya = leading, chief.
of Polynesia; it also probably served as the stepping stone for the migration of the Aryan peoples into the New World, as we shall see in the next chapter.

That the human occupants of this lonely and inhospitable islet came from the Occident did not admit of any question till very recently, and all historians and anthropologists were hitherto agreed on the point. During the last decade, however, a new and startling theory has been put forward by Thor Heyerdahl (the famous partner in the Kon-Tiki expedition), in his earlier book *Aku-Aku or the Secret of Easter Island* and his more recent and impressive tome, confidently styled *The American Indians in the Pacific*. Even in the earlier publication, Heyerdahl has given more than a hint of his hypothesis and the following is a fair summary of his argument:

In mythology and architecture there is overwhelming evidence of a great civilization which sprang up in Mexico and Central America and spread, in the remote past, as far as Peru. This mysterious civilization (in the opinion of Heyerdahl) disappeared all of a sudden as if by the wave of a magic wand, before the rise of the Incas in Peru. It revealed itself subsequently, with equal suddenness, out on the solitary islands to the west (i.e., in Polynesia). There is a tradition in South America that this civilization was propagated in the New World by certain ‘white men with beards’ who came from across the seas. Heyerdahl wonders if these wandering fair-complexioned teachers, whom he calls “the early Caucasians”, did not come from an ancient civilized race, who sailed in from across the *Atlantic* in times long past, with the same westerly ocean currents and trade winds, starting from the Canary Isles and reaching the Gulf of Mexico, as wafted Columbus on to his famous voyage of discovery.

In this Norwegian author’s opinion, “The Atlantic Ocean could not be considered to be an isolating factor (even as the Pacific was not, in historical times). There is not a trace of gradual development in the high civilizations which once stretched from Mexico to Peru; these old cultures have clearly arisen without any foundation in the midst of primitive surroundings.” And curiously enough, these civilizations have arisen where the ocean currents come in strong from the *Atlantic*, in the midst of

*This is subject to my more detailed observations which follow in the attached Note to this chapter.*
the deserts and jungles of Central and South America, instead of in the more temperate regions where civilizations, in both old and modern times, have had easier conditions for their development, (i.e. in lower Canada, U.S.A., Southern Brazil, Argentina, etc.)

Heyerdahl sees a remarkable similarity between the situation in the New World and that in the South Sea islands, particularly Easter Island, "which bears the deepest traces of civilization although the insignificant little island is dry and barren and is the farthest from Asia of all the islands of the Pacific." As is well known, Easter Island is full of giant bearded heads, cut out in stone, "with white man's features", brooding over the secret of centuries. These statues were noticed by the first Europeans in 1722 and "they were there 22 generations (i.e., over 500 years) earlier when the present inhabitants landed in their canoes and exterminated all the grown-up men they found among the mysterious civilised people on the Island." These stone colossi, some as big as four-storey buildings, have remained a perpetual enigma to students of history, especially as regards the mechanical means by which those giant megaliths were moved thousands of yards from the quarry sites to the final places of erection. But, according to Heyerdahl, the mystery becomes soluble, "seen against the background of the raftsmen from Peru, whose old civilization has left on the island traces which the tooth of time has not been able to destroy." Easter Island is practically the top section of an extinct volcano but paved roads were laid down to the crater by the (allegedly extinct) civilized inhabitants from well-preserved landing places. When these people were attacked by the "new-comers from the Occident", they fled to a point in the east of the island, where they were cornered and all the adult males killed. There is evidence of sudden interruption of work and the stone axes are still lying about, thus showing the extinct race was as ignorant of iron as their enemies. Significantly, in Peru also the sculptors of giant images, who were driven away from their habitat with equal precipitateness, were also of a "stone-age culture." In both places there were resemblances in the method of quarrying and in the selection of the stone and its sizing; and in both localities stones weighing many tons were transported several miles over difficult ground before, being finally
moulded into shape, or formed into mysterious terraces and walled enclosures.*

In Easter Island all the figures were hewn out of solid rock by under-cutting and apparently only a few experts were engaged at a time, as the working niches show. Many of these huge statues were just dragged from the slope and set up near the bottom of the crater. Others were carried some miles over forbidding terrain and placed on special platforms. In most cases the statue heads were covered with a sort of turban, of bright red lava stone. "The transport by itself may be a mystery but we cannot deny that it took place or that the architects who disappeared from Peru left in the Peruvian Andes stone colossi of equal size which show that they were absolute experts in this line.... The same vanished civilization erected similar giant statues in human shape on many other Pacific islands nearest to America."

Heyerdahl believes that Easter Island must have supported a population of nearly 8000 peoples, on the large sweet-potato crops grown on it together with the fish and other comestibles garnered from the sea. He imagines that up to 1000 men must have worked on hauling the statues up the crater slopes and down the same. "Using weather-proof cables plaited from bast and vegetable fibres and using wooden frames, the multitude dragged the stone colossi over logs and small boulders made slippery with taro roots. That the old civilized people were masters in making ropes and cables is well known from the South Sea Islands and still more from Peru, where the Europeans found suspension bridges 100 yards long, laid across torrents and gorges, by means of plaited cables as thick as a man’s waist."

The Cyclopean figures were set in position by means of ramps or inclined planes of stone and sand, over which they were pulled up leg first. But why did these ancients make these statues (over 500 have been counted) and why were they crowned with red turbans? To the latter question Heyerdahl’s answer is that both in Polynesia and in Peru, a red head-dress† was the mark of high

* In Easter Island there is a gigantic unfinished human head sixty feet in height, but there is nothing to match this size in Peru.
† Apparently the ‘lautu’ or llama-like headgear of the Inca elite is meant. But the elite in Peru cut their hair in ‘bangs’; the Easter Islanders wore their hair in top-knots and the stone head-gear on the statues is thought to represent this peculiar hair-style. It may be added that a red turban was a ‘must’ in India, in magical rites.
rank. To add to the mystery of the statues, there were some white fair-haired men found on Easter Island when the Europeans found their way into the Pacific. In Heyerdahl's view these were apparently descendants (through the juveniles who were spared annihilation) of the ancient 'civilized people'. But then all the present natives claimed that their ancestors had been partly white and partly brown. Heyerdahl quotes a native opinion (based on what authority it is not clear) that while the 'browns' came to the Island from the Occident 500 years before (or 22 generations prior to 1720) the 'whites' had come much earlier (i.e., about 500 A.D.) from the East. This 'white' race was characterised by long ears in the manner reflected in the stone images, allegedly fashioned by them in their own likeness. Significantly (adds Heyerdahl) the Inca legends also say that the earliest ruler of Peru, the Sun-King Kon-Tiki held sway over a white people with beards, who had big ears artificially lengthened to touch their shoulders. The legends also attribute some of the Cyclopean stone-works in the Andes, to these hirsute and long-eared 'Caucasians'.

To sum up the gifted and enterprising Norwegian author's views: There were certain white big-eared men in Peru (who might have easily come from across the Atlantic) who disappeared suddenly from the Andean lands*, after filling them up with gigantic stone monuments; these men most probably came over to Easter Island (about 500 A.D.), where they exercised their plastic skill in monumental fashion, making colossal statues with long ears and scarlet turbans, because they themselves had reddish hair; they also gave the stone images long beards in imitation of their own facial appendage. "The stone statues had the typical physiognomy of the white race with a straight and narrow nose and thin sharp lips because the sculptors themselves did not belong to the Malay race." The images on Easter Island had other resemblances with their prototypes in Peru like a belt round the waist which was the legendary symbol of the Sun-god.†. The Sun was the ancestor of the people of Peru and those of Easter Island and the other islands of Oceania. The Easter Island had three

* But the 'long ears' did not disappear from Peru; as I have described elsewhere, the Inca elite had artificially lengthened ears and were called 'Orejones' (long ears) by the Spaniards. But the Incas were not 'White', in the sense Heyerdahl means.
† i.e., the rainbow.
native names. It was named the ‘navel of the islands’, because, according to Heyerdahl, it was the centre from which the “ancient bearded whitemen” radiated to other Polynesian islands, where also there is a tradition of ‘whitemen with red hair’ having lived long ago among the browns. The Island was also called Rapa Nui (Great Rapa), and another island 2400 miles away was named Rapa Iti (Small Rapa), “because it is the practice of all people to call their first home ‘great’ and later homes ‘small,’ even though these latter may be of equal size. “This points directly to an original immigration from the east (into Oceania),” says the author. The third name of the island is Mata-Kite-Rani (“the eye which looks to heaven”). The explanation given for this name by Heyerdahl is ingenious and deserves citing verbatim:

“At the first glance one may hesitate, for the relatively low Easter Island does not look towards heaven any more than the other lofty mountain islands, for example, Tahiti, the Marquesas or Hawaii. But Rangi (heaven), had a double meaning to the Polynesians. It was also their ancestors’ original homeland, the holy land of the Sun-God, Tiki’s forsaken mountain kingdom. And it is very significant that they should have called just the advanced post of Easter Island, of all the thousands of islands in the ocean, the eye which looks towards heaven. It is all the more striking, seeing that the kindred name Mata-Rani, which means in Polynesian “the eye of heaven”, is an old Peruvian place-name, that of a spot on the Pacific coast of Peru opposite Easter Island*, and right underneath Kon-Tiki’s old ruined city in the Andes.”

I have attempted to give a fair synopsis of the case built up by Heyerdahl for considering Peru to have been originally peopled by a fair, bearded, and longeared people, (probably) hailing from the eastern side of the Atlantic who left the region of the Andes suddenly and migrated westward to Easter Island and other centres of population in Polynesia, spreading their megalithic culture over the South Seas and incidentally leaving traces of a fair-skinned tribe, with the aquiline nose and the pointed chin of the Caucasian race. It must be added, however, that Heyerdahl did not take a positive and final stand on his theory in his earlier publications. In the appendix to the book The Kontiki Expedition, he made the following significant observations which seem to suggest that he himself somehow felt that his revol-

* Italics mine.
tionary views can at best be classed only as daring hypotheses which would require a lot of proving. •

“... My racial theory has not necessarily been proved by the successful outcome of the Kon-Tiki expedition as such. What we did prove was, that the South American balsa raft possesses qualities not previously known to scientists of our time, and that the Pacific islands are located well inside the range of pre-historic craft from Peru. Primitive people are capable of undertaking immense voyages over the open ocean. The distance is not the determining factor in the case of oceanic migrations, but whether the wind and the current have the same general course, day and night-all, the year round. The trade winds and the equatorial currents are turned westwards by the rotation of the earth, and this rotation has never changed, in the history of mankind.”

Let us now turn to the other side of the medal. Albert Vandal (On Life’s By-Ways) says that “the human inhabitants of Easter Island came from the Occident, i.e., from the Polynesian archipelago; of that there can be no question. In the first place, they say so themselves. Their tradition states that centuries ago, they left the most eastern island of the ocean, Rapa, which is still called by that name. It was in memory of this distant land that they named their new home Rapa Nui (Greater Rapa).” The argument of Heyerdahl that migrating people naming their new homes after their parent abode, always belittle the former by calling it small or little, does not carry much conviction. They may name the country as ‘New’ (e.g. Nova Scotia, New York, New South Wales) but not ‘little’ or ‘small,’ especially if the freshly occupied territory be much bigger than the home country. In the case of Easter Island, the Polynesians who reached it from old Rapa, found it larger and perhaps more agreeable in some measure, and hence called it Rapa Naya (or Nui), i.e., Great Rapa.

Significantly, this name was given by the present inhabitants of the Island and they did not borrow the appellation from the ‘civilised white men’ who allegedly migrated west from Peru and who are supposed to have been annihilated by the ‘browns’ (circa 1200 A.D.). The picture conjured up by Heyerdahl of this historic massacre is this: There is a deep defensive ditch called

• A detailed comment on the bold theories of this author will be found in the Note attached.
Iko's ditch which cuts off the eastern extremity of the island from the rest. Traditionally the eastern end was a defensive stronghold for the dominant race, i.e., the 'Long-Ears' (or the Elite) who wanted protection from the 'Short-Ears' who were mere helots of the Elite. Heyerdahl believes that on one fell day the downtrodden 'Short Ears' rose against their overlords and massacred the whole lot, leaving barely one or two survivors, from whom some families still on Easter Island, claim descent, supporting their claims with some esoteric knowledge and proficiency in magical rites. But there is no great evidence to support this theory of a total annihilation of a Peruvian people by the 'Short-Ears', although it is possible that some sort of sanguinary conflict might have arisen between the priests and nobles on one side and the common people on the other. The fact that the island was named Rapa Nui by the present population cuts the ground from under the feet of Heyerdahl, so far as the argument based on the name of the island is concerned.

It is incontestable that the present occupants of the island are Polynesians, i.e., Maoris in the real sense of the term. They are a little paler than their ancestors because of the cloud-covered skies over the Island, but they have retained the impressive stature and the handsome characteristic features of the Aryans, especially the long oval face and large eyes. They have continued practically all the customs of their brethren on the other islands and speak the same language as the Tahitians, the New Zealanders and the people of Hawaii. They call their religious grounds, where their fallen great lie buried, marai (marae), the very name used all over Polynesia.† The crater of the extinct volcano is also called Rono-Kaou, thus associating the most regularly circular volcanic basin in the world, with god Rono (or Rudra), familiar to the Polynesians as a fairhaired deity whose moods were unpredictable and often violent. Similarly they give the same Polynesian names, i.e., Tane, Ku, Rangi, etc., to the fetishes and idols that fill their reed huts. How these ancient Aryan mariners reached Easter Island is no longer a mystery. It is true that the Pacific Ocean in this area represents the most terrible watery expanse on the surface of our globe. In the centre of this liquid Sahara lies Rapa Nui, a small oasis placed like a mere pebble in a vast lake. But the

* In the whole history of Polynesia, there is no such instance of an unpraising against the nobles or the priests.

† The platforms on which the giant statues were set up in Easter Island were called 'ahu'; the same expression was used in Tahiti to denote sacred platforms.
Polynesians achieved the feat of locating Easter Island in their east-bound roving expeditions, perhaps by accident or perhaps by some inexplicable instinct which told them that in this oceanic immensity lay a small piece of land which could support life, according to the limited needs of these simple people. On small canoes or medium sized outriggers they travelled the 2500 miles from Tahiti, by taking advantage of the steady, equatorial easterly breeze, even as the great traveller Tangayya had done, by his own account, centuries earlier.

The Polynesians (or Asuras, as they were sometimes called in our sacerdotal literature) were the greatest maritime people of the ancient times. Buddha himself refers to their sea-roaming proclivities in a well-known passage in the *Jataka Tales*:

"Long ago ocean-going merchants were wont to plunge forth upon the sea, taking with them a shore-sighting bird (disa-kaka). When the ship was away from land, they would set the bird free and it would go long distances in all directions, rising aloft in the sky. If on the far-off horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would go, and the boats would follow; if no land was sighted, it would return to the ship again". It was by using such devices, and by hitching their boats to the stars, that the sea-rovers were able to locate New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter Island.

As regards the presence of fair-skinned people among the Polynesians, we have seen that such types are found in abundance all over the South Sea Islands and among the Maoris. I have already referred to the surprising discovery made by European sea-captains in the 17th and 18th centuries that some of the inhabitants of the Pacific islands were fair-skinned and "often were as light-coloured as Europeans of the Mediterranean coast". They have no resemblance at all to the Melanesians or to the natives of South America. Broadly speaking, the Maori or Polynesian peoples are strikingly Caucasian in physical build-up, complexion and features, while the natives of South America and Mexico cannot be so described at all. The following is Von Hagen's description of the American Indian:

"The Indians of the New Hemisphere are inclined to be thick-set, of medium height, with large hands, small wrists, a disproportionately large chest (developed for breathing in high altitudes), well-developed legs with thick calves and wide-spread ing feet. They are broad-faced with high cheek-bones, prominent
aquiline noses, and small almond-shaped eyes. Their eyes appear to have a Mongolian tilt, actually produced by an epicathic fold over the eye. This clearly marks the American Indian and suggests as his remote ancestry a stone-age migrant from somewhere out of Asia. The women, as is natural, are smaller and more delicately constructed, yet they wear a false frailty, for they are capable of arduous physical exertion; they give birth and return to the fields within 24 hours. Many of the Quechua women* have delicate features; some could be called beautiful. At least the early Spaniards found them so and married them.... The Quechus' skin colour runs from light chocolate to the colour of beaten bronze.”

It is quite evident that there could be no perceptible racial affinity between the American Indian and the Polynesian peoples, especially those among the latter who are “fair-skinned and bearded”. Of course, Heyerdahl is not so naive as to make the peon of Central or South America the remote ancestor of the Polynesian; the latter is descended, according to him, from the pre-Incan Caucasians who were inhabiting the coastal deserts of the Andes and who, in his view, came to this region from Europe in the vague past.

Von Hagen calls Heyerdahl the biggest “wrong-way Corrigan” in anthropological history and adds, “The latest spectacular attempt (of his) to prove that Kon-Tiki Viracocha, the Creator-god, peopled Polynesia, by the expedition on the balsa raft Kon-Tiki, has no support from archaeology, or still more important, from botany”.† Despite the enthusiasm shown by the eminent Norwegian for his hypothesis, it is clear that it has not many facts to support it. If his countrymen, the Norsemen, were able to reach Iceland (and perhaps Greenland) in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D., it does not follow that “white-skinned” men from the Canary Isles or the Iberian Peninsula were able to reach Central America or the Amazon basin, in the very early centuries of the Christian era, in which period great cultures started burgeoning in Mexico and South America. (The myth of an Atlantis Conti-

* Perhaps the reference is to women having Inca (i.e., Elite) blood in their veins.

† Says Grahame Clarke (World Pre-History, P. 250): “Despite claims to the contrary there is no real doubt that the migrations (into Polynesia) stemmed predominantly from East Asia... The broad fact remains that the livestock and almost all the cultivated plants of the Polynesians......stem from Asiatic sources”.
nent scarcely deserves consideration in this context.) Even if a European intrusion be visualised as a remote possibility, who were the white-skinned, bearded men who crossed the Atlantic and came to South America via the Caribbean Sea, *circa* 100 A.D.? They could obviously not be the Greeks or the Romans, who had kept an accurate tally of their overseas excursions. Were they the Phoenicians, who had such a wonderful record for roaming over the high seas in search of unknown lands? Their tradition contains no story of an Atlantic crossing (as it does of tales regarding the circumnavigation of Africa and of voyaging north into the English Channel and the Baltic Sea).* The culture of the Mayas and the Incas does not bear any significant relationship to that of the Phoenicians. To mention only one fact, by about the 8th century B.C. these ancient ‘carriers of the civilised world’ had invented the alphabet, which was later borrowed by the Greeks and the Romans; yet there is no trace of any such written alphabet in South America. The Mayan hieroglyphic bears no resemblance to those of the Near East (Egyptian and Hittite). I suggest that it would not be correct to assume a diffusion of culture *from South America*, west-ward to Polynesia (and Micronesia?) merely on the basis of certain superficial resemblances in stone architecture and statuary. Moreover, the attempt to establish the Polynesian

* Prof. C.H. Gordon has very recently reactivated the theory that South America was visited by Phoenicians, two thousand years before Columbus, basing his evidence on the “Parahiba Text”, a stone inscription alleged to have been found in Brazil in 1872 (which has however now been lost). Prof. Gorden argues that a single boat of the flotilla of Sanno the Punic (*circa* 600 B.C.) got blown across the Atlantic to South America, while Sanno was circumnavigating Africa, (as I have mentioned elsewhere, *vide* Ch. VI, Vol. I). This text has been known to historians for many decades, although the original had been lost and only crude copies were available. The text (which reads to begin with) “We are the sons of Canaan from Sidon.... Commerce has cast us on this distant shore....” has been all along considered to be a forgery because of the errors, mis-spellings and the garbled script, found in the text. G.F. Ekholm of the American Museum of Natural History thinks the text is “too pat and pointed” to be genuine. Another Professor considers the text to be “a mish mash of Phoenician letters from various periods”. I suggest that it will be unsafe to build the theory of colonization of Brazil (in the B.C.’s) merely on the strength of a single inscription (now lost), whose authenticity is also doubted by scholars. It is, however, possible that a boat or two of the daring Phoenicians had got blown across the Atlantic and on to the shores of America; but such a stray intrusion cannot account for the strongly East Asian and Polynesian character of the cultures of Peru and Mexico, as I have described in these writings.
water-gourd and the sweet-potato as the original natives of the Andes has, at best, received only a hesitant support. Even the expert writers of the great modern *Encyclopaedias* are unable to assert with conviction that these vegetables were not independently propagated all over the tropical lands of South Asia and Indonesia. *

What has been established, however, is an astonishing similarity between the cultures of Polynesia and of South America, in certain significant spheres like language, customs and manners, religion, social and political life. There is every indication that there has been here a diffusion of civilization; and all evidence points to South-East Asia and Polynesia being the creditors in this export of culture. I have already referred to the thesis of Hornell that the Polynesians deliberately made long-distance voyages of exploration even up to the farthest limits of the Pacific and probably landed on the American littoral. A. Sharp has also suggested that, even as there were deliberate voyages between Eastern and Western Polynesia, there might have been stray excursions into the New World by South Sea Islanders which would account for the diffusion of the culture indices in evidence. In a number of cases, miscellaneous culture elements, common to both the Old and the New Worlds have been noticed. For instance, stone knives of the Andes bear a striking resemblance to a similar implement of the Shang dynasty of China. Mason notes that "On the coast of Chile certain implements have been found which must have come from Easter Island. The chewing of betel leaf in India, Indonesia and the Pacific, has its counterpart in the chewing of coca leaves, with an admixture of lime in both cases. Bark cloth and feather cloaks were made, on either side of the Pacific, by the same process: similarly, weaving was done by identical methods, especially the "resist-dye process". † The reputed anthropologist, Heine-Geldern, gives a long list of common pre-Columbian culture elements of the Old World and the New. Among these are the "cire perdue" method of casting metals; the extensive use of tin; the colouring of gold by chemical process; the special methods of

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* In another place, I have adverted to the strong resemblance between the cultures of Malabar, Malaya, Madagascar and Polynesia. Do *Heyerdahl* claim that East Africa and Malabar also had been invaded by the fair, tall, bearded men of the Andes?

† widely-known in Indonesia also.
weaving; tie-dyeing or the so called ‘resist-dye’ process; batik cloth-making; the umbrella as an emblem of royalty; the ball-game; the symbolisation of the points of the compass by colours; etc. He cites the following similarities as particularly significant: the use of Chinese motifs in Peruvian cloth; an Asiatic type of loom; guaze-weaving and other Asiatic specialities; cormorant fishing; polished metallic mirrors; star-shaped war clubs (resembling Indra’s vajradanda) and the throne and the litter as emblems of royalty. In fact, the common elements are so numerous that a special and detailed treatment thereof is called for, and in the next chapter an elaboration of this topic will be attempted.

To come back to Easter Island: That certain ‘mysteries’ relating to this small piece of real estate are still unsolved, cannot be denied. For instance, why were these huge statues made, what were the significances of their make-up, and who were the expert sculptors who achieved these grandiose effects with such scanty implements? We have seen that Heyerdahl attributes these monuments to long-eared ‘whitemen’ travelling west from Peru, who were later exterminated, according to him, by the Polynesian ‘browns with short ears’. It may be repeated that there is no substantial evidence of an Andean invasion of the South Sea Islands.* On the contrary, overwhelming testimony points to the spread of culture from the West to the East, right up to the American coast. All the pre-Columbian elements common to the Old World and the New must be attributed to the migrations of the Aryan peoples to the regions of Central and South America, as we shall see in the following chapters. If a suggestion may be ventured, it would seem that there were two distinct waves of immigration into Rapa Nui. One must have taken place before 500 or 600 A.D., consisting mainly of the ‘elite’ of the Aryan voyagers, men who carried with them the arts of sculpturing on a grand scale and the know-how of long distance transportation of megaliths, and who knew the art of writing (in pictographs). What particular religious persuasion they followed is a matter of conjecture; one supposition (a rather novel one) is that they were people following the Jaina cult, which specialised in making gigantic

* Says Roderick Cameron (The Golden Haze, P. 159), “Heyerdahl’s hypothesis in details is very convincing. Science on the whole, however, rejects his theories and firmly maintains that the Easter Islanders originally emigrated from either the Marquesas or Mangareva”.
A. Table compiled by Dr. Heine-Gildern showing the similarity between Indus script (A), Easter Island script (B), and Chinese writing (C).

B. Writing on the ‘speaking board’ of Easter Island.
stone statues in the nude, particularly with long ears, and whose symbol of spiritualism was occasionally a red halo (or turban) round the head. How this race disappeared from Easter Island is not clearly ascertainable. When a later wave of marine adventurers from Rapa Iti arrived, the ancient civilised population had dwindled enormously in numbers, perhaps because of internal strife, or (what is more probable) because these ‘fair-skinned civilised ancients’ fell victim to another wanderlust and made their way into the South American continent, long before the Incas rose to power there. A few of their descendants were still on Easter Island when the Europeans discovered the Pacific; they were handsome and light-skinned and were treated by the other Maoris with special respect; the older among these could read the ‘speaking boards,’ but by the time the European missionaries set up their posts on the Island, this skill had been lost (or perhaps, as is alleged, it was allowed to be deliberately forgotten to prevent the Whites from knowing the mysteries and secrets of these ancient peoples).†

Talking of the art of Easter Island and of the ‘speaking boards’ (i.e., wooden tablets full of pictographic writing, and till lately in the possession of the Bishop of Tahiti) Hermann Leicht, the eminent art critic, has the following highly interesting observations to make:‡

“One can hardly call Easter Island an inexplicable curiosity, for it fits into the general survey of Polynesian art and culture. This volcanic island is almost entirely barren of trees and the colour of the red tufa (lava stone) and the ease with which it can be worked, must have appealed to the artistic faculties of the people, leading them to make ever larger and larger images. Easter Island is thus a good example of the way in which material and environment can produce a special kind of art. The Polynesian idols are made of durable wood and those of the Maoris are true works of art. Those of the ancient inhabitants of the Easter Island seem to have been made to last for eternity in this long-forgotten corner of the globe. . . . These monuments

* The red turban was also an insigne of the priests officiating at Vratya-stoma rituals. Patanjali calls them ‘Ritviks with red turbans’.

† This point is dealt with in detail in the Note to this chapter.

have been regarded with wonder since they are far superior to
the simple stone monuments of Tahiti and other South Sea Islands.
Research has also solved their greatest secret, that of the writing
on the 'speaking boards' (found at first singly and then in
greater numbers) as consisting of pictorial symbols and signs
whose significance is connected with the general scheme of
Polynesian language and culture.'"

Before we take leave of Easter Island (and of Aryan-
infiltrated Polynesia) one curious historical episode connected with
this Island deserves notice. Much has been said (often without
cause) against the so-called savage, who is charged with in
humanity against his own kind, and cruelty and treachery against
the European. But, as often in Polynesia (and more so in the
Americas as we shall see), it is the 'civilised' man who has
proved himself most ignobly savage in his dealings with the
allegedly primitive nations. About 1862 the Spanish rulers of
Peru invaded Easter Island in force, and made a wanton attempt
to carry off all the able-bodied inhabitants as slaves. The Maoris
defended themselves as well as they could, with their wooden
lances, slings and stone clubs, against the cruel aggressors using
swords, guns and bayonets. The natives were naturally defeated
despite the heroic resistance put up by their king, the princes and
the nobles. The defenders were gradually driven to such sore
straits that they took refuge in the huge volcanic crater, along
with most of their people who had escaped the initial slaughter.
But the Spaniards soon scaled the crater slopes and let loose their
vicious musketry on the helpless refugees who suffered such
innumerable casualties that even today the paths leading to the
basin are strewn with mounds of human bones. Several hundred
Maoris* were captured (men and women) and taken away as
slaves to Peru to work in the notorious guano mines. But the
proud Maori could never be made a slave (as the New Zealand
Whites had found out); the Easter Islanders began to pine away
and die in hundreds, rather than live in bondage in a strange
land. The result was that after a few years the Governor of
Lima shipped back the surviving Maoris to Easter Island; but the
returning exiles brought with them a dreaded tropical disease,

* including the king, the crown-prince and practically all the wise-men
(Rongs-Rongo) who could read the 'speaking boards'.

(434)
viz., smallpox, which took a heavy toll of the Islanders, nearly 50% of the population being killed within a year!

Why did the Peruvians make this predatory attack on Rapa Nui, which was 2000 miles away and a mere dot in the Ocean? I suggest that in the memory of the native Peruvians there must have been a recollection of Easter Island as a country from where certain cultured immigrants had come long ago to South America, spreading their learning and civilization among the backward American races and, in the process, creating a Socialist Welfare State whose equal has not yet been seen in this world.
NOTE TO CHAPTER VII

I have dealt in detail with the indefatigable Norweigan author, Heyerdahl's theories about Easter Island. A few years ago, certain UNESCO experts contributed some literature about Polynesian civilization and history. One of them, Alfred Metraux, who had made a special study of Polynesian cultures, writing in the well-known UNESCO journal the Courier (of July-August 1956), expressed the opinion that the colossi of Easter Island were the work of the ancestors of the present Polynesian inhabitants of the Island and not of any mysterious foreign race which suddenly appeared on this insular scene, and as suddenly disappeared.

E. G. Burrows (author of Western Polynesia) writing in the same publication has this comment to make on the somewhat weird theories of Heyerdhal:

"To sift the evidence for his claim that the Polynesians came from America would take at least 800 pages more. Failing that, it may be worth while to list the impressions left on a student of Polynesia by a re-perusal of the work:
1. No one can examine this monumental treatise without admiring the industry, determination and ingenuity that went into it.
2. The data are presented, not in the manner of a judge or dispassionate scientist displaying the facts to let them lead where they may, but in that of an advocate, using all his powers to put his case in the best light and belittle that of his adversaries. (Admittedly the adversaries have often done the same).†
3. Throughout the discussion, the possibilities of local development and of convergence, whereby devices of different origin come to look alike, are either over-looked or lightly dismissed; as

*As elaborated in his extremely interesting 800-page book, American Indians in the Pacific.
† Suggs uses stronger phraseology. "Facts are taken and presented (by Heyerdahl) to serve the purpose of showing Peruvian-Polynesian relationships, when in truth the opposite is the case... One could devote several volumes the size of Heyerdahl's single scientific tome, to a cataloguing of his gratuitous use of scientific data" (op. cit. P. 218).
if human beings could never invent anything more than once. (But demonstrably they often have.)

4. Despite many dubious details, the cumulative evidence of early contact between Polynesia and South America is convincing; and it may well have been more important than most Oceanists have been willing to admit.

5. The preponderance of evidence still indicates that the Polynesians and their culture came originally from the vicinity of South-East Asia.

6. The claim of early influence on Polynesia from north-western North America is unconvincing."

As Burrows contends, it will take another 800 printed pages to discuss in detail the theories of Heyerdhal, and this is obviously an impossible (and perhaps a needless) task. I may however take a few specimens, out of this industrious author’s many contentions, and subject them to such scrutiny and refutation as may be feasible for one who professes no special expertise on the subject and who deals with the Easter Island problem only as a small part of a much wider thesis.

(a) The complexion of the Polynesians:

Heyerdahl argues thus: Among them (the Polynesians), as opposed to the Malays, there are individuals “so fair that blushes on their cheeks can be seen..... In fact the fair complexion is so common that Haddon lists the Polynesians under the white-skinned people like the Europeans”—Taking his stand on this feature, Heyerdahl argues that “East Indian or Malay islanders moving east from their own domain would have to pass through the habitat of the black-skinned Austro-Melanesians and they could thus hardly show a fairer complexion (than their parent hue) when emerging at the other end to settle in Polynesia.” It is clear that the author is mistaken in thinking that the Indo-Aryans (whom he calls rather erroneously “East Indians”) tarried long in Melanesia and heavily intermarried with the locals. All available evidence points to the fact that the Indo-Aryans used Melanesia only as a transit camp and that they left Melanesia in some hurry. Ethnic dilution is unthinkable in these circumstances except in a very minor way. It may also be pointed out that in Aryan commu-

* This may be an incipient ‘Norse-men’ theory, crediting the Vi-kings with the conquest of Mexico and Peru!
nities intermarriage below the level of the Sudra, even in an anuloma fashion, is not permissible and is strictly taboo.

(b) The stature of the Polynesians:
Heyerdahl further observes thus: "The Malayas... are small people, of short stature. The Polynesians are tall; they even rank among the tallest people in the world, the average height being well above 5'8½". Heyerdahl has somewhat missed the argument on the other side. The suggestion there is that the Polynesians are Indo-Aryans (i.e. Caucasian) and not (Mongoloid) Malays. It is the Aryan tribes from India and Indian colonies in Indonesia who adventured into Oceania, and not the Dúctero or Proto Malays.* Such tall fair Aryan types are even now not unrepresented in South East Asia and the Archipelago, despite centuries of racial inter-mingling. Heyerdahl has spun out further similar arguments based on the length of beards, the aquiline noses, the cephalic index, the blood groupings etc. All these seem to turn round the same point of debate viz., whether the Polynesians are Aryan or indigenously Malay, by race. My contention is that the Polynesians are in the main of Indo-Aryan stock and not of Malayan extraction, ethnically.

(c) The language index:
Heyerdahl calls the Language Index a "debated issue" and a "tottering theory." Quoting various authors, for and against the theory of a close affinity between Indonesian (i.e. Sanskrit permeated) languages and Polynesian, he emphasises the fact that the Maori dialects do not carry the Sanskrit accents and idioms in their pure form as is very common in Indonesian dialects. He concedes however that "some sort of parental contact between Polynesian and Malay tongues must have existed but apart from a number of common terms the relationship is very vague and exceedingly remote.... In other words the Malay and Polynesian ancestries seem to converge backward in time to meet somewhere in Eastern Asia in a remote and indistinct period." It seems to Heyerdahl that the common words in the two languages might be due also to borrowing, from Maori into Jawanesef.† Heyerdahl is seen here under-emphasising the linguistic affinities between the Aryan (Indonesian) tongues and the Maori speech since, according to Toynbee,

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* Patanjali describes the Brahmins as "white, fair and fair-haired"
† Even as some European linguists have suggested loan words being given by native Malay, to Aryan Sanskrit!
such affinities are unmistakable proof of cultural and ethnic intrusion. I, however, hope that in these writings I have given adequate evidence to show that the Maori dialects although coarsened, twisted and mutilated by centuries of isolation and cultural regression, yet bear unmistakable traces of an Aryan substratum.

(d) The absence of the loom for weaving:

Heyerdahl lays stress on the fact that the Polynesians made bark-cloth and not cloth woven out of the wild cotton, which grew on some islands, thus antagonising the view that they came out of Indonesia where loom weaving was an ancient Hindu-inspired art. He however refutes himself when he quotes Buck (Evolution of Maori Clothing) who says: “It is not unreasonable to suppose that the ancestors of the Polynesians may have been acquainted with weaving and the loom, before they took up their residence in Polynesia. In Polynesia however, they developed the manufacture of tapa to such a high standard that weaving ceased to be necessary…. We could go further and say that not only could tapa repress weaving but it could account for weaving being abandoned deliberately by the Polynesians…. Supporters of the school of continuity and diffusion may regard this as an excellent example of degradation.” The truth is that there was no loom-weaving in Polynesia because there were no suitable fibres like cotton, silk or wool. The wild cotton found in some islands was really not suitable for spinning and weaving, on a large scale. (The Peruvians, however, practised regular weaving.)

(c) The absence of the wheel:

Heyerdahl argues that since the Maoris knew no wheel, they could not have come from Asia; and he implies that they could have come from the Americas where the wheel was quite unknown. Against this, I have pointed out elsewhere that the Mexicans were fully aware of the wheel. The Maoris also had a good conception of it, as their carvings and drawings show. The cart-wheel was not in use either in America or in Polynesia because there was no animal to draw wheeled vehicles. Humans found it easier to carry their loads on the back or the head as was the case even in civilised Mexico, Peru and Egypt. It is accepted that the Maori language contains words to indicate a wheel, a circular object etc. (The rubber ball was used in Mexican games.) Finally,
were the fair, bearded, giants who came across the Atlantic into Peru, not also aware of the wheel?

(f) Absence of the true arch, of cement and mortar, in buildings:

Heyerdahl contends that since the arch-cum-key-stone, as well as use of cement, was unknown to the Polynesians "there must have been an early separation from the mainland of Asia before the use of mortar was in vogue." I may point out that the true arch was not well-known in ancient India where also much of heavy stone work was done by morticing or mere stress-jointing, instead of by cement and mortar.* In South East Asia, and in the Archipelago also, cement was not generally in use in stone work. The absence of the true arch in Polynesia, therefore does not negative an Aryan parentage to Polynesian building work, or make the latter a product of American acculturation.

(g) Easter Island script:

Reference has been made by me earlier to the 'speaking boards' found in Easter Island in 1865 A.D., by the Bishop of Tahiti. At that time there were still a few 'wise men' (or priests) who had survived the Peruvian slave raid who could have interpreted these 'boards'. Unfortunately the local missionaries treated them as frauds and refused to believe them. But the Bishop of Tahiti persisted in his attempt to decipher the boards but made such slight progress that he also got disheartened. Other and later attempts made in 1886 also failed to achieve a correct interpretation. The learned Doctor Alfred Metraux made a fresh endeavour in 1934-35 and came to the view that the tablets "did represent a line or even a strange mnemonic pictograph used in reciting genealogies and sacred hymns forming part of the Polynesian liturgy." (In the Marquesas and in New Zealand such devices took the form of fibre pouches from which were suspended coloured and knotted strings resembling the Peruvian quipos.)

More recently Dr. T. S. Barthel, a German anthropologist, came to the conclusion that the 'speaking boards' embodied a real script, partly ideographic and partly phonetic, "employing

*In India, the horse-shoe arch was well known and used in sun-windows. Indo-Aryans specialised in corbelling, jack-arching and vaulting. The biggest vaulted dome in the world is at Bijapur in India.
the rebus in much the same way as the Aztec and Maya scripts.” According to Dr. Barthel, the symbols indicated the general meaning of a sentence and suggested catchwords. I have cited elsewhere the views of Hermann Leicht. *

(h) Absence of alcohol in Polynesia:

Heyerdahl observes thus: “If we are to assume that the Polynesians abandoned the previous use of iron, pottery, the loom, rowlocks etc. as the result of degeneration, this could not be the case with alcohol, the use of which is likely to increase with degeneration rather than diminish.” Even admitting the premise of Heyerdahl, which will please many ardent prohibitionists, † it may be pointed out that Aryan peoples were always abstemious to a degree. “Surapanam” (strong drinking) was a sin and a crime in India among the dwijas and was heavily discouraged, but grapewine, rice-wine and liquor made from mohua flowers, honey, and crude sugar were doubtless prevalent among the lower classes and occasionally indulged in at a higher level, but on the sly and under severe disapprobation. Palm toddy came late to India. It was little known in South India till the British propagated it in the same manner as tea and coffee are spread among the masses in North India (i.e. by serving free drinks to create a craving). It may be added that where conditions were favourable, mild liquor was brewed in Polynesia in pre-European days; (e.g., in Tahiti ‡ wine was brewed from orange flowers and the aka was well known in Hawaii, and some other islands. Incidentally it may be added that the orange tree is a native of India and was propagated from there into S. E. Asia, the Pacific, and even far off Mexico.

(i) Absence of betel chewing in Polynesia:

Heyerdahl holds that betel chewing did not spread from the east beyond Papua, thus indicating that the Polynesian population could not have been derived from South East Asia. It is true that there was no betel leaf and no betel-nut in Polynesia; that is because neither the vine nor the tree would grow there! Whether any attempt was seriously made to propagate these in Polynesia we do not know; it is likely that attempts were made but

* I have also added a post-script at the end of this Note.
† By implication, Heyerdahl suggests that abstinence is the mark of a higher culture.
‡ In Tahiti, the enterprising natives had even learnt making toddy, from the coco palm; in South India arrack was made from the date palm.
instructuously. (We may ask, on the other side, why was not the coco plant introduced by the American Indians into Oceania?; and the potato, the tomato, the quinoa, etc. etc.?)

(j) **Source of cultural similarities between Indonesia and Polynesia:**

Heyerdahl cites the famous writer, Weckler, as enumerating the following cultural indices as common to both Indonesia and Polynesia:

(a) The common use of outrigger boats;
(b) Correspondence in vegetable products and growths like banana, coconut, bread fruit, taro, yam, sugarcane;
(c) The domestication of the pig, dog and fowl in both areas;
(d) Linguistic affinities;
(e) Similar technique in weaving bark-cloth;
(f) Common method of kindling fire by attrition.

Against most of these evidences Heyerdahl has the same answer viz., that practically all these culture indices are also found in Mexico and Peru and the Polynesians could have obtained them across the Pacific, from the East instead of from the West. Regarding the dog (which did not exist in pre-Columbian America) Heyerdahl argues that none of the three domesticated canine types of Polynesia was evenly distributed among all the islands and "domestic animals are found here and there as the local mariners obtained the respective species". He thinks that the Polynesians could have obtained the three species of dogs from Melanesia after they (the Polynesians) had arrived into the Pacific islands from South and Central America!

Regarding tapa cloth and fire-making by attrition, Heyerdahl holds that "they belong to a doubtful class of evidence... because they are duplicated on the other side of the world i.e. America"; and could have been copied from the early 'Caucasian' settlers of Peru. Here again the reasoning of Heyerdahl is laboured and rather unnatural. The trend of all evidence is strongly in favour of the view that the Polynesians travelled east in their search for new homes. Further my thesis covers Heyerdahl's objection; i.e., if there are common cultural indices between Polynesia and the New World, the explanation is not that the American-Indians propagated them into the Pacific, but that the New World itself was acculturated by the same race who fathered the great migrations into Polynesia,
viz., the Aryan seafarers. In other words, there was a common cultural heritage from Aryavartha both for the Polynesians and for some of the great pre-Columbian cultures of the New World.

And so the argument goes on in the endless pages of the great Norwegian writer. It is impossible in the course of this popular and admittedly non-expert writing to deal with all his ingenious dialectics but almost all of them can be successfully countered by the basic verities underlying my thesis viz., that there has been a cross-over of humanity and civilization from the Old World into the New, in the pre-Columbian times and that the ultimate inspiration for such a diffusion came from Aryavarta, via the Indonesian and the Micronesian lands. The elaborate and finely-drawn reasonings of Heyerdahl have not, in my humble view, shaken the truth of this fundamental assertion. All the evidences which he produces to show concordance in culture, habits of life, language and race between Polynesia and the Americas merely go to strengthen my theory, instead of weakening it. While there is overwhelming indication of an intense and prolonged racial movement from South East Asia and the Archipelago towards the course of the Rising Sun, there is scant indication of the migration of a blonde, Caucasian, bearded, giant-size people from Europe into the Americas in the early years of the Saka Era, as pleaded with such impressive learning by Heyerdahl.

Regarding the Easter Island script Dr. Barthel is of the view that it is not a pictograph, but a sort of crude syllabary capable of expressing different concepts. The basic vocabulary is limited to 120 elements, which, however in combination, can produce over 1500 composite forms. "Ideograms, associated with a definite semantic content, form the bulk of the script" (R. C. Suggs—

*To cite one more expert opinion: "The physical type of the Polynesians, their language and the fundamentals of their culture connect them with South-East Asia rather than with America and there is little doubt that they originally came from the Malayan region at no very remote period": J. Alden Mason in The Ancient Civilizations of Peru, p. 23.

†In a chapter significantly titled "The Kon-Tiki myth" R.C. Suggs makes a devastating attack on Heyerdahl's theories, "punching more holes in the theory which had never been more than Swiss cheese anyway" (op. cit., p. 219/220). Suggs even asks "Is there a Nordic hypothesis hidden here?" apropos the idea of 'fair, bearded giants' moving out of Peru—"The Kon-Tiki theory is seen as a revenant of the past clothed in a more attractive shroud".
op-cit. P. 187), but some ideograms have more than one meaning.
"The signs can also be used in a series, phonetically, each giving
some phonetic value required to form a word in a kind of rebus-
writing" (ibid). There are no signs to indicate grammatical
particles and condensation seems freely in use. Probably rhetori-
cal language is used to denote figures etc.*; personal names and
place names cannot be distinguished from ordinary words, for lack
of index signs. (The same wretched difficulty exists in ancient
Sanskrit writing as our old commentators very often complain.)
The texts deal mainly with historical traditions of the Island,
according to Dr. Barthel.

In this connection it seems worthwhile to summarise and to
assess the expert views of R. C. Suggs, whom I have often quoted
earlier. He thinks that the original Hawaikī was Indo-China
and not Java for the reason that the Indo-Chinese archaeological
sequences resemble those of Polynesia. "The strong similarities
between the neolithic of South China coast/Indo-China area, and
the cultures of Polynesia, leave little doubt that this rugged sea
coast is the Hawaikī of the Polynesian legends, the ancient home-
land of the setting sun whence began the great trek across Te
Moana (the sea) the only ocean the Polynesians knew." As regards
the causes for this great migration (extending over nearly half the
globe) he sees them in the "events of the terminal neolithic and
the establishment of the Shang dynasty in China in the Huang
Ho... the foundations of the Chinese Empire. were laid, and
marked expansion to the South began. It is this expansion be-
 tween 2000 and 1600 B. C. that was the catalyst in the South China
region which produced the Polynesian migration. As the Chinese
Empire expanded, the backward marginal ethnic groups were
gradually driven to the wall and forced either to amalgamate with
the sophisticated northerners or to flee, if they wanted to survive."

According to Suggs, the ancestors of the Polynesians left the
cost of Asia gradually over a period of several centuries, in a large
number of short movements. "Many voyagers left Asia only to
return; but many stayed behind.....some groups may have
resembled the modern Polynesians reasonably well; others may
have been more Negroid......Unfortunately the data on human
skeletal remains in S. Asian neolithic sites are very meagre and
therefore no help in pin-pointing Polynesian racial origins more
precisely...... The archaeological record gives us further clues to

* as in ancient Sanskrit works.
their further itinerary through the main archipelagos,—Melanesia, New Guinea, Philippines and Indonesia, although a precise tracing of their movements is impossible at present. Evidence indicates that these emigrants touched Philippines first, then possibly Indonesia but it is possible that the Malayo-Polynesians reached Indonesia by simply voyaging southward and eastward, forming a separate arm of migration that may or may not have contributed directly to the occupation of Polynesia. Most recent summarization of Indonesian archaeology however indicates that the stone adze types that we associate with Malayo-Polynesians are all present.

In Melanesia our knowledge of pre-history is somewhat limited. There is reason to believe that Malayo-Polynesian groups moving into Melanesia found some of the islands already occupied by Negrito-Pygmy or other Negroid groups speaking completely foreign languages” — (op. cit. pp. 67/72)

I have quoted rather extensively from Suggs who thinks that the so-called Malayo-Polynesians were driven out of South Asia and Indo-China by the Shang Emperors (in 1500 B.C.) and by this pressure they were forced to migrate south and east into Indonesia and the Pacific Islands. Suggs bases his views mainly on the evidence of pre-historic artifacts like stone adzes and knives, bone and coral fish-hooks, and, occasionally, some potsherds. In his view the Polynesians brought their stone age ‘tool-kits’ from Indo-China, thus establishing the identity of their pristine ‘Hawaiiki’ with this Asiatic region. According to him the oceanic migrations started very early. Even before 750 B.C. the Malayo-Polynesians had reached Melanesia. Tahiti was reached before the Christian epoch and Easter Island by about 400 A.D., as I had mentioned elsewhere.

The following criticisms would seem to be valid against some of the theories of Suggs:

(a) The wholesale reliance on C-14 tests seems unwarranted in view of the known unreliability of such tests in some cases (e.g., ashes of totura reeds) as the learned author himself admits in his book.

(b) There is complete disregard on his part of linguistic and cultural evidences. The readers of my present writings will no doubt be able to appreciate the importance of this type of evidence. In language, religion, philosophy,
social customs and manners the Polynesians show very remote connection with the neolithic cannibal savages of the South China coast (of 2000—1500 B. C.). On the other hand the resemblance to Aryan-acculturated lands is overwhelming, as I have demonstrated in ample measure.

(c) The Polynesians had knowledge of writing, as evidenced by the instances cited by me. It is more than doubtful if the neolithic savages of Indo-China possessed this attainment. Similarly it is inconceivable that the latter possessed all the astronomical knowledge which the Maoris exhibited to the astonished European visitors of the 18th century A. D. Suggs himself records that "an old Samoan once kept an ethnographer awake all night rattling off stars and their purposes, soon completely exhausting the ability of the European to identify the stars of which he spoke." (op. cit. p. 79.) The Polynesians also knew that the earth was round and that the equator was surrounded on either side by the two tropics.

(d) The Polynesians were aware of metals, including iron, as I had shown elsewhere. It is clear that this knowledge could not have come from South China of the pre-Shang period.

(e) The assumptions of Suggs do not allow for a great regression of civilization in the Polynesian race, since he assumes that they went into Oceania with the same "tool-kits" they took out of South China in 1500 B.C. Evidences of a cultural regression on the other hand, are conspicuous.

(f) The resemblances in artifacts (stone adzes, fish hooks and stone-clubs) are highly in-conclusive for a geographical source-identification. It is clear that such crude artifacts can often have a polygenesis. Further the star-headed stone clubs of Polynesia resemble the vajradanda of Indira which was lithic in design, as I have mentioned elsewhere.

(g) It is extremely questionable if in 1500 B.C. the South China savages possessed that amount of nautical skill and equipment as would enable them to voyage into the unknown (for 2000 or 3000 miles at a stretch) with the
guidance of stars and the help of trade winds. It is admitted on all hands that the Chinese peoples evinced poor nautical skill, till the Middle Ages.*

(h) Most important of all, the Polynesian race is overwhelmingly Caucasian (with a small trace of the Mongoloid and the Negroid), as asserted by Suggs himself. There were no Caucasian peoples in the S. E. Asia before, say, the 7th or 6th century B.C., i.e. before the Indo-Aryans starting marching east and south from Aryavarta into Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia. The evidence of an Aryan ethnic inspiration for the Polynesians is indisputable and is acknowledged at all levels. In the light of this fact it is not clear how the neolithic Mongolo-Negretoid savages of South China (of circa 1500 B.C.) can be said to be the remote ancestors of the present day Maoris, Hawaiians and the Tahitians, who are strikingly Aryan-featured.

Suggs has, however, done some useful service in checkmating the historical fantasies of Heyerdahl who would attribute the Polynesian culture to the Andean "white bearded giants" of trans-Atlantic origin, and would affiliate the Maori race to the American Indians of Peru and Mexico. Suggs has, by asserting the penetration of Eastern Polynesia even by the early centuries of the Christian era, helped to connect the Polynesians with the ancient cultures of Peru and Mexico, which flourished before the Incas and the Aztecs. In this context the following chronology of J. A. Mason (as stated in his book The Ancient Civilizations of Peru p. 23) would seem to require modification: "...... There are many cultural resemblances between Polynesia and America, though others seem to by-pass the islands and directly connect Cambodia and Middle America, or Melanesia and Alaska, for instance. However, the physical type of the Polynesians, their language, and the fundamentals of their culture connect them with South-Eastern Asia rather than with America, and there is little doubt that they originally came from the Malayan region at no very remote period. In fact, they still retain very detailed

* Marco Polo (1295 A.D.) while detailing the enormous sea-borne trade of Manji (South China) makes it clear that most of this trade was in the hands of Indians and Saracens (Arabs). He refers to large colonies of Indian traders settled in Manji.
legends of their migrations, at least of the later ones. The fact that they settled in Easter Island, over a thousand miles from Pitcairn, the nearest island to the west, and only about two thousand from the American coast, suggests that Polynesian canoe-men probably reached the latter land also, from which the return voyage would have been relatively easy. However, the first great voyages of the Polynesians are believed to have been at a relatively recent period, probably in the first half of the first millennium A.D., and it has been conservatively estimated that they did not reach Eastern Island until the fourteenth century A.D.,* at which time the Peruvian civilizations were at their apogee. Pre-Polynesian occupations of the eastern Pacific islands are not indicated, much less proved, and we know of no earlier Oceanic people who had the skill and equipment in navigation to be able to make such voyages." While Mason has correctly connected the natives of Oceania with an ancestral home in South Asia, he has missed the rather obvious identity of the "overwhelmingly Caucasoid" ancestors of the Polynesians with the enterprising and highly sea-minded Indo-Aryan peoples, who spread out far and wide to the west and to the east of Sapta Sindhu, from remote pre-historic epochs.

NOTE ON THE AREOIS AND THEIR CULT

In the chapter dealing with Burma, I have referred to a religious sect called Arii, who flourished in the Kingdom of Pagan and who were addicted to such reprehensible and debased pseudo-religious practices that the Pagan monarch found it necessary to forcibly liquidate the sect and root out its cult. A similar religious community, with a similar name, flourished in Polynesia till very recent times. It was called, in Tahiti, Oro,† and elsewhere Areoi (probably a corruption of Arya). Originally it seems to have been a sun-cult, widespread in the Oceanic lands. According to the legend strongly entrenched in Polynesia, the son of God Taaroa fell in love with a human nymph called Vairamiti, "possessed of every charm." Her son through the divine Oro

* Under-lining mine; C 14 and other tests have conclusively proved the arrival of Polynesians in Easter Island long before 1000 A.D.
† Its priests were known as Oreros in Tahiti
became a great king; his uncles were simultaneously constituted the chiefs of a secret society called Areoi. These chiefs lived in perpetual celibacy and their devotees were forbidden to have offsprings. (If any children were born, they were done away with.) The cult membership was large, and on one occasion Captain Cook saw 70 boat-loads of these cult leaders in the Society Islands.

In reality, to Areois were strolling players and "privileged libertines."* They journeyed to each Polynesian Island and put up their shows of pantomime and mimicry; at the same time they "spread a moral contagion throughout society", in the words of Ellis. There were seven degrees in the Areoi heirarchy, distinguished by special tattoo marks. Every initiate was given a new cult-name and a red belt; he was taught certain "gesticulations† and certain chants to be memorised". Says Ellis: "His final act (of the initiation ceremony) was to seize the cloth of the most important woman present" (i.e., join her in sexual union).‡ The adepts (the Areois chiefs) were freed from all labour and had to be maintained by the "industrious husbandmen." On demise, they were considered to ascend (like the Veeras of the Tantric cults) straight to a special heaven where they would continue to enjoy, in perpetuity, all the delights which were their privilege on earth.

While Ellis saw nothing but a morally depraved behaviour on the part of the Areois, other competent observers like Rivers, (vide his History of Polynesian Society) held that the undesirable features of the cult were only superficial and had even been overstressed; at the worst they were superimpositions on a tenet which "had a deep and truly religious purpose" (as some apologists for our own dubious Tantric rituals also have claimed). Infanticide was not universal and was not known outside the Society Islands. In

* in the words of Ellis, a missionary and a severe critic of non-Christian practices, vide his Polynesian Researches.
† cf. the 'mudras' of the Tantric school, especially the 'Sambhavi Mudra'.
‡ In the Tantric rites of the Vamachara school, sexual promiscuity was imposed on the following. It took the form of mixing the bodice cloths of all the women present and lots being drawn from the cloth pool at random by the participants. (It was possible for a member to draw his own sister; such a situation was considered nothing abnormal!)
this view, the lecherous orgies were "confined to the lowest
groups" and were frowned upon by the accomplished adepts. *

These cults ceased functioning when the sun was north of the
equator (which would be Dakshinayana or the night of the gods
for the Oceanic islands, which lay well below the equator).
During this period, the sun was supposed to go into the shades;
and the cultists betook themselves to the 'maraes' (Meru or the
sacred pyramid enclosures) to pray for the return of the Golden
God from the world of darkness into which he had strayed.
"Between April and October (the winter months of the Southern
Hemisphere) the Areois were in total retreat" (Rivers). This
writer thinks that this ritual suspension and the bemoaning of the
loss of the sun during the so-called winter months of Polynesia
must be equated with the Adonis-Tammuz rituals practised long
ago in the Near East, with the same objectives. As mentioned by
me elsewhere, Tammuz-Adonis was mourned during the severe
cold weather (October—April) prevalent in these areas; and as
I have mentioned, some unmoral practices accompanied the jovial
rites welcoming back the sun in spring. Herodotus mentions that
in Egypt also (where society was divided into seven grades as
among the Areois of Polynesia) Osiris, the Egyptian counterpart
of the Greek Adonis, was bewailed when the land was under the
spell of winter. When spring came round, men and women joined
in a great celebration where much singing and dancing was seen.
According to the Father of History, "the women indulged in
mocking abuse of each other in lurid language and even uncovered
themselves," thus recalling the scenes occasionally witnessed even

* Cook wrote in his Diary: "On the whole a stranger who visited England
might with equal justice draw the character of (English) women from those he
might meet on board ships in one of the naval ports or in the purlicues of
Covent Garden". In Cook's time the number of 'loose' women in Portsmouth
alone was estimated as 20,000! Says Roderick Cameron (The Golden Haze,
P. 130), "The critics of Tahitian morals seem to have been blessed with con-
venient memories, for when one considers the state of affairs at home (i.e., in
England) one is at a loss to understand how the spontaneous behaviour of the
friendly Tahitians could possibly be condemned."
now in rural North India at the time of the Spring or Holi festival.①

It is clear that the practices of the Aerois of Oceania had been borrowed from the Asian mainland, where ancient Aryan ideals had been infected with unseemly Tantric practices. Since there is no pronounced cold weather in Polynesia† (as in Sapta Sindhu and in the Mediterranean regions), "the representation of the sun's annual movements by events of birth and death becomes more easy to understand if the idea were brought to these tropical islands from a latitude where such a representation will have a real meaning and be concordant with the behaviour of the sun there .... Such a latitude must be placed in the northern hemisphere" (Rivers). It is also highly significant that both in the Near East and in Polynesia the rituals of the cult were always accompanied by the sacrifice of pigs (or boars). In the Phoenician lands, Adonis was pictured as half-boar and half-man, as was the case with Osiris in Egypt. (Oro in Tahiti was pig-like in appearance, as was Kane in Hawaii.) In Polynesia, for sacrificial purposes the black pig was always preferred, as it was considered sacred. In this connection Donald Mackenzie makes the following pertinent observation: "Vishnu the Hindu God had a pig form, i.e., a human body with a boar's head. Rudra is called in the Rig Veda (I, 114, 5) a varaha or boar ......... The God Trita is referred to in the Rig Veda as slaying the water-confining boar ......... The Hawaiian pig-god had quite a Hindu aspect, as Fornander has pointed out."

①-The Christian Easter festival is essentially pagan in origin and "a great many pagan customs celebrating the return of spring gravitate to Easter," (The Catholic Encyclopaedia, P. 227). According to the Encyclopaedia Americana (Vol. 9 P. 506), "the word Easter is derived from Norse Ostara or Eostre, meaning 'Spring festival' at the vernal equinox (March, 21)". The rabbit and the egg, so familiar at Easter festivities, symbolise fertility rites, borrowed from pre-Christian practices. There is no indication of the Easter festival in the New Testament or in the writings of the apostolic Fathers. (Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 8, P. 828). Easter was governed by the lunar calendar. Now, Easter-day is the first Sunday, after the first full moon of the Calendar, happening on or next after March 21.

† barring New Zealand.
CHAPTER IX

KSHATRIYA KINGS IN PERU

SECTION A

In an earlier chapter I have cited the opinion of certain European anthropologists who are firmly convinced that much of the culture of the pre-Columbian New World was borrowed from the Old, and that this transfer of culture was the result of a migration of Asian populations into Central and Southern America. Von Heine-Geldern is a strong protagonist of this view; Mason, Willey, and Kroeber agree with him that a number of culture elements were diffused from Asia to the Americas, against perhaps a smaller number in the opposite direction and give many instances of the former. The great historian, Toynbee, concedes that these facts have to be accepted when demonstrated, even though the dates and circumstances and the agencies of transmission remain still obscure. But he finds difficulty in admitting the rather revolutionary views of Heine-Geldern that Mexican religion and art were borrowed from India via the Chinese, in the pre-Christian centuries. To quote Toynbee: "He (Heine-Geldern) suggests that the Hindu-Buddhist culture of South-East Asia influenced the architecture, art, symbols, cosmological ideas, institutions, insignia and sports and games of Middle America, especially in its Olmec and Maya cultures of the 7th to the 10th centuries A.D. He thinks that the processes involved in the promotion of the Meso-American and Andean civilizations can be compared to those which resulted in the Hinduisation of South-East Asia. This daring hypothesis surely refutes itself. The Indian origin of the culture that was diffused over South-East Asia in, and after, the early centuries of the Christian era is attested, not only by styles of art and architecture and by forms of social organisation and government, but by the introduction of Indian scripts and Indian literary languages, which latter evidence would remain incontrovertible,"..." In other words, Toynbee would not be satisfied by mere resemblances in art, religion, symbols, and architecture between the Old and the New Worlds, however close they be and however
numerous the points of concordance. To put the matter beyond controversy, he would require evidences of language and of script to establish the transmission of Asiatic cultures into the Americas. We shall see, in the course of this chapter, how far this desideratum of Toynbee is fulfilled in the case of the Incas of the Andes, whom I have called, in the sub-title of this chapter, 'the Kshatriya Kings in Peru.'

The history of man in South America is like a magic book whose secrets are being slowly deciphered by experts who, however, do not always agree on the interpretation. Its fascinating pages, however, contain enough material to piece together a long story whose threads are still not fully unravelled, and whose sequence is still only imperfectly understood. South America is pre-eminently a place where geography has conditioned man's history. Above the heavily forested plains of the equatorial north, loom the towering heights of one of the most enormous mountain systems of the world, second only in size and reach to the great Himalayas of Aryavarta. Ribbing the northern states of Colombia and Equador with giant peaks and immense ridges, the mountain chains run down the whole length of the western coast of this great continent. In this dramatic land of high mountains and bleak deserts, cut by the equator in the north, one could climb from the broiling plains of the coast straight into the frigid heights of perpetual snow, and then descend on the other side into steaming forests of virgin evergreens, so thickly overgrown with tall vegetation that for thousands of miles sunlight barely penetrates the tree-tops here and there, in patches.

The Realm of the Incas, the immense country over which they ruled for over four or five hundred years, is a study in geographical contrasts. Firstly, there is the coastal desert, running over a length of 2000 miles, hemmed in by the sea on one side and the mighty Andes on the other, and varying in depth from 10 to 100 miles (according to the extent of the intrusion of the mountain towards the sea). The entire area is a pitiless desert, where almost no rain falls, and whose waterless desolation is only relieved by the all too narrow valleys of the forty-odd rivers which rise in the towering Andes and empty themselves

* The average rainfall along the coast at Lima (the capital of Peru today) is less than two inches. Some years may pass without any rainfall at all.
into the Pacific over this 2000-mile stretch. The mountain sides facing the sea are giant walls of bare rock, whose barren aspect is dry and forbidding. The coastal plain, in brief, is a place where there is no water, no grass, and no animal life of any sort, except migrant birds. For half the year the heat is so intense that life outdoors is a torture; during the remaining six months the powdery desert is overhung with heavy mists and grim fogs, thanks to the ocean currents travelling north from Cape Horn. These ocean rivers (the famous Humboldt Current) are so heavily strewn with plankton (animal-vegetable life) that unceasing hordes of birds fly over them, avidly feeding on the sea-fauna, that in turn feast on this gigantic stretch of floating provender. The cycle is completed when these surfeited birds (so numerous that in flight they often blot out the sky for many square miles) deposit their guano-dung on the coastal islets, thus filling them with the most concentrated nitrogenous fertilizer on earth.

Bordering these arid plains are the famous cordillera of the Andes, which Prescott calls the "copper mountains," on the assumption that in the Quechua* language the word "antii" means copper (Sanskrit: udumbara=copper) but this etymology has not been accepted by most Western historians. Rising sometimes in a single gigantic line but often arranged in parallel or oblique lines of two or three chains, they look from the sea like one massive border lining the desert. This fact may perhaps suggest the derivation of the name Andes from the Sanskrit word "anta" which denotes a skirt or border (Sanskrit: anta des=Andes) So immense is the scale on which nature has worked in this area that, only when viewed from a great distance or from a great altitude, can one form an adequate picture of these magnificent mountain ranges, on whose higher slopes eternal snow finds an abode, despite the proximity to the equator. In the steppes between the hill ranges are endless miles of grassy plains, which formed, as we shall see, the culture-ground of a great civilization, one of the greatest the world has ever witnessed.

On the eastern side of these high ranges lie the lush rain-sodden jungles (the Spanish montana), the birth-place of great rivers and the home of thick spreading tropical forests, filled to overflowing with tall trees and creepers and wild life of all sorts. There is thus not one Peru but three; all of them violently differ-

* Pronounced Keshava.
ing from each other, but which the great Incas coalesced into a
great empire, the greatest in point of size the world had ever
seen till then. The temperate zone of the Andes lies in the wavy
grasslands between mountains, at a height of over 9000 feet, and
capable of intensive agriculture. These deep valleys of the
cordilleras also carry off the avalanches of rain-waters, which
ultimately form themselves into some of the world’s biggest rivers.
The eastern slopes of the Andes, unlike the western, are so heavily
matted with jungle that, to plant one tree, one must first cut down
ten; and here lived, at the time our story starts, wild tribes armed
with poisoned arrows and a hateful disposition, with whom the
Incas had to wage an eternal struggle in self-defence.

As I have said, out of the three Perus (parched coastal deserts,
the towering mountains, and the intense humid jungles) the Incas
hammered out a magnificent empire, which saw the world’s first
and perhaps the greatest, essay in State-socialism. All the
regions and all the peoples, from the ease-loving Chimu of the
plains, to the savage head-hunters of the jungle, felt the civilizing
Inca influence. In the words of Means, “The whole Andean area
is coloured indelibly with the Inca dye. To this day, in every part
of the territory once ruled by the Incas (from Colombia through
to Argentina, from the desert coast and to the jungles) one is
hourly conscious of the story of the Incas’ supremacy manifesting
itself in scores of ways, through speech, customs and material
culture”.

And who were these Incas? Von Hagen, an eminent
authority, opens his classical book, The Realm of the Incas, with
the following remarks: “The Incas arrived late. This is a fact,
which might have been another, yet it has long been known and
accepted that man in South America had fashioned many an amaz-
ing civilization before the advent of the Incas.” In the opinion
of this great archaeologist, in the region of the Andes there were
many cultures of notable excellence (particularly those of the
Chavins, the Mochicas, the Paracas, the Aymara and the Chimu)
prior to the arrival of the Incas as a ruling power. Archaeological
research has confirmed this opinion, and all critics are generally
agreed that the Incas did not actually redeem Peru from savagery
(as they seem to have claimed in their ‘remembered’ history),

* I should however add, “before the rise of Marxism and the emergence of
the U.S.S.R.”
however much they might have improved its civilization, government and social economy. To quote Von Hagen again, "There was a long succession of cultures before the Incas; and they (the Incas) arrived late and were the organizers rather than creators of Peruvian civilization and yet they were incomparable organizers."

We may accept, at least tentatively, the above authoritative opinion. In this chapter I propose to deal in detail only with the Incas, their origin, civilization, religion and achievements, together with such history of their great Empire as might prove of interest to the general reader. The narratives of the pre-Incan cultures of Peru need not concern us at present, and may perhaps be reserved for separate treatment, in the light of the main thesis advocated in this book, in a different publication.

At the time when Portugal and Spain were steeped in barbarism of a most primitive character (circa 100 A.D.), there were great civilizations flourishing in the New World in Mexico and in the region of the Andes. When the Phoenicians, and subsequently the Romans, were trying, with rather indifferent success, to redeem the natives of the Iberian Peninsula from the utter savagery from which they had not been able to emerge, the Mayans in Mexico and the Chavins in the Andes had built up a culture which, if it could not vie in excellence with that of Aryavarta, Sumeria-Egypt, Greece or Rome, yet possessed in itself all the rudiments of civilized life, including (in Mexico) the art of writing in pictograph. The Incas were heirs to this culture so far as it related to the South American littoral, though they arrived a little late on the scene.

The origin of the Incas is enveloped in mystery, and they have been therefore the objects of much historical speculation. They have been variously described as one of the Lost Tribes of Israel (it may be remembered that the Kashmiris also earned this dubious distinction from the early European visitors to India);* as the descendants of Kublai Khan's sons who had allegedly come, with a brigade of elephants, into South America; as Armenians, as Egyptians, Chinese and even Englishmen! (Sir Walter Raleigh

* Such curious theories are not uncommon with Westerners writing about India; e.g., the Todas of the Nilgiris were seriously presented as descendants of old Roman soldiers. Similarly, the Hunzas of the Himalayas are made to appear as the descendants of a contingent of Alexander's army which had mysteriously hidden itself in the high Himalayan valleys!
put forward the curious view that the name of one Inca, Manco Capac, was really Ingasman Capac, i.e., “the Bloody Englishman”! We have seen Thor Heyerdahl’s surmise that the Incas might be Europeans from across the Atlantic who had set sail from the Canary Isles to the Caribbean, circa 100 A.D., thus anticipating Columbus by almost 1400 years! The main point to be remembered is that there is no longer any question today that the origin of the (American) Indian is Asiatic...... The ‘red man’ is really the son of the yellow race. Apart from racial affinities, there are similarities in arti-facts. The Hoka language of California and the tongue of the Patagonians are related to the Malay-Polynesian.† A number of objects are common to both Melanesia and South America, as for example the throwing stick, the blow-gun, the signal drum, the pan-pipe, and the wooden club with the spiked head (Indra-danda), so common in Polynesia. Strangely enough, it has been established that the Keshava (Quechua) language, introduced by the Incas, contains about 30% words which are common to the Maori language of New Zealand, with identical meanings. Such identities cannot be the result of accidents like a shipwreck (the so called ‘stranded junk’‡ theory). It is not also possible for the Andeans to have made their way into Polynesia and Melanesia, for, to use only one argument, “the natives of South America are very indifferent navigators and are notorious land-lubbers” in the language of Louis Baudin (The Incas of Peru—A Socialist Empire). In Baudin’s view, an elucidation of these remarkable resemblances between Polynesia and

* or at least their cultural predecessors.

† Rivet, a well-known authority, opines that “It is a known fact that a close resemblance exists between certain words of the languages of the Western slopes of South America and the languages of Oceania, notably that of Polynesia.”

‡ A.S. Gregor, who thinks that “before the White man came, the Americas owed little to the Old World”, has this significant observation to make, however: “This is not to say that there was absolutely no contact between the Indian civilizations and the cultures of Asia, and perhaps, Europe. We cannot insist that all the inventions the conquistadors found in America were home-grown products. What of musical pipes of Bolivia that are tuned just like those from the Solomon Islands in the Pacific and from Burma in South-East Asia? Are their similarities just a coincidence? And what of the Mexican game of *pavoll* which bears such a striking resemblance to the Hindu game of *parchessi*? The odds are strongly against the games having been invented independently in both America and India” (The Adventure of Man—P. 108)
South America is still to be found. To quote: "We believe that a comprehensive explanation must be sought that will be able to deal with all the different unsolved problems of pre-history in the South Pacific. The statues of Easter Island, the Fiji monoliths, the tombs of the Paracas, i.e., the necropolis of a vanished City, the sign of the stairway frequently found in the Andes, the bas-reliefs at the gate of the Sun at Tiahuanaco—these await the single theory that will explain them all." I propose in this chapter to adduce (with due diffidence and circumspection) such a theory, with the hope it will pass muster with the enlightened reader.

The solution to the problem has to be sought in the western part of the New World, not in its eastern, and that too over a length of time. To quote Baudin again, "Indeed the difference between the potatoes which the Indian obtained at the time of the Incas and those that still grow wild in Peru would suggest centuries of cultivation and centuries too were needed to transform such timorous and intractable beasts as the guanaco and the vicunya into peaceful llamas and alpaca, different in fleece and colour and incapable of living without the aid of man." All historians agree that man came to the New Hemisphere from Asia; and many hold that initially he came in strength across the Pacific from South-East Asia and Polynesia, to Central America (Mexico and California). "The brightest beam of light that illuminates American pre-history is that cast by the civilization of the Mayas in Yucatan. It spread over the southern continent and its influence is no longer contested today" (Baudin). To some historians, the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan came south by way of the Andes, but it is possible that the stream divided to allow of one branch going up the river Amazon. It was also likely that the movement of peoples was both ways, and that flux was followed by reflux.†

* "The information that we possess from Oceania concerning Polynesian voyages indicate that they were capable of extended trips. It is therefore conceivable that they might have pushed eastward and touched the coast of South America at one time or another. Polynesian legends, botanical evidence and archaeological finds demonstrate that such contacts might have occurred." (R.C. Suggs, op. cit. P. 211.)

† According to anthropologists (A.S. Gregor, for example, vide his The Adventure of Man), Homo Sapiens, the modern species of Man appeared first on this planet about fifty thousand years ago, "probably in Central or South-West Asia" and spread from there to Europe, East and North Asia and Africa, during the next ten thousand years. The Americas were devoid of humanity till about twenty thousand years ago, according to Gregor. J Hawkes (Beginnings of Civilization, Vol. I. -P. 92) adds, "The spread of man throughout the New World may have taken place prior to ten thousand years, for there is evidence that the extremity of South America was reached by man about 6000 B.C."
The earliest of the newcomers into Peru were the Chavins, whose architectural conceptions were spacious and grandiose, and who specialised in truncated stepped pyramids of the type very familiar in Indonesia and the South Seas, and which had been equated with Mount Meru of the Hindu legends. "The Chavin sculptors had a delirious imagination which imbued them with the love of the monstrous and the horrible." In this respect, they resembled the stone-workers of Polynesia, especially those of the Marquesas. The Chimu (or Mochica) and the Paracas civilizations followed the Chavins on the coast. The former has left numerous artifacts, especially well-made pottery depicting a variety of scenes of social life, all of which reveal a highly advanced civilization; a magnificent court, a hierarchy of officials, a corps of artisans and skilled workers, and it should be added, certain unseemly sexual practices depicted in scabrous detail which remind one of Tantric Buddhism.

The Paracas specialised in mummification of their distinguished dead, an art not unknown in Polynesia; the preserved bodies were often wrapped in cotton textiles of exquisite design and workmanship. It is a matter of controversy as to wherefrom the founders of these civilizations came, i.e., whether they hailed from the Yucatan valley or whether they were Polynesian peoples who directly landed on the Peruvian coast through flotillas or rafts made out of the light balsa wood (Sanskrit: palasa, very light wood used in boats and vehicles). In any case, the mother-source and the inspiration of the culture seems undoubtedly Aryan. Even the Maya civilisation was heavily indebted to the Hindus, as we shall see in another chapter; but I shall merely give a quotation here from the Official Handbook of the Mexican Government: "Those who first arrived on the Continent later to be known as America, were groups of men driven by that mighty current that set out from India towards the East."

To repeat: the Incas arrived late (perhaps by 1000 A.D.), as shall presently be described. We have already seen some theories

* According to J.A. Mason (Ancient Civilizations of Peru, P. 46), "The Chavin is generally regarded as the greatest art style in Peru." "The art is stylised and conventional, the naga and garuda (condor and snake) motifs being frequent. Large and elaborate buildings seem to be temples...... The bodies of the dead were not placed in their final graves till the flesh had decayed... The Chavin-horizon gold ornaments are both dainty and exquisite." (Ibid)

† I have referred elsewhere to the society of "Strolling Players of Tahiti", called Areois (Aryas), who were addicted to this widespread and debased cult.
about the origin of this people, and here are some more. An early writer avers that it was Shem, son of Noah (the Hindu Nabha), who came with his hordes to populate the Andes after the Deluge! Another votes for the Atlantis of Plato, thus anticipating Heyerdahl a little. Arthur Polynansky (in his book Tiahuanacu) maintains that the Incas were really Chinese mandarins who, because of their superior education, easily imposed themselves on the native Indians! And, finally, I venture my own theory, which is that the Incas were a small group of Aryan elite who voyaged into Peru by sea, in the centuries following the Saka era, from distant Polynesian islands, perhaps Tahiti and Easter Island.

The Incas in their own official histories always disclaimed a local origin and boasted descent from foreign potentates who were not without pretensions to semi-divine parentage. Von Hagen, of course, firmly believes that the Incas were as indigenous to South America as the Andes and that they hailed from the natives; he roundly accuses the Inca rulers of both supressio veri and suggestio falsi with regard to their genealogy. On the other hand, there are certain enthusiastic writers like Lopez (Le Races Aryans du Peru) who see in the Incas the offsprings of a pure Brahminical tribe, found in Aryavarta. Lopez even goes to the extent of saying that the Keshava language is almost a dialect of Sanskrit, and that "every page of Peruvian poetry bears the imprint of Ramayana and Mahabharata." A brilliant American writer, Miles Poindexter, who was U.S. Ambassador to Peru, has adduced some elaborate "proofs" to show that the following founders of the Inca race were Ayar* Brahmins who could trace their remote ancestry to India.

Ayar—Manco—Topa
"—Chaki—"
"—Ancca—"
"—Vyssu—"

To quote Poindexter: "America in race and culture was but an extension of Asia......Columbus was not mistaken when he called the people of the New World 'Indians'. They were of that and kindred mixed races, and the unbroken line of blood and culture bound together the two shores of the Pacific." This keen

* According to Sanskritists, 'Ayyan' and 'Ayyar' are tadbhava of Aarya.
observer even finds resemblances in dress, colour, physique and mode of life between the dwellers of the Andean uplands and the people of Nepal, Tibet and the present Chinese province of Yunnan (which was the ancient Aryan kingdom of Gandhara). According to him the Indian corn (maize) is the primary food of the masses both in Peru and in the valley of the Selwin, and beer made from this grain is the common drink of the people in either country. The Tibetans used reed flutes like the Keshava people, and they also kept their records with knotted ropes. Poindexter even claims that the Incas recorded the history of their race and kingdom in books of bark parchment bound with wooden boards, in the same manner as the Rulers of the Forbidden Land.* This distinguished American writer has also found a number of Sanskrit words in the Quechua language.

The Quechua language was imposed on the Peruvian people by the Incas.† The name itself was misapplied to the language by the Spaniards. Quechua was the name of a district and of the people there, near the region of the Great Lake. The language has three genders, and the verbs are conjugated. It has the dual in addition to the singular and the plural, as in Sanskrit. As already mentioned, Dr. Ferdinand F. Lopez believes that the Keshava is an offshoot of the Indo-European family. While he admits that the Keshava differs in form from other Aryan languages, he finds it to be inflective like Sanskrit. Other scholars think that this Inca language is agglutinative in character (not inflective), but Aryan in substance. In the opinion of John Foster Kirk, the learned editor of Prescott's monumental works, "The latter point (that Keshava is Sanskrit in substance) is established by the identity of its leading roots with those of Sanskrit; that is to say, there are 'kas', 'tas' and 'vas' (roots) with meanings capable of being distorted into similarity in both." I have already mentioned that Keshava and Maori have about 30% words in common; since the Polynesian tongues appear to be definitely Sanskrit-based, it stands to reason that Keshava must be

* Unfortunately, these were all burnt by the Spaniards.

† Heyerdahl (the strong advocate of the American-Indian parentage of the Pacific people) says: "The Incas did not borrow their language from their predecessors; on the contrary, it is known that they brought their own tongue and enforced it wide and far in the Andes. We have seen that the Incas did not migrate into the Pacific."
considered to have considerable affinities with the Indo-Aryan language. Von Hagen considers that the Keshava language was taken over by Incas after they conquered the ‘grass land’ people of the Andean valleys near the Apurimac river. He admits that it is not known what language the Incas spoke before they absorbed the ‘grass land’ people and allegedly took over their idiom, which they converted into the official language of the State*. Every official throughout the extensive Inca empire, whatever his race, had to know the Keshava language. Teachers of Keshava went along with the conquering Inca armies, to propagate it among the subdued nations. It gradually superseded the amazing medley of local South American dialects and grew, in modern times, to be a living means of communication used by Whites and Indians alike all over Peru. Variants of this speech obtain in Equador, Colombia, Chile, and Argentina, and these are spoken today by several million peoples in these territories.

Kesh in Sanskrit means hair, and Keshava implies people with long hair (by analogy slender grass may also called Kesh). It is likely that this name has some association with the ‘white-bearded men’ who are supposed by some writers to have overrun the Andean plateau about 1000 A.D. Prescott gives some credence to this tradition of ‘white bearded men’ in the Peruvian uplands; but, as may be expected, he is unable to explain their origin. The name Keshava may have something to do with these light-complexioned and hairy people who achieved a marked ascendency over the local tribes of the Andes by their superior culture as well as by their intellectual attainments. It is also likely that these ‘white bearded men’ may have some kinship of blood with a similar nation who are known to have colonised Easter Island a long time before 1000 A.D. and produced those mysterious stone colossi, which supposedly reflect the physical appearance of their creators. I suggest that it is these fair-skinned and hirsute denizens of Easter Island who left their insular habitat in somewhat mysterious circumstances and migrated to Peru and in due course imposed their rule, their language, and their culture on the comparatively less civilised tribal people of the Andean grasslands.† It is accepted on all hands that the Incas (and their

* It is recorded by the early Spanish chroniclers that among themselves the Incas spoke a secret tongue which was different from Keshava.

† Says Prescott: ‘History furnishes few examples of more absolute authority than such a revolution in the language of an empire at the bidding of a master.’
blood-relations) were something of a select and exotic society in Peru, who by their distant manners and exclusive behaviour kept themselves apart from the mass of the people even in Peru proper. In physical appearance also they were different from the Indian.* They were taller, fairer and handsomer; there was a look of majesty and grave self-possession among the members of the ruling family; even the rank and file of the Inca nobility had a bearing and a code of manners which easily distinguished them from the commonalty. In their dress, education, equipment and occupation also, they were poles apart from the peasantry, as we shall soon observe. Louis Baudin calls the Inca ruling class 'the elite' and observes that 'without (such) a strongly constituted upper class, no civilization could have been brought into being, no Empire could have existed.'

In an interesting book called *India in Greece*, Pococke makes the following observation:

"The Ramas were Surya-Vamshis of the Sun-tribe; their mythology, language and worship with one arm reached to Rome and with the other to Peru. Consistently with this view, the Incas called themselves 'Children of the Sun' and built magnificent temples for this luminary." Perry, in his book *Children, of the Sun*, adds: "Wherever it is possible to examine the ruling classes of the archaic civilizations, it is found that they were what are called 'Gods' ...... and that they called themselves Children of the Sun. This is the case in Egypt, Sumeria, India, Indonesia, Melanesia, Polynesia and America; that is, from one end of the region to other (where Aryan influence had permeated)." Perry derives the name Inca from "Inaka" which in Sanskrit means 'People of the Sun'; (Sanskrit: Ina=Sun). Another derivation of the name is based on the Maori tribal name of Naga (or Inga) carried by many of the Sun-worshipping chiefs who left Hawaiki for Tahiti and New Zealand, in the remote past marked by Aryan peregrinations to the East. In fact, the very name Peru is associated by some authors with the Sun, since 'Para' in Sanskrit means light; but the other more reasonable explanation is that the name Paru or Peru was applied to the land on the other side of the Pacific by the early arrivals by sea, since in Sanskrit Para means the other or opposite side of a river, ocean, etc.

* Heyerdahl calls their hair "European-like, long, wavy and fair".
The mother-source of the Inca civilization is traced to the
town of Cuzco (pronounced Kushko) which in Keshava means the
‘navel of the world;’ (obviously, the word is a corruption of
Sanskrit kukshi = belly, womb). The origin of the Empire of the
Sun is lost in the mists of fable; according to the Inca records,
this beginning goes back to the time when the aborigines
of the land were plunged in deep savagery; when men
made war their pastime, and feasted on the mortal remains of
slaughtered captives. According to legend, the Sun, taking pity
on these aborigines, sent two of his children, Manco (Sanskrit
Mahaka = great man) and his wife Mama-Huaca (Sanskrit :
Suvaka = sweet speech) to teach the people the arts of civilized
life. The celestial pair landed on the shores of Lake Titicaca
(the highest lake in the world, which was formerly feeding the
largest river in the world, the Amazon); by magic divination
they ascertained the propitious site for building the town of
Cuzco, where a mighty city gradually came into being. Soon the
divine visitors entered upon their mission of mercy and goodwill;
agriculture, metallurgy, textile weaving, animal husbandry
and various other attributes of civilised life were taught to the
people. The same qualities of benevolence and wisdom which
marked this first Inca family were inherited by their successors,
and between them they built up a socialist society of which
Humboldt has said that ‘if ever there was a golden age on this
earth, it was in Peru under the Incas’.

There are some variations of the foundation legend. As
already mentioned, there is the tradition of the four Ayar (Arya)
brothers who were responsible for the laying out of Cuzco. Yet
another version says that, before Manco there had arrived about
1000 A.D., on the shores of South America, a semi-divine hero
named Kon-Tiki Viracocha who was an emissary of the Sun and
the real founder of the Inca race++. The last-mentioned myth is
significant in as much as it seems to reflect the arrival of a band of
cultured immigrants from across the broad ocean in a flotilla of
boats: and it gives unmistakable support to the theory of a

* Kontiki is derived from Sanskrit Kol-Tiki = Wanderer in a Boat; Vira
Kocha in Sanskrit means ‘Treasure House of Valour’. Prescott translates Vira
Cocha as “Foam of the Ocean” [Vira = seed or foam; cocha = lake or ocean].
Significantly, this name is not unknown to Indian annals. Among the Pallavas,
there was one Vira-Kocha Varman, grandson of Vishnu Gopa Varman, who was
defeated by Samudragupta in A.D. 335, at Kanchi.
Polynesian intrusion in strength into the South American continent. (Incidentally, Tiki was a favourite god among all the South Sea Islanders, and Tiki images of jade were often worn by the Polynesian chiefs as a charm.)

Reserving the history of Inca rule and its tragic eclipse for treatment in the next section, I shall now attempt a rapid survey of the art, civilisation and the mode of government of these Children of the Sun. At the head of the State was the Inca (who was also known later as Sapa Inca: Sanskrit Sapa=worshipped, honoured). He was in very real fact the vicegerent of god and was surrounded with divine honours. In theory he owned the whole Empire and his word was law without a higher court of appeal. His frown might mean death and his smile could raise a person to the heights of good fortune. Yet all this power was used with restraint and discretion; divinity was tempered with kindly realism. As Von Hagen says, “the concern of the Inca for his people was very real ... .... His position and his wealth and his power came from the people and their well-being. The people and their organisation and development were the primary concern of the Ruler”. All officials were strictly accountable to him and misuse of power or laxity was sternly put down. None could stare the Inca in the face or approach him without removing one’s sandals (an Aryan custom). He appeared magnificent and awe inspiring to his people; when he went round on his tours every one prostrated before him, and even his temporary camping places en route became holy ground for ever. But his unlimited dominance rested less on the power of his armed forces than on the moral authority of his genealogy, coupled with wide knowledge, religious fervour and intense regard for the people. He was a scholar, a soldier, a priest, an administrator, all rolled into one. In the words of Prescott, “His authority extended to the most secret of the actions, nay to the very thoughts, of his subjects; no doubt the Inca regarded his people with feelings of comisseration like those of a kind master for the animals committed to his charge”. Baudin’s shrewd comments on this tepid observation of Prescott are worth quoting: “But bad masters have been known to mistreat the animals entrusted to their care, but the Inca was not one of those. He deserves great credit, for the chiefs of most of the neighbouring tribes were bloody tyrants who set him a bad example. In Peru, on the contrary, murder, theft and adultery were so severely
punished that they were, so to speak, non-existent. When Cabet described a society where crime was unknown, he did not suspect that his dream had become a reality on earth". Strangely enough, the highest praises ever bestowed on the Inca administration (and these are numerous) came from a Spanish soldier who had plundered and pillaged widely in Peru and whose conscience was therefore in a ferment. "The Incas ruled their people in such a way that there was among them neither a thief, nor a vicious man, nor a sluggard, nor an adulterous or dissolve woman", said this Don. The charge of tyranny levelled against the Inca by some early Spanish chronicles, out of interested motives, have been proved to be false. On the contrary, the records are full of the greatness of character and nobility of mind of the whole succession of Inca rulers.

In the midst of sanguinary wars, the Inca was always ready to listen to proposals of peace. He respected local custom and kept local chiefs in power, and even heaped gifts on them to bind them to his throne. The gods of the conquered peoples were never dishonoured or neglected. The lands of widows, orphans, and the crippled, were always cultivated free for them. Above all he was just; no guilty person, great or small, could hope to evade his punishment. If he was occasionally cruel, it was because weakness towards the grossly guilty was a danger to the State. (In certain contingencies, it is more meritorious to punish than to pardon.) In this context a quotation from a Hyatt Verrill (Great Conquerors) will be apposite: "The people ruled by the Inca .... .... were not of one homogeneous race but were made up of countless tribes and sub-tribes, confederated and organised to a form of solidarity that stretched from northern Equador to Central Chile, from the Pacific coast to the tributaries of the Amazon—the largest single state under one ruler in the world, at the time ...... That such a diversity of races, many of whom were enemies by tradition and heredity, could have been amalgamated to form a law-abiding, industrious and intensely patriotic whole, speaks volumes for the ability, the intelligence, the superiority, and the power of the Rulers, i.e., the Incas".

The Inca kingship descended according to the laws of primogeniture, and the succession remained unbroken till the time of the Spanish conquest. The eldest son of the Koya or "the
known (Queen)”* (Sanskrit khya = known, recognised) usually succeeded his father, but he had to undergo a rigorous training and crucial tests before he was made heir-apparent. His education was entrusted to ministers called amantuas† (Sanskrit: amatya = minister) who gave him instruction in arts, sciences and religion, with special emphasis on military proficiency.‡ The Amantuas were jealous guardians of learning. None of the accumulated knowledge of their time was alien to them; mathematics, astronomy, statistics, theology, history, politics, poetry, music, medicine, they taught all. They composed plays in which they acted, and they were judges, engineers, roadmakers and armourers! In the words of Prescott:

“In this military school he (the Prince) was educated with such of the Inca nobles as were nearly of his own age; for the sacred name of Inca—a fruitful source of obscurity in their annals—was applied indifferently to all who descended by the male line from

* The Koya corresponded to the mahishi or chief queen of ancient India. Panini mentions her allowance or civil list as mahisha. Next to the chief queen was the prajavati or “mother of princes”. She also received an allowance called prajavata. The ancient Sanskrit scriptures refer always to “four queens” as taking part in hoary Vedic rites (as e.g., the asvamedha). The four were: (a) the crowned queen; (b) the second or the favourite queen; (c) the discarded queen; and (d) the low born queen. The oldest Tamil literature adopts this classification, *verbatim*.

† Prescott and other writers spell the name “amauta”, which makes it closer to the Sanskrit “amatya”.

‡ In the Niti-Sastras of India, the amatya was usually the Revenue Minister. The *Sukra-Nitti* (II-168-173) enumerates the following members of the Council of Ministers:

- **Purodha**: The Chief Priest (who should know not only the civil and religious law, but also military science, including strategy and tactics).
- **Pratinidhi**: The Viceroy, who deputises for the King in the latter’s absence.
- **Pradhana**: The Chief Minister and head of the Civil Service (“He has eyes on all things”).
- **Sachiva**: The Senapati or Minister of War.
- **Mantri**: The Chief of Diplomacy and Foreign Minister.
- **Pandita**: The Scholar and authority on religion and morals.
- **Pranviveka**: “He has knowledge of men and morals”—The Chief Justice and Censor.
- **Amatya**: Revenue Minister.
- **Duta**: Ambassador-cum-Chief of Espionage.
the founder of the monarchy. At the age of sixteen the pupils underwent a public examination, previous to their admission to what may be called the Order of Chivalry. This examination was conducted by some of the oldest and most illustrious Incas. The candidates were required to show their prowess in the athletic exercises of the warrior; in wrestling and boxing, in running such long courses as fully tried their agility and strength, in severe fasts of several days' duration, and in mimic combats which, although the weapons were blunted, were always attended with wounds, and sometimes with death. During this trial, which lasted thirty days, the royal neophyte fared no better than his comrades, sleeping on bare ground, going unshod, and wearing a mean attire; a mode of life, it was supposed, which might tend to inspire him with more sympathy with the destitute."

The physical exercises of the youthful prince and his companions were followed by moral tests. The candidates had to stand watch for 10 nights running, receive hard blows without a murmur of pain, and remain impassive even when a (pretended) murderous assault was made on him. The candidate who showed the least trace of fear or pain was thrown out in disgrace, even if he were the Inca's own son. At the initiation ceremony, the Sovereign himself presided and delivered a discourse to the neophytes, reminding them of the responsibilities of their birth and station, and enjoining on them the need to follow the code of chivalry of their race (cf. Kshatriya Dharma). "Addressing them affectionately as 'Children of the Sun', he exhorted them to imitate their great progenitor (the Sun) in his glorious career of beneficence to mankind" (Prescott). The Inca himself pierced the ears of each novice with a golden needle, following which the holes were gradually enlarged to receive the enormous golden pendants (the kundalas) which were peculiar to the Inca order and which often reached down to the shoulder. The Spaniards called the nobles 'Orejones' (long ears?) but in Keshava it probably meant noble or exalted. (Sanskrit Uru-Janah=Superior men). After the ear-boring (which is an ancient Aryan ceremony called Karnavedha), the noble youths were invested with the sacred girdle and the loin cloth in a manner reminiscent of Aryan practice (cf. "the belt of
knighthood" with which pages were invested in medieval Europe). In the words of Prescott:

"They were then allowed to assume the girdle or sash around the loins, corresponding with the 'toga virilis' of the Romans, and intimating that they had reached the season of manhood. Their heads were adorned with garlands of flowers which, by their various colours, were emblematic of the clemency and goodness that should grace the character of every true warrior; and the leaves of an evergreen plant were mingled with the flowers, to show that these virtues should endure without end. The prince's head was further ornamented by a fillet, or tasseled fringe, of a yellow colour, made of the fine threads of the vicuna wool, which encircled the forehead as the peculiar insignia of the heir-apparent. The great body of the Inca nobility next made their appearance, and beginning with those nearest of kin, knelt down before the prince and did him homage as successor to the crown. The whole assembly then moved to the great square of the capital, where songs and dances and other public festivities closed the important ceremonial of the huaracu." (Pronounced 'varaku': Sanskrit vara = selecting, choosing, rewarding.)

The mekhala and the kaunpinam (the grass girdle and the dimunitive underwear) were important personal accessories in the upanayana ceremonies of the dwija youths in India. It would appear that the same practices were followed in distant Peru with only slight variations. There is no mention of the 'yajnopavita' in the Peruvian ceremonial, but a coloured tunic, embroidered with a swastika, had to be worn by all youths of the elite community.

There were two kinds of Inca people, Incas-by-birth and Incas-by-privilege. The former were those physically descended from the original Inca families who came to Peru. They were at no time very large in number. After the Spanish conquest, when a count was made, the number of families unliquidated was found to be less than a thousand. Their maximum number at any time could not have been more than a few thousand, in a total population estimated at 12 million*, at the height of the Inca Empire. (The estimate of Means, viz., 100,000 Inca souls seems over-generous.) The number of Incas-by-birth tended to continuously increase, because of the fact that the Ruler was

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* By Baudin; Von Hagen is more conservative in his figures.
allowed a large number of concubines, whose children were all, ipso-facto, Incas. (Strict monogamy was the rule for every one else but the King.) As regards Incas-by-privilege, these were Royal retainers and friends, captains in the army and important government officials who, though drawn out of native stock, were treated as noblemen in dress, address, and equipment, and also had their ears pierced. Most of the nobility lived near Cuzco, but large numbers were sent to the provinces to fill important public offices. The very fact that there were two classes of nobility seems to show that the Incas-by-birth were not of the people, but were alien evangelists who had attained supremacy through their superior birth, qualifications and learning. The 'elite' had three distinctive traits; every member belonged to the elite only by merit; for fortune or birth merely created a privileged caste, not an elite, which consisted of men who had worth in them. Further, the elite class attracted all men of ability and goodwill; all those with sufficient qualities, whatever their status at birth, became members of this select class. Finally, the elite was an instrument of public good. Each member acted not for himself, but for the benefit of the whole nation. Thorough education was the privilege of the elite, but this privilege had only the common weal as its object.

The religious hierarchy was entirely distinct from the civil society, the exception being the Sapa Inca, who combined in himself the headship of both the Church and the State. The King's chief priest, called Piruhua (Sanskrit: Purohita or Purodha) was otherwise the Episcopal head, and he was always an amantua. His position is thus described by Baudin: "He lived in eternal contemplation, eating no meat and drinking only water. On festive days this Pontiff would wear on his head a tiara adorned with a golden Sun, covered with gold plates and jewels and adorned with plumes. A silver half moon was fastened below his chin. Precious stones and golden ornaments sparkled on his red-bordered robe of white wool." It is clear that the Royal purohita was both a yogin and a mathadhipati (like some of our great Acharyas), living mostly in spiritual exaltation, without however neglecting his mundane role of State Pontiff. He had a considerable army of priests under him; and below the priests were the ordinary soothsayers and petty ministrants who, like our pujaris, frequented the vestibules of temples and holy places. The priests were
responsible for the upkeep of the bigger shrines, and they also officiated at the Royal sacrifices. There were, in addition, certain classes of hermits (cf: sanyasins) who lived solely by religious mendicancy.

The mass of the people were called by the Incas, hatin-runca or puric. These names are highly interesting. In Sanskrit hatan-runca means "without debt or:care" or "without lands".* Puric (meaning ablebodied in Keshava) is obviously related to the Sanskrit word 'puraka' which means full or complete, i.e., an adult citizen. (For census enumeration all the population of the Empire was put into various categories according to age; for instance, saya huarma or "child that can move"; (Sanskrit: saatvarma = young boy.) The cognomen of hatin-runca had a special significance in the Empire, since, in the highly socialist economy of Peru, all citizens were relieved of their fiscal worries and food problems, their entire wants being provided for by the State in a reasonable measure, as we shall see.

The puric (or the native adult) of Peru stands in a class apart from the rest of mankind, in the same way as a Tibetan does. Says a Western writer: "A high degree of resistance to physical pain and fatigue renders him impervious to the effects of hunger, cold, exhaustion and pain, which is perhaps unequalled in any other race. Centuries of acclimatization in the Andes have developed his body so that even in this rarefied atmosphere he can carry on normal work; his chest and his lungs are abnormally developed, such that the high altitude does not render him anoxic; his large lung capacity frees him from anoxemia (shortness of breath). He carries in his organism the hereditary and ancestral soma (divine fluid) which allows effortless life in these high altitudes".

The puric wore workmanlike and simple clothes, consisting of a short gown with a slit opening for the head, called onka (Sanskrit: ankha = body piece), woven out of alpaca wool. Over this he wore a cape of wool called yakolla (Sanskrit: chelaka), especially if the weather was cold. Below the gown was the breach-clout, a sort of abbreviated kaccham with the ends tied by a sash and the body of the cloth passed between the legs in the fashion quite familiar in India. The legs were encased in

* It is also possible to equate hatin-runca with Sanskrit: "ataruna" = 'not young ones, not children;' Sanskrit: taruna = young, tender.
sandals. In the case of the young male Incas, the donning of the
breach-clout at the age of fourteen or sixteen was called vara-
chicoy; (Sanskrit: vara=excellent; sikha=ends of cloth) and was
an occasion for gaudy ceremonies. Every puric had to wear a
distinctive head-dress on formal occasions. According to the
order of the Inca, each district or chanapatha (Sanskrit: janapada=
community, region) had a special head-gear allotted to it,
and all its inhabitants had to wear this on their journeys as well as
at congregations of diverse communities, so that at a glance a
man's place of nativity could be ascertained.

The peasant woman's dress was equally simple. She wore a
long woollen gown drawn over the head, called anacu (Sanskrit:
anghika=bodice or jacket) and held in place by a sash round the
waist. She also wore the cape or yacolla, which was fastened by a
metallic pin (of bronze, silver or gold, according to status) called
tupu (Sanskrit: stup=to hold, collect?). The hair was braided
and bound with woollen ribands, each region having its own
special coiffure as laid down by the Inca. The ears were pierced
for metallic ear-plugs.

The dress of the nobility was very much the same as that of
the peasant, but the quality of the material used was vastly
superior. The Inca attired himself in a similar style, except that
his tunics were specially spun for him from the finest vicuna.
While the common man rarely changed his clothes (until they
wore out), the Inca never wore the same dress twice; whatever
was worn once was immediately discarded and usually burnt, so
that none else could touch it. If accidentally a dress of the Inca
was soiled (e.g., when food particles fell on it), the Inca
immediately removed the dress, bathed, and put on a new dress
(the custom in India was quite similar).

We have already read something about the Quechua
language. It was made the official speech of the State by Inca
Pachacuti (Golden Fetters?) in 1438, but, as Von Hagen says,
"It was not known what language was spoken before this date by
the Incas". He believes that the Incas had no writing and that
all their language and literature were mouth-transmitted. Other
authorities believe the contrary,* as already mentioned. Most

* F. Montezinos, a 17th century writer, says that the early Incas knew reading
and writing; and that the amantuas wrote on dried plantain leaves (apparently
palm leaf).
unfortunately, the Spanish priestly fanatics completely destroyed all the records of the previous regime, "as they were works of the Devil". Thus a cruel blow was struck by the unthinking bigots at the monuments of Incan learning, a blow which is comparable to the destruction of the vast Buddhist libraries of Nuddia by Mohd. Bin Bakhtyar (1194 A. D.), and the world-renowned Alexandrine book-collections, by the Arabs. "The Quechua has a very rigid phonetic pattern; yet it is at the same time plastic in its ability to make new word-formations". All Quechua words are accented on the penultimate syllable, somewhat like modern Konkini. There are no soft letters like B, D, F and J, whose places are taken by P, T, V and H respectively; certain consonants are hard stressed, as in Sanskrit (like ththa, khkha, chcha, etc.). Plurals are formed by the addition of 'cuna'; (Sanskrit : gana = class, multitude). For instance, puric in singular means one able-bodied person; many such will be puric-cuna (Sanskrit : puraka-gana). Verbs have conjugational endings, as in Sanskrit. Today, nearly 50% of the Peruvians speak Quechua, and its dialects are heard throughout the Andes.

The political or economic unit of the Inca Empire was the village or aylu, corresponding to the pura of Polynesia, the desh in Indonesia, and the grama in Aryavarta. The name is perhaps derived from Sanskrit ila (earth or region), the cognate appellations of illom, ilaka, being not unfamiliar to us. In the Keshava language, it was extended to a clan or group of tribal families living in a restricted area and comonly sharing all agricultural land and its appurtenances. Every Peruvian belonged to an aylu and even Inca families had their own units, some of which may be a village of substantial size called marca (Sanskrit marga = a plateau, a long stretch of level ground or even a city; Cuzco was considered to be a collection of aylus). As in Maori-land, and to some extent in Bâi Island and Indonesia, all cultivable land was communally owned. Each puric was allotted, on a rotational basis, as much land as was needed for his family. Each aylu had its five-man council of elders (like our panchayats), with an elected leader called mallcu (Sanskrit : mallaka = leader; strong man). A number of these communes was grouped into a chanapatha or district (Sanskrit : janapada).* These districts in their turn were

* The word Janapada (meaning homeland, province or district) occurs in the Aitareya Brahmana, the Great Epics, in Panini’s works, in the Puranas and in the Asokan edicts. The significance of the use of this word, in an identical sense, in Peru, will not be lost on the reader.
coalesced into a province; (there were four such in the Empire) under an apo (Sanskrit: upa = assistant or deputy), * who was answerable directly to the Inca. The distinguished writer, Wendell Benet, has this to say of the socio-political set-up under the Incas: "The political pattern, and in turn the economic, can be described as a basically decimal pyramidal pattern. At the base of the pyramid was the puric, an able-bodied male worker. The workers were controlled by a straw boss (conka kama-yog); ten straw bosses had a foreman (pacaka-koraka); ten foremen in turn had a supervisor, ideally the head of a village. The hierarchy continued in this fashion to the chief of a tribe, reportedly composed of ten thousand workers (hono koraka), to the governor of a province, to the ruler of one of the four quarters of the Inca empire, and finally to the Emperor, the Sapa Inca, at the apex of the pyramid." Normally a Peruvian was born, nourished, matured, and buried in his own aylu, to which he owed his basic loyalty.

The allotment of land for cultivation was done on scientific lines. Firstly, a complete population census was taken of all hatin-runas, and then followed an assessment of available land. The Inca applied himself to the task of determining what improvements should be effected in the chanapatha, whether to send additional colonists, implements, seeds, etc., and what public works should be undertaken to better the agricultural production. State engineers would call on the purics to build terraces, dig canals, and lay out drains; mountain slopes would be cut into level patches or terraces, protected by dwarf walls and embankments. Handsome series of these terraces would be built in successive tiers called sucre, (Sanskrit: sukrit = well-made) inter-connected by stone stairways. The Incas thus not only increased the cultivable acreage, but also mitigated rain damage and soil erosion. As Baudin points out, "This system of cultivation antedated the Incas, for it is found in Indonesia and Polynesia... But the terraces of the Incas were better and command great skill. Today's

* In ancient India, the King's representative in charge of a bhukti (a division of a province) was called uparika.

† Karma-yog = worker, In Sanskrit karukah is an artisan (cf. Keshava kuraka). It is highly significant that this decimal system and political set up was followed in India. The Manusmriti lays down the following units: grama = 10 families; 10 gramas = desa; 20 gramas = vimsa; 100 gramas = satesa; 1000 gramas = sahasradha.
(A) A Peruvian balsa-raft as sketched by B. Ruiz
(B) Terrace cultivation in the Peruvian Andes
traveller is amazed to see how the smallest parcel of land was utilised and what prodigies of labour were performed... The irrigation works of the Incas are nothing short of fantastic; canals more than 60 miles in length were cut in rock and sent through tunnels or carried over aqueducts many miles long; (one such was over 400 miles in length). On Mount Sipa (Siva) opposite Pasa Cancha ('golden rope') there were subterranean canals which formed a whole system of communicating basins". Water was strictly rationed and its misuse was punished. Each piece of land was given a name (an ancient Indian custom), and stone marks were set up everywhere to define boundaries of plots.

All cultivable terrain was divided into three unequal parts, one part for the Inca (i.e. the State), one for the Sun (i.e. the Church), and one for the purics. "The first concern of the sovereign was to allot enough land for all the people to sustain life and it follows that the portions assigned to the Inca and the Sun would remain relatively small in heavily populated regions" (Baudin). Every care was taken to make the peasants' share adequate for their needs. For a couple without children the (minimum) unit was a tupu (?). It is clear that the land distribution was based on needs, i.e., one tupu for a couple, another for each son or servant and half for a daughter (a tupu was found to be about 7000 sq. yards or roughly 1½ acres). "It was the community which was served first; the Sun and the Inca got what was left, especially out of the lands which had been improved or reclaimed by the Ruler himself. With the increase in population the share of the Inca became less and less". The area allotted in each case was chosen

* Panini in a sutra says that the measurement word 'khanda' (24 feet x 24 feet) preceded by a numeral takes the feminine affix tap, if the derivative word relates to a field.

† Indian Niti Sastras specify similar principles of land distribution. For instance, the Sukra Niti has the following rules:

"The King should grant lands in the villages to all classes of men, high and low, and in the town for houses of men with families. To the lowest class the land given (for a house) should be about 50 feet by 25 feet (32 cubits by 16); to the highest class, double this size and proportionately to the middle class—The land in each case should be adequate for the size of the family" (Chapter V. 174 to 177). Land for cultivation was, of course, not granted by the King but was inherited or acquired. The officers and servants of the King must live outside the village; soldiers were not allowed to enter villages or towns without a permit.
from the various qualities of land available so that there might be no partiality or discrimination; and the actual distribution was made by the village panchayat. The allotment conferred no right except usufruct and that too for one year only. No sale, gift, etc., of the land were permissible.

The actual cultivation of the land was patterned on a highly socialistic formula. In theory each puric cultivated his own tupu, but neighbours would lend help if needed. In the busy season all other work was suspended so that agriculture might not suffer and mutual help was the order of the day. The lands allotted to the old, the infirm, widows, cripples and orphans were cultivated for them free by the rest of the community, under instructions from the Inca's officials who would sound a trumpet and summon all purics to help the-incapacitated. The lands allotted to the Inca and the Sun were then cultivated by the community but with the difference that all the people working on these lands must be fed for the days they work in them, by the Inca.* To prevent shirking and scamping of work on the State and Church lands, the labour was divided on a per capita basis and allotted to the purics accordingly. Such a split job was called suya (Sanskrit: swayā= self). It is greatly to the credit of the Inca that he made this work in the fields a real pleasure. Says Cobo, a Spaniard, "The Incas arranged and regulated this service in such a way that the Indians treated it as a form of recreation and sport. Work on the land (of the Inca) was the occasion of the greatest celebration and festivities". The cultivation of the Sovereign's land became a sort of annual jubilee. The purics, man and woman, often wearing their best clothes, (which were also a gift of the Inca) would go through the labours of the day, singing the praises of the Inca and invoking the Sun's blessings on him. Baudin adds, "We can well understand the surprise of the Spaniards, who were little accustomed to regarding work as a pleasure. Never has Fourier's dream of the "attraction of labour" been more perfectly realised in this world. In Peru the Indian was happy to work in the fields of the monarch whom he adored."

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* In India, according to ancient Sāstras rule and custom, the king was entitled (for the up-keep of roads, bridges etc.) to one day's work in a month, from each artisan, labourer etc., free of wages, but subject to food being provided by the monarch. There was no other forced labour.
Even in the case of the Sun’s land, the work was really rendered to the Divinity and not to the priests. The latter enjoyed their perquisites only to the extent they were on duty at the temples; when not on duty, they had to work in their own tupu like other Peruvians.\textsuperscript{*} It will be seen that the only tax paid by the hatin runas was the labour service which they rendered to the Inca and the Sun; during this service they lived at the expense of the beneficiary and to this extent the tax-burden was highly mitigated. Further, the produce of the Inca’s lands (and that of the Sun) remaining after meeting the costs of the government, was a form of social insurance fund. This surplus (in the form of grain, fuel, and raw materials) was accumulated and kept for use in an emergency, for the benefit of the common man. The reader will recognise that such a sort of grain-bank was an ancient Aryan concept. In Aryavarta, the monarch was supposed to collect up to one-sixth of the gross produce from all land-owners, to meet the civil and military expenses of government, as well as for constituting a reserve (usually in kind) against lean years.\textsuperscript{†} It was the duty of the Kshatriya Ruler to look after the food wants of his subjects, in times of calamity like famine and floods.

Concerning the distribution of livestock (which was also a State monopoly), a like procedure as for land, was followed. Each puric was given a matched pair of llamas which he was not allowed to kill, until they were past all service. The offsprings of these animals were however the personal property of the puric, who could use also the wool clippings of the parents. Some remarks about these Peruvian animals will be of interest here. Firstly, the llama (a cousin of the camel) was a hybrid and required man’s constant attention. A graceful, obedient, sure-footed, and affectionate animal, it could carry 100 lbs. for 10 to 15 miles without rest, on mountainous ground. “It mimics the camel except for bulk” (Von Hagen). The llama cannot be ridden or milked; it can range up to 18,000 feet and live on meagre fodder and do without water for some days. When angered, it spits on the face

\textsuperscript{*} Even the Sapa India was not exempted.

\textsuperscript{†} Gautama (Grihya Sutra .X—24-35) allows the King to the collect 1/6th 1/8th and 1/12th of the gross produce, depending on the soil and the irrigation facilities provided.
of its keeper; (hence probably its name of llama or lalama). There is little doubt that it was evolved out of the wild and smaller guanaco (Sanskrit: gawnaka = inferior, subordinate) even as the hybrid alpaca (Sanskrit: alpaca = small, petty) was evolved out of the vicuna, (pronounced vehounya; Sanskrit: vaigunya = inferior). The alpaca was no carrier, since it was no larger than a sheep and was confined to the altiplano of over 16,000 feet, but it produced a good quality of wool, now known all over the world. The vicuna is, even today, completely wild. Delicate and fleet of foot, it is not an easy capture, but it carries the finest fleece on all the earth. In the Inca’s time, only the nobility could wear vicuna wool. While it is obvious that the Inca did not ‘invent’ the llama or the alpaca, yet he it was that systematised their breeding and husbandry. The livestock apportionment was eminently fair. In the words of Baudin: “To draw from these facts the hasty conclusion that the Inca reserved the lion’s share of the livestock for himself would be wholly to misunderstand the character of the system. The sum-total of what was set aside for the Indian constituted, strictly speaking, his subsistence minimum, and the surplus reserved for the Inca was not consumed by the Sovereign alone. It reverted in great part to the Indian himself, not only by way of gifts, but also through the distribution of accumulated stocks. Thus, the Inca would bestow upon the curacas or upon deserving individuals, flocks that were known as ‘poor flocks’, in contra-distinction to the ‘rich flocks’ of the monarch. In reality, these last were the flocks of the State and constituted a national reserve set aside for breeding, to meet the needs of the entire population”.

The Indians lavished great affection on these curious but most useful animals which supplied them with transport, fuel, clothing and meat. The Incas treated even the wild guanaco and the vicuna with great consideration. Their capture and slaughter were strictly limited; the females were always set free so that propagation might not slow down. Unnecessary cruelty to these quadrupeds was a thing almost unknown in the Empire, as attested even by the Spanish conquerors, who in their turn did not hesitate

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* In Sanskrit lala is saliva or spittle. Augustus de Zárate wrote (in 1544), “The Spaniards rode them. When a man is on one of them, and the beast is tired but is urged to go on, he turns his head round and discharges the saliva into the rider’s face”.

to hunt down and destroy these gentle creatures in wholesale fashion, with the result that some species threatened to become extinct.\textsuperscript{*} A curious fact is that the sweet, succulent and tall grass on which these animals fed was called ‘icchu’ in Keshava (Sanskrit: $\text{ikshu}=\text{sugar-cane}$).

In Peru, the agricultural implements at the disposal of the peasant were primitive. There was no plough of the type prevalent in India, with a long wooden share (later reinforced with iron) wedged into a block of L-shaped wood, and attached to a long arm to which the draught animals would be yoked. Such a plough would be useless in Peru, even in level terrain, as there were no dray animals at all in the whole Empire. Breaking the soil was therefore done (exactly as in contemporary New Zealand and Hawaii) by a form of dibbling with a footplough called takla,\textsuperscript{†} i.e., a long pointed stick with a cross piece (or a circular weight) attached, which the puric worker, walking backwards, would drive into the ground by the pressure of his foot; his wife would follow him breaking up the sods and removing stones, the whole operation being done with a quickness and efficiency which surprised the Spaniards, who were no less astonished by the sprightly rhythmic singing\textsuperscript{‡} which accompanied these tasks. Spades of wood and hoes were also in use and cutting was done by bronze or obsidian knives. Only adults, i.e., those between 25 and 50, would be entrusted with these operations involving heavy labour. The old and the very young were exempted, but children were employed as bird-scarers. The utility of fertilizers was well known. At first only animal dung was used to improve the land, but later on the guano deposits of the coastal islands were exploited with the provident care which was characteristically Inca, and which is not always in evidence even among governments of the present day. This guano manure was fairly distributed among all the provinces,

\textsuperscript{*} Cruelty to animals was not foreign to the European adventures of those times. In India, the down-at-heel Portuguese used to go round villages with a pack of small dogs, threatening to drown them, unless the villagers set them free after paying substantial compensation to the ruffians. Later on, the poor Whites of John Company collected similar tribute from the country side, by threatening to shoot down the pigeons nesting in the temple gopuras.

\textsuperscript{†} Sanskrit: Takli.

\textsuperscript{‡} Called Jaii or Jailli or victory-song, in Quechuva. Panini calls the plough Jitya=$\text{Victor}$, as it won over the hardest ground.
and the birds were protected from mischief in the breeding season.

Such was the agricultural economy of the Incas, about which De Carli has said: "The system was better than any that were ever conceived of in our Hemisphere, for not only were the citizens bound to be happy under this system but they could not help being so, in spite of themselves." Throughout the whole Empire, every available bit of ground was utilised. Hills and mountains were terraced, tunnelled, bunded and drained, and tilled to their very summits. The rainless barren deserts on the coast were made to bear abundant crops by a system of irrigation which carried down the hill-waters hundreds of miles to the plains. The story is told, by Weiner, of a modern adventurer wandering in this desert who saw some signs of ancient cultivation there. He immediately looked for the Inca irrigation channels (which would be over 500 years old); he found and repaired them and soon became a multimillionaire! The Nazca valley particularly was described by the Spaniards as a veritable paradise of lush crops and pleasant orchards; even today, it is full of subterranean channels which have not been fully explored. The Incas doubtless derived their agricultural and irrigational skill from their ancient Aryancultured homeland, i.e., Indonesia and Polynesia, where a similar know-how had all along been strongly in evidence.

Some sterile controversy has raged among historians on the point whether the land belonged finally to the Inca (by way of eminent domain) or to the ayllu or the village community, and advocates of either school of thought are many. The position has been summed up admirably by Baudin thus: (1) All state or national property consisted of public buildings, roads, fields and pastures, forest lands, coca plantations and mines and quarries. (2) Then there was land held collectively by the community either to be used in common or to be cultivated by purics for the common benefit. All arable lands allotted as tupu to the peasants would fall under this category and the Inca could claim no sovereignty over these lands which, as we have seen were allotted in rotation by the village elders. (3) Thirdly, there was the wholly private sector where ownership rested with the house-holder, i.e., houses, farm-yards and vegetable gardens attached to houses, and arable lands received as gift from the Inca. The principal source of private property was thus through Royal gifts; these included
lands, animals, clothing and other articles of value.* They were
given usually as rewards for good conduct like distinguished war-
service or the erection of great public utilities. Such gifts,
particularly land, could not be sold or alienated, but would
descend to the heirs of the donee. Even here the joint family
system was fully in vogue, as emphasised by Baudin. "Gifted
lands and houses could be handed down as a legacy to sons, but
could not be divided; one of the sons representing the deceased
would be responsible for the management (of the lands) and he
would make a per-capita apportionment of the produce. The
children of the deceased had equal rights, but everything was
held in common." This type of property was exempt from
rotational redistribution and "the Peruvian system thus reserved
the right of private ownership to the deserving elite."

Alas! the golden age of the Peruvians ended with the Spanish
Conquest (whose horrors I shall narrate in another section).
Although the Bull of Pope Alexander VI definitely authorised
only the 'conversion of the heathen' and forbade his despoiling, yet
all land was treated (illegally) as belonging to the (defunct) Inca
and as descending to his successor, the King of Spain, who freely
gifted away immense tracts which he really did not own. The
privileged grantees of land (the encomendero) took undue advantage
of their position to reduce the Indians to servitude. For instance,
Francisco Pizarro gave his brother the entire chanapatha or
district of Charcas as a gift (including the fabulous silver mines of
Porco and Potosi); the brother promptly dispossessed all the natives
of their lands and reduced them to a sort of slavery, under the
notorious mita (Sanskrit: mita=measure, division) system. This
latter was a very harsh 'corvee', by which up to one-fifth of the
adult population could be forced to work for the master for a
period of one year. "He (the Indian) was often wrongfully
retained (beyond one year) on some pretext or other and his wages
would be consumed by the exorbitant prices of the food stuffs
supplied by the employer (under the truck system). Worse conse-
quences followed; an excessively high incidence of mortality in
the mines, the flight of the Indians, depopulation and destruction
of agrarian communities,"—so, says the learned Baudin. To this
may be added the comments of Hyatt Verrill: "Of the civiliza-

* Including female spouses, as we shall see!
tion, the history, the religion, or the traditions of the Incas, the Spaniards knew little, and cared less. They had come to Peru to conquer and to steal. That the people, unfortunately for themselves, possessed gold, silver and precious stones was sufficient for the rapacious Dons, who saw fortune favouring them in the disrupted condition of the Empire, and as was invariably their habit, regarded this as a special dispensation of the Lord."*

Under the patient and discriminating culture of the Incas, every inch of good soil was put to maximum use; the most unpromising spots were compelled to yield some produce for the people. "Everywhere the land teemed with evidence of agricultural wealth, from the smiling valleys of the coast to the terraced steppes of the sierra, which rising into pyramids of verdure glowed with all the splendours of tropical vegetation... But most of the beneficent works of the Incas were suffered to go into decay by their Spanish conquerors" (Prescott). Much of the royal skill was devoted to irrigation; reservoirs were built on a colossal scale; rivers were straightened and canalised. "This type of advanced engineering extended throughout the Empire, but is now only dimly seen since so much has been lost to the insults of time. Irrigation was not an Inca-invention but it was an Inca-perfection" (Von Hagen).

What were the crops which the Peruvians raised with that indefatigable labour and perseverance, which evoked the envy of the Europeans? As already mentioned, the climate of the country facilitated the production of an infinite variety of products, grown in all terrains, from the torrid to the frigid. The Inca taught the people the crops appropriate to each climate and to each soil. His professional experts subjected the whole Empire to a detailed course in plant domestication. As Von Hagen observes, *more than half the world eats what the Incas developed as esculents for their highly agriculture-minded charges*. These soldier-peasants, even when besieging the big town of Cuzco, held precariously by the Spaniards, would not forgo their agricultural chores when the proper season arrived, with the result that the besieging army melted away into the fields, to the great relief of the desperate

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* Says E.C. Vivian (in his *Peru*): "By the law of *mita*, the Indians within 30 miles of a mine were drawn by lot for forced service under-ground for a period of six months; it is believed that about 80% (of the Indians) perished within this period".
foreigners who thought that their last hour had come! More food and medicinal plants were grown in Peru than in any other sizable area of the world. Potato, maize, sweet potato, yam, squash, bean, manioc, peanut, cashew, pineapple, chocolate bean, avocado, tomato, pepper, papaya, strawberry,—all these in dozens and scores of varieties (potato alone had 240 strains) were cultured by the Incan amantuas. Nowhere in the world were so many food items grown in so small an area. The Incas called the potato papa* (sinful?) and as it was highly perishable, they converted it into chuno (pronounced choony; Sanskrit: choorna=cruised and powdered) by alternate freezing and squeezing; the dried root would be turned into a fine flour, which would be stored in the public granaries throughout the realm for many months. Along with the potato, maize, called sara in Keshava (Sanskrit: sarasa† juicy, tasty) was the principal base of the abundant economy. Botanists are not agreed as to the origin of this plant and prefer to treat this as unknown. "Present evidence points to a dissemination in all directions of the early forms from an unknown centre," says Dr. P. Mangelsdorf. I have cited the opinion of another writer to the effect that maize was also a native of Tibet and Upper Burma, where it is now the staple food of the people of these regions as well as of the Kashmiris, although the latter grow a lot of rice in addition. Sweet-maize was called in Quechu sara saclo (Sanskrit: sarkara) and the corn used for brewing fermented liquor was known as sara a’ka.‡

These staple foods were supplemented by quinoa, (a sort of meal-grain with a curious resemblance to rice,) and oca, a tuberous plant growing in the high uplands. The principal condiment was the chilli-pepper, a species of podded capsicum, apparently a native of both Mexico and the Andes. In the submontane regions were raised a veritable cornucopia of fruits and vegetables—beans, squash, pumpkins, and all sorts of fruits known and unknown to the Old World. In the rain-fed eastern tracts were grown peanuts,

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* The wild potato was very toxic, till the Incas evolved harmless strains. Such was also the tomato plant.

† ‘Sara’ also means stalk or reed in Sanskrit. The name would be appropriate to maize, whose stalks were used in many ways.

‡ A’ka or sava is the same as ‘ava’ in Hawaii, ‘kava’ in Samoa, and ‘asava’ in Sanskrit, all meaning fermented essence. The name ‘chicha’, given by Spaniards to fermented drink, is a corruption of a’ka.
chocolate beans, manioc, pine-apple and berries, all of which were natives of America. In the warm desert regions, the valleys and the irrigated areas were abundant with taro, yam, sweet potato, cucumber, water-gourd, and a variety of other plants nourished in the pre-Inca days. Several of these lowland esculents must have been brought over from Polynesia by the early immigrants, particularly the yam, the taro, the water-gourd* and the sweet-potato which was called apuchu by the Incas; (Sanskrit: apichu=tail-less). Von Hagen, however, does not believe in such a transfer of food-culture between continents. In somewhat acidulated language, he has voiced his objections which I take the liberty of reproducing in extenso:

“The archaeological world is today besieged by the ‘diffusionists’ who once again (as has been done often in the past centuries) wish the Inca to come from some place else, in the same manner as Shakespeare could not have been Shakespeare. It is impossible for them to accept that indigenous man evolved culturally in this American world; some claim that the Incas, unsatisfied with their vast Andean realms, went off into the Pacific on a fleet of balsa rafts and so colonised Polynesia; a contrary school suggests that the Incas owe instead their culture to the Polynesians, and to test it a raft is being launched in the opposite direction, that is, west to east; the Mayas must come from Angkor Vat, the Incas from China; the Hy-Brazilians, replete with alphabet, must be immigrants from the ‘Sunken Continent’—Atlantis……. But the Western Hemisphere, once it had its successive waves of migrants from somewhere out of Asia, was apparently sealed off by climatical and geographical change … and American man developed from man-as-animal into man-as-culture-bearer without any appreciable ‘outside’ influence. … To show this, here is a comparative list of what Man was cultivating in the Old World and in the New in, say, 500 B.C.—(?)

**Eurasia**


2. Roots: Carrot, Radish.

* J. Hawkes (*Beginnings of Civilization*, P. 279) says of the bottle-gourd: “It is the only plant cultivated exclusively for making vessels and the only plant of importance to link the Old World and the New. It was undoubtedly a native of the tropical regions of the Old World”.
3. Fruit:  Apple, Pear, Plum, Cherry.
7. Condiments:  Mustard, Cane-sugar.

Industrial Plants
2. Vessel gourds:  Some varieties.

America
2. Roots:  Potatoes (240 varieties) Manioc (2 varieties).
   *Sweet Potato, Yam, Oca, Olluco, Anu.
3. Fruit:  Chirimoya, Papaya, Avocado, Tomato, Cacao (Chocolate), Pineapple, Sour-sop, Cucumber, Strawberry, Raspberry, Blackberry.
5. Pulses (Legumes):  Maize, Quinoa, Canigwa, Tarwi, Molle, Beans (all world varieties except European broad bean and soya bean).
6. Cereals:  None
7. Condiments:  Peppers (Chilli-aji).

*"More than 100 food plants were cultivated by the American Indian... Of these only very few such as gourds, cotton, sweet potatoes, possibly plantain, peanuts and coconuts have close enough relatives in the Old World to suggest importation" (J.A. Mason, op. cit. P. 30). I have italicised doubtful items.
Industrial Plants

1. Vessel gourds: Many varieties.
2. Fibre plants: Agave, Cotton, etc.

"It will be immediately noticed that the two lists are almost completely different; only one item—cotton—is common to both continents, and that is wrapped in great mystery. ... Eurasia knew no beans other than the soya and the little-known broad bean, a vica baba, descendant of a wild African variety; all other beans, no matter where they appear in the world, are 'American'."

I am afraid this eminent archaeologist has been somewhat overwhelmed by his anti-diffusionism. If the Aryan sea-going adventurers could travel from Puhar in South India to Easter Island (a distance of almost 10,000 miles) before the 6th or 7th century A.D., could they not make the further 2000 miles to the vast continent of South America, which was practically staring them in the face? Von Hagen is not on very sure ground when he makes the sweet potato, the yam, the cucumber, the cabbage palm and the peanut, natives of the New World, to the exclusion of the Old.† All these edibles were grown in South Asia and in Polynesia, long before the era of European navigational and commercial enterprise, which started late in the 15th century A.D.‡ Marco Polo (1295 A.D.) mentions the peaunt as a product of S.E. Asia. Von Hagen's statement that "Eurasia knew no beans other than the soya and the broad bean and that all other beans, no matter where they appear in the world, are American" will require quite

* In Sanskrit, cucumber was called urvaru; it is mentioned in the Vedas.

† "It (the bottle gourd) is practically identical with the gourds found in Polynesia and may have been introduced from there. The cotton is... believed to be an Asiatic-American hybrid. The beans are of at least 3 varieties but no scientific report has been issued on these as yet". (J. A. Mason, of. cit P. 32.)

‡ The learned author, however, admits that 'cotton' is common to both the Hemispheres and "that its origin is a great mystery". As also maize, vide Sauer (1950). (American Agriculture Origins) The great botanist, Lauer, has conclusively proved that maize was brought from Tibet into China, where it was grown over wide areas long before the arrival of the Spaniards in America. "Maize did not reach China by sea but came over land from Tibet long before the 16th century.... A great centre of maize cultivation is found in Upper Burma also (by this date)." Hawkes admits that there is no archaeological evidence of the first cultivation of the Indian grams.
some examination before acceptance. To give only one instance to the contrary, in India several kinds of leguminous beans were grown even in the Puranic times (1000 B.C.).* Von Hagen is on stabler ground when he claims for the White man the credit for propagating over the earth various New World agricultural products like the tomato, chocolate-bean, vanilla, strawberry, potato, red capsicum, pineapple, cashew-nut and tobacco. In a reverse fashion, the European traders introduced the sugarcane, cereals and shorgums, (rice, wheat, barley, milo, etc.), into the Americas. The coconut and the banana had already been introduced into South America from Polynesia; the claim made for them as being also native to South America is not wholly substantiated.

To return to Peruvian cultivation: It was, as in India, somewhat of a gamble in the rains and the Inca conducted a special prayer every year for a good monsoon. If the gods were kind, the state granaries would be full of stocks of pabulum, maize, chuno, quinoa, dried llama meat, dried fish, as well as taro and yam; the sweet potatoes would not keep and apparently they were not dehydrated, as was the practice in Polynesia. If the rains were tardy, the High Priest took over; elaborate prayers and rituals (including animal sacrifices) were inaugurated, and it would seem that it generally pleased the gods to respond to the call of the suppliants! The first-fruits of the harvest were offered to the gods in a sacrifice called huaca.†

The arts and crafts of the Peruvians were of no mean order. Spinning and weaving of wool and cotton were universal domestic industries. All wool of both the llama and the alpaca collected in each aylu was recorded on the quipus (string accounts, of which more presently) by local officials and the wool was distributed to the purics according to need, the surplus being stored in State warehouses. The alpaca’s fleece was used for clothing while that of the llama was converted into blankets, sacks and ropes. As we have seen, vicuna wool was not for the puric but was reserved for the elite. Skilful dyes (of nearly 190 kinds) were used in weaving; and these were reinforced with metallic substances (copper and tin) to give permanency to the vegetable colours; the cochineal

* Panini (8th-7th century B.C.) mentions a variety of legumens grown in his time (eg: mudga, masha, masura, kulaththa etc.).
† Pronounced havaka; Sanskrit: havana = prayer, sacrifice; c.f. Polynesian: hawaiiki.
dye popular in Mexico was perhaps unknown in the Andes. A tree
named achiotie in Keshava (asvattha?) gave a purple dye from its
fruits. Shell-fish was also used extensively in the extraction of
dyes. A critic observes that "it may be claimed that the pre-
Columbian peoples (of Peru) pushed the process of dyeing as far as
it was possible to go." The red colour came from buds and fruits,
the yellow from ochre, and blue from indigo. (It may be
remembered that the last-named had been introduced by the
Aryans into Indonesia and Polynesia). Spinning of either cotton
or wool was a woman's job in Peru, and she was always at it,
thumbing and whirling her takli even when travelling on the high
roads.† The spindle whorls were ceramic and sometimes nicely
decorated. Cotton was not grown in the Empire but was obtained
in barter, from the region of the Amazon or from the northern
coastal tracts, where tree-cotton was abundant. Says Von Hagen :
"The things that these people could do with hand-spun cotton are
utterly amazing: it may be gauzy tissue, or a gossamer of muslins
of extraordinary whiteness and thinness; (mummies on the coast
were wrapped in it); guilds of cotton weavers were attached to the
Peruvian coastal temples, just as factories of cotton weavers were
connected with temples in Egypt."
The weaving looms (for cotton and wool) called ahuanas‡
(Sanskrit: vemana) were of three types: the backstrap, whose
upper end was tied to a tree and the lower end was belted to the
weaver, who was called camayoc (Sanskrit karmayog=worker);
the horizontal loom with the warps parallel to the ground; and
the vertical loom suspended from the ceiling and worked by
persons standing in front of it; (all these types of looms were in
use in India from time immemorial). Three kinds of cloth were
normally produced: (1) avaka or ordinary weave (Sanskrit:

* It will be of interest to cite here the advice of Buddha to his disciples:
"You Bikkus! do not use mineral dyes but use the following for colouring your
clothes; dye made of roots, dye made of barks, dye made of wood, dye of leaves,
dye of flowers and dye made out of fruits."

† A generation or two ago, the Brahmin whirling his takli (often on his
thigh), even while talking and walking, was not an unusual sight in South India.
Orthodox Brahmins spun their own sacred thread, then.

‡ In ancient India, a loom was called avaya. Spinning and weaving were
the job of the housewife, irrespective of caste or social status in ancient India. The
Sastras even suggest that the bride should spin and weave the marital dress of the
bridegroom.
avacha = covering; clothing), (2) kumpli or tapestry (Sanskrit: kambara = cloth woven in variegated colours), and (3) chusi or thick blanket or carpet (Sanskrit: churtha = over-spread; blanket). In addition there was cloth embroidered with round golden pieces called chequiria (Sanskrit: chakra) and worn by the nobles. With their primitive equipment, the assiduous Peruvians were able to produce marvellous textiles and fabrics that have never been equalled by machine-made goods since their time. De Leon, an early writer, has said that “the native tapestries were as good as those of Flanders and so well made that they could be taken to be of silk. In certain fabrics it was possible to count as many as 112 weft threads to a square centimetre.”

A similar tribute has been paid to the fabrics made of feather, (a skill probably derived from Polynesia) “the most remarkable of the craftsman’s achievements in Peru” and admitted to be without parallel in the world, outside Polynesia. “The lustre and the splendour and sheen of the feather work were of such beauty that it is not possible to understand them except by seeing them,” says a Jesuit writer of the Conquest.

In leather working the Incas showed little sophistication, presumably because of the repugnance for the job, which is also an Aryan trait. On the other hand, in the making of ropes great skill and scientific technique were exhibited, as we shall see below.

Pottery among the ancients was the language of culture. Without the potter’s wheel, the Incas produced pottery which is among the world’s best; well-made and fine-grained, the Peruvian ceramics had a hardness almost matching metals. They had a variety of shapes and remarkable ingenuity was bestowed on their making. Although mostly utilitarian, they were ‘art’ in the finest sense of the term. For example, there was a bottle-shaped

* The popular ‘kambli’.

† “The most perfect, loveliest Peruvian fabrics are the tapestries; they are among the world’s triumphs in the textile art……. Gobelin tapestries are coarse with an average of 20 wefts per inch; the finest European tapestries seldom exceed 85. In Peru, 200 per inch is not uncommon”. (J.A. Mason, The Ancient Civilization of Peru, P. 249.)

‡ A similar expertise obtained in Mexico, as narrated elsewhere. It may be added that in ancient India feather weaving was well known. The Agnipurana says that Princes should make their umbrellas of the feathers of the goose, the peacock, the parrot and the heron.
jar, resting on a pointed bottom, which would stand erect when holding 6-8 gallons of liquid, but which would fall on its side when empty! Inca pottery was a reflection of their life and their religion, and there was no art for art's sake. The designs were distinctive and full of elaborate geometrical patterns. "The pottery is so unmistakably Inca that it is as tell-tale as a Roman coin," says Von Hagen; (it may be added, 'as a South Indian idol'). In its graceful form, Inca pottery rivals the Greek vases of the best periods.

In metallurgy the Incas could match any people of the world of their time, subject to the limitation of their geography. They mined and manipulated several kinds of metals, gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, bronze, and mercury. The two precious metals had no value as currency, but were in use because of their brilliance and ductility. Their application was confined to the elite and to the temples, because they were symbolic of the Sun and the Moon. For countless years they had been accumulated in the palaces and the holy shrines to an extent that even the wildest imagination of the invaders found difficulty in gauging their real size and worth. The common man could use only copper or bronze, unless with the special permission of the Inca, who often rewarded merit with golden gifts. As in ancient India, all gold and silver mines belonged to the Inca (i.e., the State), and the crude metals had to come all the way to Cuzco, the Capital, for conditioning; no puric was allowed to leave the city with any gold on his person. The mines, which were high on the hills, were considered sacred, and the workers often chanted a prayer to the Sun, to release the metal quickly. Mining was done only in summer to prevent physical suffering to the purics, and the miners were rotated systematically, in order to avoid ill-health and privation.* Work in the mines was treated as part of the land-tax, but the workers were fed by the State and never groused over the job, but took it as a pleasant diversion.

Gold was reclaimed by 'panning' or by terrace-bunding and all techniques known at the time elsewhere, viz., casting, hammering, soldering, and rivetting were current in Peru. Bellows and blow-pipes were used by the goldsmiths to stir up the fire, as in Aryavarta. Detailed statistics of production and consumption were kept by the Inca's officials posted at various points. It was

* They were always accompanied by their women.
estimated that Cuzco received annually over seven million ounces of gold from the State mines.* The gold and silver which were collected at Gajamarca (Sanskrit: kancha or kanchana marga = golden road) to ransom the Inca Atahualpa (who was captured treacherously by the Spaniards, as will be narrated in the next section) were enough to fill a room 35 feet x 15 feet x 10 feet twice with silver, and once with gold! This was doubtless the highest ransom ever paid in history to rescue a King, in this case one of the noblest monarchs on record, from the clutches of perhaps the most infamous character in history. Hyat Verrill states that “the later Incas possessed a greater store of gold than the World had ever known previous to the Spanish Conquest.” The description given by Spanish writers of the great temple of the Sun at Cuzco more than justifies the assumption of Hyatt Verrill. To quote Prescott: “What the chroniclers say of the great temple at Cuzco erected by Pachacutec, is so prodigious that we would be tempted not to believe them, if they were not all in agreement. The principal building was ‘literally a mine of gold’. Its walls were panelled with plates of gold and silver, and a frieze of gold encompassed the whole interior and exterior of the building. A golden egg†, signifying the initial essence of everything, gleamed above the altar, between two discs (a golden sun and a silver moon). All around them were drawn plain images representing the cosmological ideas of the Indians—stars, men, llamas, mountains, rivers, lightning. Along the walls, like a guard of honour, were ranged the mummies of dead kings. Outside there were two stone benches encrusted with gold and emeralds. By the side of this edifice rose five buildings of smaller dimension. In the first, the Moon was represented by a silver disc; the mummies of the

* At the present international value of 35$ per ounce, this gold would be worth 245 million dollars or 120 crores of rupees a year! 500 years ago, its real value (in terms of commodities) must have been five to ten times more; and this production had been going on for over two centuries!

†cf. the Brahmanda or Hiranyakartha of Rig Veda X. 121. Such ideas travelled west also from Aryavarta in ancient times. For instance the Greeks borrowed the Golden Egg concept in their Orphic legend that the Universe was formed in the body of Zeus after he had swallowed Phanes, the offspring of the great ‘World Egg’ in whom all the seeds of things were present. In Manu, the Supreme Soul produced mentally the Golden Egg from which He was born as Brahma. “The resemblance (between the Greek legend and Manu) is too close to be accidental”. (The Legacy of India. P. 7.)
queens formed his entourage, and plates of silver covered the walls. The same precious metal adorned the surface of the second chapel, which housed the planet Venus and the stars, the servants of the Moon; while gold made its appearance once again in the third and the fourth, dedicated respectively to lightning, servitor of the Sun, and to the rainbow. The fifth of these buildings contained the audience chamber of the priests. Niches in the form of tabernacles were cut in the outer walls of these chapels, and they too were bespangled with gold and encrusted with precious stones. The garden that stretched out beyond the buildings offered an even more astonishing spectacle. Everything here was of gold. The trees and their fruits, the birds perched on the branches, the ears of maize, the shrubs, the reptiles, the insects, a flock of llamas with their shepherd—all were of gold. Gold was everywhere, as if Nature itself, by some magical enchantment, had been suddenly transformed into that metal. How could the conquerors not be bewitched by such a vision?"

The palaces of the Inca were as splendid as their temples, although they were of more modest dimensions. To an Aryan Prince accustomed to the huge pillared halls, the magnificent gateways and the imposing terraces of the royal palaces of India and South-East Asia, the Inca palaces must appear rather bleak and monotonous. Spaniards too thought the architecture to be plain and homely. Normally the royal rooms opened into a central courtyard, where two fountains played, one of cool water, and the other fed by a natural warm spring. The walls were covered by lustrous red glaze and the framework of the roof was painted the same colour. The palace would be surrounded by gardens, which had a private pool for the Inca to bathe in. The inner walls of the palace were plated with gold and the outer with silver; the roof was made up of reeds actually turned out of gold. The throne and the seats were of gold and studded with precious stones. There were numerous such palaces; for no Inca used his predecessor's residence, which, after the decease of its royal occupant, became a place of veneration. Every utensil, every dish or cup in the palace was of gold or silver; the tall drinking cups containing the chicha (a mildly fermented

* A golden life-size image of the dead Ruler, called *Pucarina* (Sanskrit: Pujahrina = worshipful) was set up in the vacant palace for the adoration of the people.
drink made out of maize) were particularly beautiful in design. In the audience-chamber, the Sapa Inca himself sat on a curved golden chair called osno (Sanskrit: asana), raised well above the surrounding courtiers and attendants. At the time of the annual festival inaugurating the summer solstice, the appearance of the palace was most grand and imposing. The scene in the sombre and majestic durbar hall, sparkling everywhere with gold and silver, filled with princes and courtiers decked out in resplendent clothes, and teeming with ladies of the nobility dressed in beautiful and costly vestments and bejewelled in marvellous fashion, was such as to beggar description.

Silver was sacerdotal property, and as such belonged to the State. It was identified with the Moon, and the rich mines situated all over the empire were conservatively and efficiently exploited by the Inca. Most of the metal work (including furniture) at Cuzco was of silver. Mercury (known in ancient India as the seed of Rudra or Siva) was very familiar to the Incas.* It was used in mirroring and the plating of metals, particularly bronze, which was frequently covered with gold after the latter was ‘extended’ by the infusion of quicksilver. The mercury mines were kept as a close royal preserve. Since prolonged labour in the mines was injurious to health, a system of quick rotation of ‘mithamas’ was employed. Tin and lead were mined, probably along with silver ore; the Incas knew the science of creating useful alloys; (bronze was thus made from copper and tin).

Says Prescott: "It is worthy of remark that the Mexicans and the Peruvians in their progress towards civilization should never have detected the use of iron which lay around them in abundance and that they should each, without the knowledge of the other, have found a substitute for it in such a curious combination of metals as to give their tools almost the temper of steel, a secret that has been lost or more correctly has never been discovered by the civilised European." Contrary to Prescott’s view, it is surmised that the Incas knew of iron, whose use was discovered the earliest

* As explained in detail elsewhere (vide Vol. I, Ch. XI.) mercury was well known in India from very ancient times and was used in art and industry. In medicine it was used in many recondite preparations, particularly by the Siddha School. Marco Polo mentions (apropos of the kingdom of Madura) that some priests (whom he calls Chughis-Yoghi, lived 150 to 200 years without debility of mind and body, by “taking quick-silver and sulphur, mix them with water and make a drink of them, twice a week”. (Travels, P. 316.)
in the world in Aryavarta, but were either indifferent to its use or had lost the technique of smelting it into steel during their wanderings in Polynesia. Numerous instruments of war and peace were made out of clever alloys; knives, axes, war clubs, levers and crowbars. A number of surgical instruments and household articles were also turned out of mixed metals, particularly silver and bronze. But the overwhelming use of metal, especially the precious ones, was in jewellery and utensils. These were of such a variety, size and abundance, at the time of the Conquest, as to drive the greedy invaders to paroxysms of envy.

A few anecdotes revealing the native Indian’s utter contempt for sordid lucre, are worth retailing. When Vaxo Balboa was meticulously weighing the gold which he had forcibly extracted from some helpless natives, a young chieftain struck the scales and scattered the gold on the ground, crying, “If this is what you prize so much that you are willing to leave your distant home and risk your life and your conscience, I can take you to a country where they eat and drink out of golden vessels and gold is valued just as iron in your country!” During Pizarro’s march across Peru, his men once got stranded and were soon desperately hungry. Seeing a light and a village, they promptly attacked the householders and robbed them, not only of all their food but also of all their clothing and valuables. Thereupon the head of the village asked the robbers, “Why do you not stay at home and till your lands, instead of roaming over other lands robbing and killing people who have done you no harm and who set no store at all by gold and silver which they consider to be trifles?” Another real story is to the effect that, when the Peruvians saw the Spanish horses champing at their steel-bits, they thought the strange animals were actually eating the metal. They promptly offered the Spanish cavaliers bits of gold and silver to be fed to those apparently sacred animals. The Spaniards, without putting the natives wise to the facts, pocketed the precious offerings while pretending to feed them to their mounts!

The Incas knew of pearl-fishing and were rather fond of pearls. But since pearl-diving in shark-infested waters involved risk to life, they completely barred pearling in their dominions.* As already mentioned, the mercury mines were worked only in a

* They got their pearls by barter from other lands, in Central America.
limited fashion, because of the noisome exhalations and the danger to life. The Spaniards showed no such humanitarian scruples and speedily killed off thousands of Indians in the quicksilver mines and the guano pits. The Incas permitted the extraction of vermillion, prepared from cinnabar which was obtained by crushing and washing. The ladies of the elite used the vermillion as a rouge, and this practice seeped down to puric women. The Peruvians knew also how to work on precious stones, and emeralds and sapphires were frequently worn by the elite and used in the ornamentation of the buildings. The Inca himself wore a necklace of large-size emeralds, these being considered to be the favourite symbol of the Almighty.

While their agricultural policies rank the Incas among the greatest rulers of mankind, their achievements in engineering and road construction entitle the Peruvians to take their place with the most progressive nations of ancient times. During the four hundred years of Inca administration, veritable marvels of building and communication had been created with the patient and cheerful co-operation of their subjects. We have seen their achievements in regard to royal palaces, and we may now have a look at their temples, public buildings, and fortresses.

The Peruvian woodwork (with a hard timber called ‘chouta’) showed considerable skill, especially in the making of spindles, taklis, wooden cups, throwing-sticks, looms, palanquins and litters. Bone was used in making musical instruments, knives and spoons, and personal ornaments like pins. It is in stone-work, however, that the Incas excelled: they chose for this purpose rocks of close grain which would take a high polish. The native rock would be marked with a silver wire and then pounded by hammer till the stone split; the method of under-cutting in situ was often resorted to, as in the Easter Islands. Splitting was also done by heating the stones and then pouring very cold water over them, a process which is not extinct even today. The judicious choice of material in itself, shows the mastery to which the craftsmen in stone had attained. A sort of black marble (familiar to the Aryans in India) seems to have been selected for use in specially important places like palaces and temples. The size of stones used in buildings, particularly fortresses, was

* Emerald and jade were the appropriate marks of Rudra, round the neck. [Rudra’s throat was dark... blue owing to his having swallowed serpent’s poison.]
enormous; the walls were frequently truly Cyclopean in design and
collection. Individual pieces were often ten-feet cubes and
in some places single stones fifteen feet high have been employed.
(Similar giganticness in stone work was noticeable in Polynesia,
particularly in the Marquesas, as pointed out elsewhere.)
Different techniques were used in building material in different
areas. In the rainless coasts the structures were usually of adobe
or sundried brick, made of marl mixed with tough grass: the
foundations were of pirca* (Sanskrit: pittaya= stamped down),
i.e., clay and rubble stone mixed with husks of maize and tamped
hard. (Such foundations were common in Polynesia). In the
hill regions and in the high plateaus, ordinary dwellings were
made of adobe walls standing on pirca foundations; important
structures were, however, usually of stone. Ashlar work of
hard rock was not uncommon, granite, prophry and diorite being
extensively used as raw materials. The joints were so finely fixed
that it was impossible to introduce even a thin knife blade in-
between. As Las Casas observes, "All the stones seem to be
one, so well are they joined". Mortising was done by finely
rubbing with wet sand the meeting surfaces of the stones. In
the words of Monnier, "It is veritable lapidary work". With-
out the refined tools of modern construction, the Peruvians
were able to achieve successes in engineering which have uniformly
evoked the admiration of critics. Fergusson, for instance
has this to say of the Inca buildings: "The re-entering
angles of the fortress ramparts are generally at right angles so
continued that every part is seen, and as perfectly flanked as in
the best European fortifications of today. It is not a little
singular that this perfection should have been reached by a rude
people in South America, while it escaped the Greeks, the
Romans and mediaeval engineers". (Fergusson would have been
perhaps less surprised had he appreciated the fact that the Inca
amantuyas were using the techniques which had been handed down
to them by their Aryan progenitors in India and South-East
Asia.)

In the height of the Inca Empire (circa 1450 A.D.), their
public buildings lay spread over an enormous distance, with a
range of about 3,500 linear miles! All along this immense king-
dom there were centres of government called marcas (Sanskrit :

* Pise is the term used in archaeology, today.
marga) containing, *inter alia*, temples of the Sun, a number of palaces and store-houses, as well as military strong points or fortresses. In sheer mass of building the Incas rivalled the Caesars, whose empire was, of course, much smaller in extent. It has been estimated that the spread of the Inca buildings (erected over highly divergent terrain) is five times that of the Pharaohs.* The Incas did no doubt borrow their techniques from their diverse predecessors, but they brought discrepant geography on to one cultural plane, and gave the Empire an architectural unity.

The Inca cities, like their counterparts elsewhere in the world, exhibited the same social characteristic: large population, specialisation of labour, a highly centralised administration, and a communal discipline incident to concentrated urban life. A leading American architect thinks that "the Incas were the best planners South America knew.... After 400 years of European domination, the urban spirit of the Incas still pervades Cuzco and many smaller towns". The cities were designed on the gridiron system; all the circular streets converged on a central court or plaza which contained round it the following principal buildings, viz., the Sun-temple, the Palace for the visiting Inca, Houses of the Virgins of the Sun, and the Administration Centre†. The cities were unwalled, but each one had, wherever possible, an adjacent fortress called pucara (Sanskrit: pura=castle, stronghold), in which the people were expected to find refuge when attacked. Apart from Cuzco, which was the grandest city of all, there were other considerable towns of note. Aya-viri (Sanskrit: Aryaviri) on the northern shore of Lake Titicaca, was, according to Ceiza de Leon, "a grand thing to see and is still (in 1549 A.D.) worthy of note". Fifty miles north was Cacha (Sanskrit: kaccha=sparkling, splendid) on the banks of the Yucay river, where there were great many edifices and an imposing temple in the name of Kon-Tiki Vira-Cocha. The latter (now in ruins) had a row of stone columns with walls of beautifully polished porphyry at the base "with a stone idol, the height of a man with

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* The Incas did their work in as many hundred years as the Pharaohs did in as many thousand.

† All arranged on the Kancha-style, i.e., all opening on to the Plaza. (Sanskrit: kanda=a private place; an enclosed court.)
a robe, sceptre and crown”, probably representing the legendary hero of the Incas.

Cuzco, the heart of the Empire, saw the Inca spirit of “integrated architecture” raised to perfection. Using no nails and no wood and no arches, the Incas achieved here marvels of construction. It is said that 50,000 men worked for twenty years to re-finish this town, which had been laid down by Ayar Manco in the remote past. Through it ran a well-canalised stream, the Huatany (Sanskrit: suvatana = full of sweet air), which was joined subterraneously by a smaller stream called Tulumayu (Sanskrit: talamaya = secret river or pond). The streets were narrow but regularly laid out, cutting each other at right angles and well-paved. There were fine public squares, some with fountains playing in them. The principal plaza opposite the Palace was large (larger than any in Spain, said the Spaniards), and was named Haucay-pata or “Place of rejoicing” (Sanskrit: sowkhyapatha = delightful gathering place). Unusually enough, this capital city was surrounded by a high wall with a terreplein between two ramparts. Nearby was the gigantic fortress of Saxahauman, which protected the country-houses of the curacas (Sanskrit: karika) or chief dignitaries as well as the state granaries. Cuzco itself was divided into four quarters, and all Indians who came to the capital had to reside in the particular quarter corresponding to their native province. Cuzco was thus a microcosm; Velarde says of it: “An extraordinary unique city in which thoughtful planning not only achieved an admirable fusion between geometrical possibilities of symmetry and uniformity on the one hand, and the uneven character of its topography on the other .... (it was) a synthetic expression of the political geography of the empire.” The Sun Temple, the Royal palaces, and the House of Chosen Women, were the pride of the Inca capital. The exterior stone-work of these edifices was not specially decorative, but they were sheathed in silver or gold plate, as mentioned already. The Spaniards describe a building “measuring 350 paces from corner to corner” and entirely plated with gold on the outside. Von Hagen observes that Cuzco could not have been less spectacular than the Chinese cities which Marco Polo saw in 1280 A.D. Much of the enormous loot collected by the invaders consisted of the plates taken down from the walls. It is
clear that the number of gold and silver-smiths* working in the
city must have been very considerable.

Ollantay-tambo (Post-house of Ollantay), 24 miles from
Cuzco, is one of the finest examples of Inca town-planning. As
usual, it is laid out on a gridiron pattern with a big plaza in the
centre, and with a neighbouring pucara. The narrow street walls
are bounded by beautiful lines of masonry of the wasis or houses
(Sanskrit: wasa=dwelling; abode), constructed on stone founda-
tions. The fortress is atop the acropolis, up which a massive
stairway leads, but the fortifications were not completed, because
of the Spanish invasion intervening.

Further down the Urubamba valley is a series of stone-built
cities, which form a massive line of fortifications. These citadels,
10 miles apart and connected by a stone road, were intended to
keep out the wild and intractable tribes living in the lush rain-
sodden forest on the other side. The strong points were so built
on the mountain slopes that they appeared to be 'hanging'. All
these fortress complexes had significant Sankrit names: Huaman-
marca (Sanskrit: soman-marga=the path of the moon); Patallaja
(Sanskrit: patallaja=steep declivity); Bota-marca (Sanskrit:
bhoota-marga=the demons' path); Winay-whayana [Sanskrit:
vinaya vayava=secret (path) of the north-west] and Loya-marga
(=path of rest and repose). The line ends with the famous citadel
of Machu-Pichu, discovered in 1911 by H. Bingham, in almost the
same state in which it was left by its last occupants, three and a
half centuries earlier. The name is derived from two sharp
peaks known as Machu (old) Pichu and Huayana‡ (=new) Pichu,
between the saddles of which the city was built. The city "is a
complex of terraces, gabled houses, temples, sacred places and
residential compounds". It was essentially a fortress, with strong
walls and intended to stand a long siege. The royal palaces were
built of polished and well-jointed granite but the houses of the
workers and the soldiers' barracks were crude and commonplace.
Even the palaces were sparsely finished and there was not much
sign of luxury anywhere. As in all other Inca cities, the buildings
were severely functional.

The architectural parade extended further north. To mention
only a few more cities of importance, there was Lima Tamba,

* called Kolka in Qeshuva; Sanskrit : kalada,
‡ Pronounced Vayana (Sanskrit: vayasin=youthful, strong).
lying in the shadow of a 20,000-foot-high mountain. Vilcanushuman was 100 miles further along and 11,000 feet up in the air, and "it contained a plaza large enough to hold 50,000 people," says a Spaniard. If we travel another 300 miles towards the equator we come to Bonbon, situated at a height of 12,500 feet. Beyond Bonbon lay Huanco, with a fine royal palace and an immense Temple of the Sun, which alone had a population of 30,000 to attend to its services. Yet beyond on the northern road lay Cajamarga, a small city as Peruvian centres go, but still the Spaniards thought "it had a plaza larger than any in Spain, and the buildings were the finest we had seen". And finally, Quito, the chief city of the Equador Province, and the northern end of the 1,250-mile-long Cuzco-Quito axis. "Here too", says Von Hagen, "the Incas constructed their usual urban centres which were far in advance of anything Europe was doing at the same time.... Along an approximate 2,000 mile-long stretch from Lake Titicaca to Quito, at altitudes ranging between 8,500 and 13,000 feet, they built (these fortresses) and none in history save these people constructed or maintained such complex urban centres." As on the hills, so also it was on the coastal plains. In the desert areas the rulers followed the same urban plan,—the Royal palace, the Sun Temple, the plaza, the Administrative Centre, and usually, the shrine of the Virgins of the Sun. On the coast, adobe was freely mixed with porphyry (which was brought over many miles), but the building skill shown was that of the stone-mason. The handsome stone doorway and trapezoidal window, false or real, was everywhere the sign-manual of the Inca architect. In the words of Von Hagen:

"Enough, then, has been shown of Inca structures along a wide and lengthy geography to reveal that we are dealing with a master plan; the sheer quantity of extant Inca structures, in whole or in part, is so utterly astonishing that no one has ever attempted to make a detailed account of the whole of it. However, the persistence of design throughout thousands of miles of varied terrain proves the point long insisted upon by an old Inca hand i.e., that all the best-known monuments of Inca architecture were constructed not by individuals but by the government, according to careful plan;... The varying styles, as has been abundantly shown by excavation and restoration, are only the evolution of
Inca styles themselves, or what is more likely, the difference in building materials and the plasticity of the Inca craftsmen."

Mystery surrounds the technique adopted by the Incas to transport massive blocks of stone, often weighing 10 to 20 tons each, over many miles (hundreds of miles in some cases) and across forbidding ground, and then putting them together in such precision that the edges meet together without the semblance of joining, and all without the use of cement and with primitive equipment. (We have seen a similar situation in Easter Island and the Carolines, but on a much smaller scale.) The Incas quarried their stone, as the Aryans did all over Polynesia, where stone was available in suitable quality. "Rock was searched for natural faults; after boring, the holes were filled with wooden wedges, swollen with water, and in times this swelling action cracked the huge rock masses. (The Romans, even with the most advanced technology of the ancient world, did it no differently)."

Transport of stone was by man-power, since no draught animals were available. The Peruvians did not use wheeled vehicles, but used instead wooden rollers and levers and earthen ramps; perhaps sledges were also in vogue*. With such insufficient facilities, the Incas achieved results in stone-work which are among the best ever done by man. The amantuauas first prepared clay-models of buildings and similar small-scale designs for town-planning, some of which have survived. They had a crude slide-rule and the plumb bob. Like the Aryans they used the forearm (cubit) and the fingers (span) and the human body (the dhanus or six feet) for small measurements. For long distances they apparently had the small and big yojanas (4½ and 8½ miles) as evidenced by their postal stations. They evinced an aesthetic appreciation of the quality of the raw material (i.e., stone) suitable for each purpose. Some stone-work was 'square'.

* In India also such expertise was not unknown. The Asokan pillars (50' high and weighing 50 tons) were cut out of the Chunar hills and taken to Pataliputra for being given a polish (which is the despair of modern masons, says Marshall). The pillars were moved to sites over a thousand miles from Patna! 1500 years later, Sultan Ferozeshah Tuglak employed 10000 to 20000 men and a number of elephants to move one pillar from Topra (Ambala district) to Delhi, a distance of about 200 miles!

J.A. Mason thinks that winches and windlasses were probably known and used. He mentions one stone piece 27'×14'×12' weighing 200 tons, moved several miles (op.cit., P. 160):
and smooth as marble; some was polygonal, with a scientific
realisation of the forces of stress and thrust and the strengthening
of stone by interlocking, but they did not achieve the true arch
(first invented in Egypt and later magnificently exploited by the
Romans) although they could do efficient roof-work by corbelling.
The effort they put on individual complexes was often enormous.
For instance, the ‘pucara’ of Cuzco, Sacshahuaman (Sanskrit: Saksha Bhouman=Earthly Presence, a name of Viswakarma)
employed 30,000 workers for 70 years! With Cyclopean walls in
3 tiers, over 1500 feet long and 60 feet in height, the citadel had
three entrances, one of which was named after the principal
architect. There were two underground passages called mayumarca (Sanskrit: maya marga=secret path), with some large
towers at either end. The citadel had spacious underground
water reservoirs fed by conduits, a magnificent Palace for the
Inca, barracks for the soldiery and granaries for food and other
consumable stores. The Spaniards who saw it first were speech-
less with astonishment. One of them wrote: “Neither the stone
aqueduct of Segovia, nor the buildings of Hercules, nor the work
of the Romans had the dignity of this fortress.” And these
ponderous monuments of rock remain to fill posterity with wonder
and awe. Says Von Hagen: “Stonehenge pales beside it; the
tomb of Agamemnon at Argos is as nothing alongside of it; even
the Cyclopean walls of Agrigentum fall short in comparison.”
One will have to go to distant Kamboja to find parallels for Inca
edifices, in point of sheer mass and fineness of stone-work.

A society is (or ought to be) judged by its roads and means of
communication. Assessed by this standard, the Incas must be
considered to have been highly civilized. “Never did any nation
before or after them (till the 19th century) have such a network
of routes of communication. The highways of the Incas surpassed
the famous Roman roads both in length and in the solidity of
their construction” (Baudin). This was inevitable; the Incas had
no sea-routes or inland waterways like the Mediterranean nations.
They were more like the Mauryan or the Persian Emperors who
had to knit a huge and sprawling Empire by an efficient system of
inter-communication. The Aryan rulers of Peru seem to have
taken some leaves out of the books of Darius* and of Asoka. Wherever they had to go, they laid out a road; in whatever territory they conquered, they organised a network of metalled pathways useful for man and beast (and not for wheeled traffic, which did not exist in pre-Columbian America). No obstacles, rivers, mountains, ravines, and lakes could deter the Incas; their astonishing pathways stretched a length of 3250 miles over sandy desert, over damp and slippery slopes of mountains, across the awesome solitudes of the 'punas', over frozen plateaus, on the lines of eternal snow and the slush and mud of the tropical forests. All difficulties were overcome through tunnels, retaining walls, suspension bridges, river diversions and through causeways of stone or 'pirca' laid over marshy or sandy terrain. "Their roads were monuments to human discipline and industry", said Voltaire long ago. The roads were usually straight as an arrow (except where the topography was completely inimical), even going over mountains by means of steps, rather than round them in easy gradient! (This was because dray animals and vehicles were unknown.) Tunnelling was resorted to in preference to circum-ambulent progress; enormous chasms that could not be bridged over were actually plugged in! The roads were of standard width, i.e., 8 metres, sufficient, as the Spaniards said, for six horsemen to gallop abreast. (In Kamboja the phrase would be, "for four elephants to march abreast"!)

Platforms were built for resting

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* Darius (circa 500 B.C) had laid out a magnificent road from his capital Susa to the Mediterranean. It contained 120 station-houses in which saddled horses were kept ready night and day for the use of royal couriers. Other roads connected the capital with Damascus, India and the Chinese frontier. In India, we had the famous Uttara Patha or Northern Route running from the Caspian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The Greek writers were familiar with it. Strabo and Pliny mention it, as the highway carrying Indian goods to the West, by way of the Caspian and the Black Seas which were reached via the Oxus river. Megasthenes was wonderstruck at the efficiency of the long route on the Indian side. He mentions eight stages on the route: from Puskalavati to Taxila; from the latter to the Jhelum, thence to the Beas, from there to the Sutlej; from the Sutlej to the Yamuna; from Yamuna to the Ganga; from the latter to Rodhopha (Ram Ganga) and thence to Kanauj; to Prayaga; and finally to Pataliputra. From the Mauryan capital, it went on to Tamluk on the Bay of Bengal. The road must have been in existence prior to the 7th century B.C., as Panini mentions the Uttara Patha and describes the trade passing over it. The road was measured with stone marks, and planted with avenue trees. There were rest-houses and wells at intervals.
the litter-bearers where the rise over steps was too precipitous. The coastal roads (exposed to merciless heat) were bordered by trees for shade (as per ancient Aryan practice) as well as by canals for carrying drinking water! Over the shifting sandy terrain the pathway was marked by twin lines of posts for hundreds of miles (the Spaniards quickly pulled these up for use as firewood!). The roads were absolutely level and dead even; not even a small pebble was allowed to show, with the result that the puric women used to run over them without looking down, plying their takli all the time, spinning wool or cotton!

In all there were over 10,000 miles of all-weather roads, many miles of them covered by asphalt†—"the most stupendous and useful work ever executed by man," said Humboldt. The Incas called their roads nan (pronounced nyan; Sanskrit: yana = road, path) and each important roadway was named after the Inca who built it. There were two main types of roads, the Capacnан (Sanskrit: kha=sun, pak=burning) or the Royal road, which started from the Ancasmayo river (Sanskrit: ankhasmaya= winding underground) near the Equator, and passed down modern Equador, Peru, Bolivia, Upper Argentina and into Chile, down to 35° south latitude, where the Incas built a fortress called Purumauka (Sanskrit: pura-mukha). The other route, viz., the coastal road, beginning at Tumbes (3° south latitude), ran through a sun-scorched desert the entire stretch of Peru, into Chile down to the Cpiapo river. The Andean (or the Royal) road was 3250 miles in length‡; the coastal road was 2520 miles long. Besides these arterial pathways, there were a number of lateral links, probably two score in number, many of them now lost to view in the jungles. There were special gold roads (Caja-marcas; Sanskrit: kanchana margas) for conveying the precious metal, and strategic roads where the local defences required them. Some of these roads were the highest built by man, being about 17,000 feet up and in constant use by literally millions during the several hundred years.

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* In the rich river-valleys the roads were lined by dwarf-walls brightly painted in alternate stripes (as often in South India today!),

† "The roads were built of heavy flags of free stone and in some parts covered with bituminous cement which time has made harder than stone itself." (Prescott)

‡ Equal to the distance from Edinburgh to Jerusalem or from Pataliputra to the Hittite Capital of Bhagashaya in Asia Minor.
since gone by. All along the roads were distance marks called 'topos', at intervals of a yojana, i.e., about 5 miles. (The Mauryan roads were similarly marked.) The manner of laying out these roads is described by Ceiza de Leon (1550 A.D.) as follows: "(We must admire) the ease with which they were constructed by the Indians without increasing the death rate or causing excessive labour. When the Inca decided to have one of these famous roads constructed much preparation was unnecessary; it remained but for the Inca to give orders. For then the overseers (that is, professional road-builders) went over the ground, made the trace of the road, and the Indians received instructions to construct the road using local labour. Each province completed the section of the road within its own limits; when it reached the end of their boundary (aylu), it was taken by others; when it was urgent, all worked at the same time."*

It seems clear that the Incas had something of an Imperial outlook in communications, a sort of State master-plan. The method of laying the road, bridging, side protection and getting over obstacles like swamps and gorges, all reveal a uniform type of technique. The objective was twofold: to move foodstuffs, gold, silver, and other mineral produce as quickly as possible from point to point; the second, and perhaps the more important one, was the movement of armies expeditiously to any trouble-spot. As Prescott observes: "Not an insurrectionary movement could occur, not an invasion on the remotest frontier, before the tidings were conveyed to the capital and the Imperial armies were on the march across the magnificent road, to suppress it...."

A peculiarity of these roads was the numerous propitiatory cairns (small mounds of hand-size stone pieces) of the type very familiar to travellers in the Kashmir and the Kangra valleys. These were called in Keshava 'apa-cheta' or 'burden deposits' (Sanskrit: ap=work, and chitha=piling). "As travellers passed along the road, heavily laden, they placed a stone on the apacheta as a symbol of their burden, and so they left their tiredness behind!",. Such mounds of small stones were quite frequent sights in Bali island, as well as in Polynesia. (They are also common occurrences today in Nepal and Tibet.)

* Europe had few new roads till the Middle Ages, apart from the Roman ones. Stiff tolls were charged for widening roads "sufficient to let a man pass with a dead corpse on a cart". In North America, there were no roads west of the Mississippi till 1850.
A word about the Inca bridges, often called in the local tongue the 'little brother of the road'. Many types of bridges were evolved by the Incas (no doubt out of the skills derived from their Aryan forebears); there were suspension, pontoon and cantilever constructions, bridges of the clapper-type, of corbelled stone, and of huge stone slabs over small streams. The general name for a bridge in Keshava was 'chaca' (Sanskrit: chaka = trembling, shaky); the reason for this peculiar name will soon be obvious.

The greatest engineering feat achieved by the Incas was in the matter of suspension bridges, of which there were over 140 on the royal route alone; the most famous of such bridges was over the roaring Apurimac river (Sanskrit: apurya mukha = full-mouthed).* It was built in 1350 A.D. by Inca Roca and lasted for 500 years,† till it was replaced by a steel bridge, circa 1850 A.D. In effect, the Incas reversed the arch and by means of huge suspension cables made the bridge, so to say, hang in the air. (Such bridges were well known in India, particularly in the Himalayan regions. In Polynesia also, suspension bridges were in evidence in New Zealand.) This particular bridge was nearly 200 feet long, including supports, and was suspended from rope cables made of agave fibre, cables which were as thick as a man's body. The cable ends were buried deep in the earth after being wound over stout wooden beams; on this foundation were built stone pillars which elevated the cables to the required height. Several other cables tied to the stone pillars formed the floor of the rope bridge; these were joined to the suspension cables by vertical fibre ropes fixed at short intervals on either side. Wooden posts or boards were laid on the rope floor to facilitate walking. (All the fibre work was renewed every year by the inhabitants of a village on the river bank as part of the labour-tax due from them. The villagers continued to do this service for 300 years more after the Spanish conquest!) But the middle of the bridge naturally sagged heavily under its own weight, and in the absence of guy ropes the bridge swayed dangerously in a stiff wind. Even when animals or persons crossed over, it trembled and shook

* A structure which has gone into literature as The Bridge of San Luis Rey, a novel written by T. Wilder.

† It is significant that the most ancient rope-bridge in the world at Lakshmana-Jhoola (Jhoola = swing) is traditionally credited to Lakshmana, brother of Sri Rama. This rope was functioning till 1924 A.D.
ominously, and hence its name of 'chaca'. The Spaniards used the bridge with great reluctance and in some terror, but the purics and their llamas crossed over without any trouble or misgiving. The bridges were free for the Inca, his officers and the state officials and the army; all others had to pay a small toll which covered the cost of renewal. It is recorded that the mere sight of the successful erection of these suspension bridges was enough to overawe into submission recalcitrant tribes in the neighbourhood.

In contrast to the efficient communication system of the Incas, the methods of travel in Europe at the time and for some centuries following were deplorable. (Travel could only be on horseback and even women had to ride.) Readers of Dickens's novels will only be too familiar with the atrocious conditions of English highways even in the 18th and 19th centuries.† As regards other European countries, the following remarks are given by Baudin:

"In 1706, the Queen (of Spain) took eighteen days to go from Madrid to Burgos ... As late as 1740, D. Bernardo de Ulloa reported that the lack of bridges obliged travellers to make long detours and often forced them to wait for the waters to subside sufficiently for the streams to be forded. Tombos were as rare in Spain as bridges and on the route from Saragossa to Barcelona, villages of five hundred inhabitants had no inn. Even in France in the eighteenth century, the great highways were broken by swamps, bridges were infrequent, and the crossroads were impracticable"‡.

The courier system organised by the Incas evokes wonder, even when we view it in the light of other ancient achievements like the postal services established by Darius the Great (500 B.C.) and by the Mauryan Emperors (circa 300 B.C.). All along the Inca's royal road, stretching for over 3000 miles, there were

* American Indians are unaffected by dizzy altitudes; they have no 'horror of heights'. They are in great demand in skyscraper building.

† "The roads inside London were nothing but a confused network of sunless and filth-clogged alleys swarming perpetually with men and animals. The roads outside the city were quagmires in winter and dust heaps in summer" (The Wonderful Story of London, P. 217).

‡ Says Prescott: "While the capitals of Europe but a few hundred miles apart remained as far asunder as if the seas had rolled between them, Cuzco and Quito..... were placed in immediate correspondence."
erected at a distance of about 12 to 18 miles (depending on the terrain), postal stations called 'tampus' in Keshava (Sanskrit: sthapana or sthapita = established, erected, raised). These stations were arranged in pairs, one on each side of the road. Since the posts were also residences and storehouses in charge of the local kuraca (Sanskrit: karyaka) or King's overseer, they were well stocked with provisions of all kinds as well as small arms of the type then in use. Some posts were very large sheds (100 x 300 feet), with a big corral where llamas could be stabled and a series of small rooms for soldiers to stay in, all surrounded by a high and fortified wall for safety. The tampus were maintained and replenished by the local aylu as part of its labour service. When royal armies (sometimes 50,000 men and more) were on the march, advance notice was sent to the kuraca, whose responsibility it was to feed the soldiers, on repayment from the State resources. Incidentally, the Inca soldiers never "lived on the country", because of the stern discipline and the high standard of conduct permeating the troops. In the language of Prescott: "The soldier was clothed and fed by the industry of the people, and the Incas rightly resolved that he should not repay this by violence. Far from being a tax on the labours of the husbandman, or even a burden on his hospitality, the Imperial armies traversed the country, from one extremity to the other, with as little inconvenience to the inhabitants as would be created by a procession of peaceful burghers or a muster of holiday soldiers for a review." Spanish writers have recorded with astonishment that the large native armies marching through dense orchards and corn-fields would not touch even a single fruit or one maize cob; this was quite in contrast to the behaviour of the European soldiery of the Conquest, as we shall see in the next section.

There were several kinds of tampus; some were royal ones as indicated above, where the Inca, his apu, or other high dignitaries would stay during their tours of duty. There were medium ones for petty officials and for the kuracas; lastly, there were small ones called Okhlas (Sanskrit: okhah = refuge, shelter) intended for minor officials, purics travelling with permission and other such small fry. They were also called chozhas or drying places (Sanskrit: choshya = to clean, to dry).
The okhlas were usually one topo apart (5 miles) and were in pairs, to accommodate two couriers in each. These Royal runners (or chasquis as they were called) were picked youths, selected for speed, stamina, and trustworthiness. When young, they were fed on roasted maize and trained to drink (like camels) only once a day and to sprint at high speed. Their turn of duty was one month in a year (equal to the Good Sovereign’s land tax of 1/12th of the gross produce) and they lived in the small tampus. The Inca’s messages were transmitted by mouth or by quipus in relay fashion, and four messengers (who would be keeping constant watch from the terraces of their tampus) would run, two in each direction, as soon as the couriers to be relieved arrived near the twin posts. They would even be trained to receive the message on the run, to save time! Not a single moment would be lost, and if one courier failed by accident, the other would complete the run. In this manner messages from Quito to Cuzco (a distance of nearly 1,500 miles) was received in 5 days, according to Von Hagen. Some comparison will be of interest to the reader. In Asoka’s time, when horses were employed, it took about a month to send a courier from Pataliputra to Taxila covering approximately the same distance as from Quito to Cuzco; it may be mentioned that the Romans took about 50 days for the 1,000 miles separating the farthest points in their Empire. Although the terrain in India was much less arduous, the relays were less numerous. Further, in India the horsemen travelled only by day and rested at night.

The Inca unit for long distances was the ‘topo’, which was about 5 miles like the yojana of India.

† The messengers were called chasquis (pronounced shaskil) because their call sign was ‘chasqui’ which meant in Keshava ‘Receive (the message)’ (Sanskrit: sweckru = receive).

‡ Says Montesinos: “When they (Incas) had letters, figures or hieroglyphs they wrote on the leaves of the plantain tree...... and one chasqui would give the folded leaf to the other until it arrived at the hands of the King or governor.”

§ The courier-system was an ancient Aryan device; says the Sukra-Niti (circa 6th century B.C.): “The King should cause to be brought in one day news of places 100 crossas (i.e., 200 miles) distant”. Marco Polo waxes eloquent over the ‘wonderful messenger service’ of Kublai Khan; there were fine horse-post stations every 25 miles, with numerous horses. Between these stations, there were posts for foot-runners every three miles. Polo asserts that the foot-runners covered in relays over a hundred miles in a day and a night: a single horse-messenger could do up to 200 miles in 24 hours, changing horses every 10 or 20 miles, according to the nature of the country.
a mile, in four or five minutes but for a short distance only. The chasquis ran night and day, fair weather or foul, plain or mountain, jungle or fair village maidan! Spanish couriers on horseback took 10 days to travel from Lima on the coast to Cajamarca, a distance of 100 miles over mountainous country. The Incas used to get fresh fish caught in the morning in the sea near Lima for their supper at night at Cajamarca, transported in relays of incredible swiftness, over the distance of 100 miles; the Inca’s relay men made the journey in 14 hours, after ascending 10,000 feet over the Andes. Sometimes, where the messages were very secret, an identifying mark would be carried by the chasqui (e.g., a stick with a particular carving). The trustworthiness of these messengers was phenomenal. “With such secrecy did the runners keep their message,” writes a Spaniard of the Conquest, who had made many attempts to force the secrets out of the Indians, “that neither entreaty nor menace could extort it from them.” The messengers carried some defensive weapons (the star-headed, cudgel, a small knife, and sometimes sling-shots). They were always provided with a conch, which they sounded to announce their arrival when nearing the farther tampu; (the conch was a well-known Aryan accessory). Each tampu was also provided with some special wood which would give off a thick smoke; in times of danger the smoke signals would be relayed from the far-off corners of the Empire, almost with the speed of telegraph. Says Cieza de Leon: “The Incas invented a system of posts which was the best that could be thought of or imagined,” and far in advance of anything in Europe.”

The European historians allege that the Incas knew no writing, but a contrary view has been urged by Poindexter, who holds that a library of books (written in parchment and bound in wood) was built up by the Incas, and that these were destroyed by the Spaniards. It is an unfortunate fact that no writing of the

* The postal service under the Moghuls of Delhi was efficient, being based on ancient Indian traditions. Tavernier (17th century) describes the Imperial courier system thus: “The foot posts carried the letters faster than horsemen. At every six miles there was a hut with men always ready to run a stage. When a runner arrived at the hut, he threw the letters on the ground, it being a bad omen to hand them over personally. Thus letters were sent over the greater part of the Empire. The highways were marked by trees closely planted; or there were heaps of stones, washed white, every five hundred paces; the runners would thus never lose their way even on dark and stormy nights.”
Inca period has come to light; a half-blood Inca nobleman, De Ayala (1565 A.D.), wrote in Keshawa language but used the Roman alphabet! The only ‘written’ language which has been confirmed as in use is that of the quipu (pronounced khipo* the ‘knotted rope sign’), which has been noticed earlier as in use in Polynesia. Quipu was not a writing; it was only a mnemonic device to help exhibit statistics and accounts, and it was normally useless without an oral explanatory commentary. (A learned writer, Garcilaso, † on the contrary, maintains that the quipus could even transmit literature, e.g. poems.)

“The quipu was a cord about two feet long, composed of different coloured threads tightly twisted together, from which a quantity of smaller threads were suspended in the manner of a fringe. The threads were of different colours, and were tied into knots. The word quipu, indeed, signifies a knot. The colours denoted sensible objects; for instance, white represented silver, and yellow, gold. They sometimes also stood for abstract ideas. Thus, white signified peace, and red, war. But the quipus were chiefly used for arithmetical purposes. The knots served instead of ciphers, and could be combined in such a manner as to represent numbers to any amount they required. By means of these, they went through their calculations with great rapidity, and the Spaniards who first visited the country bear testimony to their accuracy.” (Von Hagen)

The preparation of these quipus rested with a class of officials called quipu camayoces (Sanskrit: karmayog=expert worker). Each camayoc had his own speciality; one was in charge of the census, births and deaths and marriages; another, of revenue collections; the third, of all supplies to the State covering an enormous number of items; a fourth one, of military personnel and stores. The returns prepared and submitted by these camayoces were scrutinised and tabulated at the capital by experts in quipu, who summarised the figures for the benefit of the Inca himself. “The skeins of many coloured threads, collected and carefully preserved constituted what might be called the national archives,” says Prescott. Although its use in representing abstract ideas or arguments was limited, yet the quipu afforded great help to the

*cf. Sanskrit : granthi, which also meant writing, composition.
† Otherwise known as Inca Garcilaso De La Vega, half-Indian and half-Spanish and descended from the Royal Incas.
memory by way of association of ideas. Even in the matter of history, the quipus helped the chronicler to arrange the events in due chronology and method, and to refresh his memory in case of doubt. One Spanish writer even claimed that the stored quipus at Cuzco could spell out the history of the Incas for 500 years. The Spaniards bear constant testimony to the adroitness and accuracy with which the quipus were used by the experts. The quipu was apparently an Aryan invention, to be used where the alphabet had not made its appearance or where secrecy was recognised as essential. The Incas, for reasons which we can only vaguely surmise, preferred to deal with their State affairs on the basis of the knotted strings, rather than familiarise the people with the alphabet, with which they were probably not acquainted, if we accept the view of Poindexter.

All the quipu accounts were kept on the systems familiar in Aryavarta and in Polynesia. As Von Hagen observes, “It has been shown most conclusively by those who have studied them that the strings were used to record numbers in a decimal system and that there was a symbol for zero, i.e., a string with an ‘empty space’; this allowed the experts to count to many places, even up to 100,000.” Having said this much, the distinguished archaeologist does not pause to enquire how this arithmetical sophistication reached the west coast of South America, three or four hundred years before the arrival of the Europeans. It is of crucial significance that the zero and the decimal system should have been in wide vogue in the Inca Empire, as it was in Mexico. The Western historians have maintained a curious silence on this situation, although some of them at least must have been aware that both the zero sign (Sanskrit: sunya bindu) and the decimal system (Sanskrit: dasamsam) were the gift of the Aryan people to the science of Mathematics. The zero was known to the Indo-Aryans some centuries before the Christian era; the Arabs borrowed it after the 7th century A.D.; (sunya became cifra in Arabic, and cypher in English) and they carried it to the Europeans in the Middle Ages. Long before this happened, the zero and the decimal system had permeated South-East Asia, and were known even to the Maoris and to the Tahitians in Polynesia. Thus, the Inca mathematical learning is accountable only on the basis that this gifted race of rulers had derived their advanced mathe-

* It was used in Tibet, China and Nepal.
† Vide the next chapter.
matical knowledge from Polynesia (and ultimately from Indonesia and India).

Even if the Incas had no writing, they had some literature in the form of lyrical verse (like the Maoris of New Zealand), carried down by oral tradition. Unfortunately it is in fragments, as most of the learned Inca nobles were systematically hunted down and exterminated by the Spaniards. There were a few professional bards called hararecs (perhaps from Sanskrit hara, which means 'convey', 'carry down') who specialised in reciting this type of verse; some of them had survived the Spanish misrule, and I give below samples of this chant addressed to God Almighty:

"Viracocha, Lord of the Universe,
Whether male or female
Anyway, commander of warmth and generation,
Being one who
Even with his spittle can work magic,
Where are you?
Would that you would not hide from this your son,
He may be above,
He may be below,
Or alight in the sky,
Where is his council seat.
Hear me!"

* * *

"Oh come then,
Great as the heavens,
Lord of all the earth,
Great First Cause,
Creator of men.
Ten times I adore thee,
Ever with my eye,
Turned to the ground,
Hidden by the eyelashes,
Thee I am seeking. *
Oh, look on me!
Like as for the fountains,
When gasping with thirst,
I seek for thee.

* Perhaps this is the yogic navel-gazing.
Encourage me,  
Help me!  
With all my voice  
I call on thee;  
Thinking of thee,  
We will rejoice  
And be glad.  
This will we say  
And no more:  
Might I behold thee,  
Might I understand thee!  
Oh look down upon me,  
For thou knowest me.  
The Sun—the moon  
The day—the night—  
Spring—winter,  
Are not ordained in vain  
By thee, "O Vira-Cocha!  
They all travel  
To the assigned place;  
They all arrive  
At their destined ends,  
Whithersoever thou pleasest."

Poindexter adds the following comment on Inca hymns: "The Inca caste which ruled the Quechua and Aymara empire—the caste which, descended from the common proto-Aryan ancestors of the Kingly and Brahman castes of Indo-Aryans, had retained and developed, along with a more material and more popular worship of the Sun, the supreme Brahman conception of an omnipotent and spiritual God (whom the Incas called Vira Cocha), the creator and ruler of the universe—a spiritual essence from which all things will return. The Amantuas or learned men of the Incas were masters of much of the Indo-Aryan transcendental philosophy, though it was by no means so profoundly developed in Peru as in India."

In addition to pure lyric, the Inca nobles were addicted to histrionics, both religious and patriotic. Every year dance-dramas were enacted, with amantuas supplying the lines and even acting some parts; there were mimics, dancers, hunchbacks, and poetasters to enliven the show, but the amantuas supplied the religious or
national history in the form of sonorous chants from the background. A Jesuit writer of the Conquest writes thus of these shows:

"Plaies in the manner of combats...I have also seen diverse sortes of dancers wherein they did counterfeit and represent certain trades and offices, as sheepsheards (llama watchers), fishers and hunters....In these dances they use sundry sortes of instruments....they sing all with the voyage and first one or two sing....then all the rest; some of these songs were very wittyly composed, contayning historyes...some were meere follies...."

We may now have a look at the jurisprudence of the Incas. The law* was uniform throughout the Empire, but local custom (or common law) was respected. With regard to boundary disputes between Provinces or States, the conduct of high officials and of the Inca nobility, the Inca and his Council constituted the Court. The amantuas dealt with minor disputes and crimes, and the conduct of middle-range officials. The latter dealt with all petty litigation and trivial infractions on the part of the peasantry and small bureaucrats. Judgment had to be pronounced within five days and usually there was no appeal, but the Sovereign had the prerogative of pardon. The entire administrative machinery of Justice was supervised by a corps of Inspectors who were constantly on the move, enquiring into offences and the details of verdicts and penalties, and they reported to the Council periodically. Strangely enough, penalties differed according to the quality of the accused; they were generally milder for the puric than for the elite. As Von Hagen points out, for the same offence, the punishment awarded to an Inca nobleman would be much severer than to a peasant.† Where the common man would be let

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* The administration of justice was called 'hiwayya'; Sanskrit: sivayya=benign, tolerant.

† cf. Gautama Grihya Sutra (XII 17), which lays down that punishment should be augmented when a learned man commits an offence! Let us see how contemporary England dealt with vagabonds and beggars. The Statute Book (1531) was crowded with laws against "vagabonds, beggars, valiant beggars, sturdy beggars and ruffians". They were to be repressed by the stocks, by whipping and ear cropping; any one found with a mutilated ear, and refusing work was to be jailed and tried in sessions and if found guilty, suffer death as a felon! Another Act of 1547 provided for a person 'wandering in idleness', to be branded with the letter 'V' and to be adjudged a slave for two years "to any person who shall demand him, to be fed on bread and water and refuse-meat and cause to labour
off with a severe warning, it might mean banishment for an Inca; what would be a case of the loss of an arm or a leg for a puric would mean execution (by strangling) for a nobleman. It was clear that the Inca code was not the mere product of a despot's imagination; it was based on the collective conscience of all the community, and therein lay its vitality and its acceptance.

A father was held responsible for the offences of his children, but not *vice versa*. The owner of an animal was made liable for the damage caused by it. If a man carelessly caused loss to another, he was bound to make good the loss. The situation with regard to theft was somewhat similar to that in ancient India. If a person stole under pressure of want, the official responsible for his welfare was held responsible, as there was no poverty and no want in the Empire!*—The result was that there was practically no crime of this nature in the whole of Peru. Because of the quick, heavy, and just punishment, crimes and misdemeanours were conspicuously absent in the Empire.† An astonishingly high

at work (however vile it be) by being put into it by beating, chaining and otherwise*. If he ran away within 2 years, he should be branded on the cheek with an *S* and enslaved for life; for another running-away, death penalty was awardable. (These provisions applied to slave children also.) Elizabeth I made some provision for the aged and infirm poor by appointing Overseers of the Poor who would provide work in work-houses for them, through collection of alms and the levy of a 'poor rate'; these financial provisions remained, for long, only a pious but in-effective hope. An army of paupers infested England almost till the 19th century, crowding the so-called "work houses" whose terrible tale is found in the novels of Dickens. In 1688, the number of vagrant families was put at 300,000 (over 10% of the population). In 1815, the estimate of paupers, vagrants and lunatics was a staggering 1,900,000 in a population of 17 millions. (*The Common People* by Cole and Postgate, P. 70.)

* In India, if stolen goods were not recovered and restored to the owner, the local Police Chief (Nagara or Grama-pala) had to pay compensation to the aggrieved party, as laid down in our law codes (cf. Kautilya's *Arthasastra*). Marco Polo asserts that in the Pandyan kingdom, travellers could sleep on the road side with pearls and gems on their person or in their possession; if any were lost by robbery, the king's treasury would make good the loss.

† In England of the same period (and later) violence and crime were rampant. Says a writer (1731): "Violence and plunder are not confined to the highways. The streets of the city are now places of danger; men are now knocked down and robbed, even murdered at their own doors". Stage coaches were being held up at every important street in London and every road leading to it. "Highwaymen rode openly into Hyde Park (1800), tied their horses to the railings and sallied forth to rob chairs, coaches and pedestrians indiscriminately...... Members of
standard of morality was achieved, probably more through the example set by the elite than by mere fear of the law. Even if the fear of punishment was the cause of the good life of the Peruvians, it cannot be denied that such fear of the law is still the main prop of modern social morality. Even religion, which merely defers punishment to the Resurrection Day or to a future birth, follows the same principle of sanctions. To quote Baudin: "Man is not an angel; if the tree is to be judged by its fruit, the society of the time of Incas seems to us indeed superior to that of today when measures of clemency (and evasion) are numerous. Benevolence cannot be substituted for justice without danger." Says a contemporary Spanish writer, "Fear made every one walk the straight path; there was neither thief nor vagabond in the whole Kingdom."† Things changed rapidly for the worse with Parliament were afraid to go home singly when the House adjourned late and hence the cry, 'Who goes home?' (still used today to denote adjournment) was the rallying call to members to travel in parties. Horace Walpole, who narrowly escaped a highwayman's bullet said, "One is forced to travel, even at noon, as if one were going to battle!"...Every inn-yard was infested with thieves, whose job was made easier by the fact that the inn-keeper, his servants and stage-coach drivers were usually in league with them... Pickpocketing was a fine art. The foot-pad lurked in every side street and alley, enforcing his demand with brutal violence... Counterfeit coining was carried out on a prodigious scale. In 1790, there were in London forty or fifty mints engaged in this illicit industry, one alone producing £200,000 worth of bad half-crowns in a few years... There was no police force (till 1839), at least none of any consequence. The 'watch' was composed of a few infirm, aged and decrepit dodderers, whom terror or bribery kept well out of the way, when 'any villainy was toward.' (The Wonderful Story of London, edited by Webster Smith, pp. 268-270). If this was the situation in 18th century England, we can well imagine the earlier state of affairs in Spain, which had just shaken off Moorish rule when its 'heroes', Cortes and Pizarro, started on their New World adventures. By comparison, India was a traveller's paradise. In 1615, Englishman Terry said that he could travel from Surat to Lahore (1200 miles) with a treasure of gold and jewels, so long as his loyal, and extremely honest escort received fair wages; Terry doubted if an Indian merchant could do the same in England, without being robbed and murdered.

* For minor offences, the punishment was to carry a small stone on the back; "a punishment with no suffering except what arises from the disgrace of it and justly characterised by McCulloh as a proof of sensibility and refinement." (Prescott).

† I am tempted to quote here the words of the great Aryan King, Aswapotaki Kekeya (circa, 2000 B.C.) as contained in the Chandogya Upanishad V II-(5): "Within my Janapada there is no thief, no miser nor a drinking man; none altarless, none ignorant, and no man and no woman unchaste." This assertion was warmly concurred in by all the assembled Princes and Brahmans; Ramarajya was only a few years distant from Aswapotaki.
the Conquest; justice ceased to be swift, inexorable and even. The Spanish were indulgent towards malefactors and profligates, especially those with a white skin. They also developed the deplorable habit, in civil cases, of dividing the suit property between both the litigants, either because the case was a minor one or because they could not understand the Inca’s law. In every respect the European became a curse to Peruvian society, after the downfall of the Incas.

The organisation of the Peruvian Empire, as was but inevitable in a highly socialised state, ran on bureaucratic lines. There were numerous officials of various ranks and types, strewn all over the kingdom. (Von Hagen has calculated that, for every 10,000 families, there were over 1300 officials!) The Inca realm known as Tawantinsuyu to the Peruvians* was divided into four quarters, each named after the Suyu (self or zone?). The centre plaza of Cuzco, from which these four provinces were naturally oriented on the model familiar to students of Mauryan history, was called haukyapata (joy square), as we have already seen. The four provinces were apparently named after the Sun-God to whom the Realm was dedicated. The eastern province, lying on the farther side of the Andes, in a forest country full of wild tribes, was called Anthi-Suyu. (Antha Swaya=the zone of the border?) The province on the opposite side (i.e., in the west up to the ocean) was known as Cunti-Suyu (Sanskrit: Kanta Swaya=the zone of the emerald necklace?). The third province, which lay to the south-east, was styled Colla Suya (Sanskrit: Gola-swaya=the global zone?), and the fourth and the last portion of the realm was named Chincha - Suya (Sinha swaya=the trumpeting zone?), and its direction was north-west, extending up to Quito.

Each province was ruled over by an apo (Sanskrit: upa=deputy) usually an Inca of the Royal line, who held the post in heredity. By means of accurate quipu records, each Provincial governor knew exactly how many purics lived in his domain, how many llamas were herded in that area and how many men-at-arms could be called to duty at a moment’s notice. He kept a close tally of all tampos, granaries and Royal inns with the provisions and stores in them, as well as the reserves of arms and ammuni-

* Prescott translates this phrase as "Four Quarters", rather doubtfully. Perhaps it is the Sanskrit Tawaswinswaya=strong or powerful zone.
tion. All this information he was expected to furnish to the Inca at the meetings of the State Council, of which he was a hereditary member. The officer next in rank to the apo was the hona-kuraca (sena karika?) who had control of 10,000 purics; below him were a series of lower hierarchy of officials, down to the konka-camayoc, in charge of ten purics. The high efficiency and integrity achieved by the Incan bureaucracy speaks well for the general character of the people, who had been no doubt influenced by the healthy example set by the ‘elite’.

In theory the Sapa Inca possessed supreme power over his people like any European or Asiatic despot of his time; but in practice there were many democratic features built into the Peruvian administration. Firstly, there was the 20-member Tribunal of Princes or the State Council, of which a select body called the Council of Four (the four apos) constituted an executive committee. In the districts there were similar Councils elected by the people from out of those who had been in State service, and its unanimous decision could be overruled only by the apo himself. Each town or village had its own elected Panchayat, and all local matters (including land allotment) were practically in its hands. The following remarks of Hyatt Verrill may be of interest in this context:

“Although the monarch of a vast and tremendously rich empire and ruler of millions of subjects, who were scarcely more than cogs in a wheel, yet, with few exceptions, the Incas were, in some ways, quite democratic and, aside from the strict enforcement of existing laws, they were not tyrannical. They always travelled about their dominions, visiting the various villages and towns and listening to any complaints or petitions of their people. And though despots in their way, and insisting on the most rigid adherence to court etiquette on the part of the courtiers and officials, no member of whom was allowed to enter the presence of the Inca unless barefoot and carrying a light burden upon his shoulders or back, yet, during their rounds of the country, the humblest of their subjects could have audience with them. And while the Inca always maintained an immense, well-disciplined and well-drilled army*, and did not hesitate to use these troops for conquest, peaceful methods for adding to the kingdom were invariably.

* The Incas could, at the height of the Empire, mobilise an army of 200,000 skilled and seasoned soldiers.
exhausted before forcible measures were taken. Moreover, the subject tribes were permitted a considerable amount of freedom in their customs, laws, religion, etc., as long as they did not interfere or clash with Incan laws, and as long as they paid the requisite tribute to the Inca."

To this may be added the opinion of Prescott, who delivers himself of the following just and glowing, if slightly pontifical, verdict:

"A closer resemblance—as I have more than once taken occasion to notice—may be found between the Peruvian institutions and some of the despotic governments of Eastern Asia*; those governments where despotism appears in its more mitigated form, and the whole people under the patriarchal sway of the sovereign seem to be gathered together like the members of one vast family. A still closer analogy may be found with the natives of Hindostan in their division into castes, their worship of the heavenly bodies and the elements of nature, and their acquaintance with the scientific principles of husbandry. To the ancient Egyptians, also, they bore considerable resemblance in the same particulars, as well as in those ideas of a future existence which led them to attach so much importance to the permanent preservation of the body. It added not a little to the efficacy of the government that below the sovereign there was an order of hereditary nobles of the same divine origin with himself, who, placed far below himself, were still immeasurably above the rest of the community, not merely by descent, but as it would seem, by their intellectual nature. These were the exclusive depositaries of power, and as their long hereditary training made them familiar with their vocation and secured them implicit deference from the multitude, they became the prompt and well-practised agents for carrying out the executive measures of the administration. All that occurred throughout the wide extent of his empire—such was the perfect system of communication—passed in review, as it were before the eyes of the monarch, and a thousand hands, armed

* Writes J. Hawkes (History of Mankind: Beginnings of Civilization, Vol. I P. 11) about priests and kings: "They were part of the social organic growth. This is a fact which must discredit the politically inspired view that the priests and kings of ancient civilizations contrived in some way to foist themselves as economic parasites. Whatever they later became, the men of holy or magic powers which pre-history passed to civilization, were of the people and for the people."
with irresistible authority, stood ready in every quarter to do his bidding. Was it not, as we have said, the most oppressive, though the mildest, of despotisms? ... It was the mildest, from the very circumstance that the transcendent rank of the sovereign, and the humble, nay, superstitious, devotion to his will, made it superfluous to assert this will by acts of violence or rigour. ... The laws were carefully directed to their [the subjects'] preservation and personal comfort. The people were not allowed to be employed on works pernicious to their health, nor to pine—a sad contrast to their subsequent destiny—under the imposition of tasks too heavy for their powers. They were never made the victims of public or private extortion; and a benevolent forecast watched carefully over their necessities, and provided for their relief in seasons of infirmity and for their sustenance in health. The government of the Incas, however arbitrary in form, was in its spirit truly patriarchal. ... The astonishing mechanism of the Peruvian polity could have resulted only from the combined authority of opinion and positive power in the ruler to an extent unprecedented in the history of man. Yet that it should have so successfully gone into operation, and so long endured, in opposition to the taste, the prejudices, and the very principles of our nature, is a strong proof of a generally wise and temperate administration of the government. ... Famine, so common a scourge in every other American nation, so common at that period in every country of civilized Europe, was an evil unknown in the dominions of the Incas. ... The most enlightened of the Spaniards who first visited Peru, struck with the general appearance of plenty and prosperity and with the astonishing order with which everything throughout the country was regulated, are loud in their expressions of admiration. No better government, in their opinion, could have been devised for the people. Contented with their condition, and free from vice, to borrow the language of an eminent authority of that early date, the mild and docile character of the Peruvians would have well fitted them to receive the teachings of Christianity, had the love of conversion, instead of gold, animated the breasts of the Conquerors. And a philosopher of a later time, warmed by the contemplation of the picture—which his own fancy had coloured—of public prosperity and private happiness under
the rule of the Incas, pronounced 'the moral man in Peru far superior to the European'.”

Regarding the religion of the Incas, some detailed comments are called for, because the strength of the arguments in favour of my thesis, viz., that the Incas were a Kshatriya community from Aryavarta, travelling via Indonesia and Polynesia to South America, largely hinges upon a proper appreciation of the sacerdotal set-up in the Inca Empire. Pococke, in his interesting (if slightly imaginative) book, *India in Greece*, calls the Incas of Peru ‘Surya-Vamshis’ and traces their genealogy to Sri Rama of Ayodhya. To quote:

“I shall now firmly rivet the chain of evidence that connects the children of ‘Peru’, that is, the children of ‘The Sun’ with the Surya-Vamsha, or Sun tribe of Oude. They are both the people of the ‘Undes’ and the ‘An-des’. ‘Undes’ is the general name of the tract of country situated between the Kailasha and Himalaya ranges of mountains west of Lake Ravanas Hrad, and intersected by the course of the Sutlej river which, issuing from the lake, flows to the north-west. ‘To this day’, observes Colonel Tod, ‘An-des is still designated the Alpine regions of Tibet, bordering on Chinese Tartary’.”

Pococke does not lack analogies; for many rulers in Southern East Asia also had thought that they belonged to the Surya-Vamsa. The Kambojan kings put forward this claim, as did some Champan rulers. The kings of Siam too claimed direct descent from the great Raghu, the ancestor of Sri Rama. It must, however, be conceded that there is no strong evidence connecting the Incas with the “Solar” race of Puru†, from whose name Pococke would derive the name Peru. But this does not mean that we can find no parallels between the Sun-worship in South America and the Surya-cult of India and South-East Asia. The former is obviously derived from the latter, as we shall soon see.

Before we go into a description of the religious faith and practice of the Incas, mention may be made of two institutions which greatly surprised and puzzled the newly arrived Spaniards

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*Conquest of Peru*. The philosopher was Rousseau; Voltaire fully concurred in the opinion of Rousseau.

† Pururavas, who married Urvasi. Strictly speaking, he was the originator of the Lunar Race in India. His descendant Puru, son of Yayati, was the sixth monarch of the Lunar Race.
but which may evoke some sentiments of familiarity to students of ancient Indian religion and culture. These sacred institutions are those of the 'Virgins of the Sun' and of the 'Chosen Women'. The Chosen Women were called in Keshava *Nyushtha* (Sanskrit: naishthika = excellent, splendid) and they consisted of very young girls who were selected for their personal appearance and smartness of behaviour by the four apos from the various ranks of the people in their respective provinces. These girls were placed in communal institutions of training and education, where they spent a number of years before they were married off, by and large. There were several categories of Chosen Women. To the first belonged children of the haut monde of the Empire; the second comprised girls belonging to less important Inca officials, whose main function would be to spin and weave the royal dresses. Girls drawn from the ordinary Inca families (whether of birth or of privilege) would fall into the third class. The fourth consisted mainly of songstresses and dancers; to the fifth belonged the most beautiful Indian girls chosen from puric families. The sixth and the last category consisted of young women drawn from the families of foreign chiefs and princes, whose privilege it would be to work in the sacred lands of the Inca. The young maidens were lodged in sumptuous and carefully guarded palaces surrounded by high-walled gardens, where they received training in singing and dancing, sewing and weaving, cooking and food preservation, and in the religious chores associated with temples and public rituals and sacrifices. The institution of Chosen Women had both a utilitarian and a political flavour. The young women would ultimately be distributed as lawful wives to the nobles, the dignitaries and such of the purics as deserved this distinction; a fortunate few would even become the secondary wives of the Inca, who was the only person permitted polygamy in the State, as has been mentioned earlier.

Every one in the Empire was bound to marry, if physically fit to do so, at the age of 24 for men, and 18 for women. If he or she did not do so voluntarily for any reason, the State arranged for the nuptials. For this purpose certain high officials called tucri-cuc†

* Alternatively, Nyushtha may be equated with Sanskrit nyukta = obligatory, dedicated. (cf., Naishthika Brahmacaris of ancient India, i.e., young man wedded to life-long celibacy).
† 'Inspector of boys and girls' - Sanskrit tuk = boy or girl; rikha = revealer.
were nominated, who went round visiting the towns and villages, in order to find mates for the unlucky or the tardy ones (there were no voluntary bachelors or spinsters in the whole Empire). On an appointed day, all those of marriageable age were called together in the great squares of their respective towns and villages and “hands were joined” in token of wedlock by the tucr-cuc or his deputy (reminding one of the Vedic “panigrahana” rites). In Cuzco, the Inca himself presided over the annual ceremony of mass weddings for people of the Inca class. The kuracas did likewise for the lower ranks of the people in the villages. They saw to it that, as far as possible, each one got wedded in his own community and outside the limits of incest. No marriage was valid without the consent of the parents and the preference of the parties themselves was the first consideration; but the kuracas could occasionally overrule the latter in the public interest (e.g. when the consenting parties were too unequal in age). The happy couples were presented with new clothes by the State, and a dwelling-house was got ready immediately for each one of them, at the expense of the district or city. Land for cultivation was also allotted for their benefit, out of the Inca’s territories, as per schedule, “for the law of Peru provided for the future as well as the present; it left nothing to chance” (Prescott). The communal marriage season was followed by several days of festivities. As there were few aynas (households; Sanskrit: ayana = dwelling) who had not some one of their members personally affected by the ceremony, there was one universal bridal jamboree throughout the Empire. Prescott has the following comments on these State-sponsored marriages:

“The extraordinary regulations respecting marriage under the Incas are eminently characteristic of the genius of the government, which, far from limiting itself to matters of public concern, penetrated into the most private recesses of domestic life.... No Peruvian was too low for the fostering vigilance of government. None was so high that he was not made to feel his dependence upon it in every act of his life. His very existence as an individual was absorbed in that of the community. His hopes and his fears, his joys and his sorrows, the tenderest sympathies of his nature, which would most naturally shrink from observation, were all to be regulated by law. He was not allowed even to be happy in his own way. The government of the Incas was the mildest, but the most searching,
of despotisms." It may perhaps be added that mankind could well have afforded a few more such despotisms, especially in the Middle Ages; the world would have been a much happier place then!

The Virgins of the Sun were a special class of nuns who were attached to the Temples of the Sun. They were similar to the Vestal Virgins of Rome, and commanded a high degree of honour and respect. They were never allowed to see a man, not even the Sapa Inca; only the koya was allowed access to their private quarters. They were waited upon by ladies of high rank and spent their time ministering to the Solar Divinity, offering sacrifices and spinning garments for the images of the deity and preparing food and drink needed for temple rituals. They took vows of chastity and service for life, and their houses were purely religious establishments. The inmates led a cloistered and most pious life; the undying sacred flame of the Sun's temple was in their eternal care. If ever this fire died out by accident, it was supposed to foreshadow a national calamity. Their instruction was in the hands of elderly nuns called mayta-konas or Virgin Mothers (Sanskrit: mata kanyas).

In addition to the Virgins (of the Sun) kept in the special "houses" or convents, there were other types of female penitents who had taken vows of perpetual celibacy but who preferred to remain in their own residences. Such a domesticated nun, if ever she lost her honour, was buried alive; her partner in crime was hanged, and the whole village from which he came was razed to the ground. Prescott compares the Virgins — the 'Elect,' as they were called — to the nuns of the Catholic Church. To cite his words: "From the moment they entered the establishment, they were cut off from all connection with the world, even with their own family and friends. No one but the Inca and the Coya, or queen, might enter the consecrated precincts. The greatest attention was paid to their morals, and visitors were sent every year to inspect the institutions, and to report on the state of their discipline."

In the Hindu religion there seems to be nothing corresponding to the Virgins. We have, of course, the system of Devadasis (servants of God) who were dedicated to religious institutions when very young and were brought up as singers and dancers thus resembling somewhat the Chosen Women, with this vital difference, viz., that the latter were usually given away in res-
pectable marriage by the State authorities. The Virgins, however, remained celibate for life, and no male could even see them. But such an order of nuns was not unknown to the Buddhists of old, though eternal and rigid seclusion was not necessarily practised in Sugatha communities. Pococke, in his India in Greece, traces the Peruvian institution of the Virgins to the Lamaic Buddhist practices prevalent in Tibet long ago. It may be recalled that Buddha himself admitted women into the Sangha, although they need not have been virgins and could appear in public (Buddha’s own wife was an early member of the Order).

The atrocities perpetrated by the Spaniards against the gentle and innocent Chosen Women and the Solar Virgins, at the contemplation of which even hardened humanity would shudder, will be described in the next section. At this stage I shall merely quote some incidental comments of Baudin (in his book A Socialist Empire) relative to the conduct of the first Spaniards and its purely economic consequences:

“It cannot be denied that the Spaniards were guilty of all kinds of cruelties. The testament of S. de-Leguizamo and the Noticias Secretas of Juan and Ulloa constitute overwhelming indictments. The crimes of the Spaniards were innumerable, from the murder of Atahualpa to the rape of the Virgins of the Sun, the demolition of the Palaces, and the looting of the warehouses. Real wealth was stupidly destroyed, and no one was the richer for it. To get cinnamon, the whole tree was cut down, and the vicuna was killed to secure its wool. ‘The Spaniards did more harm in four years’ says Ondegardo, ‘than the Incas had done in four hundred’. ‘They sacked the country’, adds Santillan....Such men as these, as hard on themselves as they were on others, would flinch at nothing; and when they found themselves at last in the presence of the riches they had dreamed of, they were seized by a veritable intoxication and lost all restraint. Indeed, Juan Nuix thought it remarkable that, in view of the temptations that beset the conquerors, the irregularities were not worse than they were. ...All the natives from sixteen to sixty were declared subject to taxation, although before the conquest only those between twenty-

* As regards the practice of the Sapa Inca marrying his own sister (normally of a different mother), Pococke traces this also to early Buddhist traditions which speak of four monarchs of the Sakya Kingdom marrying their own four half-sisters, long before the age of Buddha (vide Chapter X below.)
five and fifty years of age had been so classified.... The Spaniards are not alone in having made mistakes and committed crimes in their colonies. The English in North America were even more cruel, for they exterminated the Indians. It remains no less true, however, that the coming of the Spaniards may in some respects be compared to an invasion by barbarians."

A study of Peruvian religion under the Incas gains special significance from the fact that it is particularly in sacerdotal matters that one can trace, with vividness and certainty, the ancient grass-roots of the race and its debt, if any, to other cultures. Four (like three) was a favourite number with Hindus (e.g., four Vedas, four Yugas, Brahma’s four faces, the four quarters, the four nagas). In Cuzco this number gave rise to the four districts (as already mentioned) joining in a great public square, in the centre of which was a huge golden vase over which a fountain played and near by was a large stone with a ‘swastika’ (hooked cross) mark on it. I have suggested that the whole Empire was named after the Solar deity, * which was supposed to be the guardian spirit of the Realm and, in fact, its ‘owner’, the Inca being only the son and vicegerent of the luminary. The State also was divided into four provinces, each named after the Sun, conceived in a particular form or design. It was natural that, in these circumstances, the Inca and his subjects should be fundamentally Sun-worshippers. But although they adored the Sun as the divine progenitor of the race, they did not actually regard him as the God but only as His visual manifestation. God par excellence was variously styled; often he was called Inti, † who could assume human form and visit the earth and be born and die like mortals. His wife was Killa or the Moon (Sanskrit : Kala) and thunder was his instrument and the rainbow (called huaya kavuri—Sanskrit : vayava karmuki -aerial bow) was his archer’s outfit.

From the peasant’s point of view, the Inca was a living God, an infallible being whom it was an honour to serve. The Inca’s.

* Western writers interpret ‘Tawantin Suyu’ as “United Four Quarters”, as already stated.

† Inti bears a curious resemblance to Indra of the Vedic mythology but this Supreme Being was also called Pacha Camac (Sanskrit : Pacha-Kama=Burner of Cupid i.e., Siva) and also Vira Cocha, a name already familiar to us, and which *may* also be equated with Rudra or Siva in the form of Vira Keshin. Prescott translates Pachacamac as “sustainer of the world”. [Sanskrit : Pachaka=warmer nourisher : mahath=world, universe]
wars were holy wars; his slightest wish was a mandate absolute. As Velasco observed, "The Incas built their throne on ideological forces and not on the blood of their vassals". While the Inca rule partook of the characteristics of a theocracy (which the Jesuits of Paraguay were to imitate later on), it would be unfair to compare (as Prescott does) the Inca to the successors of Muhammad, who rampaged over Asia and Europe with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. The Inca never used brute force to impose his personality or his ideas on his own or the conquered peoples. I may quote Hyatt Verrill in this context:

"There was nothing cruel, abhorrent nor bloody about the worship of the Incas. Their gods were neither cruel, sanguinary nor repellent. No human sacrifices were demanded, although burnt offerings of fruits, vegetables and certain animals were made. On the whole it was a far more spiritual religion than that of other American races. The Incas believed in a Hell or Haek Pachak, a Satan or Supay and a Heaven or Hanak Pachak. There were few evil spirits, and no evil gods, in their mythology, and they believed in immortality and resurrection."

The popular cults (ancestor-worship and worship of the Sun, the stars, and the natural forces) were never interfered with by the Inca. The people called thunder, lightning and thunderbolt "illapa" (Sanskrit: il = to throw, to cast); and Prescott makes the interesting comment that the Peruvian mythology in this respect was not unlike that of Hindustan. But it would be an error to conceive of the puric as solely animistic; his religious ideas were more attuned to monism. He conceived of the earth, the heavens, and all natural forces as part of the same vital force; plants had as much life as men, animals, and insects. The human being was but a reflection of God's will, and man's attributes were fragile and fugitive. The Indian was inclined slightly to fatalism and to orthodox conformity with established tenets without evincing any critical approach to the latter. He found it more convenient to follow hoary custom and to do as ordained by the Inca, but this did not imply a spiritual slavery or abdication of human personality, as some Western critics would suggest. Incidentally, whatever was strange or unusual became huaca and an object of worship (Sanskrit: havanaka = a thing of worship or prayer). The moon and the stars were naturally objects of adoration, because of their inestimable splendour and orderly movement. Venus was
known as Sasqui, i.e., a handsome youth with flowing locks (probably a corruption of Sukra which means in Sanskrit, resplendent and beautiful).

The doctrines of the elite, however, were rather mysterious and not easily ascertainable. The Spanish chroniclers are unanimously of the opinion that the Inca class believed in a Supreme Being, who was known as Pachacamac (a name which I have equated with that of Rudra, the irascible deity who was widely known as Smara Dahana in Indonesia and as a fiery-faced Red-god in Polynesia). In Indian mythology Siva was also known as Panchamukha, a name which bears a significant resemblance to that of Pachacamac*; to the elite, Pachacamac was evanescent, unknowable, indefinable, like the Para Brahma of the Vedantins. As Baudin observes, the elite had gone so far in this abstract belief in a Creator-God that only two temples were dedicated to Pachacamac in the whole Empire, whereas Temples of the Sun were found almost everywhere. In the words of this learned French author:

“For this God (Pachacamac) was a superior spiritual being that did not have to be localized; and no offering was made to him, since no one could offer him anything that he did not already possess. ‘The Indians worshipped this god in their hearts; that is to say, in spirit,’ says Garcilaso, and he is right in insisting at length upon translating the word ‘God’ by the name of Pachacamac. ‘If I were asked, I, who, by the infinite mercy of God, am a Catholic Christian, what God is called in my language, I should reply, Pachacamac, because in the current speech of Peru there is no other name than that to denote God’”.

An interesting episode, showing the beliefs of the (later) Incas in the supremacy of the Creator-God, is narrated by the Spanish chroniclers. One of the great Incas (Yupanqui), who had set up the Golden Egg (Brahma Anda) in the temple at Cuzco, reportedly made a speech to the assembled elite at an annual festival, in which he made the following remarks: “It is wrong to consider the Sun as the maker of all things or that he himself is the sole living thing; on the contrary, he is like an animal who makes a daily round under the eyes of a master and he is more like an arrow which must go whither it is sent and not whither it wishes to go.” It is said of this Inca that he had a vision of the Supreme

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* Pacha meant ‘five’ in Keshava, like the Sanskrit Pancha.
God himself, as the following significant passage from C. B. Markham’s *Rites and Laws of the Incas* would reveal:

“A fable is related concerning the Inca Yupanqui, the Conqueror, who extended the domain of the Peruvian empire and instituted the worship of a Creator who, unlike the Sun, could rest and light up the world from one spot. They say, that, before he succeeded (to rulership), he went one day to visit his father Viracocha Inca, who was at Sacsahuana, five leagues from Cuzco. As he came up to a fountain called Susurpuquio,* he saw a piece of crystal fall into it, within which he beheld the figure of an Indian in the following shape: Out of the back of his head there issued three very brilliant rays like those of the Sun. Serpents were twined around his arms, and on his head there was the llautu or royal fringe worn across the forehead of the Inca. His ears were bored and he wore the same earpieces as the Inca, besides being dressed like him. The head of the lion came out from between his legs and on his shoulders there was another lion whose legs appeared to join over the shoulders of the man. A sort of serpent also twined over the shoulders."

The crystal (or salagrama) is the stone of Siva. The three eyes flashing fire, the nagas on arms and body, the lionskin body-covering are all typical of this Hindu God. The reference to Vira Cocha is interesting in the sense that the Supreme Creator was sometimes identified with the national hero, (who allegedly founded the Inca race) and who is supposed to have possessed divine attributes.† It may be recalled that Vira (called Wiro, Whiro or Wheiro by the Maoris, the Tahitians, etc.) was something of a semi-divine hero of the Polynesian peoples also. (Many of their chiefs were named Wiro.) It may be incidentally mentioned at this stage that, like the Aryan peoples in various lands, the Incas also had a legend connected with a Deluge in which seven persons who had taken refuge in a cave emerged after the Flood and started repopulating the world. It

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* pronounced ‘Su-sarpiko’ (Sanskrit: Su-Sarpika: divine snake?)
† Says J.A. Mason (op. cit. P. 203), “In these days when anthropologists are giving more credence than formerly to the probability of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific influences and voyages, these old traditions of culture heroes might well be accorded new appraisals.”
is noteworthy that a very similar legend (of Sapta Rishis) exists in India.*

To sum up, while the popular religion conceived of many gods (usually related to the forces of nature), yet even the ordinary people had imbibed the ideals of a unitary faith. Monotheistic ideas (as favoured by refined Hinduism) had seeped down even to the purics. Among the elite, the notion of a Supreme Being of the nature of the Brahman of the Upanishads was firmly established, along with the belief in an imperishable soul and its re-incarnation in other bodies. The embalming of the eminent dead was connected with primitive ideas of ancestor-worship and was not a negation of the belief in the 'transmigration of souls.' State worship was, however, confined to the Sun and the Inti (Surya and Indra)† and the most important shrines were those of the Sun, who had the additional dignity of being the remote ancestor of the Inca race. The myths and legends of the Peruvians (of which only a few have survived) also bear a very close resemblance to Aryan folklore.‡ In the language of Hewitt (The Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times):

"The resemblances between Asiatic, European and American-Indian historical myths and rituals, which might be largely added to, prove most conclusively, as Prescott has already pointed out, that the American-Indians brought with them to America, national traditions and rites, which had first originated in Asia; that the great national emigration took place, after the establishment of maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean; while the Sia ritual proves that the immigrants from whom they

* Patanjali, in his Mahabashyu (IV 1.79), says, "There were (at first) 88,000 sages devoted to a life of celebacy. Of them seven sages, with Agastya as the eighth, took to procreating. Their descendants are today known as Gothras". The seven sages are Viswamitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvaja, Gautama, Atri, Vasishtha and Kasyapa.

†'Inti' was also equated with the Sun later on; 'Ilapa' was the Weather-God (or Indra). The moon was Mama Killa and little worshipped. "The beliefs regarding the eclipses of the moon paralleled others current in many places throughout the world; a serpent was trying to eat this mother-goddess and was scared away by threats and din." (J.A. Mason, P. 205). Hindus blow trumpets and conches during eclipses to scare away the evil serpents, Rahu and Ketu.

‡ Regarding the identification of Inti and Indhi with Indra, the curious reader may see Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (Ch. IV. Brahmana II) where Yajnavalkya observes "Indha is verily the name of Purusha... Him, whose true name is Indha they call Indra by an indirect name, for the Gods like indirect names."
traced their descent had, before their departure from Asia celebrated a festival to the Raingod very similar in its details to the Soma sacrifice of India, and that they worshipped the Mother corn-plant."

A typical characteristic of the Inca rule was the great respect it paid to established institutions. The sovereign confined himself to making the minimum changes in law and religion. "In this way the Incas demonstrated that they were great chiefs of states" (Baudin). Whatever new rules or regulations were introduced, they were always grafted on the traditions and customs of the people concerned, as for instance, in the matter of the vast body of common law. Most of the Inca's legislation introduced in the conquered territories (for the sake of uniformity) was done with a great deal of prudence and moderation. As previously detailed, the religious catholicity of the Incas was phenomenal and unique in an age of gross intolerance elsewhere, except perhaps in Aryan-dominated lands. The local gods were never replaced; their followers were free to worship them, provided they venerated the Sun also at the same time.

While reserving the history of the rise and fall of the Incas for delineation in the next section, it will be appropriate if a brief description of the institution and the personality of the Supreme Ruler is given here. We have seen that in theory the Inca was the State (like another well-known Sun-King, Louis XIV of France). But his strength and his power came from the people, and none realised it more than the Sovereign himself. The happiness of the people was always his first care; his bete noire was the maladministrator. "While he could theoretically pile up personal luxury possessions, actually he did not" (Von Hagen). It is not without significance that on the death of a Sapa Inca, all his possessions, except those of a religious character, were distributed away among his subjects. Even his palace became public property, a house of worship accessible to all. In return for some labour service, which was paid for by free maintenance, the Inca provided a Welfare State to his subjects; he gave them food, clothing, fuel and housing, and enough extra land for growing vegetables, fruits and condiments on a modest scale. The result was that, so far as the hatin-runa was concerned, there was no scarcity and no want. If, for any calamitous reason, the crops failed, the state granaries and storehouses (which carried enough
provision and clothing to supply the whole people for four or five years), were thrown open for the benefit of the subject. The Spaniards were surprised to find that there was no poverty in the land and no beggary! The people were everywhere industrious, pious and happy; they bore their labours lightly, and on the smallest provocation resorted to dancing and singing, an indulgence which often assumed the proportions of a national weakness.

We know that the Inca was polygamous for purely political reasons. He alone could marry within the ‘Totem’ clan and even within prohibited degrees† (to preserve eugenic purity). His secondary wives were appropriately called Pallas—(Sanskrit: palla = having many shoots, prolix). The heir-apparent was usually the eldest son of the Koya wise, but this was not obligatory and the Inca could select a junior issue as his heir, if he were more suitable. We have seen how rigorous was the training and the testing of the heir-apparent.‡ He was taught the Quechua language and all the arts and sciences suitable to his rank. He

* In ancient India also, kingship was treated as a trust and a good monarch was always expected to keep his State expenses down to 50% of the annual revenue. Asks Narada of the King, “Is thy expenditure always covered by a fourth, a third, or at least half of thy income?” [Mahabharatha: Sabha Parva (5)]. When Agasthya approached the King for a donation, “the King showing unto the Rishi the equality between his income and expenditure, said, ‘Oh Learned One, take what you pleaseth!’ Agastya who always looked at both sides with equal eyes, thought that if he took anything, he would be doing injury to the Kings’ creatures (subjects)” (Mahabharatha: Vana Parva: 98). In fact the ideal King was one who had enough goods and wealth laid by to look after his state for twenty years! The Sukra Niti (later than the Manu Smriti) has a wealth of rules and injunctions; the King has to be the trustee of his people: “Taxes should be realised in the manner of a garland-weaver and not of a coal merchant”. Readers may be familiar with Manu’s famous simile; he says that the King should extract taxes from his subjects, gently, providently and painlessly, like a honey bee, a leech, and a suckling calf. “The collection of treasure by the King is for the maintenance of the army, of the people, and of religious institutions (sacrifices)”. (Sukra Niti, IV, 5/6)

† Taylor states that “the sister-marriage of the Incas had, in their religion, at once a meaning and justification as typifying the supposed relation of the Sun and the Moon, like the Egyptian Osiris and Isis” (Surya and Ushas).

‡ The injunctions in the Sukra Niti (II 43/46) make interesting comparison. “The King should make the children of the Royal Family well up in the Niti Sastras, proficient in archery, capable of undergoing severe strains, and of bearing harsh words and punishments, habituated to feats of arms, masters of arts and sciences, upright in morals and well-disciplined.”
was rendered proficient in arms and military technique and in reading the quipo strings. At fourteen (or sixteen) he received his breach-clout and got his Royal name, in a colourful ceremony (already described). It should be mentioned here that for two years the young prince received no name but was called only wawa (Sanskrit: baba = baby). At the age of four or five there was an elaborate ceremonial of hair-cutting called most significantly ‘nutu-chikoy’ in Keshava (Sanskrit: rtu = fixed or appropriate time; sikha = lock of hair on head). As is well known, among Hindus of all classes in India this hair-cutting ritual for the young child, in the presence of the family deity, is a must and can on no account be avoided. (I have described elsewhere one such ceremonial in the Royal family of Thailand.)

The worship of the Sun, as we have seen, was the peculiar care of the Inca and the object of lavish expenditure, not only of gold and silver, which were not of much account economically, but of human labour. The most ancient Sun-temple was on Lake Titicaca, the homeland of the Incas. It was a family shrine held in special veneration by the people. To this temple belonged all the rich lands round the lake, including broad acres under maize, which were cultivated by the Inca, the Koya and their family circle, through personal labour.† The yearly produce of this land was distributed among all public granaries in small quantities “as something that would sanctify the store”. Happy was the puric who could get even an ear of corn from the Inca’s blessed harvest; it was treasured like temple “prasadams” in India, and reverentially put in the family larder.

As Von Hagen says, by the time he was ready to marry, the Inca’s future successor had received as thorough an “education” as one could have in pre-Columbian America. He would have

* In my opinion this one Quechua phrase should go a long way to establish the Aryan acculturation of the Peruvians. In ancient India, the Chaula or Chuda ceremony was performed on dwija boys between the third and fifth year. (Chuda means the sikha.) A copper razor and mirror were used in post-Vedic times. Originally, the father himself cut the hair (leaving only the sikha); later on barbers were employed. Such hair-cutting was done for girls also but without any mantra or oblation. The children started learning the alphabet soon after the Chuda-Karana.

† Thus the practice of the Inca handling the first plough of the season was not an empty or theatrical gesture.
learnt such of the sacred chants (called, appropriately, ‘mantras’ in Keshava) as the priests considered he should know. He would have accompanied his father on the royal tours, and the apos on their official journeys, to learn practical statecraft. He would have even commanded armies in the field, and got properly ‘blooded’ for his high office. When old enough (18 or 20), he was usually entrusted with a suitable administrative post, where he could deputise for his august parent. His dress was similar in content to those of his subjects but more luxuriously made, of the finest vicunya wool tastefully embroidered; and he wore sandals encrusted with gold. He would wear big kundalams in his ears like other Inca nobility, and a lalatika as a sign of royalty.

When an Inca died, his body was mummmified using the same technique as in other Aryan-infiltrated countries (e.g., South-East Asia and Polynesia). No details of the actual process of embalming are available; but the mummmified bodies, along with a gold duplicate, were placed on golden thrones, (the mummy in the Inca’s own house and the duplicate elsewhere) for worship and sacrificial offerings by the people. There is strong evidence of suttee being practised on a large scale. According to Prescott, when Atahualpa was murdered, a number of his queens and other relations voluntarily committed suicide, so that their souls might accompany that of the dead Inca. Numerous Indians freely gave up their lives whenever a popular Inca died. Unfortunately very few of the Inca mummies have been found, for the first loot which the Spaniards made was of these embalmed bodies, which were invariably clothed in rich and jewel-encrusted robes and were surrounded by numerous objects of gold and silver, including the gold osno (asana = throne) which the Inca had used in his lifetime.

When an Inca “was gathered to the Sun,” there was a national mourning for three days, after which the heir was “crowned”. (The crown was really a sort of golden cap* or fringe.) He would then start building a palace for himself, in which he would be duly installed by the priests after elaborate rituals, and with every sign of great national rejoicing. The new King, like the old, was soon surrounded by incredible pomp and splendour. He ate (very sparingly, say the Spaniards) only from gold or silver vessels; he never wore the same clothes twice, the once-

* It bears a curious resemblance to the caps worn by Tibetan Lamas.
worn dress being either given away or burnt. To inspect his officials and to listen to complaints, he travelled about in a golden palanquin studded with precious stones and carried by specially trained bearers wearing a picturesque livery. He would be attended by a smart personal guard of women—a practice well known is some Aryan countries in South-East Asia and Indonesia. A large body of foot-soldiers and a number of officials always accompanied him on his tours, and wherever he went he was welcomed with genuine feelings of pleasure and veneration; even his temporary halting places became hallowed ground for future generations. The Spaniards saw joyful people sweeping the roads clean, watering them and strewing them with sweet-scented flowers, when the Inca passed, thus recalling to Hindu minds the scene at Ayodhya at the time of Sri Rama's home-coming, after his acquisition of an illustrious mate.

The Inca dressed himself in the same style as his subjects, but all his dress-pieces were magnificent works of art and costly beyond estimation. His hair was cut in bangs, and he wore heavy jewelled ear-rings. On his head he carried a golden fringe or cap covering the forehead, called llauta (pronounced lawata; Sanskrit: lalata=forehead; lalatika=forehead pendant). A plume or tassel with spangles of gold and a clasp of emerald was raised over the cap (a common feature with princely turbans in India). Round his neck he wore several chains of enormous emeralds, supposed to be specially symbolic of the Great Creator (Siva?). About the splendour and glitter which surrounded the Inca, Von Hagen has this to say:

"There is then no doubt about the sumptuousness of the Inca's world; archaeology has confirmed it. The gold that did not disappear into the crucibles of the conquistadors confirms all that had been first said about it; tombs have yielded gold-spangled litters, superb examples of feather-weaving and woven tapestries which hang today in the world's most famous museums; the pottery from Peru is superior in form and variety to anything that the ancient world can offer; those historians of the 'natural school' who accused William Prescott, who worked from the original sources, of 'romanticism', of painting too glamorous a picture of Inca ceremonial life, have been gainsaid; all has been affirmed by archaeology."
Of the nature of the government of the Incas, enough evidence has been adduced (frequently from hostile sources) to show that it was one of the most benevolent, humane, and conscientious governments the world has ever seen. The opinion of the famous American writers, Hyatt Verrill and Prescott, is worth quoting:

"Whatever may be the truth regarding Incan history, whether the empire had been in existence for six hundred or six thousand years prior to the European invasion, there can be no question regarding the heights it had reached. Fortunately for us, the Incan Empire was still flourishing at the time, and innumerable accounts of the people, their customs, life, government, religion and other matters were written by Spanish priests and others who recorded their personal observations, and whose invaluable works are still in existence.... To students of sociology they are of the utmost interest, for nowhere else in all the known history of the entire world has there been such a complete and successful communistic society. Individuality and freedom of thought, life and action, were all subservient to the community. From birth to death, the lives, actions, tasks, social status, homes, marriages of the people, and even the destinies of the offspring, were planned, regulated, ordered and carried out according to inexorable laws. Every individual, other than those of royal blood or the priesthood, was a mere cog in the mighty wheel of the empire, and every individual was a numbered, tagged unit of the whole." (H. Verrill)

"We must not be insensible to the really great results that were achieved by the government of the Incas. We must not forget that under their rule the meanest of the people enjoyed a far greater degree of personal comfort, at least a greater exemption from physical suffering, than was possessed by similar classes in other nations on the American continent, greater probably than was possessed by these classes in most of the countries of feudal Europe. Under their sceptre the higher orders of the state had made advances in many of the arts that belong to a cultivated community. The foundations of a regular government were laid, which, in an age of rapine, secured to its subjects the inestimable blessings of tranquillity and safety. By the well-sustained policy of the Incas, the rude tribes of the forests were gradually drawn from their fastnesses and gathered within the folds of civilization; and of these materials was constructed a flourishing and populous empire, such as was to be found in no other quarter
of the American continent. The defects of this government were those of over-refinement in legislation—the last defects to have been looked for, certainly, in the American aborigines." (Prescott)

There was no slavery under the Incas, although some forms of it flourished all round the Empire. This dreaded institution was the gift of the Europeans to Peru, as we shall see in the next chapter. In Aryavarta, there were theoretically only two main classes of bondmen, those who sold their liberty to others owing to severe economic distress, and those who were unfortunate enough to be made prisoners of war.* Either category did not exist in the Empire, since no man suffered from want or poverty, and since after a war was over all prisoners† were set free by the Inca and settled on the land, either in their home country or elsewhere, according to political dictates. There were, therefore, no ‘slaves’ even in this restricted Aryan sense. The only exception to this situation was as regards a small community of men called Yanacuna (‘servitor’, in Keshava; Sanskrit: janagana=ordinary fellows or poor workers). The name was pejorative and these men stood on the fringes of Peruvian society. “Theirs was an anomalous status in the highly stratified society of ancient Peru.” Their origin is traced to a conspiracy against Inca Tupac Yupanqui by his brother, in which a tribe of six thousand Indians was found guilty of aiding the conspirator by making weapons for him. Under the law the tribesmen were liable to be executed, but at the intercession of the Koya, the Inca granted them their lives while reducing them to the status of servitors and they became “hereditary servants”, who could be gifted to others by the Sovereign, as a reward. Their number was always small and they were generally well treated; by dint of meritorious service, they could occasionally

* Manu, in fact, mentions several kinds of slaves: (1) a captive in war (who was, as a rule, set free after a year); (2) one who sells himself temporarily, for maintenance (this was considered to be the meanest kind of bondmen); (3) the offspring of a female slave, born legitimately (he became free along with his mother, after the debt was repaid by the mother); (4) one enslaved for indebtedness (as soon as the debt was discharged, he or she became free); (5) one condemned to slavery for life by the King, for a heinous offence (e.g. apostasy by a Sanyasi); (6) hereditary slaves (i.e. descendants of those found guilty of treason, pardoned from capital punishment, but condemned to hereditary bondage. All foreign writers are unanimous in the opinion that even these limited classes of slaves were well treated and lived more happily than hired labourers, in Ancient India.

† i.e., other than those guilty of grave crimes or infamous conduct.
get over their disability and become free purics. Their status became indescribably worse after the Conquest, and they became virtual slaves of their masters. "The Spaniards did as they pleased with the yanacuna, as they held them of no account; they would gamble for them, so that everybody came to have yanacunas, even the Negroes," says Cobo, the Jesuit.

A few remarks about the army of the Incas may be of interest. The Peruvian army was an agrarian militia; every puric was liable for military service and was trained for it, but only as a non-professional. The only standing force was the Inca's personal, guard of about eight to ten thousand men.* Arms for all were supplied by the State and the State storehouses were full of them. The puric soldier wore a helmet of wood or plaited cane, with a totemic device painted on it to indicate his clan. He wore a quilted cotton jacket, as was also the fashion in Central America. (In Polynesia the men usually fought bare-bodied; the climate accounts for the difference.) He wore on his back a wooden shield to protect his rear. He also carried a round or square shield called walkanga, consisting of layers of tree-bark covered with tough hide (Sanskrit : valka = bark of a tree). The warrior's principal offensive weapons were the starheaded mace for close fighting, and the sling for long-distance work. He also used a 6-foot-long spear made of wood, with a metal point. The sling was a truly formidable weapon and could kill a man at a hundred feet if he did not have a helmet or a chest-guard (as the Spaniards too often found). For close work, in addition to the mace, the purics used a double-edged sword, (either of bronze or fire-hardened wood) called macana (Sanskrit : matthana = attacking, cutting).

* Since Peru had no money economy, the professional soldiers were remunerated by land and other gifts. The curious reader may be interested to know that in the European armies and navies of the time and much later (largely composed of ex-convicts and victims of press gangs) the pay was low and the food abominable. What was worse, the wages of the fighting personnel were almost never paid in time. In the British army and navy (of the 19th century) it was common practice for the pay to remain in arrears for months and even years! The mutiny in the British navy in 1797 was largely due to Jack Tar not getting his dues for two years! William Cobbet (a fine democrat and social reformer) was fined £ 2000 and jailed for 2 years because he denounced the flogging of British soldiers (by German Guards) for demanding the arrears of their pay! (1815 A.D.)
The Inca was expected to lead his soldiers in battle, but he could delegate this task to his heir or to a close relation. Diviners were often in request (they were called kalpa rikoc; Sanskrit: kalpa = what is possible or feasible; rikkha = tear open, reveal). As already emphasised, the Incas were never war-hungry; they tried every other means (sama, dana, etc.) before resorting to military means. Prescott’s handsome tribute to the Incas (vis-a-vis the Aztecs) is worth narrating:

“The Aztecs, animated by the most ferocious spirit, carried on a war of extermination, signaling their triumphs by the sacrifice of hecatombs of captives; while the Incas, although they pursued the game of conquest with equal pertinacity, preferred a milder policy, substituting negotiation and intrigue for violence; and dealt with their antagonists so that their future resources should not be crippled and that they should come as friends, not as foes, into the bosom of the empire. Their policy towards the conquered forms a contrast no less striking to that pursued by the Aztecs. The Mexican vassals were ground by excessive imposts and military conscriptions. No regard was had to their welfare, and the only limit to oppression was the power of endurance. They were overawed by fortresses and armed garrisons, and were made to feel every hour that they were not part and parcel of the nation, but held only in subjugation as a conquered people. The Incas, on the other hand, admitted their new subjects at once to all the rights enjoyed by the rest of the community; and, though they made them conform to the established laws and usages of the empire, they watched over their personal security and comfort with a sort of parental solicitude.”

If war became inevitable, the peasant militia was mobilised. The fighting organisation was on the decimal system. The movement of the troops was rapid and disciplined, and everything done had only one objective, viz., speedy victory (called Jaii or Jailli - Sanskrit: Jaya). When the enemy was sighted, which was usually all too soon for him, conches were sounded in a terrible crescendo (as in ancient India) to overawe the foe. The slings* then went into action, followed by the flying spears. At close quarters the engagement became a confused melee with the mace doing its.

* Stone slings were well-known in ancient India. The Mahabharata (Drona Parva 121, 34-35) mentions the mountaineers as experts in shooting stone balls with slings (kshepaniya).
fearful work. The Spaniards thought that such formless fighting of the Peruvians at close quarters was a tactical error and robbed them of the effect of their numerical superiority. Another great weakness of the purics was the indiscriminate observance of “festival respites”, especially those connected with the lunar cycles; they rarely fought at night* and on a new-moon or full-moon day they would suddenly stop all engagements in order to pray, a religious habit which the Spaniards fully exploited, with their usual lack of scruple. But, as Von Hagen points out, the Incas quickly learnt from their defeats. “After their swift initial defeat by the Spaniards in 1534, they made defenses against the horses, they learned to fire the arquebus, they put captured Spanish munition-makers to work; some of them learned to ride horses. In the neo-Inca state (1537-1572), operating out of the sanctuary of Vilcapampa, the surviving Inca and his warriors waged a guerilla warfare for 35 years, and had not the last Inca been seduced by ‘honied words’, they might have prevailed.”

Von Hagen thinks that the Incas were ferocious in war and indulged in slaughter of captives, “although they were not so blood-thirsty as the Aztecs”. The distinguished archaeologist is prima facie over-severe in his assessment of the Incas as generals. It is almost universally acknowledged that this great line of sovereigns was never sanguinary in its hatreds and that it always tempered its military zeal with humanitarian considerations. Spanish chroniclers have recorded that, once a campaign was concluded, the Inca would set the prisoners free, distribute food and gifts among the vanquished, and often confirm the defeated chiefs in power. They would then organise the conquered country as a welfare state on the lines familiar to us by now.† The only people they punished were rebels and traitors‡, and these were hit hard on the principle that they had committed not only treason but also sacrilege against the gods. Even Prescott, who occasionally could be harsh in his

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* It was an Aryan rule never to fight after sun-set; in the gloaming, the dead and the injured would be attended to, after a retreat had been sounded.

† I may cite here the ruling of Sukra on the point: “The King, (having won the battle) should enter the conquered city with the auspicious sound of the turya, and protect like children the people thus won over and made one’s own.” (Sukraniti. IV, 753-754.)

‡ In Europe, up to modern times, rebels and traitors were systematically put to the torture, “hanged, drawn and quartered” in public, to the huge and noisy enjoyment of the spectators.
judgments (often coloured by his reactions of the 19th century to
the events of the 15th), is moderate in his criticism, as the follow-
ing quotation would show. The true character of the Incas as
military commanders (which is in conformity with the particularly
high code of conduct which these Kshatriya kings had set for
themselves and their subjects) has been ably summarised by this
great writer:

"The life of an Inca was one long crusade against the infidel,
to spread wide the worship of the Sun, to reclaim the benighted
nations from their brutish superstitions, and impart to them the
blessings of a well-regulated government. This, in the favourite
phrase of our day, was the 'mission' of the Inca. It was also the
mission of the Christian conqueror who invaded the empire of this
same Indian potentate. Which of the two executed his mission
most faithfully, history must decide. Yet the Peruvian monarchs
did not show a childish impatience in the acquisition of empire.
They paused after a campaign, and allowed time for the settle-
ment of one conquest before they undertook another, and in this
interval occupied themselves with the quiet administration of their
kingdom, and with the long progress which brought them into
nearer intercourse with their people... Thus, by degrees, and with-
out violence, arose the great fabric of the Peruvian empire, com-
posed of numerous independent and even hostile tribes, yet, under
the influence of a common religion, common language, and com-
mon government, knit together as one nation, animated by a spirit
of love for its institutions and devoted loyalty to its sovereign.

"A closer resemblance—as I have more than once taken occa-
sion to notice—may be found between the Peruvian institutions and
some of the despotic governments of Eastern Asia; those govern-
ments where despotism appears in its more mitigated form, and
the whole people, under the patriarchal sway of the sovereign,
seem to be gathered together like the members of one vast family.
... A still closer analogy may be found with the natives of Hindos-
tan in their division into castes, their worship of the heavenly
bodies and the elements of nature, and their acquaintance with the
scientific principles of husbandry. To the ancient Egyptians also
they bore considerable resemblance in the same particulars, as well
as in those ideas of a future existence which led them to attach so much importance to the permanent preservation of the body."

It is obvious that the Incas have been victims of some measure of *odium ideologicum*. Because they believed in a Welfare State and enforced a form of State Socialism which restricted the scope of individual choice and enterprise, the liberal school of historians have criticised the Incas rather harshly, comparing the Empire to a beehive or an ant-hill, dominated by a superior occupant.† But the Incas never advocated theoretical rigidity. "Room was always left for personal interest," as Baudin observes. Family welfare was conserved; gifts were freely distributed as reward and encouragement. Distinguished service was recognised by the grant of special rights, as, for example, the use of a palanquin. Even ordinary Indians could become Incas-by-privilege, following signal military achievement or service to the community.

Judged by their all too scanty records, their extant achievements, and the testimony of foreigners, the Incas seem to have been curiously like one another in their mental outlook, their education, their political ambitions and the interest they took in the welfare of their subjects. This fact should be put down to their large and long-inherited Aryan traditions, and the Kshatriya code of honour which prevented any serious divagations from the norms of good and benevolent rule. But the Inca rulers, like other mortals, differed greatly in appearance, instincts and character. Some were extremely pacific (one could say, *sattvic*) and laboured hard to improve the State and the people. Some were patrons of the arts and sciences and devoted themselves to industry and manufacture. Still others were pre-eminently builders of public works and vast irrigation schemes. A few were high-spirited and ambitious (*rajasic*) and were constantly enlarging their domains, not primarily through megalomania but with a view to

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* To quote J.A. Mason (op. cit. pp. 181-182): "The Inca Emperor was an absolute despot but distinctly not a tyrant; that is, his power was limited only by custom but it was thus limited. The comfort and peace of his people was his primary concern..... his word was law but so strong was the force of custom and precedent that he probably never violated them to satisfy personal spite."

† For example, says Grahame Clark (*World Pre-History*, P. 228), "The Inca State with its minute regulation of economic and social life forecast some of the worst features of modern collectivist societies; a completely regulated economy was associated with a relentless system of taxation exacted in the form of labour...."
spreading the Inca culture among the wild tribes of the north and the south, who were addicted to cannibalism and were a perpetual source of unrest on the borders. Judged by the standard of successful rulers, i.e., by the measure of the happiness of their subjects, the Incas should be classified among the most illustrious sovereigns of history. To the question, 'Was the Indian happy?' Baudin gives the answer that it must be supposed that he was; he laboured hard and contentedly for himself, and for a master whom he considered to be infallible and divine. If his vision of the world was circumscribed, he was unconscious of the fact and this contributed to his peace of mind. His life was a settled and a dull routine, uneventful and free from all cares and wants. There was no lack of food, clothing or of such minor luxuries of life as were available five hundred years ago to human beings. There were no serious epidemics like cholera and smallpox, and no tuberculosis or maladies like venereal disease or leprosy. Only rarely did Peru know economic want, and when it did, the royal granaries were thrown open without stint or delay. In Europe, about this time (1200 A.D. to 1500 A.D.), famine and starvation were more the rule than the exception.* As Baudin points out, even much later

* In the Middle Ages (the period analogous to that of the Incas) famine and pestilence stalked in alternate and quick succession in Europe. England's case is rather typical of those of her neighbours. An ancient Latin proverb associated three countries with three afflictions: famine with England (Anglorum fames), St. Antony's fire (ergotism) with France and leprosy with Normandy. There were many famines in England (four of great magnitude) before the Black Death (of 1348), thus giving England an evil reputation. In 1069 (just when the Incas came to power) there was such a famine in England that "men ate their own kind, of horses, dogs and cats. Others sold themselves into perpetual slavery... It was horrible to look into houses and farm yards on the way side, and see human corpses dissolved in corruption... There was none to bury them. The country remained one great solitude for nine years". (A History of Epidemics in Britain, by Creighton, P. 27) There was another great famine-cum-pestilence in 1123 lasting several years. Crowds were dying by the hundreds on the wayside and a most savage plague ensued. 1234 A.D. saw another dreadful failure of rains and the poor went into the fields to eat unripe grains. A class of paupers emerged at about this time. The scarcity lasted twenty years and in London alone 15000 are said to have died (about half the population). In 1315-16 occurred another visitation so cruel that Trokelowe (a contemporary writer) records that parents ate their own children secretly and prisoners in jails sat upon new arrivals and devoured them alive! In a riot near a free bread-dole, fifty women and children were crushed to death. (Stubbis says, in his Introduction to Annales Londonienses, that at this time the Abbot of Christ Church at Canterbury was sitting down to a dinner of seventeen courses and that the Abbey's cellar had 38 servants to draw and serve liquor!) There were numerous other famines and pestilences in the following centuries, right up to the Great Plague of London but it is needless to enumerate them. The situation in contemporary Scotland and Ireland was even more terrible than in England.
in France (the best-administered State in Europe), in 1694 and in 1709 there were cruel famines which took a heavy toll of life. In the years preceding the French Revolution, bread riots were a chronic feature of Parisian life. In Ireland, potato famines wiped off slices of the population, reckoned in millions. It is scarcely necessary to detail the great famines of Asia (in China, India, Indonesia and the Middle East) whose horrendous pictures are only too well known to students of history.* To the extent that the puric was spared these afflictions, his life must be considered to have been happier than that of most of his contemporaries in the world elsewhere. As one Spaniard of the Conquest wrote, "How can we call a people other than happy when they are always singing and dancing, even when at work!"

The Incas were masters of organisation; they converted army incursions into conquests, and conquests into an Empire (in 400 years they had absorbed over 500 petty tribes and principalities). Every new territory was methodically subjected to census enumeration through the use of the ubiquitous quipo. Agriculture, animal husbandry, and all the necessary arts of a simple life were introduced (or improved beyond recognition) in the new provinces. Irrigation works, roads, rest-houses, granaries and llama-herds, soon followed. All disorder and vice (including cannibalism) were sternly put down, and the self-contained aylu and the pax Incania became the rules of life. The sun was installed as the national deity, without however the local gods being put in the shade. Urban centres were created on the approved pattern. Irreconcilables were not liquidated; they were found new homes suitable to their habits of life elsewhere, and in their place Quechua-speaking loyalists were installed. Sparse areas were strengthened; over-populated regions were thinned out.†

"One of the things for which one feels envious of these Lords-Incas," wrote that wonderful observer, Pedro de Cieza de Leon,

* In the great Madras famine of 1817 over 5 million people (10% of the population) perished. The casualty in the Bengal famine of 1943 is placed at 3½ millions. In both these cases the government relief machinery practically failed; in the first case, because the machinery was exiguous; in the second, because the famine was partly government-made.

† Even such a lukewarm admirer of the Incas as J.A. Mason has this to say: "There were neither booms nor depressions. It was the welfare state par excellence towards which our modern democracies now seem to be tending. It, however, was at least efficiently administered." (op.cit., P. 176)
“Is their knowledge of the way to conquer...and to bring them by good management into empire. I often remember when in some wild and barren province outside of these kingdoms (of the Incas) hearing Spaniards themselves say, ‘I am certain that if the Incas had been here the state of things would be different’. In all things the system (that is, replacing buildings damaged by war, bringing in llamas where needed, sending in official builders, instructing the newly conquered how to cultivate their fields better), was so well regulated that when one of the Incas entered into a new province, in a very short time it looked like another place....In other words, whichever were conquered by force of arms, the order was that little harm should be done to property and houses of the vanquished; for the Lord-Inca said: ‘These will soon be our people as much as others’.”

Even today, in the whole of the Andean areas, one is ever conscious of the past history, dominated by the Inca ideals and statecraft; their legacy manifests itself in scores of ways, in speech, customs and manners, material culture and the occult knowledge (like the mantras) which they inherited from their Aryan forefathers and which they have passed on to such of their descendants as still survive in this picturesque land*.

Every man in Peru was expected to be acquainted with all the handicrafts needed for his domestic comfort. Even the noblemen were expected to have their clothes made by their own kinswomen, and the Inca princes were taught, as we have seen, to make their own weapons and to fashion even their sandals! There were, however, certain specialised trades, like those of the goldsmiths and silversmiths, sculptors, makers of finer sorts of weapons, painters and decorators, weavers of high-quality textiles and feather-cloak-makers, where trained skill was required. These callings descended from father to son. Says Prescott: “The division of castes, in this particular, was as that which existed in ancient Egypt or in Hindustan. If this arrangement be unfavourable to originality or to the development of the peculiar talent of the individual, it at least

* “As an instance of the Inca’s care and foresight it may be mentioned that surplus food was never to go waste. In seasons of plenty when the store-houses were too full, the Emperor ordered a stock-dividend, distributing the surplus food, so that the people might eat more heavily and be more contented. Food from one region was sent to another where it was not grown so that people might enjoy a change of diet” (J.A. Mason, op. cit., P. 178).
conduced to an easy and finished execution by familiarising the artist with the practice of his art, from his childhood."

Here are a few tit-bits relating to the Inca civilization:

Although both the elite and the commonalty were addicted to the mild a'ka or chicha*, the strong sora (sura), prepared out of maize, was prohibited from manufacture and infractions of this law were sternly put down. Von Hagen thinks that the purics were too free with the chicha, although the law came down on those who lost their self-control through over-indulgence. While drinking in moderation was allowed, excessive bibulousness was frowned upon.†

The famous cuca‡ plant, which yields cocaine, was an Inca product. Its use as an anaesthetic was well known and widely popularised, in the interests of the strenuously labouring popu-

* Aka was corrupted, in Spanish, into chicha.
† In contemporary Europe, excessive drinking was a scourge and a constant social problem. London city was perhaps typical of Western Europe of the time. In the 14th century, for a population of less than 40,000 it had 354 taverns and 1334 brew shops (every third house had a still!). The smallest liquor measure then was the quart. In subsequent centuries, the national addiction grew stronger. Brandy (paying no excise) was extremely cheap and compounded with other fiery spirits, was sold not only in dram shops, but by every one from barbers to grocers and from barrows in the streets, no licence being needed to sell spirits. "Women drank as eagerly as men and even babies were given nips of gin to quieten or stupefy them... The appalling sub-human conditions to which the great mass of Londoners were reduced can hardly be imagined. Hogarth's 'Gin Lane' gives no exaggerated picture. Where one house in four was a gin shop (in the 18th century), crimes of violence became a commonplace... (A History of London Life, by Mitchell and Leys, P. 194). Incidence of disease and death rose in a steep curve and social demoralization increased by leaps and bounds. In contrast to the situation in Europe, Inca's Peru should be considered a land of bliss and clean living. We have seen that in South-East Asia and in Polynesia, hard drinking was practically unknown. In many areas, (e.g., New Zealand) alcohol arrived only with the Whiteman. The reader will be aware of the fact that as early as 2500 years ago, the Aryans gave up even the mildly exhilarating soma, used for sacrificial purposes. When the European filibusters came to India, they shocked the local people with their love of alcohol. Gaming and heavy drinking were customary with both the troops and the civilians. Manucci says that Akbar permitted the use of liquor by his European gunners, remarking that "the Europeans must have been created by God at the same time as spirits and if deprived of them, they would be like fish out of water". The early staple drink was arrack made from toddy, sugar or rice; later on wines and beer were imported in larger quantities. Arrack, mixed with four other ingredients became the famous 'punch', meaning five in Hindi.
‡ Pronounced 'Kuka'.
lation. As Cieza de Leon says: "If cuca did not exist, neither would Peru." The plant was short and bushy like tea; the leaves were plucked and sun-dried. The leaf had a sweet odour but a bitter taste, and was chewed (like pan) with lime. "The Indians found it so pleasant that they preferred cuca leaves to gold or silver and even precious stones." Used in moderation, it averted cold and mitigated thirst, hunger and fatigue. The Incas named it "God's shrub" and carefully regulated its cultivation and use, as a royal monopoly. The leaves were called matu (Sanskrit: matara= intoxicant) and its chewing was limited to the soothsayers and chasqui couriers (for obvious reasons), and to the old and decrepit who wanted physical relief in the intense cold of the Andes. Its use was rigidly circumscribed and the ordinary Indian was not allowed to become an addict. The Inca and the elite used it sparingly and only when the occasion demanded. But the Spaniards destroyed all the wise controls of the Incas and converted many Indians into gross addicts. The conquistadors grew immensely rich on this noxious trade; even the priests were tempted. As de Leon says, "The greater portion of the income of the Bishops and canons and other clergy ... ... is derived from the tithe on cuca leaves".

Many Spaniards themselves became slaves to the drug, which soon spread all over Europe, to the great profit of the Dons. Under the Incas, the tobacco leaf was used only as medicine and in the form of snuff, to cure sinus affections. It was never used for smoking or chewing.

The goldsmiths and silversmiths knew how to draw threads from the precious metals and use them in lace-work in textiles. Copper and bronze were plated with gold and silver, and silver with gold, by a process which the Spaniards were unable to ascertain and copy. Almost all of the beautiful and highly artistic work created by Inca gold and silversmiths was destroyed by the Spaniards, who ruthlessly and indiscriminately broke into pieces, or melted down, these objects of skill and delightful workmanship. To give one instance, in Cuzco alone sixty goldsmiths were employed day and night for one month, under supervisors armed with the lash, breaking and melting the golden images, furniture

* This situation will not surprise students of European history. In many regions of Europe the Church had a monopoly of brewing till comparatively recent times. While condemning drunkards, the priests often plied a profitable trade in liquor.
and jewellery, to facilitate their easy transportation to Spain. Gold was so common in Cuzco that the nails used in woodwork were almost always of gold! Even the temple and the palace thatch was of golden reed, as already mentioned.

The balsa (palasa) rafts used both in South America and in Mexico were called catamarans! It may be remembered that this name was familiar in Polynesia also, particularly in the Marquesas and the Society Islands.

There were no dark-coloured people in the Inca Kingdom and the Peruvians had never seen a Negro. When the first Spaniards brought a Negro slave with them, the purics could not believe that his sable hue was genuine; they poured some water over him and tried to rub off his pigment, thinking it to be artificial!

Did the Incas have a real aesthetic sense, or were they merely matchless organisers and administrators, without the soul of the true artist? Says Baudin: “There can be no doubt on this score. The pottery, the textiles, the carvings and the jewellery found in the tombs, give abundant evidence in their favour. The gold fillings in the teeth, the methods employed to darken the hair and promote its growth, the use of cosmetics, and the marvellous sites selected by the Incas for residence or for rest during travel or for building citadels, all bear witness to a constant search for beauty ... ... To this day the Indians have kept their feelings for form and colour, for things of beauty, for paintings and carvings.”*

In science, the Incas showed no astonishing progress, and in fact, were inferior to the Aztecs of Mexico. They had, of course, the decimal system and the quipu, and could make simple geometrical designs and clay models of buildings. They knew the equator and calculated the equinoxes and solstices by watching shadows cast by stone-pillars, specially erected at various points. Quito, which lay on the equator, was held in veneration because the sun cast no shadow there at noon. On the gnomon built there, a throne of gold was set up “for the Sun-God to sit with all his light.” (We have noticed such “seats for the Sun” in Balinese temples.)

* “As weavers, potters and goldsmiths they could hold their head proudly among their peers anywhere in the world... the Peruvian woman is considered by experts to have been the foremost weaver of all time” J.A. Mason, *ibid*, P. 235.

† If the decimal and zero notations are attributed to “spontaneous emergence,” how is it that this phenomenon evaded the highly civilized nations of the ancient world, like the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans?
In surgery and medicine, ancient Peru was highly progressive. Delicate brain-operations, including trepanning, were done (as in Polynesia). Knives, scalpels, pincers, needles (for suturing), and scissors for cutting, were in use; "instruments which can compare favourably with those known to the Romans." (Von Hagen) Torniquets, gauzes and swabs were available. The Incas also perfected the local, and perhaps also, the general anaesthesia. "In short, pre-Inca and Inca medicine and surgical practice seems to have been just as advanced, perhaps in many respects more so, than when the gifted Ambroise Pare of France was taking medicine out of its mediaeval doldrums in the XVI century Europe"* (Von Hagen). Belladonna (datura) was widely known (it was probably propagated from India) as well as some other narcotics.† The vilka tree of Peru (a variety of acacia) produced a fruit whose seed and pulp were used medicinally. Says Von Hagen: "Little is known of it, although Incan cities like Vilka-Pampas and Vilka-shauman tell of the tree's presence".‡

The Peruvians had many holidays and festivals. Each of the twelve months had a festival (as in India). Von Hagen has provided a list of such festivals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English months</th>
<th>Peruvian months</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Capac Raymi</td>
<td>The magnificent festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Huchy Pokoy</td>
<td>The small ripening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Hatun Pokoy</td>
<td>The great ripening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>Paucar Huaray</td>
<td>The garment of flowers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In England the barbers were, in the main, the surgeons, up to the 18th century. Bodies of hanged criminals were handed over to the London Society of Barbers for dissection; it is recorded that in several cases, the 'hanged' persons were found to be alive on the dissecting table, and they had to be smuggled out of the country!

† Strangely enough, and contrary to general belief, cinchona... Peru's most valuable gift to the world was apparently not used to any extent in ancient Peru; this fact is understandable when it is realised that malaria was unknown in pre-Conquest America... "and was one of the plagues introduced from Europe... The pharmacopoeia of ancient Peru was most extensive... Many (plants) have actual therapeutic value... some have been adopted by modern medicine". (J.A. Mason, *Ibid* P. 221)

‡ Perhaps the vilka tree is nothing but the South Indian 'bilva or vilva' whose fruits were used for a variety of medical purposes. In Sanskrit 'bilva-keeya' is a place thickly planted with bilva trees. It may be remembered that the capital city of the last Hindu kings of Java, was named "Bilva-tika".
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English months</th>
<th>Peruvian months</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Ayuriway</td>
<td>The dance of young maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Aymaray</td>
<td>Song of the harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Inti Raymi</td>
<td>Festival of the Sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Cana Warkis</td>
<td>Earthly purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Yapakis</td>
<td>General purification - sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Coya Raymi</td>
<td>Festival of the queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Auma Raymi</td>
<td>Festival of the water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Ayamarka</td>
<td>Procession of the dead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note on above festivals:

Raymi (pronounced Ryemi) is 'festival' (perhaps from Sanskrit rAmyami=pleasant, charming); Capac is probably kha paka = 'Burning Sun'; Pokoy is Sanskrit pakva = ripened, matured; Auma seems to be Sanskrit audha or audhaka= watery, aquatic; Paucar is Sanskrit pushkar=blue lotus flower, and also pushpa=flowers; Aya-marca is Sanskrit aya marga=the path of good fortune, symbolical of the journey of the dead; Yapakis or Japakis is perhaps Sanskrit japaka=muttered prayers for self purification; Warkis is Sanskrit varchas=shining, splendid.

It has been contended that the Capac Raymi was nothing but the Rama-Sita festival. Von Hagen refers to a great celebration called 'Sitva' in which the whole nation participated. Many years ago, Sir William Jones equated this festival with Dusserah and observed, "It is very remarkable that the Peruvians, whose Incas boasted of the same descent (from the Surya) styled their greatest festival Rama-Sitva, whence we may suppose that South America was peopled by the same race who imported into the furthest parts of Asia, the rites and the fabulous history of Rama" (Asiatic Researches, Volume I). Pococke, while asserting the correctness of the conclusion drawn by Sir William, remarks as follows: "I have applied the most rigid tests, allowing with the most jealous care, no theory—no mere similarity of sound—to lead me astray from that uniform process of investigation by which these results [i.e., the identifications of the Rama-Sita festival] have been obtained" (India in Greece).

The Peruvians produced artificial fire in two ways; one was the use of a bright concave mirror (made of silvered bronze) which would concentrate the sun's rays on a small pile of dry cotton or
wool, and the other was the use, in cloudy weather, of the attrition method of rubbing two pieces of hard wood to produce heat and fire. Both these processes were (and are) in use in Java and Bali.* In Polynesia, the absence of metals made the attrition process unavoidable.

* In writing this chapter I have kept in mind the requirement of Toynbee, viz., that where cultural diffusion is sought to be established, particularly from a distant and unrelated source, linguistic data should be prominently in evidence to clinch the issue. I have indicated literally scores of Keshava words and phrases which bear an unmistakable Sanskrit impress and which could not be explained except on the basis that the Incas were a people who had arrived in Peru from an ‘Aryan’ culture ground and had brought with them, along with their religion and civilization, the Sanskrit-based language of their remote Aryan homeland. Such key-words as mantra, marga, asana, maya, laya, patala, rituchikaya, janapada, sara, sura, kanchana, pura, amantua and apa-chitta, occurring in Keshava can only be understood on the assumption that these Sanskrit words were introduced (along with the Keshava tongue) by the Incas. In making this assertion, I hope I am not evincing more confidence in my evidence than I can evoke in the enlightened reader. To reinforce the argument based on language indices, I give below a further list of Keshava words (laboriously gathered by Poindexter) with their rough Sanskrit equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua word &amp; its meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chingat - American lion</td>
<td>Simha or Singa-lion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsupe - soup</td>
<td>Supa - soup, broth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huakra - curved</td>
<td>Vakra - crooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pronounced Vakra)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilla - moon</td>
<td>Kala - moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(pronounced Killa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muti or Mote - pounded corn</td>
<td>Mut - To crush into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callana - a pot, or bowl</td>
<td>Kalasa - a pot, bowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putotu - conch-shell</td>
<td>Puteeka - funnel-shaped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(horn, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* As I have mentioned elsewhere, in Bali fire cannot be produced from matches on religious occasions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua word &amp; its meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tanta</td>
<td>Tantra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cushi</td>
<td>Kusala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yana-cuna</td>
<td>Janagana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ojota</td>
<td>Juta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pichea</td>
<td>Panchaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pachaca</td>
<td>Sataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warancu</td>
<td>Varangha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumis</td>
<td>Tub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sora</td>
<td>Sura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukshi</td>
<td>Kukshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vinyapu</td>
<td>Viniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llypta (of 10,000)</td>
<td>Lipta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llypta</td>
<td>Lepana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quena</td>
<td>Gitayana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirua</td>
<td>Puru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uza</td>
<td>Udana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunkha</td>
<td>Kunda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaku</td>
<td>Chakshu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocoy</td>
<td>Pakvaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siri (Sivi)</td>
<td>Sivani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challa</td>
<td>Chale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chira</td>
<td>Chala (Prakrit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacro</td>
<td>Sura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakka</td>
<td>Laghu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthis (casteless)</td>
<td>Laghu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acalla cona</td>
<td>Antyaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achihua</td>
<td>Akalanka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Llapi</td>
<td>Kanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nama</td>
<td>Chhaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paksha</td>
<td>Lap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- a crowd</td>
<td>- a heap, a multitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- happy</td>
<td>- happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- servant class</td>
<td>- low classes; inferior people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- fibre sandals</td>
<td>- braided hair or fibre (Hindi: Juta = shoe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- five</td>
<td>- five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- hundred (of 10,000)</td>
<td>- hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- a knife or sword</td>
<td>- to strike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- strong drink</td>
<td>- a fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- belly</td>
<td>- strong liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- strong drink</td>
<td>- belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- smear, anoint</td>
<td>- liquor-ferment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lime-plaster</td>
<td>- anointing, plaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- flute</td>
<td>- ointment; plaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- storehouse</td>
<td>- flue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- water</td>
<td>- to fill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- pond; pool</td>
<td>- water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- to look</td>
<td>- pool; pond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- ripening</td>
<td>- to look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- covering or husk of corn</td>
<td>- ripened, matur-ed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- shining, resplendent</td>
<td>- needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- thin stew</td>
<td>- covering, or wrapper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- thin, slender</td>
<td>- husk of grain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- lowest class (casteless)</td>
<td>- splendid, shin-ing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- chosen girls</td>
<td>- easily digested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- shade</td>
<td>- slender, light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- a wail, chant</td>
<td>- panchama castes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- sister</td>
<td>- spotless virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- phases of the moon</td>
<td>- shade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- to lament, to cry out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- sister-in-law</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- phases of the moon</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**Quechua word & its meaning**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quechua Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sanskrit equivalent</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pisa</td>
<td>to make small, to powder</td>
<td>Pishta</td>
<td>to crush, to powder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puchu</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>Puccha</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rathani</td>
<td>to join together, to yoke</td>
<td>Rathhi</td>
<td>joining, union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soktha</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>Shashtha</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samko</td>
<td>heart</td>
<td>Samkalpa</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uis</td>
<td>twins; twice</td>
<td>Dwis</td>
<td>twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipi</td>
<td>dawn</td>
<td>Sipi</td>
<td>a ray of sunlight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirini</td>
<td>to lie down</td>
<td>Sira</td>
<td>a bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catu (Katu)</td>
<td>- market place</td>
<td>Karvata</td>
<td>- market-place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haurma</td>
<td>- grown-up Inca (pronounced Varma)</td>
<td>Varma</td>
<td>- Kshatriya prince; one able to wear armour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The list given above could be lengthened indefinitely if one were to make a special study of the Quechua language; but, even as it is, the table seems enough to show that this exotic language (a rich and euphonious one, marvellously suited to the civilizing and unifying role which it played in South America) has a large number of crucially significant words either borrowed from Sanskrit or recognisably adapted from that tongue. The 'isolationist' school of archaeologists may explain away (with varying degrees of success) many of the other Indo-Aryan analogues that I have cited, viz., the sun-worship; the stepped pyramids; the belief in a Supreme Being and an eternal soul bound up in an endless chain of births and deaths; the Brahmanda or the Golden Egg; the vast irrigation schemes, including terracing and tunnelling; the variety of food products propagated from Asia; the use of textiles of weave and finish identical with those of Polynesia; the phenomenal road-making and erection of caravanserais on an Asian pattern; the stone buildings and use of architectural techniques singularly close to those of South-East Asia and Oceania; the communal ownership of land and rotational cultivation, as in Indonesia and New Zealand; the existence of an elite class surprisingly similar to the dwija castes of Aryan-acculturated lands; the lunar calendar with intercalation; the expertise in feather-weaving and dyeing rivalling that of New Zealand and Hawaii; the institution of a chief queen and subsidiary ones as in South-East Asia; the elaborate initiation ceremonies of the elite youth, astonishingly like the Upanayana rites of Aryan communities; the
use in war of the star-headed mace as in Polynesia; the resort to suttee by widowed queens; the embalming of the royal dead and the practice of immuring weapons and furniture along with the deceased; the limited indulgence in mildly fermented drinks and the total barran of strong liquor, as in South-East Asia; the generally vegetarian habits of the people and high regard for animal life, particularly of the domestic beasts; the blowing of conches during eclipses; the setting up of special corps of female temple ministrants; intimate knowledge of valuable metals, including mercury; the use of the palanquin and the umbrella as royal insignia; and, more than all else, the use of the quipo and the decimal system of computation—all these could, as I said, be attempted to be explained away by the anti-diffusionists, if they tried hard enough, but not the strong linguistic evidence which I have marshalled in support of my thesis. No accidents of “simultaneous growths” can produce the same grammar, idiom and phraseology in two distant lands separated by ocean stretches of several thousand miles. The objection will apply a fortiori to words and phrases pregnant with technical or specialised meaning like ritu-chico; patalla marca; Cori-Kancha and chanapatha.

I may perhaps conclude this section with two quotations, one from Donald Mackenzie (Myths of Pre-Columbian America); and the other from Prof. Elliot Smith (The Evolution of the Dragon):

“A difficulty experienced by not a few, regarding the migration of even small groups of peoples from Asia to America, is the great distance that had to be covered by the ancient mariners. The Pacific was undoubtedly a formidable natural barrier. It was, however, a less formidable one than the mountain ranges and extensive deserts of the Old World, and even than the more formidable barriers formed by organised communities in fertile valleys, because these communities were invariably armed and had to be overcome in battle. On the trackless ocean, nature alone, a less formidable enemy than man, had to be contended with. That the ocean was traversed by considerable numbers of seafarers in ancient times is demonstrated by the fact that Polynesia was peopled by Indonesians and others, and that even Easter Island was colonized. The distance from the Malay Peninsula to Easter Island, as has been already indicated,

* Griha, or Gari, Kanchana = House of gold.
is vastly greater than from Easter Island to America. Indeed, longer voyages were made by Polynesians within the limits of Polynesia than those which were necessary to cross from their island to the New World. The Pacific barrier was no more formidable than was the barrier of the Indian ocean. If the voyage was longer, it was not less possible of achievement, and the wide distribution of islands must have enticed and encouraged explorers to venture farther and farther to sea.” (Mackenzie)

“The original immigrants into America brought from North-Eastern Asia such cultural equipment as had reached the area east of the Yenesei at the time when Europe was in the Neolithic phase of culture. Then when ancient mariners began to coast along the Eastern Asiatic littoral and make their way to America by the Aleutian route there was a further infiltration of new ideas. But when more venturesome sailors began to navigate the open seas and exploit Polynesia, for centuries there was a more or less constant influx of customs and beliefs, which were drawn from Egypt and Babylonia, from the Mediterranean and East Africa, from India and Indonesia, China and Japan, Cambodia and Oceania. One and the same fundamental idea, such as the attributes of the serpent as a water-god, reached America in an infinite variety of guises, Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese, and from this amazing jumble of confusion the local priesthood of Central America built up a system of beliefs which is distinctively American, though most of the ingredients and principles of synthetic composition was borrowed from the Old World” (Elliot Smith)
CHAPTER IX

THE KSHATRIYA KINGS IN PERU

SECTION 'B'

WE may now turn to the story of the Sapa-Inca and the swineherd, of Atahualpa and of Pizarro, but before we do so, a brief sketch of the history of the Inca Empire, from its traditional inception to its final liquidation by the Castilians, will be appropriate. In the previous chapter, we have encountered theories as to the origin of the Incas, ranging from the bizarre to the commonplace, from the 'Chinese Mandarin' hypothesis, to that of the well-fabled Atlantis Continent (now supposedly sunk beneath the ocean). The most curious story, however, is that put forward by a 17th-century Spanish writer, named Fernando Montesinos. Apparently cribbing from the writings of a half-caste named Blas Valera, Montesinos startled the world with his sensational assertion that Peru was colonised soon after the Deluge, by Ophir, the 'grandson' of the Biblical Noah, whose date he placed at about 2200 B.C. The Spaniard gave a long line of 'Inca' kings beginning with 'Puria Pacari Manco,' who came with a large following from Armenia, and who was allegedly accompanied by the prophet Noah himself, 'who pointed out and allotted the lands to his descendants in Peru'. To quote this somewhat gullible author:

"Speaking with the modesty due when treating of a matter hidden by Holy Writ and unknown for so long a time previous to our century, I say that Piru and the other (countries) of Hamerica

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* In another Chapter (Vide Vol. I), I have equated Noah with Vedic Nabha, son of Manu Vaivaswata. In the Bible Noah is tenth in descent from Adam, and no satisfactory derivation of the name in Hebrew has been found. It is now generally accepted that the Hebrews had copied the Babylonian legend of Ut Naphistem, which itself seems to be an echo of the Manu story of the Vedas. It is curious that the Bible itself is not consistent. In the Flood story Noah appears as a blameless patriarch, selected by God to rescue mankind; his sons are married and join him on the Ark. In the narrative of the Genesis, however, (Gen.(18-27) Noah is shameless and drunken, and lives in a tent with unmarried sons!"
were peopled by Ophir, grandson of Noah, and by their
descendants. These came from the East, establishing their settle-
ments as far as Piru, which is the last land in the World as far as
their voyage is concerned. Here, seeing its wealth of gold, silver,
very precious stones, pearls, woods, animals, and beautiful birds,
they fixed their name and founded their greatest cities. Events of
later times afterwards brought other peoples thither, Tyrians,
Phoenicians and other different nations whom these people
brought in their fleets and they settled almost all of those
extensive provinces."

It is evident that the writer has made a curious anachronistic
jumble out of the writings of his half-Indian predecessors, Blas
Valera and Garcillassò, the tales handed down to him by the
amantuas still left alive by the Conquistadors, and the products of
his own highly sanctimonious speculation. The only connection
which a student of morbid psychology can see between Armenia
and Peru is in the prevalence of certain debased sexual practices
mentioned as existing in the pre-Inca times in the Peruvian
coastal tracts by Montesinos, which same condemnable habits of
life were rampant in those Semitic-Syrian cities, which achieved
some notoriety in the Old Testament times. It is to the credit of
the Incas that they did everything in their power to put down
those abominations, wherever they were found in their extensive
domains.

According to a learned American writer (Mrs. Nuttall), these
Andean regions were enveloped in primitive barbarism before the
advent of the Incas as a ruling power, from across the seas, (circa
1000 A.D.). As already stated, Von Hagen dissent from this view
and even accuses the Inca "wisemen", of tampering with history.
Modern archaeological research has brought to light some advanced
cultures, going back to the earliest Christian times, as flourishing in

* In the Bible, Ophir is a place and not a person. To quote from the Old
Testament: "King Solomon made a navy of ships, on the shore of the Red
Sea (i.e. Persian Gulf). And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had
knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and
fetched thence gold 420 talents and brought it to King Solomon, the navy of
Hiram brought from Ophir plenty of almug trees and precious stones". It
will be clear to the unprejudiced that this Ophir could not have been in Somalia
which produced neither gold, nor almug-trees, nor precious stones.

† Sodom and Gomorrah.
Peru and in Equador. The most ancient settlements were, curiously enough, in the rainless coastal deserts where the swift-flowing Andean rivers formed small but very fertile valleys. The tribes who came either by sea from Polynesia, or from Central America along the coast, often lived here in isolation and with individualistic cultures. To most of them the Moon was the principal deity (and not the Sun). Since the Incas who overran these regions subsequently were Sun-worshippers, it is not surprising that very little information was transmitted about the history of these followers of the Moon. Von Hagen believes that the Incas deliberately snuffed out the pre-history of their own Empire by selective manipulation of their remembered history, as recorded on the quipos. "The official 'rememberers', who were the Incas' historians, no longer bridged the gap between legendary Man and those innumerable pre-Inca cultures, so that this 'selective manipulation of history' which was to represent the Incas as being alone the culture-bearers, emerged as the history of pre-literate Peru. All the rest of the pre-Inca histories were tossed into oblivion."*

Archaeological evidence shows that for over 1000 years prior to the rise of the Incas (1100 A.D.) there had been a steady cultural growth in the Andean region, but dates and successive eras are difficult to fix, since no inscriptions and no writings, no coins and no datable artifacts, have been unearthed. Montesinos does indeed suggest that records in writing, on plantain leaves, (palm leaves?) and barks of trees (called quillcas; Sanskrit: kila = traditional reports or records) were widely prevalent in Coastal Peru. But that in the time of Inca Tupa Cauri there was a great outbreak of pestilence which the court astrologers attributed to these written records, whereupon the Inca "commanded by law, on pain of death, that no one should traffic in quillcas, which were the parchments and leaves of trees on which they used to write, nor should one use any sort of letters. They observed this oracular command with so much care that after this loss the Peruvians never used letters........ Because in later times a learned amantua invented some characters, they burnt him alive."

There is thus a chronological vacuum in pre-Inca history, but archaeologists, with their statigraphical technology (supple-

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* Von Hagen: *Realm of the Incas.*
mented by C-14 tests) have been able to piece together a tentative space-time picture of ancient Peru. Dr. Wendell Bennet, an outstanding authority, has outlined several periods of early Peruvian culture as below:

**Period I** Called Chavin with its centre of authority at Huantar, lying in the Andean Alps (1200 to 400 B. C.?)

**Period II** Called by the experts the "Experimental Period" (ranging from 400 B. C. to 400 A. D.)

**Period III** Belonging to the Mochicas and the Paracas, whose sway lasted from 400 A. D. to 1000 A. D. The former were an "intensely caste-minded people with high craftsmanship in architecture, ceramics and textiles". The Paracas specialised in weaving and produced some of the finest cloth the world has ever known. Their history is an enigma, but they have left behind veritable hoards of embalmed bodies of their superior dead, wrapped in textiles of adorable weave and finish.

**Period IV** Relating to the lost tribe of Ica-Nascas, who have apparently preferred to remain anonymous about their own life-story. Apart from fine textiles and excellent ceramics, the Nascas have left behind certain mysterious geometrical and animal-shaped "lines" on the ground, etched in bizarre fashion on sand and gravel, over immense distances. The significance of these freakish patterns across the landscape has not yet been unravelled, but they are probably totemic in intent and represent the "genealogical tree" of the Nasca race.

**Period V** In which there flourished two minor kingdoms—that of the Chimas (or Chimors) from 1000 A. D. till (perhaps) 1400, and that of Tiahuanaca (Deva Vanaka?) which lasted for three hundred years from 1000 A. D. Both these cultures thus overlapped the Inca Empire very considerably. The rulers of Tiahuanaca were nameless and left little social impress, although their cultural level was noteworthy. The Chimors were coastal people and moon-worshippers. Their architecture took mainly the form of enormous stepped pyramids, walled
compounds, and gigantic reservoirs built in stone. The Chimors were the last victims of Inca 'expansionism', and justly so. Their efforts in every direction were on a massive scale, and their artistic achievements were of no mean order; but their sociology was based on cruelty and exploitation, and their moral fibre was notably coarse and repulsive in some respects, as evidenced by their oversuggestive ceramics.

About the origins of the Inca people (especially the elite), very little more is known than what is contained in their myths and legends. Unfortunately, archaeology is of no great help. I have already mentioned in the preceding section the legends connected with Manco Capac and Kon-Tiki Vira Cocha. There is another tradition (elaborated by Poindexter), referring to four 'Ayar' brothers as arriving from across the oceans with their four sister-wives* and colonising the new country with their own kith and kin. The following extract from Poindexter's book, *The Ayar Incas* makes interesting reading:

"The caste system of the Aryan Inca rulers (of Peru) was as rigid as, and very similar to, that of the Aryan Brahmins; and in the beginning was instituted for the same purpose, namely, in a desperate effort to preserve the purity of the White race. No one of the lower orders could marry a woman of Inca blood on pain of death...Many of the Inca hymns and prayers were similar to our own. The traces of the common origin of both can be found in the Rig Veda and the Zend-Avesta. They had been preserved by oral traditions from their still older sources before the invention of writing. No doubt they had taken form in the religious rituals of the great parent race before the development of separate cultures of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans."

The early Incas had their headquarters in the Cuzco valley, but gradually spread their power over the surrounding regions. In the words of Cieza De Leon:

"In the year 1000 A. D. in the name of (Kon) Ticiviracocha and of the Sun and the rest of his gods, Manco Capac founded the new city. The origins and beginnings of Cuzco were a small house of stone, roofed with straw, which Manco Capac and his

* The tradition of four brothers marrying four sisters in a strange and distant land is found in Mexico also *Vida* Chapter X, below."
wives built and which they named *‘Curi-cancha’—it means ‘Golden Enclosure’.

The precise dating of the emergence of the Incas as an incipient Imperial power is, as a matter of fact, rather difficult. The usually accepted date is 1050 A.D., though this has been disputed. Prescott mentions this event as happening about 400 years before the Conquest (which was in 1530 A.D.), but admits that some writers attribute an interval of 500 or even 550 years between the Ayar brothers and Atahualpa (the last Inca). Prescott’s dismissal of the early Inca legends as ‘lying and puerile myths’ is criticised by his own Editor, Kirk, in these words:

“Such legends will not be considered ‘puerile’ nor will their similarity with those of remote races seem inexplicable, when they are viewed in their true light, as embodying conceptions of nature formed by the human mind in the early stages of its development. Thus considered, ‘the very myths,’ as Mr. Tylor remarks, ‘that were discarded as lying fables, prove to be sources of history in ways that their makers and transmitters little dreamed of.’ The Peruvian traditions seem, in particular, to deserve a closer investigation than they have yet received. Besides the authorities cited by Prescott, the relations of Cristóval de Molina and the Indian, Salcamayhua, translated by Mr. Markham, are entitled to mention, both for the minuteness and the variations with which they present the leading features of the same oft-repeated nature-myth

“A wider comparison of the popular tradition has impelled the rejection of the idea of a conscious invention whether as idle fable or as designing imposture, to account for their (Incas’) origin. The only question in regard to such a story is whether it is to be considered as purely mythical or as the mythical adaptation of a historical fact. Dr. Brinton takes the latter view, asserting that Manco Capac was a real character, and the first of the historical Incas, who flourished in the 11th century A.D.”

Dr. Rowe (a distinguished historian) is positive that the Incas started on their Imperial career from the Cuzco Valley. In his words, “the Inca civilization was the product of a long development in the Valley of the Cuzco itself and consequently it is

* Gari - Kancha in Prakrit.
unnecessary to look further afield for that civilization’s cultural origin.” However this may be, it is not quite admissible to deduce from this fact that the Inca race (i.e., the elite) could not have had, ultimately, a foreign origin, and that they should be necessarily considered as of purely indigenous growth. I have suggested in the previous section that the Incas-by-blood could only have been people of Aryan extraction coming from Indonesia and Polynesia, who imposed themselves, in a paternal fashion, on the native Indians, owing to their intellectual and cultural superiority, and possibly also because of certain supramundane spiritual powers which they or their priests possessed. (It may be recalled that the important members of the priesthood, including the Chief Priest, were all descended from the noble Inca families, if they were not near relations of the Inca himself.) The suggestion that the Incan High Priests possessed certain clairvoyant and occult powers is not strange, since a similar capability was widely credited to the ‘wisemen’ of Polynesia. A well-informed writer* has this to say of the Inca priests:

“Sorcerers, of course, flourished, and many if not most of the priests claimed to be able to forecast events for years to come. No doubt many of these men were hypnotists and charlatans, but it is an indisputable fact that many of their prophecies did come true. If we are to believe the statements and writings of the Spaniards, the Incas possessed certain powers which are inexplicable. According to innumerable observers and historians, as well as Incan traditions, the Indian races had an uncanny and seemingly supernatural ability for conveying and receiving accurate information over long distances. If we are to credit the apparently unvarnished accounts, it was as remarkable in its way as wireless telegraphy or mental telepathy. An Indian could and often did know exactly how many men or horses were approaching long before they could be seen or heard; he could tell where or in what direction a friend or any enemy was travelling, and he could perform many more equally mysterious feats.”

Although this is not the place to deal with the history and culture of the Mayas and the Aztecs of North America, yet some passing reference to these singularly gifted races will be appropri

* Hyatt-Verrill - *Old Civilizations of the New World.*
ate, primarily because of the strong evidence of their extra-Ameri-
can origins, most probably *via* Cambodia or Indonesia. I have
already cited the opinion of the Mexican Government's official
Handbook that the Mexican Indians were descended from the first
immigrants into Central America from South-East Asia and India.
This opinion is reinforced by the views held by certain other
prominent writers, whose views I quote:

"The (Maya) human types are like those of India. The irre-
proachable technique of their reliefs, the sumptuous head-dress
and ostentatious buildings on high, the system of construction, all
speak of India and the Orient." (Professor Raman Mena,
Curator of the National Museum of Mexico.)

"Hindu merchants brought to Mexico the eighteen months'
year of the Pandavas and the custom of trade guild and Indian
bazaar." (Hewitt: *Primitive Traditional History*)

If the Mexican rulers could derive their culture and religion
from across the Pacific, there is no strong reason to suggest that
the Peruvian elite of South America could not have done so.†

* The story of pre-Columbian Mexico will be found in Chapter X.

† In this context, the views of a prominent Russian scientist may interest the
reader. (The following is a resume of an article in the Madras Hindu of 24th
December, 1967.)

Yuri Reshetov (geographer and anthropologist) holds the view (*vide* his
recent book, *The Nature of the Earth and the Origin of Man*) that the long
current theory that the Mediterranean was the cradle of navigation requires revi-
sion. Basing his researches on the findings in Australia and in Bahrain island (in
the Persian Gulf) he holds that "man in the upper Paleolithic age could have
reached Australia and Bahrain only by sea and the people populating the Indian
sub-continent and Indo-China started putting out to sea no less than 18,000 or
20,000 years ago; on the other hand, the Mediterranean basin was populated only
a few thousand years ago". The Phoenicians came to the Mediterranean from the
Persian Gulf area, where they appeared, in turn, from some islands. "Could not
these islands be the Bahrein isles?" asks Reshetov, who adds, "This conception is
founded on the fact that Bahrain had been a naval colony of the World's oldest
(Indian) port of Lotali (Lothal) in the coast of Gujarat." Taking support from
medical and hematological evidence, Reshetov considers that South America had
"population" contacts with South-East Asia. Drawing on paleogeographic indices,
the author rejects the prevalent opinion that winds and ocean currents were un-
favourable to a move from South-East Asia to the Americas in ancient days.
He points out how ocean currents had changed 3 times in 10,000 years and that
wind currents were also not constant. Reshetov concludes that navigation must
have started in the Indian Ocean, rafts and catamarans being used at first, and
later on, boats and sailing vessels. "It was in India that thousands of years'
experience led to the creation of catamaran-type vessels; no less than 5000 years
ago the Indians had vessels that could accommodate hundreds of people. Ancient
Indian sea-farers visited in those days South Arabia, Madagascar, East Africa and
possibly, America."
That the Pacific Ocean was no great barrier to such transfer of peoples and cultures is now generally conceded by archaeologists, except those of the extreme 'isolationist' school. The following highly pertinent remarks of Prof. Elliot-Smith and of Friederici will be perused with interest by the reader:

"One of the most surprising phenomena in modern ethnological speculation is the persistent refusal on the part of the believers in the fashionable dogma of the spontaneous generation of customs and beliefs to give adequate recognition to the tremendous significance of the admitted facts of man's early wanderings in Oceania. This repression of inconvenient evidence becomes more intelligible, when it is realised that no one with any sense of consistency and logic could seriously study the facts of maritime enterprise in the Pacific and retain his simple faith in the independent origin of similar customs and beliefs in the Old and New Worlds. Yet the evidence in confirmation of the reality of the exploitation of the whole of Oceania many centuries before the intrusion of Europeans into that area is abundant and precise. I do not propose to discuss the writings dealing with this problem, because the reader will find a concise summary of them (with a voluminous bibliography) in Dr. Georg Friederici's important memoir. He says there are many reasons to suggest that the movement of seafarers from Further India out into Oceania began very early, and that it lasted many centuries or even millennia, during which the spread was slow and gradual." (Prof. Elliot-Smith)

Friederici traces the history of the development of different types of ships in Polynesia and calls attention to a fact of far-reaching significance viz. that a wooden raft of Mangareva style, with double masts side by side, and sail spanned between them in the Paumotu fashion, was found upon the coast of the Inca empire. This sail between double masts is the only authentic pre-Columbian sail in America. Pre-Columbian double-boats were also known to ply on the Pacific coast of Central America. Friederici gives references to other records in corroboration of this and other traditions of the aboriginal Americans themselves concerning double-boats. After referring to the extraordinarily large number of ethnological parallels between America and Oceania, the similarity of their boats, the traditions suggesting contact, and the names Kumara and Ubi for two important food plants common to the New World and Polynesia, and most of all, the fact that the Polynesians
are known to have had the ways and means for reaching America by water, Friederici says all doubt vanishes that they actually did so.

I have referred in an earlier chapter to the theory of Dr. Heine Geldern that the New World had borrowed heavily from the Old, in men, material, and ideas, long before Columbus sailed across the Atlantic. This eminent archaeologist strongly believes in Chinese influences on Central American culture, followed by the intrusion of Indian and South-East Asian factors. According to him, the Chinese were in active contact with Mexico in the pre-Christian centuries. When the Chinese influences faded out, the Hinduised South-East Asian peoples resumed this Old-World acculturation of the New. To quote the learned author:

"The architecture and the art, the religious symbols, the cosmological ideas, the institutions of the states and the royal courts, the insignia of kings and dignitaries, even the games—all this to an unsuspected and overwhelming extent—reminded us of the civilizations of South-East Asia and India. The relations seem to have been particularly close between Cambodia and the Maya and Olmec areas from the seventh to the tenth century A.D., but there are indications that they may have continued until the twelfth century. Could their rupture have been caused by the political catastrophe of the Khmer empire after the death of Jayavarman VII around 1219 A.D.? Those who believe that the ancient peoples of Asia were incapable of crossing the ocean have completely lost sight of what the literary sources tell us concerning their ships and their navigation. The Periplus of the Erythraean

* I have referred elsewhere to the theory that Indian navigators were the first to use the marine compass, and not the Chinese. Regarding the use of sea-faring maps also, the Indians can lay claim to prior expertise. To quote the Encyclopaedia Britannica, (XIV, 841), "The charts in use by the medieval navigators of the Indian Ocean, Arabs, Persians and Dravidas were equal in value, if not superior, to the charts of the Mediterranean. Marco Polo (1300 A.D.), mentions such charts; Vasco da Gama (1498) found them in the hands of the Indian pilot. It may have been a map of this kind which accounts for Ptolemy's moderate exaggeration of the size of Taprobane or Ceylon (through a mis-reading of the Indian charts). The first meridian (in the Ptolemaic chart), separating leeward from a windward region, passed through Ras Kumhari (Kanya Kumari) and was thus identical with the first meridian of the Indian astronomers which passed through the sacred city of Ujjain, (the Osare of Ptolemy, and the Azin of the Arabs)."
Sea mentions the large ships of Southern India which engaged in trade with the countries of the East. A Chinese source of the third century A.D. describes vessels from Southern Asia which were 150 feet in length, had four masts, and were able to carry six to seven hundred men and one thousand metric tons of merchandise. Therefore we shall be justified in saying that the higher civilizations of America were Asiatic, approximately in the same sense and within the same limits as the civilizations of South-East Asia are Indian (Hindu).

To return to the story of the Incas: Some writers* allege that there were over a hundred Inca kings prior to the Spanish Conquest. Assuming the Inca Empire to have lasted four hundred years, this would mean an average reign of only four years per Inca, which is unreasonable. On the other hand, the orthodox lists of kings in favour with Western historians comprises only 13 rulers (starting with Manco Capac), which would yield an average length of rule of about 30 years, which seems rather excessive. It must be sadly admitted that no reliable list of Inca Kings exists. The table given by Von Hagen (below) can be taken as approximately correct, but it obviously leaves out some names, as otherwise it will not take the Inca line back to circa 1100 A.D., when Manco Capac threw his golden staff and located the site for his famous Capital, Cuzco.

1. Manco Capac
2. Sinchi Roca
3. Lloque Yupanqui
4. Mayta Capac
5. Capac Yupanqui
6. Inca Roca
7. Yahuar Huaca
8. Viracocha Inca
9. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui
10. Topa Inca Yupanqui
11. Huayna Capac
12. Huascar
13. Atahualpa

It is regrettable that so little is known about the details of early Incan history. Apart from the obscurity in chronology, the

* like Montesinos.
achievements and personal records of the various rulers are not available, except what has been gathered at third hand by the Spanish writers, who came on the scene long after Inca rule had vanished for ever. Their source of information was the Inca amantuas or ‘wisemen’, some of whom had survived the holocaust engineered by the invaders, after the last Sapa Inca was murdered. To the utter discredit of the Dons stands a foul act of destruction perpetrated by them, viz., the wholesale burning of all Inca records and public archives. Von Hagen has passed the following pregnant judgment on this European vandalism:*

“The wholesale destruction of the ‘archives’ of quipus, by the crusading padres in the seventeenth century (in their zeal to stamp out idolatry and believing naively that the quipus ‘were books of the devil’), and the gradual dying out of the ‘rememberers,’ the interpreters of the quipus, were the twin disasters to Andean history; with the destruction of one and the passing of the other there was lost that history of the whole Andean area which now can only be bridged by archaeology. The quipus now found in graves tell us nothing; they are only lifeless strings.”

On the basis of the generally accepted chronology, the Inca rule lasted over 400 years, from roughly 1100 A.D. to 1530 A.D. It is an era which would almost tally with the age of the Norman Conquest of Britain, up to the reign of Henry VII. In India it would roughly correspond to the early Mussalman rule, i.e., from the invasions of Mohammad Ghori till that of Babar, the Great Mughal. In France, over this period the early Capatians (particularly Louis IX to Louis XII) sat on the throne. In the Iberian Peninsula, during most of the time the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon (which had emerged after the elimination of the Moors) remained separate and generally at odds with each other till, through a lucky stroke of diplomacy, Princess Isabella of Castile was married to Ferdinand VI of Aragon (1474 to 1504 A.D.) Thus was united the whole Peninsula under one government, which sponsored many maritime adventures, including that of Columbus, who ‘discovered’ the New World (in 1492 A.D.). In China various royal dynasties held power in these four centuries, the most prominent of these being that of the Great (Tartar) Khans, Chengis and his redoubtable successors,

* The action of the conquerors in Central America was on exactly parallel lines.
including the famous Kublai and Tamerlane. Many of the rulers of the dynasties I have mentioned were either blonde tyrants like King John of England and Louis XI of France, or dusky despots like Tamerlane or Allauddin Khilji. Mean, cruel and treacherous, their frown many times spelt death; a covetous gleam in their eye meant too often the spoliation of all the worldly goods of their victim. Their personal 'courts' were often dens of infamy; their 'law-courts' (where such existed) were frequently subservient vehicles of corruption and misrule. It is in this background of contemporary history that one must view the benign character of Inca rule and its achievements in the orderly uplift of humanity, in a remote corner of our planet. Everywhere else on earth there was slavery, serfdom, grinding poverty, and cruel exploitation. Life and liberty were far from safe, and rapine and bloodshed were never distant from the common man. The penal laws in most countries were written in letters of blood; the mildest offences were requited by torture and mutilation, Ruthless religious persecution (of Hindus in India, of Jews in Europe, and 'Insidels' in Moslem countries) added new pages of horror to the sorrowful history of medieval mankind. Art and literature languished everywhere else, and Europe in particular was plunged into a miasma of prejudice and ignorance from which it was yet to be lifted by the "New Learning". Goethe was not far wrong when he congratulated the Inca and the Aztec rulers of the New World on not terrorising their subjects by building fortresses and prisons*. About the high qualities of the Inca monarchs, enough verbal evidence (often from not too friendly pens) has been given by me in the preceding chapter. Perhaps it will not be out of place to insert here another well-earned tribute from Prescott:

"If no man could become rich in Peru, no man could become poor. No spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. No adventurous schemer could impoverish his family by the spirit of speculation. The law was constantly directed to enforce a steady industry and a sober management of his affairs. No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced to poverty by misfortune (it could hardly be by his fault), the arm

* The Puracas built by the Inca rulers were not aimed at their subjects but at the turbulent and barbarous tribes living at the outer fringes of the Empire and perpetually menacing its social security and its well-ordered life.
of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out, drop by drop, as it were, from the frozen reservoirs of 'the parish,'* but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen. No man could be rich, no man could be poor in Peru; but all might enjoy and did enjoy, a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian. The very condition of his being seemed to be at war with change. He moved on in the same unbroken circle in which his fathers had moved before him, and in which his children were to follow. It was the object of the Incas to infuse into their subjects a spirit of passive obedience and tranquillity—a perfect acquiescence in the established order of things. In this they fully succeeded. The Spaniards who first visited the country are emphatic in their testimony that no government could have been better suited to the genius of the people, and no people could have appeared more contented with their lot or more devoted to their government."

Although we are in the dark about the detailed chronology of Inca sovereignty, there are a few royal names which stand out prominently, with some details of their achievements, some of which apparently belong to the realm of myth and tradition. For instance, Montesinos mentions Inca Ayar Manco Capac II as being a great astrologer and expert in fixing the intercalation of the lunar year. To quote this 17th century Spanish writer:

"He commanded that, for the sake of accurately counting the time in the future, a year should be intercalated every four hundred years, and that the leap years should be done away with, because, according to the amantunas and astrologers with whom he held great meetings, the king averred that thus the count of the years would be made accurate. And the old men, in memory of this king and event, called the leap year 'huquiz,' which was called 'allca canquis' before."† The same Inca is credited with

* as in England and the American colonies.

† The two Quechua words in the above passage are interesting—Huquiz (pronounced Vukiis) is probably Sanskrit: Vikacha=expanded, extended. Allca-canquis is in all likelihood, Sanskrit alpa-sankhya=small addition.
Specimen of Inca masonry near Cuzco

Ruins of Calasacaya or shadow clock in Peru.
the erection of contrivances like gnomon pillars and artificial mounds, to calculate time and to determine the equinoxes and the solstices. (The artificial mounds were known in Quechua as calasacaya; Sanskrit: kalasa chhaya = shadow of the pot or sikhara). These were, in the words of Hyatt Verrill, "A sun-dial arrangement (or Intivatana) consisting of a cone (kalasa) surmounting a large rock on which were cut marks for sun-festivals, etc., determined by the position of the shadow cast by the cone shaped gnomon.* For determining equinoxes and solstices well-cut stone columns were used and they were known as the Panchacta Akkapana (Sanskrit: panchangha = calendar; khanita = digging and erecting pillars).

Montesinos gives currency to another weird tale, which most likely has a substratum of truth. He mentions that, in the reign of another Inca, Ayar Tacco Capac, a great invasion of Peru by sea occurred, the invaders being "fair-skinned giants with beards". To quote his own words:

"News was brought that a great throng of strange people had disembarked upon the coasts from balsas and canoes, which formed a great fleet, and that they were settling in the land, especially along the watercourses,† and that some men of great stature had gone in advance of the rest. And the amantus affirm that the tribes and nations which came at this time were without number. As soon as the King learned of their coming, he sent scouts to find out who these people were, what offensive and defensive arms they carried, and what was their manner of living. The spies returned, and said that wherever the giants arrived, if there were people there, the people of the land were despoiled and subjected; and (they said) that the giants were settling on the whole coast, and that some of them had gone up into the mountains, and that their government was all in confusion...... The foreigners remained on the coasts, it appearing to them impossible that there should be people beyond such lofty and jagged mountains, and so only a few of them passed upward and populated Huaitara and Quinoa, completing some buildings which they found begun, with the instruments of iron which they had brought from their own land."

* The Sun was often called Inti in Quechua, as already stated.
† coastal rivers.
P. A. Means (who has edited the ‘Memorias Antiguas’ of the Spaniard) considers this passage to be one of the most important in the writings of Montesinos, and makes the following comment on it:

"Based on the folklore of the amantuas, we have a real tradition of the early coast-people and their movement inland (to Huitara, etc.), a movement which probably resulted in the creation of the Tiahuanaco civilization out of elements brought from the Pacific littoral in combination with others already present in the highlands. This movement, if my dating is at all valuable, took place about A.D. 300, finding its full results after about two centuries. It was the first of a series of similar shifts. The fact that the beginning of the temple at Pachacamac is definitely assigned to these people is of especial value, for it is quite clear from Uhle’s investigations that that site had a long occupation in pre-Incaic times, and, consequently, the date circa A.D. 300 is not too ancient for its foundation. It was added to, from time to time, for centuries. It is also noteworthy that this important temple is identified with the ancient, pre-Incaic Creator-God, Pachacamac, already referred to."

The view taken by Means, viz., that these white giants were seafaring intruders from Central America does not seem to be quite conclusive. As I have argued elsewhere, these tribes were the early adventurers from Tahiti and Easter Island (well known for their tall physique, hirsuteness, and light colour), who after erecting the temple of Pachacamac on the Coast, proceeded inland to the region of the Great Lake to found the culture and the state of Tiahuanac (Deva Vanaka?), which preceded in date the rise of the Incas to power.

The Inca who introduced universal military training was Hauscar Tito Tupac, according to Montesinos, whose description of the training in arms is worth citing in extenso:

"This king was very learned. He once again created governors for all the provinces, choosing them from among his relatives of the blood-royal. He commanded that the most robust young men of thirty years be shifted out in order that they might be instructed in warlike affairs by his captains, and (he ordered) the latter to make a report to him of this matter every month. And the drill was with bow and arrows, spears, spear-throwers, lances, thirty palms long and hardened bludgeons, all of these things
being made with copper, and some of them with black palm-wood like a broadsword, so smooth and sharp that they cut as if they were of steel. He also invented defensive arms, which were certain cloaks of fine cotton, wound about the body in many turns, and having above the breast and shoulders great plates; the Lords wore gold ones, the people of their blood and their captains wore silver ones, and others wore copper ones. They used at this time little round shields of palm and cotton, and with these arms raw soldiers and long-ago captains were instructed."

Another great king was Pachacuti, about whom Montesinos makes the following observation:

"Although he was an idolater, he gave very good laws. He reigned fifty years. He revoked what Capac Amauta had ordained about the counting of the year, and he commanded that the winter solstice, which falls on the twenty-sixth of September, should be the beginning of the year, and that it should be counted from the twenty-fifth of that month. They called this king Pachacuti on account of the good laws which he gave, and on account of his changing the calendar."

It may be mentioned that in Sanskrit 'pachakuti' means 'golden fetters'; this name was apparently given to the monarch in token of his benign legislation. His successor was Sinchi Apusqui, who got the honorific title of Varma (prince) Vira Cocha because "he made the distinction between the Supreme God (Vira Cocha) and the rest." Montesinos adds, significantly, the following observation:

"He was very wise and made great laws against thieves, adulterers, incendiaries and liars, and he commanded that they be carried out with so much rigor that in his time there was no one who lied, who stole, or who was an adulterer. And it was so much so that, although a lie might save someone's life, yet would no one dare to say it. And it would be a good thing if this strictness lasted to this day."

* de Gamboa (writing in 1572) mentions that Inca Pachacuti Yupanqui collected all the historians in the kingdom at Cuzco and made them write the history of Inca Peru. "These (events) were painted on great boards and deposited in the Temple of the Sun. Such boards adorned with gold were kept as in our libraries and learned persons were appointed...... for declaring their contents." Of course, all these boards (containing probably pictograms like the 'speaking boards' of Easter Island) were destroyed by the Spanish, along with the experts.
The Incas were masters of organisation, as they were of most of the things they applied their mind to. Other Indian tribes indigenous to the land followed the policy of raid, loot, enslave, and decamp; but the Aryan ‘elite’, who dominated the Andean scene from 1100 A.D. onwards, followed a different system, viz., to conquer by arms or threat of force, and then reconcile by kindness and social welfare measures. After conciliation came political reorganisation on the Inca pattern; thus over 500 petty tribes and principalities were incorporated in the Empire, which was one of the greatest of all time. Extending over 380,000 square miles, it was certainly among the largest the world had seen in the Middle Ages.

By 1500 the Incas had reached the apogee of their power. Under Huayna Capac, * a name assumed by this Inca on his coming to the throne, the northern limit of the Empire was set at the Ancas-mayu river in Equador (1° north), in 1493 A.D. This sovereign who had a long and distinguished reign devoted the last years of his authority to peace and consolidation, but the evening of his life was full of evil portents. His grandfather, Inca Vira Cocha, had once charged the priests to foretell the future; the latter fasted for several days and, in the words of Montesinos, “the High Priest said that his son and his grandson would reign happily and would conquer many kingdoms; but after his grandson’s reign, hitherto unseen people, white, bearded and very cruel, would rule the realms.” The premonition of the High Priest seemed to come true when the Inca Huayna Capac, who was making war against a troublesome northern tribe, learnt that they were led by a bearded white man. There were other disquieting reports of alien vessels, full of the white-skinned, sailing up the northern Pacific coast. By the time this great sovereign breathed his last (1527), Panama and Central America had been conquered by the Spaniards, and the Mayas of Mexico were under threat of extinction (which actually overtook them a few years later).

Von Hagen thinks that the ease with which the Spaniards overran Peru was partly due to the fact that “the Peruvians had no conception of humanity beyond their own sphere, nor of any geography beyond the immediate; they had no direct contact with the Aztecs or the Mayas...... It is important that this lack of direct contact between the great American civilizations be stressed.

* Sanskrit : Yuvana Khapaka : the “Youthful Sun” or Bala-Aditya.
† the Inca’s.
If there had been such contact, then the terrible catastrophe of the conquest of Mexico in 1521 would have been transmitted to the Incas and they would have put themselves into a state of defence for it. Yet they did receive vague rumours——vague forebodings settled over the land. A pestilence at this time came to Peru, and although it cannot be identified, it was new in their experience and could have been one of the diseases, perhaps smallpox, brought by the Spaniards."

With due respect to this distinguished archaeologist, I fear that his assertion that there was abysmal ignorance in Peru of other American civilizations is not well supported by evidence. On the other hand, there are strong indications that all the great pre-Columbian cultures of the New World had a common Asiatic origin, whose inspirations came, in a remote way, from Aryavarta. In any case, the Incas were reputedly aware of the kingdoms to the north of their extensive domain. Having achieved the conquest of an Empire with a coastline nearly 2500 miles long, it is inconceivable that the Incas should have been unaware of the Panaman and Central American states, only 500 or 600 miles from Quito, as the crow flies. The Incas did considerable barter trade with the people of modern Columbia and Panama, obtaining cotton, emerald and pearls from these regions in exchange for gold and silver. Further, from the accounts of the early Spaniards, the forest tribes of Panama were aware of the Inca Empire and its fabulous wealth and prosperity, which they dangled as a bait before the greedy white men; such a knowledge could not have been all one-sided. It is true that those Peruvian Indians were not navigation-minded, but this would not apply to the 'elite' who, as I have suggested, belonged to the greatest maritime nation of the ancient world, and were the very scions of those Polynesian races who had conquered the vast expanses of the ocean, miscalled the Pacific. One of the Incas (Tupa Yupanqui)* was a great navigator himself; he made extensive voyages over the Pacific lasting many months, during which he visited some strange lands, which probably lay in Polynesia. Such being the case, it is most likely that intercourse by sea existed between Peru and North America.

* This Inca is said to have visited two islands, after voyaging 9 to 12 months. The islands were called in Quechua, Ava Chumbi and Nina Chumbi. From these islands the Inca brought a black man, some gold, a copper throne and the bones of a horse.
The experience of Bartalome Ruiz (the navigator of Pizarro’s first expedition) confirms this view. To quote Means:

“Ruiz encountered at sea a mysterious craft with cotton sails, a craft which appeared to have about thirty tons burthen. It was a balsa or sailing raft out of the Peruvian port of Tumbez, and the men and women upon it were the first subjects of the Inca whom the Spaniards had met. These voyaging Indians had with them a number of interesting things, including finely wrought ornaments of gold and silver and some excellent woollen cloths. Their vessel was a curiosity to the Spanish navigators, for it was a large raft made of a strangely buoyant wood and it was surmounted by a commodious hut-like deck-house in which there was a hearth and much equipment for comfortable living.”

The last-cited historian has other theories in explanation of the easy liquidation of Inca rule. He dissents from the generally accepted theory that Hauyna Capac was the greatest of Inca sovereigns and the most successful. In the opinion of Means, this ruler had over-stretched his resources, particularly in communications, and spread his authority too wide and too thin, with the result that the kingdom was developing, slowly but surely, cracks and fissures in its own body politic. In the words of Means:

“It is impossible for me to accept the general opinion that the reign of Huayna Capac was the apogee of Inca greatness. Rather, it seems to me clearly to mark the beginning of a decline which would have been slow at first and then swifter and swifter if the natural disruptive forces had been left to operate unhindered. Had it not been for the coming of the Spaniards, the empire would have fallen into numerous self-sufficient fragments, each at war with all its neighbours, so that, in short, a condition such as that which had existed before the Incas spread abroad their imperial power would have been re-created. The Spaniards merely cut the process short by setting up a new order of things.”

A second reason cited by Means (and concurred in by Von Hagen) is that all power was concentrated in the Inca and that every other official of this wonderful bureaucracy exercised authority only by delegation, and there was no lateral flow of potency and counsel between these officials themselves at any level. “The gravest lack in the Incan system lay in the complete absence of horizontal bonds linking officials of equal rank together. The flow of authority was ever from the Inca at the top through the orderly
sequence of ranks, down to the officials in charge of 10 families. Thus to capture the person of the ruler was, as we shall see, to capture all the authority of the Empire."

There is a modicum of truth in the view taken by Means. The Government of Peru was so centralised in the sacred person of the Inca, whose will was 'mandate absolute', that very little initiative was left with his subordinates. The common people had, in their adoring faith, grown so much to trust in the omniscience and infallibility of the Inca, that they were stunned into inaction and stupified into utter bewilderment, when his person was captured by a diabolical trick. The heavy shadow of the ancient prophecy, the trusting nature of the Inca and his court, the surprisingly effective use of cavalry and firearms, and most of all, the policy of frightfulness and cruelty of the strangers (who had been welcomed with open arms)—all these doubtless contributed to the speedy victory of the conquistadors, a victory which brought death and desolation in its wake and led to the extinction of one of the finest Welfare Societies the world had ever seen. If it be thought that I have indulged in some emotion-tinged phraseology in thus describing the mediaeval Andean kingdom, let me quote Means, himself a sober critic of Inca rule:

"The empire ruled by this most rational of systems was one whose people were as fortunate, in a material way at least, as any who have ever lived. If laws were severe, the people suffered but little from that severity, because the laws were seldom flouted; if all, high and low, had to work in appropriate manners for the good of the state, all alike received recompense in the form of security against want of all kinds. Money was unknown, and so also were the myriad evils—avarice, corruption, cruelty, and oppression—which follow in its train; value alone was known, value in the form of flocks, utensils, apparel, food, drink, shelter, materials for handicrafts, and these came in abundance to all who would work for them diligently. Tribute was justly apportioned among the heads of families and was payable either in the form of work or in that of products of the soil. It is safe to say that a high proportion of the architectural and technological constructions built in the Incaic period—temples, storehouses, roads, tambos (inns), bridges, fortresses, reservoirs, irrigation ditches, agricultural terraces, etc.—was dedicated to the direct or indirect benefit of the people rather than to the selfish vanity of
the rulers. As far as the mass of the people was concerned, these admirable characteristics of the Incaic system persisted down to, and even beyond, the period of the Spanish invasion ... ... There was still so much virtue left in the Incaic system of government, and so much felicity and well-being among the subjects of it, that all Spaniards who saw Peru in the first years of the Spanish occupation praised it, unless some mean-spirited motive led them to do otherwise. All just men of those there and then present with the invading element, united in saying that the Incaic system, as compared with that which came after it, was the better. Such was the unique civilization which Spanish culture, bringing with it Christianity and money-worship, was destined to overwhelm and to change beyond recognition. As we shall see, the greatest, the fundamental and the universal source of evil brought into Peru by the Spaniards was the money-complex, whence arose all the endless misery which has weighed down the Andean peoples ever since the money-less empire of the Incas was shattered."

Of the character, antecedents, and conduct, of the Conquerors, we shall obtain a clear enough picture as we proceed, but I should like to cite here the incisive verdict of Prescott:

"Proud and vainglorious, swelled with lofty anticipations of his destiny and an invincible confidence in his own resources, no danger could appal and no toil could tire him.........Gold was the incentive and the recompense, and in the pursuit of it his inflexible nature rarely hesitated as to the means. His courage was sullied with cruelty, the cruelty that flowed equally—strange as it may seem—from his avarice and his religion; religion as it was understood in that age,—the religion of the Crusader. It was the convenient cloak for a multitude of sins, which covered them even from himself. The Castilian, too proud for hypocrisy, committed more cruelties in the name of religion than were ever practised by the pagan idolater or the fanatical Moslem. The burning of the infidel was a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven, and the conversion of those who survived amply atoned for the foulest offences. It is a melancholy and mortifying consideration that the most uncompromising spirit of intolerance—the spirit of the Inquisitor at home,

* To quote Bertrand Russell (Misc. Essays, P. 27), "The Spaniards in Peru and Mexico used to baptize Indian infants and then immediately dash their brains out; by this means they secured that these young ones went straight to heaven!"
and of the Crusader abroad—should have emanated from a religion which preached peace upon earth and goodwill towards man!"

In the second half of the 15th century the Inca Empire achieved sudden expansion, first under Inca Tupac Yupanqui and then under his son Huayna Capac,* under whom the Empire reached its most palmy condition. The ‘Youthful Sun’ was a *bon vivant*, and had gathered round him quite a zenana, judged even by Sapa Inca standards. Through his Coya (pattamahishi) he had a son called Cusi Hualpa, who assumed later the title of Huascar† (pronounced Vaskar; Sanskrit: Bhaskara = the sun). Through the Princess of Quito (whom he wedded after he had conquered the latter city), he had a son named Atahualpa (pronounced Ata Valpa; Sanskrit: Ati Vallabha = greatly beloved) of whom he was excessively fond, especially since the youth’s mother had died soon after childbirth. The aged monarch wanted his favourite child to be well provided for. He summoned his Council of Twenty and announced (in 1524?) that he had decided that Huascar should be the Sapa Inca at Cuzco (with four-fifths of the Empire under his command), while Atahualpa should rule at his ancestral seat of Quito, with the rest of the State as his fief. The Council and both the princes agreed, and the decision was recorded in a testament (which, according to Father Balboa, was made in an improved form of quipo writing which the ‘wisemen’ were experimenting with). Soon thereafter, Huayna Capac “was gathered to his father, the Sun”‡ but a succession dispute was precipitated by Huascar, who wanted his brother “to render the customary tribute to the Inca”. The Quito princeling’s response was negative. Naturally enough, Atahualpa was very popular in his own state of Quito, where the legitimate son was unknown and not too well liked. Moreover, the Equadorian prince was well versed in war, as he had often accompanied his great father in his campaigns. His half-brother, on the other hand, had run into some disfavour with the elite even in Cuzco itself, by stopping, what I may call the ‘sraddha’ racket. It may be remembered that from time immemorial the custom prevailed of celebrating,

* whom I have called Baladitya.
† Prescott translates “Vaskar” as a chain or cable; Vamsakara?
‡ In Indian chronicles the expression “gathered into the bright mansion of the Sun” is often used; this is particularly the case with the bards of Rajasthan.
before the deceased Incas' mummified bodies, an unending series of funeral obsequies at which their living relations were able to obtain food, drink, and garments, for months and even years, at the State expense. Huascar stopped these ceremonies as extravagant and needless, and this hit hard the participants in this 'honour-the-dead' business.

Soon there was fratricidal strife between the brothers, to the eternal misfortune of Peru and the great luck of the White marauders, whose presence was not unknown to the princely contenders for power. Two Spaniards captured by the Indians were brought before Atahualpa, who closely questioned them and obtained a lot of information about the White men, but unfortunately not about their real character. The significance of the presence of the strangers was thus lost on the princes who were soon locked in deadly combat. In 1530 was fought a great battle, south of the noisy Apurimac ("the loud-speaker") river and on the plains of Saksha-Bauman. Huascar, who was caught somewhat by surprise; was defeated with great slaughter and taken prisoner, and Atahualpa entered Cuzco in triumph and assumed the role of Sapa Inca of Tawantin Suyu (1530). About the same time an ex-swineherd from Spain, called Francisco Pizarro, firmly set his predatory foot on Peruvian soil.

To understand the last-mentioned event, we must go back a little. In the year 1493, the Bishop of Rome and the Pope of all Christendom was Alexander VI. He was the father of the infamous twain, Caesare and Lucretia,* and a Borgia, a name which brought an instinctive shudder of fear and horror to most potentates of contemporary Italy. A man less fitted to hold the Keys of St. Peter or preside over the destinies of Christendom could scarcely be imagined. This curious Pontiff, in his notorious "Bull of Donation" of 1493, divided the whole non-Christian world into two parts along a particular meridian, and allotted one half each to the Kings of Portugal and Spain, for the 'propagation of the Faith and the conversion of the Heathen'. Although, in the words of Means, "no modern-minded person, Catholic or otherwise, takes this Bull seriously", yet in the 15th century it commanded wide influence in Christian circles, and served as the authority.

* He boasted of two other (illegitimate) children. Van Loon (in his Story of Mankind, P. 185) calls Alexander VI "the only avowed heathen to be elected to this most holy office."
and the occasion for the perpetration of such inhumanity in the name of God as to put into the shade even the horrors of the Moslem wars of conquest.*

On no better strength than this disreputable Bull, the king of Spain started disposing of territories in the New World, over which he had not the shadow of a right and where his subjects would be no better than rank pirates and freebooters, if ever they secured their entry by force. One of the beneficiaries of this spurious royal favour was a Triumvirate, who became important in history and whose character and personality make interesting delineation. In a dirty room on the outskirts of Panama (on the Isthmus of Darien) this trio signed a strange deed of partnership in 1526 A.D., whose repercussions were soon to alter the destiny of kings and nations. Describing this fateful scene, Hyatt Verrill thus outlines the three personalities:

"A strangely incongruous trio they were. One clothed in green and scarlet, was stocky, short, bullnecked and swarthy. His small black eyes were bold, shifty and cruel. His nose was as sharp as the beak of a hawk. His thin hard lips and receding chin were hidden beneath a thick black beard, and his black hair grew low above the shaggy brows. In every feature he bore the

* This infamous Bull of 1493 was modified by the Spanish—Portuguese Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which divided the world along a longitudinal line drawn from pole to pole 370 leagues to the west of Cape Verde (Spain to the west and Portugal to the east of this line) apparently in the belief that the earth was flat and that the two spheres of influence would not converge on the other side! Subsequently, when Magellan’s ships circumnavigated the world (and proved the latter to be spherical!) another treaty was drawn up between the two Catholic powers delimiting their spheres in the Pacific area, as well as in the Atlantic (1521). Readers may recollect that in Europe, the first time that the earth was conceived as a sphere was in the age of Copernicus (1473—1543), who wrote (in 1540) as below:

"The earth is not a plane as Empedocles and Anaxamines opined; or a tympanoid (a thin plate) as Leucippus said; or a scaphoid (boat-shaped) as per Heraclitus; or hollowed out in any other way as Democritus said; or a cylinder, according to Anaximander; it is not infinite in its lower part, with the sediments at the bottom, as Zenophanes thought; but it is perfectly round as the philosophers (i.e., Stoics, perceived)..... In 145 B.C., Crates of Mallus basing himself on the Stoics, created a globe which later became the insignia of royalty. "On this globe an equatorial and a meridional ocean divide the earth into four quarters, each inhabited; thus anticipating the discovery of North and South America and of Australia." (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1957 XIV, P. 838.) I have indicated elsewhere the close affinity of the Stoics with ancient Hindu philosophers.
stamp of a cruel, arrogant, ill-tempered scoundrel; a Spaniard of the worst type and a soldier. At his right was seated a much older man dressed in faded grey and blue. He was small, thin and angular. The hair that fringed his bald pate was almost white. A grizzled, ragged beard and moustache covered his chin and lips. His nose was long, crooked and reddened, and his protruding pale-grey eyes roved here, there, and everywhere. He was, taken all in all, a rather kindly-looking, seemingly harmless and somewhat slow-witted old fellow, and might have been an out-at-elapsed hidalgo, an impecunious merchant, a butler or almost anything other than the soldier and adventurer that he was. The third member of the party was short, fat and pudgy. His hair was close-cropped, his face smooth-shaven, his cheeks pendulous. He had double chins and, even without his cowl and gown and his tonsured head, he would have been recognised as a priest."

The dark-faced adventurer with the cruel eyes was Francisco Pizarro (then over 50 years of age), a bastard child of a servant woman, who was abandoned as a foundling in a church in Estra-Madura and who reputedly owed his infant life to a sow which suckled him for some days outside this church. He was illiterate, headstrong and a thorough wastrel in his youth, till he found congenial employment as a swineherd. But the finger of destiny beckoned him to a greater (and more venal) vocation. He joined some other desperadoes in their voyages to the land of their dreams, viz., Hispaniola. While facing cruel disillusionment and much suffering in the New World, Francisco earned a reputation for stubbornness, animal courage, and considerable skill in the management of men. He joined Balboa in his fateful journey across Darien and tasted his first victory when he successfully robbed and cheated the natives of Darien of a considerable quantity of gold and pearls, which he soon ran through in an orgy of improvident living. The result was that he was as poor on this date (1526) as he was ten years earlier when he first made the Caribbean waters, except that he had become, meanwhile, the donee of a large tract of unhealthy land on the Isthmus with an uncounted number of Indians living on it (who automatically became his slaves), under a 'grant' very generously made by King Charles of Spain out of territories over which he had no shadow

* presumably on his avoirdupois alone!
of moral or legal authority and which rightfully belonged to the Indian communities living on it.

Pizarro was, however, not a man to let the grass grow under his feet; the ex-swineherd was all aglow with grandiose ideas of conquest and wealth, especially since he had witnessed how another needy adventurer (albeit of much better blood) named Cortes, had vaulted himself into fame and fortune, at the expenditure of numerous innocent human lives in Central America. Lacking funds and a personal following, Pizarro engineered this momentous partnership with Padre Hermanno de Luque and ‘Captain’ Diego De Almagro, which I had just indicated. De Luque was a priest and a schoolmaster, and a confidant of the Governor of Panama, the terrible Don Pedro the Cruel, one of the most inhuman of the bureaucrats inflicted by Spain on the luckless Panamanians. De Almagro was a soldier of fortune, illiterate and savage at heart, but withal gallant and frank, and not without a *soupeon* of loyalty and integrity, virtues as rare among the Dons as were mendicants in Peru. The agreement (put on sheets of vellum) was a curious mixture of piety and greed. Invoking the Virgin’s blessing, the treaty set forth the object of the three partners “in exploring and conquering the lands to the South of Panama” (which was a euphemism for rank piracy and assault on the peaceful citizens of a foreign state). The two civilians would supply the brain and the brawn, while the Padre undertook to find the money, and “all treasures would be equally divided.” If the expedition failed (i.e., if there was no divisible loot), the cavaliers would repay the priest his advances; how they would do so in their well-known state of extreme indigence was not explained. The unlettered soldiers put their mark, and the man-of-the-cloth his signature, “swearing on the Holy Cross and administering the Sacrament”. We shall see how far this precious trio kept faith with one another; as one historian* has put it, “the three, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract in which pillage and bloodshed were the sole objects.” This was typical of the Conquest; nowhere was religion more insulted and abused than in South America under the Spaniards, as we shall see.

Quick action followed the agreement. In March 1526, two small ships were obtained and fitted out with one hundred men

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* Robertson: *America.*
(a few of whom were unwilling Indian slaves). Pizarro set sail in one ship, with instruction to Almagro to follow in the other. This first argosy of Pizarro was a failure; Eldorado refused to materialise. Famine, disease, and the arrows of the outraged natives took heavy toll of Spanish lives, and the expedition came back in ignominy, except for some gold filched from the natives by force. Almagro in the second ship was slightly more successful; he raided some Indian villages, burned the homesteads, and secured a lot of the precious yellow metal, though at the cost of one of his eyes, which was struck by an Indian arrow.

The second expedition of November 1526 sailed under better auspices with about 160 men and some chargers. To their amazement, the Spaniards on the way came upon a balsa craft (as already mentioned) sailing north from Tumbez (a port of Peru), in which the native travellers were found to be actually using gold and silver utensils, besides wearing costly clothes and jewellery, and carrying such articles as golden vases and mirrors of burnished silver.* The robber captains quickly despoiled the Indian voyagers of all their valuables, and for good measure made quite a few of them slaves! Guided by these helpless natives, Pizarro reached the Esmaraldas River near Quito, where he tried to pillage a town of 3000 inhabitants. The latter resisted in strength, and the Spaniards would have been wiped out, but for a slightly ridiculous incident. The Indians, who had never seen a horse, were astounded to see a cavalier fall off his mount "and the horse and the rider rise up and fight separately"! Since the Indians thought that (like the Greek satyrs) man and horse were one creature, they got terrified at such 'disjointed marvels,' as bolted. Despite this windfall (which enabled him to reach his ship), Pizarro's luck was still not in; his men got mutinous as the treasure-loot was not up to expectations. Pedro the Cruel thereupon ordered the cavaliers back to Panama, but Pizarro prevaricated, as was his custom, and was granted a six-month respite by Pedro. It is recorded that he and thirteen other men took a solemn oath not to return to Panama without first gorging themselves on the Incas' wealth. Soon after, this gang of buccaneers was reinforced by another vessel from Panama, and the flotilla sailed down the South American coast until they

* They were also carrying fine balances, indicating their objective to be trade by barter, gold and silver against other goods.
came to the Inca town of Tumbez, on the beautiful gulf of Guayaquil, which was studded with a number of prosperous-looking towns and villages, with the gigantic Chimborazo and Cotapaxi peaks in the background, peaks which were mantled in eternal snow, although almost on the Equator.

It looked to Pizarro as if the Promised Land was, after all, in sight. The citizens of Tumbez, led by an Inca noble, gathered on the shore to greet the White strangers with peaceful signs of welcome, since reports were spread in advance by the Spaniards' enslaved Indians (under threat of torture) that the Dons were gentle traders going about on a business cruise and that their hearts were overflowing with the milk of human kindness towards the gentle natives! Some contretemps occurred, however, when Pizarro invited the Inca lord on board. While feasting him, "Pizarro bombastically announced that he represented the greatest king on earth, that he had come to assert the king of Spain's lawful supremacy over the country, and ended with a dissertation upon religion, and informed the Inca nobleman that he was worshipping false gods and was deluded by Satan. Whether the noble understood even a small part of Pizarro's discourse is problematical; but, at all events, he was far more courteous and polite than his host and, assuming to listen attent-

* It will be of interest to record here the sentiments expressed by some Christian critics of the Catholic faith and its hierarchy of the time, as contained in the famous 'Conclusion' of 1395, issued by the followers of John Wycliffe. This manifesto of the Lollards asserts that, "Temporal possessions ruin the church and foil the Christian graces of faith and charity; that the priesthood of the Roman church was not the priesthood that Christ gave to his apostles; that the monk's vow of celibacy had as its consequence unnatural lust; that transubstantiation was a feigned miracle and led to idolatry; that prayers made over wine, water, oil, salt, wax, incense etc., were magical; that no special prayers should be said for the dead; that auricular confession was the root of clerical arrogance and the sale of indulgences and other abuses; that the vows of chastity laid on nuns led to child murder; and that all wars were against the New Testament". The sale of indulgences was based on the doctrine of the so-called "treasure of the Church", i.e., the infinite merit of Christ and the surplus merits of the saints, as elaborated by Aquinas. The indulgences could not take away the 'eternal punishment' of the guilty, but ensured the temporal remission of punishments to which the sinner was liable in this life and in purgatory! Luther (1517) thundered against the pernicious mercenary traffic in indulgences in his famous '95 Theses', which started the Reformation.
ively, forbore from offering his opinions or from disputing Pizzaro’s assertions.” (Prescott)

Meanwhile, Pizarro’s lieutenant, who had been visiting the city, came back with amazing tales of the wondrously beauteous women of Tumbez and of the vast stone buildings there, some of which were fully ablaze with gold and silver plating, set with precious stones. And there were gardens too, filled with trees and plants in flower, and animals and birds, all in solid gold or silver and imitating nature to perfection!

The Spaniards were nearly mad with joy at these wonderful tidings, and Pizarro expressed his gratitude to Heaven for having placed such a fortune at his feet, although he bitterly assailed Providence for not furnishing him with sufficient means to acquire this at one swift blow. Tumbez (or Tume Pampa, as the Indians called it) was a favourite place of visit of the late Emperor Huayna Capac, who had lavished much care and wealth on the city. Numerous aqueducts fed its fountains in the public squares, and its orchards teemed with fruits and other appetising esculents. The neighbouring valley was rich with diverse crops, while the ocean supplied its own quota of edible fauna. Alas for Tumbez! After the Spaniards had overrun it a few months later, nothing was left of this brilliant town except a few half-burnt and shapeless heaps of debris. “The site of its proud towers and temples ... ... was to be traced only by the huge mass of ruins which encumbered the ground.” (Prescott)

Lacking the means for a successful raid on the town, Pizarro turned further south, amidst the polite farewells of the innocent citizens of Tumbez, who vied with one another in supplying fruits and provisions to the crew and marvelled to see these fair-skinned strangers from a distant country with their wondrous mounts and their “speaking tubes” which could shatter targets at a distance. As he coasted down along the littoral, Pizarro was everywhere welcomed with the same spirit of generous hospitality by the natives, who crowded round his ships in balsas laden with free cargoes of fruits and vegetables. They called the Spaniards “Children of the Sun”, because of their fair complexion and the “thunderbolt” which they carried, like Indra, in their hand. Everywhere most favourable reports of the strangers went ahead of them by word of mouth. Apropos of this situation, Prescott wryly observes: “The iron hearted soldier had not yet disclosed the darker side of
his character. He was too weak to do so. The hour of Conquest had not yet come."

Having reached 9° south latitude, Pizarro, yielding to the remonstrances of his men, turned back towards Panama. On the homeward journey he touched at an inviting spot with a considerable township, where an incident occurred which might well serve to illustrate the spirit of Kshatriya Dharma which normally animated the elite of Peru.

This small but affluent city was in charge of an Inca noblewoman, who sent Pizarro an invitation to land and to partake of the town’s hospitality. No sooner did his vessel cast anchor off the village where she lived than she came on board, followed by a numerous train of attendants. Pizarro received her with every mark of respect, and on her departure presented her with some trinkets which had real value as presents in the eyes of the Indian princess. She urged the Spanish commander and his companions to return the visit, engaging to send a number of hostages on board as security for their good treatment. * Pizarro assured her that the frank confidence she had shown towards them proved that this was unnecessary. Yet no sooner did he put off in his boat the following day to go on shore, than several of the principal persons in the place came alongside of the ship to be received as hostages during the absence of the Spaniards, a singular proof of consideration for the sensitive apprehensions of her guests. On shore, a sort of decorated pandal had been put up for his reception, with a banquet of a most appetising nature laid out for himself and his company. After the feast, the guests were entertained to music, followed by a group-dance of young boys and girls, “simply attired and who exhibited in their national amusement all the agility and grace which the supple limbs of the Peruvian Indians so well qualified them to display.” † At the conclusion of the visit, Pizarro (according to his own claim) unfurled the Castilian flag, and planting it in the courtyard of the Inca princess, delivered a long harangue (in Spanish!) praising the Spanish monarch and asking the princess and her attendants to acknowledge his sovereign as their Ruler. Not to be outdone in the enjoyment of the joke, the princess and her servants saluted the flag, laughing all the while and making it quite clear that they had no idea of

* This was usual in India at the time. The Zamorin of Calicut sent hostages on board Da Gama’s ships.
† Prescott.
what all this pantomime was about, as they understood not a word said in praise of the Iberian potentate!

Touching Tume Pampa on the way back, Pizarro yielded to the wishes of some of his followers, who wanted to go on shore and live at Tumbez among the Indians, whose women were so enchantingly lovely and where living conditions were like heaven, compared to the situation in Panama. In return the Spanish captain was allowed to take on board a few Peruvian youths to be trained as interpreters. One such was a young Indian whom the Spaniards christened Fellipillo (small Philip). This obnoxious character (as we shall see shortly) was to become, in due course, one of the greatest traitors and miscreants in all history.

Pizarro reached the Isthmus amidst scenes of jubilation and was again closeted with his two partners, who were highly gratified, not merely with the actual booty secured by the expedition, but with the exceedingly glowing prospects of amassing easy wealth at the expense of the Inca’s gullible and none-too-well guarded subjects. Toasts were drunk (in no niggardly fashion) to the future success of the trio, to achieve which steps were put under way in the shape of a deputation, for formal sanction, to the king of Spain. Pizarro (about whose bona-fides doubts were even then felt by the Padre*) was chosen to lead the deputation. In the spring of 1528, the ex-swineherd bade temporary farewell to Panama and sailed home with a few unhappy Peruvian slaves, and a large stock of costly clothes, gold and silver curios, and several live llamas, apparently as tangible proof of his past adventures and an earnest of his future ones.

Pizarro’s reception in Spain was far from complimentary. The moment he landed, one of his creditors got him arrested for debt and put in prison, a sad place for a would-be conqueror of a new world, in which to chew the cud of bitter reflection. King Charles, however, intervened to get him released, especially after listening to the exaggerated and fascinating tales which the adventurer spun out for the royal ears, backed by the indisputable evidence of the slaves, the big emeralds, costly jewellery, and the llamas. Official delays soon drained off all of Pizarros’s resources and his position would have become desperate beyond redemption.

* De Luque’s parting salutation to Pizarro was thus: “God grant, my children, that one of you may not defraud the other of His blessing!”
but for the Queen’s sudden and decisive interest in his venture. The result was the famous Royal Capitulation of July 1529, conferring on Pizarro the sole right of ‘discovery and conquest’ over several hundred leagues along the coast in New Castile (as South America was designated). Pizarro was appointed Governor, Captain-General, etc., etc., for life (with a salary of 725,000 moravadis) of the territories yet to be conquered but which King Charles thought he already possessed as of moral right, thanks to the notorious Bull of Pope Alexander VI. The power to erect forts and to enslave Indians was also ceded. Almagro was named Commander of Tume Pampa* on a salary of 300,000 moravadis. Padre Luque became “Bishop of Tumbez and Protector of Indians” (“a most ludicrous title, considering the attitudes of the adventurers towards the natives”, observes a European writer). The appointments (and the salaries) were assigned prospectively; in other words, they were to be wrung out of the natives, after they had been conquered, robbed and enslaved. On his part, Pizarro was to raise a force of 250 armed cavaliers—such a paltry contingent to conquer a flourishing Empire, that it speaks volumes for the audacity and self-confidence of the adventurer! As a sop to the royal conscience, it was enjoined on Pizarro that “he should observe all the regulations for the good government and the protection of the natives,” a clause which must have been put down in vellum, with tongues in the cheeks all round! Priests were to accompany the freebooters (to save the Indian souls, if not their bodies), but lawyers and attorneys were strictly kept out, as a likely source of official trouble. One-fifth of all the profits arising out of the Capitulation was the King’s share (the well-known ‘Royal fifth’).

Such was the famous Capitulation. It was a title worthy of the occasion, since it marked the capitulation of the moral conscience of the king before the greed of this highly impecunious monarch. The toil, the risk and the obloquy were with others; the pecuniary advantages belonged to the king! It was noticeable that, while Pizarro had concentrated all the lucrative honours and posts on himself, he had obtained only minor benefits to his ‘equal’ partner Almagro, thus justifying the mistrust shown by de Luque. As Prescott justly observes, Pizarro’s virtue was not such as to

* Where Pizarro had, earlier, to the huge merriment of his Indian audience, unfurled the ensign of Castile.
resist temptations; his subsequent career amply bears out this verdict. Hyatt Verrill adds cuttingly that the only reason that prevented Pizarro from grabbing the well-paid Bishopric of Tumbez also was the fact that he could neither read nor write!

Pizarro, who had left his native town of Truxillo in Estra-Madura as a nameless outcast, returned there in some triumph, with a copy of the Capitulation in his pocket. He promptly recruited four lieutenants, three of whom were illegitimate like himself and, in the words of Oviedo, "all poor, and all as proud as they were poor, and their eagerness for gain was in proportion to their poverty." Only one of the four could claim acceptable parentage, viz., Hernando Pizarro, the legitimate son of Francisco’s father. Of the other three, Francisco Alcántara was a step-brother (through his mother) and Gonzolo and Juan Pizarro, half-brothers of Francisco through his father, all three with a prominent bar sinister. About Hernando, who was habitually more cruel than even his brother, Prescott has the following observations to make:

"In his character he combined some of the worst defects, incident to the Castilian. He was jealous in the extreme; impatient, not merely of affront, but of the least slight, and implacable in his resentment. He was decisive in his measures, and unscrupulous in their execution. No touch of pity had power to arrest his arm. His arrogance was such that he was constantly wounding the self-love of those with whom he acted, thus begetting an ill-will which unnecessarily multiplied obstacles in his path."

Another great adventurer of Estra-Madura came to the help of Pizarro at this stage, viz., Cortes, the ‘Conquerer of Mexico,’ who had a sneaking affection for his adventurous fellow-citizen. Despite this assistance, Pizarro could not raise the wind sufficiently to recruit the specified levy of 250 cavalry. To escape detection in his failure (and detention by the King), he quietly slipped away from Spain in January 1530 and reached the north coast of South America, laden with titles and honours and magnificent perquisites (on paper), but short of men and money. His partners greeted him with glee, which soon changed into bitter recrimination when they learnt the details of the famous Capitulation. Almagro particularly berated him for his treachery and lack of good faith in not obtaining for him equal honours and
remuneration; but, as was his nature, he eventually forgave his crooked ally though not without leaving a deep feeling of dislike in the four Pizarros against himself. Padre Luque wisely temporised on this occasion, since he had nothing to lose and had got a rich Bishopric to boot. Patching up a seeming reconciliation between the conspirators, he persuaded the Pizarros and Almagro to start on their much-publicised expedition to ‘conquer Peru.’ The success of the latter was anticipated, with bombastic hypocrisy, by a legend arrogantly inscribed on Pizarro’s new-fangled armorial bearings: “Under the auspices of Charles V and by the industry, genius, and resources of Pizarro, Peru was discovered and reduced to tranquillity.” A more fantastic piece of conceit and knavery can scarcely be found in all history!

Despite all efforts, only about 180 men and 27 horses could be secured against the 250 cavaliers stipulated by the King of Spain. These were put on board three small, ill-equipped, coastal vessels, and the flotilla was on its way down the South-American coast. “Before sailing, Pizarro invoked the aid of Heaven... he besought the aid of a merciful God to enable him to rob, murder and enslave.” (Hyatt Verrill) This voyage was very different from the earlier one; this time Pizarro meant business and had started in a ‘do or die’ spirit, the business being, of course, the pillaging of a peaceful and hospitable people, who, unfortunately for them, had been blessed with too much of worldly wealth and too little of mistrust and hate for unknown intruders. All pretensions to being mere explorers and bringers of good cheer were now given up by Pizarro and his gang. Forgetting the generous welcome given to them by the gay and innocent citizens in the southern latitudes, the conquerors rushed pell-mell upon Indian villages, whenever they saw them. “They massacred the surprised and unresisting inhabitants and helped themselves to the gold and silver and emeralds of the murdered Indians.” (H. Verrill) Pizarro got an emerald the size of a pigeon’s egg and worth a king’s ransom. Others of his gang, similarly favoured, however, hammered the green stones “to test their purity”, as suggested by an unscrupulous monk, who solemnly assured them that true emeralds were as hard as diamonds! The soft green nuggets naturally broke into pieces and were thrown away by the robbers as useless. This worthy friar thereupon quietly collected all the
broken pieces and made a tidy fortune by selling them at Panama on his return!*

The several 'Reverend fathers' who accompanied the marauding flotilla never remonstrated against the barbarities committed against the Indians, whose souls they were pledged to redeem, and whose bodies also they were presumably obliged to protect. On the contrary, the padres were careful to collect their own share of the loot, some of which they no doubt used later in Spain, in having masses said and candles burnt, to purge their consciences of the grave sins they had accumulated, especially that of abetting mayhem and banditry. After each raid a fifth of the haul was set aside as the King's share; the rest was divided 'in due proportion', perhaps according to the formula current among the pirates of the Spanish Main, with whom Pizarro and his men shared so much kinship in tactics and outlook. Pizarro's own acquisitions very soon reached the impressive sum of 200,000 castellanos, which he sent to Panama in order to impress the doubters and to persuade the waverers to join his expeditions, at least at that stage.

After the way the inhabitants of the town of Coaque were massacred (when they had gathered peacefully to offer a pleasant welcome to the strangers, as they had done on the last occasion), there was no resistance at most other points, wherefrom the inhabitants fled as soon as the Spaniards approached, "for the Whitemen were no longer regarded as good beings come from Heaven but as ruthless destroyers scattering fire and desolation as they went". (Prescott) Soon the island of Puná (off Tume Pampa or Tumbez) was reached, and Pizarro decided to use the island as a base for putting Tumbez to the sack, quite forgetful of the kindness and hospitality shown to him on his last visit to that city. In Puná, Pizarro was received hospitably and supplied with provisions and quarters. But he exhibited his usual treachery by having the chief citizens of the island put to death on the trumped-up charge of conspiracy against his forces. As regards the lovely city of

* The following citation from the *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, (1957) Vol. XII, p. 886, may interest the reader. "Emeralds in large quantities were looted and mined by the Spanish when they invaded Peru... Large consignments were shipped to Spain and France; the more perfect were kept (there) and the rest shipped to India, Persia and Turkey... For many centuries they were known as Indian emeralds... Tavernier took many of these to India where he traded them for rubies... (Louis XIV is said to have financed him.) Some of these emeralds were found by the British when they captured King Thebaw's palace in Rangoon".
Tumbez itself, he found it abandoned and partially burnt, with nothing of value in it; the tale given to him was that the men of Puna had invaded Tumbez and put it to fire and sword.*

The strangers were now in Peru proper; Pizarro reorganised his forces by allotting a number of captured Indians as slaves to each Spaniard, this being concurred in by the priests, "as it would serve the cause of religion and tend to the natives' spiritual welfare!" The loot gathered so far was assorted, melted down or counted, and sent to Panama. Pizarro was now fully aware of the impressive qualities of Inca civilization and the vastness and wealth of the Empire, "far beyond the dreams of the Spaniards." He also heard of the Supreme Ruler who was considered semi-Divine by his subjects, and of his capital city, Cuzco, "the navel of the world." He also learnt of the fratricidal war between the two Inca successors to Huyana Capac, which reminded him of a similar situation in Mexico, which greatly favoured the blitzkrieg of Cortes against the Aztecs and the Mayas. Finally, to his intense delight, he found that the victorious Atahualpa was close by, resting his troops at Cajamarca (kanchana marga = golden road), only a few days' journey from Tumbez along a splendid State highway. With characteristic sanctimony, Pizarro and his accommodating priests ascribed these conveniences to Divine intervention on their special behalf.†

We now turn to the pièce de resistance of the tragic story of the Conquest, the meeting between the Sapa Inca and the ex-swineherd and its disastrous consequences for the Inca Empire.‡

The Spaniard had heard of the war of succession, but, as Hyatt Verrill says, "It little mattered to him who was right or who was wrong; he was after fame and riches... and neither decency, humanity, pity, or any other consideration counted in his one desire to conquer, rob, and enslave. Pizarro was all agog to see the Emperor and it is likely that he had no definite plans of campaign against him. But there is no doubt that from the first

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* Some writers think that the Spaniards were really to blame for this outrage.

† In fact, during a violent skirmish on Puna island, the priests solemnly claimed that they saw St. Michael and his legions appearing in the sky over Puna to strike terror in the native hearts!

‡ I have rendered this narrative graphic and detailed, as it reveals the motives and methods of aggressive Imperialism and provides lessons for the future to less powerful nations.
he had some nefarious plot in mind and was ready to betray the Inca's confidence and friendship and to commit any atrocity as long as it resulted in his personal gain. These diatribes of a great writer are not misplaced, for Pizarro was well schooled by the treacherous *coup de main* which Cortes had accomplished in carrying off the Aztec monarch into his own camp, thus hamstringing local resistance.

After some preliminary skirmishing and consolidation work, Pizarro left the coast in September 1532 in search of the Inca, with a body of men numbering about 180 Whites, of whom about 70 had horses. The number included a few musketeers and some crossbow men, reinforced with three small cannon. Crossing the Pirua river, the party found themselves marching through a country amazingly rich with agriculture, with the hill sides clothed in verdant green and the dales lush with crops. Canals and aqueducts abounded everywhere, and the air was thick with the scent of sweet flowers and luscious fruits. Wavy miles of maize-laden plains added beauty and warmth to the entrancing landscape. It seemed to the famished Spaniards, who were often forced to feed on herbs, roots and molluscs, that they were going through a Paradise of Plenty. Everywhere they were received with confiding hospitality by the smiling populace and they were fed and accommodated in the royal tampus, as befitted the distinguished guests of the nation (which they were secretly planning to rob and enslave).*

Notwithstanding a few defections on the way, Pizarro pressed forward and *en route* he received the same polite welcome which he had experienced hitherto after leaving Tumbez. It was apparent that the Inca (who had probably received daily reports of every movement of the strangers) had issued orders for their safe and comfortable progress towards his camp. Soon an ambassador arrived from the Inca with some valuable presents, in return for which Pizarro gave the Inca "some cheap but showy ornaments of glass and some toys, which he had specially brought from Castile". He also explicitly offered the services of himself and his soldiers to the Emperor for use against his enemies, whoever they might be and wherever they were located.

On the way, the conquistadors saw overwhelming evidences of the high Inca culture and its social welfare bias. The solid roads,

*It would appear that the Inca had issued orders to the people to show the strangers all hospitality.*
bordered by shade-giving trees, the frequent resting-places and inns, watering stands for man and beast, fine bridges and causeways, overflowing storehouses and magazines for feeding the population in times of need, all these bore ample testimony to the benevolent care bestowed by the Inca on his subjects. Everywhere the troops were freely fed by the local kuracas and even loaded with costly presents. It was clear to the Conqueror that, looking to the size of the Empire, its resources and its manpower, his puny force would stand little chance of achieving its nefarious objectives, once these latter were known to the Inca. Pizarro, therefore, resorted to stratagem. He tried to suborn the Inca's subjects into turning spies for the Spaniards, but met with no success at all. At one place, where he was received with special warmth, he tried to pump out information from the village kuraka. Failing in his venture, he put the unfortunate official to torture. With his nails torn from his fingers, and his eyelids seared by red-hot irons, and suffering all the agonies which the devilish ingenuity of the Dons could devise, the kuraka in his desperation, blurted out that the Inca was setting a trap for the Whites and that the friendly reception to Pizarro's forces was only a ruse. The same kuraka had protested earlier the Emperor's most friendly feelings towards the strangers whom he was quite eager to meet. Several conclusions are possible from this cruel episode. One is that the village kuraka was, in his intense agony, merely saying things which would end the torture to which he was being subjected. It is also possible, but highly improbable, that he was dissembling the truth to mislead the Dons. Finally, the ugly role played by the interpreters, particularly the diabolical Felipillo, has to be taken into account. It was proved subsequently that these wretches, perverted by prolonged contact with the low Whites, and by the general atmosphere of lechery and greed among the Spaniards, would stoop to any trickery to achieve their objective for the occasion. Since the Spaniards and the Peruvians could not understand each other's language, a miscreant like Felipillo could misconvey information given to him by the Peruvians, in order to exasperate the Dons against the local people, in which case the interpreters could "fish in the troubled waters". If an Indian village could be

* This was the version of the Spaniards, obviously not to be taken at face value!
looted, the interpreters were sure to get some pickings for themselves; in the case of Felipillo, who was almost a sexual maniac, such a denouement would provide him with opportunities for his lust. An unfortunate fact to be kept in view regarding the whole episode of the Spanish invasion is that we know only the version of the Dons, whose moral qualities were not high and whose standards of veracity always remained highly suspect even among their own countrymen. A soldiery given to habitual pillage and rape is not likely to tell the unvarnished truth about itself. The Peruvian side of the case has only to be gleaned by inference, from the course of events, the probabilities of the situation as reflected in the character of the Indian monarch and his subjects, and occasionally, by the conflicting views expressed by the Spanish writers themselves, indicating a clue to the real facts that were likely to have happened. Much suppressio veri must have been necessarily indulged in by the Padres (the official recorders of, as well as the participants in, the events), in order to glorify the achievements of their dubious ‘heroes’ and denigrate the character and behaviour of the ‘heathens’.

As the Spaniards advanced from the coast towards Cajamarca, another incident, typical of the attitude of the Inca towards the strangers, occurred. Here they were met by a second emissary of Atahualpa, who repeated the Inca’s invitation and brought still more presents. While this envoy was in the Spaniard’s camp, some of the Indians in Pizarro’s service returned from a spying trip they had made to Cajamarca. Among them was the Tumbez youth, Felipillo. He complained bitterly that he had been mistreated by the Inca’s people, that he had been refused audience by Atahualpa, and declared that the Inca’s true intentions were hostile. The Incan emissary smiled at this and replied that, as Felipillo had no credentials from Pizarro and was of too mean an origin to be received as the envoy of a great king or his representative, it was quite natural that Atahualpa should have doubted his authority and should have refused to receive him. Moreover, he informed Pizarro, the Inca was fasting, as he was engaged in a religious ceremony. Finally, he reminded the Spaniards that, as Atahualpa had just concluded a long and expensive war and was returning with his army, it was to be expected that he would be surrounded by large bodies of troops. All this was quite true and was obviously reasonable, and yet Pizarro preferred to believe,
or at least pretended to believe, the story of Felipillo, who, being an enemy of the Inca and a mischievous and depraved individual anyway, could not be trusted, as his master knew only too well.

Soon Cajamarca, a lovely and well-built city situated amidst idyllic scenery, was reached. When the Spaniards marched into the town they were greeted with acclamation, and flowers and fruits were offered to them in abundance. Some people even prostrated before the cavaliers, who were escorted by the Inca's bodyguard to the spacious premises of the old Royal palaces surrounding the great Plaza, for being lodged. (The Inca himself was staying outside the city in the midst of his troops, accommodated in numerous tents, pitched on a large plain surrounding the King's pleasure-house.)

The Emperor was described by the Spaniards as a person of medium height and of powerful build. His features were handsome and finely chiselled, indicating both intelligence and strength of character. His eyes were piercing (but slightly bloodshot) and his bearing and carriage were quite regal and impressive. At that time he was undergoing some fasts and other religious exercises, following his victorious fight against his half-brother. To his great astonishment, soon after the strangers were lodged inside the city, he was approached by a body of mounted troops under Hernando de Soto. The latter, with supreme audacity and without dismounting, announced to the monarch that his chief, Pizarro, was an envoy from the renowned and great Christian Spanish King, adding the usual bombast about the Christian Faith as compared with the Inca's idolatry, and asking the Emperor to embrace the alien creed on the spot, for the sake of his soul!

Without deigning to reply or even to glance up, the Inca listened, and one of his nobles assured Hernando that "all was well". Nettled at the superior attitude of the Inca, Hernando demanded that he should reply personally. With a condescending smile Atahualpa then spoke, informing the Spaniard that he was fasting as a thanksgiving for his victories, but that he would visit Pizarro the following day. Hitherto, the Peruvians had always, shown great amazement and even terror when they had seen

* Like Hindi: 'Bahooth accha hai'.
the armour-clad Dons on their horses. But the Inca evinced no sign of surprise or even of curiosity, and De Soto, anxious to impress him, spurred his horse, putting the high-spirited animal through its paces and, dashing towards the Inca, reined-in his steed so close to the monarch that the foam from its mouth flecked the Inca's robes. But no sign of fright or of surprise showed on Atahualpa's serene features. Several of his soldiers, however, drew back with cries of fright; a most unfortunate reaction for them, for that very night they were put to utter disgrace for exhibiting such cowardice before strangers.

The uninvited guests with such objectionable manners were meanwhile being entertained by the Inca in royal fashion. They ate from plates made of precious metals and they drank, from goblets of pure gold, the 'gloriously exhilarating ak'a (the mild maize-brew) of the Peruvians. While the mouth and the stomach were continuously busy, the wily brain of the ex-swineherd was not also idle. "As they were gorging themselves on the Royal spread, Pizarro and his accomplices were plotting and planning the most dastardly, inhuman, the most brutally cruel, and the most uncalled-for and inexcusable piece of treachery that blackens the pages of the Spanish Conquest." (Hyatt Verrill)

The enlightened reader will soon judge for himself if Verrill's trenchant terminology is not well deserved. This learned author could not, in my opinion, have described this disgraceful episode in more appropriate phrases. That the Inca was not playing a double game will be obvious to those who impartially study the facts. Although he was posted with the daily movements of the intruding soldiery, he did nothing to stop them, as he could easily have done at the mountain passes.* On the contrary, everywhere a pleasant welcome awaited them and the royal tampos and stores were placed at their disposal. Envoys were sent to reassure them about the Emperor's feelings, which had been initially disturbed by the excesses committed by the mercenaries against the coastal towns, but which were somewhat mollified by the unqualified greetings and offer of help tendered by Pizarro to the Inca. At Cajamarca, the reception given to Pizarro bore evidence of no mental reservations on the part of the royal host; the strangers were lodged in the heart of the town, and in strategically favoured positions. They were supplied with food and drink on a lavish

* or the river-crossings.
scale, enough to stand a long siege. The populace treated them as ‘Children of the Sun,’ and greeted them with prostrations and deep obeisance, something which would not have happened if the Inca had secret designs against the Whites. The rough soldiery were allowed to handle the royal silver and gold treasures in a spirit of trust, and no spies were posted to gauge their real feelings and observe their movements, as would otherwise have been done. If the Inca had been adopting a role of consummate duplicity, his arrangements would have been very different indeed. To mention only one possibility, the amantus would doubtless have tried to shake the allegiance of some of the Indian slaves of the Spaniards (who were not too well treated and could easily have been purchased) and to worm out the secrets of the strangers through these informers. The subsequent behaviour of the Inca fully supports the presumption that he was all along acting in a candid and trustful manner, with a full belief in the oft-protested bonafides of the ill-mannered strangers.

During the banquet at the king’s expense, even as they were quaffing the mild drinks flowing liberally from the royal cellar, the Spaniards had determined to capture the trustful Inca and hold him to a heavy ransom; alternatively, they planned to do away with him on the plea of setting up a rival on the throne, if the cavaliers could not topple the Inca rule altogether in favour of King Charles of Spain! All these strategems, of course, were in the name of the Blessed Lord of Hosts; for Pizarro, in his shrewd villainy, presented this great betrayal as a “blow struck for the Cross”, to his greedy and superstitious followers. In this wicked resolve he was encouraged by similar tactics successfully adopted by Cortes in Central America, which had brought King Montezuma into the Spaniard’s clutches. But, as Hyatt Verrill takes pains to point out, Pizarro was cast in a different mould from Cortes. This distinguished writer’s incandescent language is worth further quotation:

“But the swineherd was a man of a very different stamp from the Conqueror of Mexico. Cortes was cruel enough, God knows; he was unprincipled to a certain extent, and he was willing to sacrifice the lives and liberty of the Mexicans for the sake of gold and for spreading the Christian Faith. But despite his faults, which were numerous enough and to spare, he possessed a certain sense of decency and honour which was entirely
lacking in Pizarro. He had, it is true, made Montezuma a virtual prisoner, but the Aztec monarch had given himself into Cortes’ hands, though under compulsion and threat, it is true, of his own volition, and Cortes had not resorted to underhand treachery or to out-and-out murder in order to acquire his purpose. Pizarro, on the other hand, was prepared to stoop to anything, and as he was by birth and nature the lowest of the low and had no conception of honour or decency, he invariably suspected everyone else of the same vile schemes and machinations as himself."

Pizarro had other arguments more practical than the merely sacerdotal. The Spaniards were surrounded by native soldiers "whose numbers were as thick as the stars of heaven." To fly was too late; it would merely precipitate an attack by the Inca’s levies. To remain inactive was also dangerous, for how long would the Inca remain benignant and hospitable? Once the novelty of the strangers, — with their blond appearance, their strange weapons and their fiery mounts—wore off, would the Indians remain as deferential and passive as hitherto? Further, could the Inca be quite trusted not to play a role of duplicity? The only remedy, reasoned Pizarro before his troops, was to turn the Inca’s (supposed) arts against himself and hook him, so to say, in his own line! The invitation which the Emperor had so unsuspectingly accepted to visit them at the Plaza was a golden opportunity which might not recur. Quick surprise, concerted attack, tactical use of cannon and musket, and above all, the blessings of Providence (already much in evidence) were sure to neutralise the superiority of the enemy’s numbers and assure victory to these 16th century Crusaders. Once the Inca was secured, they could hold on till the arrival of reinforcements under Almagro, which were expected at any moment. Having thus lectured to his troops and worked them to a proper frame of unscrupulous malignancy against the Inca, Pizarro laid himself to rest (but not to sleep) for the day.

The sun (the fabulous ancestor of the Incas) rose softly over the cold and brilliant cordilleras, on the 16th November, 1532, the most fateful day in the history of Peru. The Spanish leader disposed of his troops in a manner most strategic for a sudden assault. The arrangements of the big halls, opening straight on to the ‘patha’ or plaza, seemed to be specially contrived to make the
plaza a *coup de theatre*. Cannon and musket were primed and sighted; arms were burnished to make them flash ominously in the sun and bells were put on horses' necks to add to the din and alarm, and thus terrify the natives. Chicha drinks were served liberally to the men to rouse their mettle. When all was ready a solemn Mass was performed by the complaisant Padres, invoking the aid of the God of Battles and ending with the chant, "Rise, O Lord, and judge thine own cause!"*

All unsuspecting, the Emperor moved towards the city, followed by a large force (estimated at 10,000 men by the Spaniards). Within half a mile of the city he halted his army, pitched his tent, with a view to spend the night there. But as this would have upset the deep-laid plots of the Spaniards, urgent requests came from Pizarro to the Emperor to move into the city, so that he might sup with the Spaniards the same night. The confiding monarch readily consented, and telling his general to leave the army behind, he marched into the city late in the afternoon with a few thousand of his courtiers and attendants, unarmed and all quite unprepared for any sort of show-down with the strangers. The roads were swept clean and watered and strewn with flowers for the Inca, by the people. Then came singing companies of unarmed men carrying gold and silver sticks and the golden umbrella and the fly-whisk. The canyari guard then followed, richly attired and ornamented, "blazing like the sun", but also quite unarmed. The Inca journeyed on a golden palanquin called juantu in Quechua (Sanskrit: jayantu = victorious) and encrusted with precious stones and fine mantles of vicuna skins and containing a massive gold throne of indescribable value. The gorgeously clothed ladies of the Inca followed in other litters, surrounded by their own female attendants. The brilliant crowd moved in a most orderly fashion into the Plaza and lined respectfully for the Inca to arrive and descend from the golden planquin, which soon took its stand in the centre of the Plaza, without, however, a single Spaniard being there to welcome and honour the royal guest. Greatly puzzled,

* Concerning this curious mummerly, honest Prescott was moved to make the following acid comment, despite his sneaking preference for Pizarro as a soldier of the Cross. "One might have supposed them a company of martyrs about to lay down their lives in defence of their faith, instead of a licentious band of marauding adventurers meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy recorded in history!"
but not at all worried, the Inca asked in a low tone, “Where are the strangers?”

As if in answer, one Friar Valverde then shuffled forward to the Imperial litter, a breviary in one hand and an upraised crucifix in the other. Being completely innocent of punctilio or practical psychology, the Friar plunged rudely into a long-winded theological discourse, in which he set forth the more absurd sacerdotal dogmas familiar in his day, linking the Apostle St. Peter with Pizarro, through that dubious pontiff, Pope Alexander VI, and relating how he, Alexander, had given Peru to King Charles, whose vassal Atahualpa was now blandly invited to become and bend the knee before his Catholic Majesty’s envoy! Not only was the Friar’s address supremely ridiculous from the stand point of common sense, but also its general obscurity was enhanced by the translation given to it by the mischievous interpreter, Felipillo. To Atahualpa, rigidly maintaining an imperturbable mien upon his lofty and glittering seat, the whole thing must have sounded like the ravings of mad men, the only clear points in it being that an individual styling himself “the Pope” had given his (Atahualpa’s) realm to some invisible king or other and that he, the Inca, was being bidden to become that other king’s vassal! Naturally enough, Atahualpa was thoroughly enraged. But he held his peace until the verbose Valverde had done his piece. Then he mildly exploded. In spicy language he voiced his scorn for the God “who was three persons and one more, which makes four” (such being Felipillo’s verson of the Trinity). For the silly Pope who gave away things that did not belong to him, and for that distant king who had the colossal impudence to put himself above the Inca in the latter’s own Empire! Pausing in his hot tirade only to catch his breath, he went on to say that he would make the scoundrelly outlanders pay dearly for all the damage they had done since coming into his Empire (of which he knew full well the details) and he wound up by asking Valverde what authority he had for all the arrant nonsense with which the Imperial ears had been insulted. The Friar indicated the breviary and handed it up to the monarch. The volume was closed with clasps, and the Inca, being inexpert in handling books, could make nothing of the lumpish object which he found in his hands. Becoming bored he nonchalantly dropped the holy tome upon the pavement, most probably by accident, as thought even by some Spaniards themselves.
This accidental fall of the Bible from the royal hands constituted an act of 'sacrilege', which served as an excuse for the Padre to shout to Pizarro, "Kill this dog at once: I absolve you." The ex-swineherd gave the agreed signal to his troops, and there followed a holocaust which has few parallels in history; its hatefulness being heightened by the fact that the rascally Padre Val-Verde was all the while running about in circles shouting absolution to the Spanish ruffians in order to harden their hearts and steady their hands. Prescott calls the unprovoked attack "a most horrible massacre." The three pieces of cannon were fired point-blank into the crowd, along with the larger number of muskets; concealed soldiers rushed on the helpless courtiers with axes and swords and mercilessly hacked them to death, giving no quarter. Streams of blood soon flowed over the Plaza, and all exits were choked with the Indian dead. Even if the Indians had been armed, they would have been at a disadvantage against mail armour and fire arms; unarmed and taken by surprise, they were just cheap fodder for the superior weapons of the marauders. Many of the common folk fled in terror from the horsemen, but were mercilessly pursued and sabred. The attack on the person of the Inca is thus described by Hyatt Verrill:

"But many made no attempt to flee. Gathering about their revered and beloved Inca, princes and nobles rallied to his defence, baring their own breasts to the weapons of the Spaniards, seizing the Dons' swords and spears with bare hands, throwing themselves on the pavement and grasping the Spaniards' legs, until all had fallen. By this time only the Inca remained alive and the Spanish soldiers, maddened by the sight and the smell of blood, crazed with a lust to slaughter, drenched from head to foot with the life-blood of their victims, turned towards the Inca with the intent of murdering him and stripping him of his golden decorations. But this was not part of Pizarro's plans. Leaping to Atahualpa's side, Pizarro shouted to his men, threatening instant death to any man who harmed the Inca. But his men were almost beyond control, and before he could enforce his commands he received a wound in the arm from one of his own soldiers. That trivial wound was the only casualty suffered by the invaders who, by treachery and unprovoked attack, had massacred over

* There are other cases, in history, of mass-slaughter, but not where the murderers were honoured guests!
six thousand helpless, trusting, unarmed Indians within the space of half an hour. And then, having butchered in thousands, having made the Inca their prisoner without any loss to themselves, the Spaniards knelt before their crucifix and gave thanks to God for their 'glorious victory', crossed themselves devoutly as they spoke of the 'miracle'; then they fell to work, stripping the bodies of their golden ornaments and even of their blood-stained garments."

Roughly handled, and with his hands shackle and chained, the astounded and overwhelmed Emperor was thrust inside one of his own chambers (the House of the Serpent) where, after a day or two, he was given some freedom and allowed to receive his womenfolk, but was very closely guarded all the same. The wretched Felipillo was designated spy-in-chief over the Inca, a post which gave him an opportunity to commit the most heinous crime in the Peruvian code, viz., make a criminal assault on the Inca's favourite secondary queen, a most beautiful princess, who promptly carried her ignominy to the Inca, before committing suicide. Meanwhile Pizarro, who had been, as related, slightly wounded in his arm, addressed his troops asking them to thank Providence for giving them such an easy victory and such a valuable prize. The next morning saw the Spaniards at their real business; the first item on the agenda was to raid the Inca's camp and rob it of all valuables. The size and variety of the gold and silver utensils and jewellery pillaged from the Inca's country-house astonished the looters beyond measure; as also the textiles gathered from the public storehouses, which were finer and costlier than any they had seen in their lives before. To quote Prescott: "The looted goods from the State warehouses were piled from the floor to the roofs of the buildings in such quantities that after each soldier had provided himself with what he desired, it made no sensible diminution of the stock." The ladies of the royal household were then rounded up and moved into the city of Cajamarca, ostensibly to keep them in company with the Emperor. The number of prisoners was so large that it was seriously proposed by Herbando Pizarro and others that they should all be done to death, particularly the nobility and the priests. Pizarro however vetoed this idea on grounds of policy (not of humanity), but allotted the bulk of the prisoners as slaves to the soldiery, so that even the meanest ruffian amongst them (not excluding the
Negroes) could now order about a dozen slaves, some of whom, perhaps, were of the bluest blood in the whole Empire! On the huge state flocks of animals (the llamas and the alpacas), which had been bred with great forethought and prudence by the Incas, the marauders played a veritable havoc; not less than 150 llamas were slaughtered each day (to feed 2 or 3 hundred people) and the wool and skins were thrown away! Says Prescott: "Indeed the Spaniards were so improvident in their destruction of these animals that in a few years the superb flocks, nurtured with infinite care by the government, had almost disappeared from the land."

Pizarro had got the Inca (and his entourage) and all the available loot at Cajamarca, but this was not the fish which the ex-swineherd was angling for. Nothing short of the whole transportable wealth of Peru (one of the richest and biggest empires which the world had ever seen) would satisfy his greed and his ego. He would fain have invaded (with his 250 men!) Cuzco itself, tales of whose wealth made every Spanish mouth water like a dog's; but the distance was great and the Inca's army was lying in between. Meanwhile, the captive Emperor made a move which looked to the Dons like a god-send, specially arranged for by their patron-saint, Santiago!

Atahualpa knew that escape was difficult and an unsuccessful attempt would not only mean the end of his life but also imperil the safety of his entourage and of the realm. His men had been overwhelmed by being caught at a supreme disadvantage, unarmed and unprepared, and the flower of his nobility had been slaughtered brutally. He (and his people) now realised the real character of the strangers; that they were no better than bandits and thugs, who were intent only on grab and loot and the satisfaction of their lecherous impulses. That their religion was only a cloak to cover their sins was now obvious to the Inca, and their parading the names of a distant monarch and an unknown pontiff as authority for their misdeeds, seemed to him to add insult to injury. But the way the Castilians went about grabbing and dividing precious metals and jewellery gave the Inca the clue to what he thought was a possible way out, which was to purchase his freedom by appealing to the insatiable appetite of his captors for gold and silver.

Meanwhile Pizarro was trying hard to find an 'alibi' for his crime. This was not because his conscience was pricking him
(he had probably no such inconvenient organ in his make-up), but because he wanted to forestall possible accusations of misbehaviour at home. He enlisted for this purpose the help of the arch-spy, Felipillo, who was only too eager to hasten the downfall of the Inca, whose righteous anger he dreaded after the foul injury he had done the Emperor. This contemptible slave swore publicly that all along the Inca had planned to trap the Spaniards inside the plaza in order to exterminate them and that Pizarro had merely turned the tables on the monarch in a neat fashion. The remarks of Hyatt Verrill on this abominable fiction are worth quoting:

"Had Pizarro possessed the brains or the reasoning powers of a ten-year-old child, he would have realised the utter preposterousness of Felipillo’s story. The Inca had not insisted upon Pizarro visiting him first, but had come with an unarmed escort to the Dons. Had he so desired, he could have wiped the Spanish force from the face of the earth with his legions, or could have destroyed them as they passed through the mountains. Finally, there was the fact that the Incans believed implicitly in the semi-divine origin of the visitors, that they were the long-expected descendants of Virakocha, and that it would be madness to attempt to interfere with Destiny. In all probability Pizarro did not quite believe Felipillo’s version, but as he had already committed himself to an act so inhuman, so dastardly that even many of his own men frowned upon it, and he was even then plotting a still baser act, he considered it good policy to accept Felipillo’s statements at their face value, and to circulate them among his men.”

A few days after his capture the Emperor told Pizarro that, if he would only set him free, he would present the Don with as much gold as would cover the floor of the room in which they sat (about 30 feet long and 15 feet wide). His audience merely smiled incredulously and remained silent; but this being interpreted as a negative by the treacherous Felipillo, the Inca rose to his feet and marking a line 9 feet high on the wall, said that he would even fill the hall with gold up to that height if his freedom were vouchsafed to him. All present stared in amazement, thinking that his misfortunes had unhinged the Inca’s mind, as in their opinion there was not that much gold in the whole world. Pizarro, however, shrewder than the rest (and
secretly resolved to do a monumental double-cross) accepted the Emperor's offer and even drew up a deed of notation in which it was added, for good measure, that the Inca would also fill up a neighbouring room twice with silver, the whole transaction to be completed in 2 months!

Royal courtiers and the chasquis sped at once in various directions to denude some palaces and temples of their gold and silver (no private property was to be touched). Meanwhile, the nobles and officials were allowed to condole with their Sovereign and tender their loyalty and homage to him in the submissive manner prescribed by court etiquette. The chain of such grieving courtiers became soon endless.* "The Spanish conceived a very high idea of the character of this Prince, who even in his present helpless condition could inspire such feelings of awe in his subjects." (Prescott) Simultaneously, Pizarro and that unscrupulous and garrulous priest, Father Valverde, laboured hard to win over the soul of Atahualpa to the Faith, even if they could not quite ensure the comfort and safety of his body. Despite their importunate efforts, the utmost they could get out of the fallen monarch was that his "Father the Sun had deserted him in his hour of need." If he had been less bitter and confused, he might well have asked his inquisitors, if the Christian God had never, never let down His Catholic Majesty of Spain (who was just then tasting dire reverses at the hands of the Dutch)? If he had known European history, he might have pointed out how Catholic Spain had lain at the heels of the cruel Moors for eight solid centuries, despite all that the protecting angels could do for this 'Most Christian' country.

At this stage there was a grim game of "Royal Auction", introduced by the Captain. The defeated Prince, Huascar, who was kept as prisoner at Andamarca, apparently made a secret offer to the Spaniards that he would pay even twice the ransom that his brother had promised, if they could manage to set him (Huascar) free by falsely using the name of the Inca Atahualpa. (Recently Hernando Pizarro had captured a very important general of the Inca by citing an apocryphal summons from the captive monarch.) Pizarro promptly (and rather unwisely)

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* The Spanish writers record that all the nobles "bathed the King's feet with their copious tears". He merely looked on with grave composure and a sad smile, as was his wont.
communicated this offer to Atahualpa. With supreme audacity for an illiterate ex-swineherd, he threatened to bring Huascar to Cajamarca with a view to himself settling, as the final arbiter, the title to the Peruvian throne as between the two Princes! Prescott thinks that, in thus conducting a competition, Pizarro was trying to find out which Prince was richer and at the same time likely to prove a more ductile tool in his hands, so that he might rule Peru in his name. A closer reading of Pizarro's character would lead to a different inference, viz., that Pizarro wanted both the Princes to be under his control, such that after collecting the ransom from either, he could do away with both the rival contenders, and appropriate the kingdom, in effect, to himself (though nominally in the name of King Charles). This presumption is strictly in line with his subsequent behaviour towards the unfortunate Atahualpa. I venture to cite here the opinion of Hyatt Verrill:

"He had the two Incas bidding against each other for their freedom, and he had only to make a second bargain with Huascar in order to secure all the gold in the Empire without any effort on his part. Then, having drained their resources dry, he could murder both the Incas and take full possession of the country. It was a scheme worthy of his abominable mind, but being absolutely lacking in common sense or in diplomacy, he made the great mistake of informing Atahualpa of Huascar's offer, and of declaring that he intended to bring Huascar to Cajamarca and determine for himself which of the two brothers was entitled to the Inca throne."

Atahualpa's reaction to Huascar's offer was inwardly explosive, although he kept his usual grave self-possession. He had ousted his half-brother in fair fight and had then spared his life out of respect for his father. Huascar's action in surreptitiously indulging in a competitive bidding was not only treason in the eyes of the Inca whose life would be forfeited if Huascar's offer was accepted, but sacrilege to the Sun-owned kingdom of Peru itself. In any case the offer to the unscrupulous Spaniards was tactless and impolitic, as its only result would be to strengthen the hands of the licentious marauders. Atahualpa therefore gave secret orders that Huascar should be prevented from approaching the Whitemen at all costs. According to the version of the Spaniards and some Indian writers (who were related by blood to Huascar), a general of Atahualpa quietly got the defeated legitimate prince
drowned in the Andamarca river. But, as Prescott correctly points out, the opinion from either source was tainted and "could not be quite taken at face value. Both Garcilasso and T. Yupanqu (the half-Indian chroniclers) were relations by blood of Huascar and therefore natural enemies of the Quito Prince". It was also natural that the Castilians should seek to darken Atahualpa's reputation, by contrast with the fair character of his rival, since they had clashed violently with the former and his subsequent murder was very much on their conscience. It seems therefore reasonable to hold that Huascar's death was quite outside the contrivance of his rival, since there is no real evidence that Atahualpa ever ordered it. The opinion of Hyatt Verrill is in Atahualpa's favour, vide the extract below:

"To be sure, Huascar was drowned in the Andamarca river, and Pizarro charged Atahualpa with his death. But the Inca indignantly denied any part in it, exhibited every symptom of regret and sorrow, and at first refused to believe the news. Knowing Pizarro and his under-handed ways, it is far more probable that he had a hand in Huascar's death or that, as Atahualpa claimed, he was killed by some over-zealous and faithful subject of Atahualpa who had heard of Huascar's offer to Pizarro and realised the dire consequences that might follow if the Spaniards secured possession of Huascar."

The opinion of the two Indian chroniclers and the Spanish writers on this point has to be heavily discounted, as being thoroughly interested. The Emperor had been behaving all along without any suggestion of duplicity or make-believe. His indignation and sorrow at his brother's death should be taken as sincere, as artful and clever dissembling was not part of Atahualpa's character, as admitted even by his enemies.

Meanwhile gold and silver started streaming into Cajamarca, which for the time being quite lived up to its name. It is estimated that every day a quarter million dollars' worth in gold alone poured into the city, and this went on for almost sixty days. So incredibly vast was the treasure at Cuzco alone, that enough to fill the specified space could be spared from the temples there without substantially diminishing their wealth. I have indicated elsewhere the splendour of the Temple of the Sun. To recapitulate: the huge building itself was completely covered outside with plates of beaten gold, and a gold band, a yard wide, circled it like
a running lintel. The inside was fairly ablaze with burnished gold and precious stones. On the altar was an immense "Gold Sun", with silver rays radiating from it and tipped with huge jewels of emerald, pearl, and diamond. Opposite was an equally big image of the Moon, of solid silver, the rays being of gold tipped with topaz. Other gold or silver images represented the planets, the rainbow and lightning. Life-size statues, in gold, of eleven deceased Incas filled the niches. The hall of the Temple was crowded with vessels, vases, bowls and ceremonial objects of solid gold and silver. Gold-embroidered draperies, encrusted with precious stones, hung everywhere. Round the walls were "charas" (Sanskrit: sara = string) or golden threads strung with pearls, diamonds, and other gems. Even the wooden beams of the hall roof were fixed with golden nails and studded with golden stars. The doors, lintels and cornices were covered in solid gold (as was, and still is, the case in India with some rich sanctuaries). Concerning the garden attached to this temple, enough has been said elsewhere to demonstrate its incalculable wealth and splendour. In fact, so vast were the riches of this Temple that, after its contribution to Atahualpa's ransom, and despite the fact that a large part of its treasures had been secreted by the priests, near Piscopamba, the White marauders, when they looted the same Temple in 1534, obtained a booty reported by them to the king of Spain officially at 12 million dollars, a figure which is likely to be a gross underestimate, for obvious reasons. While his followers were gloating over the gold and silver pouring into Cajamarca with undisguised glee, Pizarro thought the collections were rather tardy. Despite adequate explanations given by the Inca, Pizarro grew suspicious and sent out two of his own lieutenants, with some armed detachments, to make a local check-up on the transport of the treasure. One went to Pachacamac on the coast, and was rather disappointed with the booty gathered from that city. Other parties went to Cuzco, the capital of the Incas, to verify its fabulous treasure-hoards. Prescott (who consistently considered the Peruvians to be semi-barbarians, and even compared their leaders to wild animals) has this to say of the emissaries who were sent out by Pizarro to investigate the seat of government:

* The long distances, the difficult weather, and the disorganised state of the Realm.
"The emissaries were men of a very low stamp and, puffed up by the honours conceded to them by the natives, they looked on themselves as entitled to these, and condemned the poor Indians as a race immeasurably beneath the European. They not only showed the most disgusting rapacity, but treated the highest nobles with wanton insolence. They even went so far, it is said, as to violate the privacy of the convents, and to outrage the religious sentiments of the Peruvians by their scandalous amours with the Virgins of the Sun. The people of Cuzco were so exasperated that they would have laid violent hands on them, but for their habitual reverence for the Inca, in whose name the Spaniards had come there. As it was, the Indians collected as much gold as was necessary to satisfy their unworthy visitors, and got rid of them as speedily as possible. It was a great mistake in Pizarro to send such men."

At this juncture (February 1533), to the ill-luck of the Peruvians, Almagro arrived at Cajamarca, with a contingent of 150 foot and 50 horse (most of the men being the dregs of the Isthmian grog-shops). Pizarro, while glad to have the needed reinforcement, continued to nurse his ancient ill-will against his 'equal' partner. Meanwhile the 'Hall of Ransom' was being steadily filled up to the stipulated height by the gold hauls brought in by the Inca's officials. Apart from sheets and plates, the articles consisted of an infinite variety of goblets, ewers, salvers, vases of all shapes and sizes, religious ornaments, personal jewellery, tiles of roofs and floors, gold reed-like thatch-work, statues of man and beast, and imitative creations of plants and trees. Some of them were most meritorious works of art and evoked intense appreciation later, from judges of fine craftsmanship in Europe. Says Means: "We are left in no wonder as to the exceeding splendour and sightliness of the golden objects assembled for Atahualpa's ransom, after seeing their specimens in the world museums today."

A fifth of the collection (of the value of 100,000 pesos) was sent intact to King Charles, while the rest was broken up and melted down for weighing and distribution. Thus disappeared into the crucible many priceless objects of the most delicate and painstaking workmanship and skilful portrayal of nature. Indian goldsmiths were employed, under the royal inspectors, for a number of weeks to melt the articles into uniform bars. At the
end of the period, the melted gold was found to equal nearly four million sterling and the silver was assessed at 51,000 marks or over a million pounds. "History affords no parallel for such booty having fallen into the hands of a small body of military adventurers," says Prescott. The division of the spoil was effected in such a way that Almagro was cheated of his just share and got only a small percentage of the value (De Luque, the third partner, had meanwhile breathed his last and gone to render his account to his Maker). Pizarro's portion came to nearly 70,000 pesos, roughly equal then to 840,000 dollars (on a commercial exchange basis), not to mention the golden throne of the Inca, valued at 300,000 dollars, which the Conquistador appropriated for himself. His brothers and De Soto got most handsome fortunes for themselves. Each cavalry-man got the equivalent of 100,000 dollars, and each foot-soldier half this amount. The ex-swineherd had, at one stroke, become probably the richest man in Spain, not barring His (highly immacunious) Catholic Majesty.

Immediately before the spoils of this stupendous treachery were divided up, another deed of notation was drawn up by Pizarro even before the two months were up, solemnly declaring that the Inca had fulfilled his bargain and that the full ransom had been paid as promised. This was necessary because the gold had to be melted down, weighed and apportioned; if the full time-limit of two months had been allowed, this process would have been greatly delayed, and there was no knowing how the political and military situation would develop in the interval.

We shall now see how far this deed of notation was honoured. The moment the loot was started being apportioned, doubts were felt by the Spaniards as to the advisability of releasing the Inca, who now demanded that he be set free without delay. It is very likely that Pizarro, from the beginning, had no idea of honouring the pact, especially since the deed of notation was strangely silent as to what firm guarantees would be given by the Inca that the Spaniards would be allowed to leave the country (if that was their wish) with all their precious blackmail. Even if the Inca personally stood by his implied word (as most likely he would) there was no assurance that the entire country would not rise spontane-

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*To the lot of one captain fell the 'golden sun' of the Inca shrine. This captain, an inveterate gambler, lost the sun in an all-night betting orgy; hence the well-known saying, "To gamble away the Sun".*
ously against the perfidious robber gangs who had so outraged their sacred monarch and murdered the bulk of the nobility. Pizarro had it therefore openly proclaimed in the Plaza that the continued detention of Atahualpa was necessary until sufficient Spanish reinforcements came over to Peru. (For what purpose they should come, it was not explained.) Although a few persons like Hernando De Soto (who apparently had a spark of decency still left in them) urged that the Emperor be set free, Almagro and his men (the worst scum of Hispaniola, who had not come off too well in the loot-sharing) loudly objected to the proposal, pointing out the untold wealth which still lay in cities like Cuzco and Saksha-Bouma, which had barely been touched.

Neither side would yield to the other, and Pizarro had therefore to do something which would end the impasse and set him free for further pillage of the country. "Pizarro was not satisfied with the greatest ransom which had been paid by King or Prince in the history of the world; he wanted to possess all the treasures of Peru." (Prescott) He consequently embarked upon another piece of calculated duplicity, which was even blacker than the sanguinary double-cross at the Plaza. He prepared a charge-sheet against the Inca of (1) squandering public funds, after the country had been "conquered" by the Spaniards! (2) being an idolator, (3) adultery and polygamy (in having several wives), (4) ordering the death of Huascar, and (5) inciting the people to rise in insurrection against the Spaniards! The mere specification of these articles of accusation showed that the doom of the Inca was already sealed. The remarks of Hyatt Verrill on this cruel 'judicial joke' deserve citation:

"Never was there a greater farce of a trial nor a greater travesty on law, justice, humanity and Christianity. The idea of invaders of a country trying that country's monarch for misuse of his own property, of accusing him of bigamy when polygamy for the Inca was legal, of calling the defence of their homes 'insurrection of the people', or even of daring to punish a free and independent emperor for crimes committed—if committed at all—in his own dominions, would be ludicrous, were it not so tragic. The fate of the Inca was sealed before the farcical trial commenced. Vainly he implored his inhuman tormentors to spare him, offering twice the ransom he had already paid. 'What have I done' he cried, 'that I should meet with this fate? And from your
hands, too!' he exclaimed, addressing Pizarro. 'You, who have met only hospitality and friendship from me and my people; to whom I have given all my treasures!'"

Who were the judges for this most remarkable arraignment? Pizarro and Almagro, the two ruffians responsible for the situation in which the Inca found himself and the two persons most interested in his ultimate fate. And who was the chief witness? This was none other than the despicable Felipillo, who had been caught committing a heinous sacrilege but who was let go scotfree, despite the outraged anger of the Inca. As Prescott observes, "Felipillo was too important for the Spaniards to be dealt with under Incan law; nor did they attach such a consequence to an offence which, if reports were true, they had countenanced by their own example." So much for the moral calibre of the men, who were accusing the Sapa Inca of adultery and polygamy!

The most unveracious charge against the Inca was that of secretly inciting an insurrection. The Emperor scorned the accusation in a grave and frank manner, saying "How could I or my people conspire against men so valiant as the Spaniards? Pray do not jest with me thus." While Almagro and his ilk still demanded extreme measures against the fallen monarch, Pizarro temporeised by sending out a reconnoitring party to find out if it was really true that the whole countryside was arming against the intruders. Meanwhile, the farce of the "trial" of the Inca was proceeded with. A number of Indians testified, but their evidence was admittedly twisted in interpretation by the unspeakable Felipillo, to blacken the case against his Sovereign. The 'doctored' evidence was quickly over and there was a warm discussion between the two judges, not on the verdict, which was foregone, but as to what would be the result of killing the royal captive. He was found guilty and condemned to be burnt alive in the Plaza (a la the Spanish Inquisition) before the very eyes of his subjects.

The death sentence (of being burnt at the stake) which was passed with indecent haste, after a hurried and farcical trial all in one forenoon, required the approval of Friar Valverde, who had no hesitation in giving it, saying, "The Inca deserves death anyhow". There were still a few among the "heartless and bestial Dons" (Prescott) who protested against this "judicial murder", but their voice was small and was soon stilled under threat. The
Emperor himself, except for a momentary loss of control on hearing the verdict, acted with his usual composure and "submitted to his fate with the courage of an Indian warrior". (Prescott) On the same afternoon of 29th August 1533 (a black day for Spain and for the vaunted European civilization and culture), he was led to the stake, chained hand and foot (as he had been for a number of days prior to his trial). The ubiquitous Valverde ("a sacerdotal chatterbox", as Means calls him) was at his side, prodding the unhappy monarch to save his soul by becoming a Christian, even if his body should perish in the flames! Making no headway by straight 'sky-piloting', this heartless monk then played his trump-card. Even as the Inca was being bound to the stake and the faggots were about to be lighted (by his own subjects threatened by bayonets), he offered to the King the alternative of death by strangulation (the notorious garrote used in Spain for criminals) if he would even, at that stage, renounce the faith of his ancient forefathers. This temptation was too much for Atahualpa to resist; he had already asked to be killed by poison or some such method, so that his body might not be mutilated but be available for mumification or for burial according to the sacred Inca rites. On the express promise that his body would be handed over to his relatives for being taken to Quito (to be placed in the family vault), Atahualpa consented to receive baptism as a Christian. After this dubious "soul-saving", the Inca submitted himself to be publicly strangled, with the stoical composure which is the hallmark of a Kshatriya prince. The scene at the Plaza at this stage was indescribable. There was a heartrending cry from the Indians, many of whom killed themselves on the spot. Even the Spaniards could not help showing sorrow in their countenances.

The following tribute is paid by Prescott to this last representative of an ancient Aryan ruling clan: "He had a handsome countenance with an expression somewhat too fierce to be altogether pleasing. His frame was muscular and well-proportioned, his air commanding, and his deportment while in the Spanish custody

* Atahualpa's urge to save his body must have been overpowering; otherwise he would have acted like another native nobleman, who, when asked to get converted, so as to enable his soul to reach heaven, asked in some perplexity, "Will the Whitemen's souls also go there?" When the answer was 'yes', he shouted he would not like to go to a heaven filled with such habitually cruel and treacherous spirits as those of the Spaniards.
had a degree of refinement, touched with melancholy. He was
'accused of having been cruel in his wars and bloody in his revenge.
This may be true; but the pencil of an enemy would be likely to
overcharge the shadows of the portrait. He is allowed to have
been bold, high-minded and liberal. All agree that he showed
singular penetration and quickness of perception. His exploits as
a warrior have placed his skill and valour beyond dispute; the
best homage to these is the reluctance shown by the Spaniards to
restore him to freedom. They dreaded him as an enemy; they had
done him too many wrongs to think he could be their friend, yet
his conduct towards them from the first had been most
friendly; and they repaid it with imprisonment, robbery and
murder."

Curiously enough, the infamous Valverde conducted the
funeral ceremonies of the deceased, which were interrupted by
the wailings of the widowed queens and other female relations,
who wanted to immolate themselves over the dead Emperor; when
they were forcibly prevented from doing so, they went to their
quarters and one by one the queens committed suicide in the best
Aryan tradition, in the hope of joining their lord "in the bright
mansion of the sun". As already mentioned, several hundred
Indians who were witnesses to the execution had already left the
land of the living, to show their loyalty to and trust in their
beloved Emperor.† Even on this sad and solemn occasion, Pizarro
needs must play one of his dirty tricks. Disregarding the assurance
given to the deceased, his body was interred in a Christian
cemetery; but the faithful relatives of the late Emperor had it
secretly removed the same night and taken by forced marchos
to the ancestral shrine at Quito, where it was not found by the
Spaniards, despite all their diligent hunt for the valuable
treasures, which they correctly surmised would have been
buried with the royal corpse.

* The Surya-loka of Aryan faiths.
† A similar custom prevailed, about the same time, at the other end of the
world, if we believe Marco Polo, who writes (1300 A.D.) : "In Maabar, the King
(whom he calls Sunderbendi-Sundara Pandya of Madura) has his knights and
gentlemen who are called his faithful ones; they are faithful in this world and the
other. When the King dies and his body is burnt, many of the company, and also
the faithful barons, throw themselves into the fire of their free will, to bear him
company in the next world". (Travels, P. 387)
This sordid episode may now be rounded off with the narration of its sequel. It may be recalled that Hernando De Soto had been deputed to roam the countryside to find out if an insurrection was in the making, as alleged against the dead sovereign. De Soto returned two days after the execution with the report that the Inca was basely slandered and that there was no sign of a rising among the natives, who on the contrary showed nothing but good-will and courtesy to his soldiery. He accused Pizarro of having committed a grave injustice; the latter admitted his unseemly haste and gullibility, but pleaded that he had been deceived by others, especially the Padre Valverde who had made him doubt the Inca’s bona-fides. The Friar wholly repudiated this charge, and considered Pizarro alone responsible for the foul calumnies raised against the deceased. “This vulgar squabble among the leaders, so soon after the event, is the best commentary on the iniquity of the whole proceedings and the innocence of the Inca,” says Prescott, who adds, with righteous indignation, his searing comments:

“The treatment of Atahualpa, from first to last, forms undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters in Spanish colonial history... The blood-stained annals of the Conquest afford no other example of cold-hearted and systematic persecution, not of an enemy, but one whose whole deportment had been that of a friend and a benefactor. The first act (of the Spaniards) on crossing the mountains, was to kidnap the monarch and massacre his people... No apology can be urged for the massacre of the unarmed and helpless population (in the Plaza of Cajamarca) as wanton as it was wicked.... From first to last the policy of the Spanish Conquerors towards their unhappy victim is stamped with barbarity and fraud.... As regards Pizarro, he preferred to perpetrate his iniquities in obedience to the suggestion of others, rather than his own. Like an unprincipled politician, he wished to reap the benefit of a bad act, and let others bear the blame for it..... The multiplicity of the charges of the Inca, the sending away of his warm sympathiser, Hernando De Soto, on a tour, the summary trial, sentence, and execution all in one day (before De Soto could return), the solemn farce of mourning for the dead King, all these indicate the eminently perfidious nature of Pizarro..... Yet the arts and subterfuges of the Spanish Chieftain failed to reconcile his countrymen to the atrocity of his proceedings..... The later Spanish comment-
ators, writing after a few years since these events, while they exonerate the Inca and do justice to his good faith, are unreserved in their condemnation of the Conquerors, on whose conduct Heaven itself set its seal of disapprobation by bringing them all to an untimely and miserable end. This sentence of his own contemporaries has been fully justified by posterity. The whole episode of Atahualpa will fill every one with pity, who has a spark of humanity in his bosom."

There is a tail-piece to this story of Atahualpa's ransom, which is not without a touch of grim irony. As already mentioned, Pizarro over-hurried the division of spoils and would not wait for the deadline. But even as the Inca was being tried and condemned on suborned evidence, loads of gold and silver, exceeding all that had been already collected at Cajamarca, were on the way to that city. Seven thousand chasquis, each with 75 lbs. of gold or silver on his back, were en route to Pizarro's camp over the royal roads. Elsewhere, two hundred porters were carrying a 700-foot chain of solid gold, weighing ten tons (which was made by Huayna Capac on the occasion of Huascar's birth) to Cajamarca as part of the blackmail. But when the news of the Inca's death reached them, all the chasquis and the porters secreted away their treasure-loads, worth more than 160 million dollars at a modest computation. The concealment was so effective that even to this day this treasure has not been found. Pizarro had signally overreached himself, to his own misfortune and discomfiture.

The next event in this dismal story relates to the sack and the rape of the great city of Cuzco. Now that the Sapa Inca was no more, the administrative arch was bereft of its keystone for lack of orderly regnal succession; and the arch, consequently, came tumbling down. Disorder and violence broke out in the Empire, especially at the periphery; and the outlaying provinces, recently formed out of conquered territories, threatened to break loose. The Spaniards could or would do nothing to stop the rot, beyond appointing a younger brother of Atahualpa as the new and puppet Inca, but he soon died in a manner which threw some suspicion on Pizarro. The eyes of the latter were now on Cuzco, about which his imagination had already been greatly excited. In a short time all the 500 Spaniards (foot and horse) deployed on this hapless city, after meeting only slight resistance but considerable hardship, on the way.
The troops entered the lovely and imposing city, the pride of the Incas, with its stately buildings, straight roads, broad ‘pathas,’ picturesque gardens, and handsome fountains fed by a canal 50 miles long and lined with stone. Pizarro had ordered some discipline and restraint on his troops, but the latter broke loose and started a systematic plunder of all the palaces and the temples which crowded the city. Even the royal mummies and the idols were not spared.

“Thoughts of gold filled their minds to the exclusion of all else, and, rushing into the city, they began plundering, looting and despoiling. Nothing was sacred to them. The mummies of the deceased Incas were hurled from their golden chairs, were hacked to pieces and trampled under foot as the Dons stripped the bodies of their golden ornaments. Homes and palaces were ransacked. Nobles were attacked, robbed and brutally put to the sword if they resisted. Men and women, unfortunate enough to display jewellery, had hands and fingers lopped off by the gold-mad soldiers who were too impatient to withdraw the rings and bracelets from their owners’ arms and fingers. And scores, hundreds, of the citizens were put to the most horrible and excruciating tortures to force them to reveal the hiding places of their valuables. Vast stores of gold, silver and gems were found. There were vessels and utensils of precious metal, gold statues and vases, dresses of gold beads, golden sandals and gem-encrusted ornaments, and among the loot were ten bars of solid silver, each twenty feet in length by a foot in width and three inches thick. Indeed, so vast was the treasure secured that, when it was gathered together for division, it was estimated at a value of more than twelve million dollars, and each common soldier received more than one hundred thousand dollars as his share of the booty. Yet by far the greater part of the city’s treasures had already been removed and hidden by the inhabitants.” (Hyatt Verrill)

Meanwhile, Manco, a younger brother of the late Huascar, was made Sapa Inca by the Captain; but Manco was almost a boy with no real experience of authority and was a mere puppet in the hands of Pizarro and his brothers, who appointed themselves to various high-sounding Spanish-style posts and took care to retain all real power in their hands. The poor Inca had even to suffer the supreme mortification of having to tender personal homage to
Pizarro, who posed as the representative of King Charles, whose vassal the Inca had now become! That dubious clerical character, Friar Valverde (who had somehow constituted himself the chief link between Peru and Heaven), got himself appointed Bishop of Cuzco; whereupon he started razing down the Inca temples and building churches and seminaries on their fine foundations. Even the marvellous Temple of the Sun (to find whose equal in size and wealth we shall have to travel to the kingdom of Khamboja, 10,000 miles away) was partly demolished, to become the Church of San Domingo. The Houses of the Virgins became nunneries, but not before the Virgins were, in the words of Hyatt Verrill, turned over to the soldiery to be violated and ravaged as their bestial instincts dictated. Horror was piled on horror by the brutal soldiery. The sanctity of the religious houses was systematically outraged. "Thousands of maidens who, however erroneous their faith, lived in chaste seclusion in the convents, were now turned adrift and became the prey of a licentious soldiery. Even married women were not spared. A favourite wife of the young Inca Manco, was repeatedly debauched by the Castilian officers" (Prescott). On the day the Spanish entered Cuzco, no less than six hundred of the inmates of the chief House of the Virgins were criminally assaulted and many of them committed suicide rather than survive this everlasting shame. Intoxicated by the unaccustomed possession of power and, without the least sense of moral inhibition, the soldiery abandoned themselves to the indulgence of every whim which cruelty or caprice might suggest. A contemporary witness mentions that, long after the wars had ended, he had seen Spanish soldiers amuse themselves by hunting down natives with bloodhounds for mere sport, or in order to keep their dogs in training. The cruel death of a few Indians, mangled and torn by the hounds, was not something to make their conscience smart. "The most unbounded scope was given to licentiousness, young maidens were often torn from the protective arms of their parents to gratify the passing lust of a brutal cavalier. The sacred Houses of the Chosen Women were broken open and violated wholesale. Each cavalier swelled his harem with a troop of Indian girls, making it seem that the Crescent would have been a much more fitting symbol for his banner than the Cross." (Prescott) The ex-swineherd himself set the pace for the others. Although well over sixty
years of age, he collected quite a seraglio around him in his golden palace; one of the unwilling victims of this aged voluptuary was a tender maiden (almost a child) with the bluest blood in all Peru; she was no less than the daughter of Atahualpa, through his Coyá! In due course she gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl; the former died young and the young girl was compelled to marry (with a special dispensation from the Church, presumably) her own uncle, Hernando Pizarro, who was at the time of this obnoxious nuptials old enough to be the grandfather of the bride! Yet these were the men who had accused Atahualpa of committing adultery and polygamy and summarily convicted him of that 'offence'!

The right of (treacherous) conquest extinguished, in the eyes of the Dons, every requisite of humanity. Peru, as Prescott points out, was subdued by adventurers, who were, in the main, of a lower and more ferocious character than those who travelled with Cortes into Mexico; and the character of the leadership also got reflected in the behaviour of the followers. Cortes, cruel and cunning as he was, had in him the sparks of a gentleman, feebie though they might often be. Pizarro, on the contrary, was a monster in human form. He delighted in treachery and cruelty; duplicity was his second nature. Indignant Prescott sums up his character thus:

"Pizarro was eminently perfidious, although nothing is more opposed to sound policy. By his perfidious treatment of Almagro, he alienated the minds of the Spaniards. By his perfidious treatment of Atahualpa, and subsequently of Inca Manco, he disgusted the Peruvians. The name of Francisco Pizarro became a byword of treachery."

How did the unhappy Empire of Peru fare under him? When Pizarro entered Cuzco in triumph, he found a country well advanced in the progressive indices of civilization. It possessed political and social institutions under which people flourished in peace, personal comfort, and security; the mountains and the uplands were thick with flocks of animal wealth; the valleys overflowed with the gifts of careful and far-sighted husbandry; the granaries and warehouses were near to bursting with food and clothing; the whole land rejoiced in an abundance for which there was no parallel in the world ...... What was the situation after the Spaniards took over? All bonds of government were
rudely sundered. The social order was violently uprooted and the bulk of the public-spirited elite were butchered in cold blood. Pizarro delivered up the conquered peoples to his brutal soldiery and the sacred cloisters were thrown open to their lechery: the towns and villages were subject up to pillage and rapine; sacred installations were desecrated with a vengeance. The wretched natives were uprooted and parcelled out as slaves to toil and moil for the conquerors in the unhealthy mines and in the dangerous fisheries, with consequent colossal loss of life. The splendid flocks of valuable animals were scattered and wantonly destroyed; the granaries and the warehouses were emptied of their contents in an orgy of extravagant waste; the splendid agricultural devices for the maximum exploitation of the soil were allowed speedily to fall into disrepair. Instead of perpetuating and improving all the contrivances of civilization, so finely attuned to the genius of the people, Pizarro attempted to efface these carefully set-up edifices of progress and to graft on the people a new-fangled faith and alien institutions absolutely at variance with the spirit of the nation. That these transformations did little to improve the life of the poor Indians who were held in close bondage, needs no emphasis. In grim irony, churches were erected, often on the ruins of Inca shrines, and sermons were preached in the name of Peace and Good Will; simultaneously such crude barbarities as and refined cruelties were practised against the 'converts', that even to contemplate them at this distance of time produces a shudder of horror and disbelief. It was no consolation to the poor Indians that foreign commerce was developed by the Dons and new arts and sciences, along with new esculents, were introduced from Europe. As Prescott truly observes, "He had no share at all in this godly heritage; he became an alien in the land of his fathers."

We may now rapidly go over the immediate post-conquest story of Peru, merely in order to observe how historical retribution is not long delayed, and how the long hand of Nemesis finally catches up with the culprits. For none of the infamous coterie who pillaged the kingdom and terrorised and ravished its population was left long to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth or power. Álmagro, the chronic "losing partner" of Francisco Pizarro, who was put in charge of Cuzco as Governor after his colleague had returned to Lima (the new Capital), outdid the initial invaders in
his savagery and maltreatment of the Indians. Inca Manco was insulted and abused and, as mentioned above, even the honour of his family was not respected. Heartily sick of these alien brigands, the Inca and his subjects broke into revolt. Although Inca Manco was captured and imprisoned, the fires of insurrection were not easily quenched, even after Almagro was replaced. The Inca, who was released by the new governor, Hernando Pizarro, escaped on the plea of obtaining some hidden treasures for the Governor, and soon the entire district was aflame. The Spanish forces were all driven to take shelter inside Cuzco, where a prolonged siege by the Inca’s troops made them suffer all the pangs of famine and disease. While the defenders were in the direst extremities and forced to eat their own horses, the Inca’s troops withdrew from the siege, merely to attend to the agricultural operations for which the season had just opened! The Spaniards were saved, but the Inca continued to harass them with a severe guerilla warfare, which lasted many, many months.

Meanwhile, the ‘equal partner’ Almagro, who had led an ill-starred expedition into Chile, returned in deep distress and disappointment after losing half his forces; for the Chileans were, unlike the docile peace-loving Peruvians, fierce fighters who gave back as well as they received. On his trek his illiterate Spaniard made his Peruvian slaves taste some more samples of the White man’s consideration and humanity. To quote Hyatt Verrill:

“Terrible as were the sufferings of the Spaniards, they were nothing compared with those of their helpless Indian slaves. These unfortunates, chained or roped together by their necks, naked except for scanty loincloths, and bending under their burdens, succumbed by scores to the cold, the toil and the hunger. So desperate was their plight that, whenever an Indian dropped exhausted or dead, his companions fell upon the still warm body and, tearing it to bits, gorged themselves upon the raw and palpitating flesh, while the Spaniards devoured the raw meat of the horses that died. Thus sustaining life by feasting upon the dead bodies of their comrades and their beasts, the company, sadly depleted in numbers, at last emerged from the mountains into the Valley of Coquimbo. Here were peaceful Indian villages, an abundance of grass and crops, warm sunshine and plenty of food to be had for the taking. But all the sufferings they had undergone had not softened the hearts of Almagro and his follow-
ers. He blazed his trail by burned and sacked villages, by the tortured and mutilated bodies of men, women and children, and as fast as his cargo-carrying slaves died by the wayside, he replenished his supply by capturing and enslaving the Indians he met."

But Almagro did one good service to mankind; he settled the over-due account of the utterly contemptible Felipillo, whom he had taken with him as his interpreter, and whose loyalty he got suddenly to suspect. Once an Indian was suspected, he was as good as dead, and there was no exception in the case of Felipillo. But even in death there was no possible excuse for the horrible manner in which he was executed by Almagro's orders. Each leg and each arm was securely lashed by ropes to the saddle of four mounted soldiers, and at a signal from Almagro, the four horsemen spurred their steeds in opposite directions, rending the limbs from the Indian's body. Still alive, screaming horribly in his awful agony, Felipillo—or rather his limbless trunk and head—withered upon the ground, begging for his inhuman executioner to put a merciful end to his tortures. But Almagro watched him unmoved, gloating over the sufferings of his victim, until death mercifully ended the loathsome youth's suffering.

On another occasion, when he attacked a peaceful village and started outraging the women, chaining up the men, and tossing the orphaned children on the points of bayonets, some of the inhabitants fought back and three Spaniards were killed (along with numerous enemy). As a reprisal for this "resistance to the authority of the King of Spain", Almagro collected 30 chiefs of neighbouring villages (who had nothing to do with this fight) and had them burnt alive, as an example to the rest of the community!

On return from Chile, Almagro reclaimed the Governorship of Cuzco, as his right under royal charter. He attacked Hernando Pizarro, who was in that city, occupied it without the loss of a man, and imprisoned the two brothers Pizarro, viz., Hernando and Gonzales. The other Pizarro, who was in Lima, sent an ambassador in great alarm to Almagro for effecting a peace between the two partners. Thanks to Francisco's treacherous wiles and the gullible nature of Almagro, Hernando Pizarro was freed, on his swearing on the Bible to leave the one-eyed Captain in peace at Cuzco and to leave for Spain within a month. Francisco met the 'Conqueror of Chile,' in a rendezvous outside Cuzco. He pretended great affec-
tion for his partner, and dined and wined him sumptuously. But the moment Almagro returned to his own camp, Francisco forgot all his pledges, and made hurried preparations to attack Almagro on the sly. The latter got a warning in time, and slipped into Cuzco by forced marches, where he was attacked by Hernando with a force of nearly 1,000 veteran Spaniards, equipped with fire-arms, including cannon. The battle ended in a victory for Pizarro, and Almagro was made prisoner and sent to Lima. Cuzco again suffered the horrors of rapine and bloodshed, as Hernando gave his men a free rein to do what they would to that unhappy city.

At Lima, Hernando, while publicly sympathising with Almagro, brought a series of charges against him, after inviting complaints from all and sundry. A joke of a trial followed, whose judicial quality was on a par with that of Atahualpa, and Almagro was found guilty in absentia and condemned to death. The aged ruffian knew of the trial and the conviction only when a priest came to his prison cell to shrive him. His behaviour at this critical juncture in his life was scarcely heroic. He fell on his knees before Hernando Pizarro and begged, with tears in his eyes, that his life be spared, especially since he had not many years to live, being afflicted with a serious disease. He narrated all his services to the Pizarro family, especially emphasising the fact that he had spared Hernando’s life when he could have easily abbreviated it. This pusillanimous attitude from a dying soldier of fortune (strangely in contrast to that of the Inca elite in general and of Atahualpa in particular) merely evoked scoffs and jeers from Hernando, who finally agreed to substitute, as a great favour to his brother’s partner, a private garroting for a public execution. Thus perished in July 1538 the second of the infamous trio, who made the notorious treaty of Panama in 1528 (De Luque had died long before). It was characteristic of the man that Francisco Pizarro was swearing at Lima, before the half-Indian son of Almagro, that no harm shall ever befal his father, so long as he (Pizarro) was alive; simultaneously he was commanding his brother in secret to show no mercy to the old rogue. To add to his

* We can compare Almagro with a great Inca nobleman, who was unjustly accused of treachery by Almagro himself and condemned to the stake. One of the Dons has recorded that this Inca dignitary “met his death with a smile on his lips, looking at the Sun all the time and muttering a prayer to the Solar deity”. No member of the elite is ever known to have cringed before the Spaniards and craved for his life.
iniquity, when told about the execution, he wailed and shed tears pretending great sorrow, just as he had done over Atahualpa's murder*. The coup de grace given to Almagro did not long remain unavenged. Francisco entered Cuzco in triumph, where he sequestered the estates of Almagro and his supporters and conferred them on his own brothers! In fact he presented so many slaves and such wealth (including the famous silver mines of Potosi, the richest then, by far, in the world) to his relations that even his friends were aghast. The result was that Hernando found the Peruvian climate getting too hot for him, and within a year of Almagro's death he set sail for Spain. His dubious reputation had gone ahead of him, and despite the very liberal use he made of his ill-gotten gold, he was clapped into a noisome prison by the king, where he lived forgotten and penniless for some twenty years. He came out a broken and penurious man, bald and bent with age and disease, and without a friend in the world. Even his enemies could not have asked for a worse requital for him; Almagro had been adequately avenged.

This left the other two Pizarro brothers, Francisco and Gonzales,† still to be awarded their just retribution. (Juan Pizarro had been killed in the siege of Cuzco by the troops of Inca Manco.) The Conqueror, now a Marquis by royal favour, feeling secure in his power had cast aside his vaunted patriotism and loyalty and was behaving like a despot. It looked as if he was indeed on the verge of declaring Peru an independent monarchy, with the ex-swineherd himself installed on the throne of the Incas. He was already immensely rich and had as many as 100,000 slaves at his command, a servile entourage which even the Emperor of Turkey or the Sultan of Delhi might have envied. But the governorship was not a bed of roses. The Inca Manco was still carrying on a relentless campaign of raids and ambuscades, reducing the Spanish garrisons to a state of terror. This wily Indian enemy was hard to find; regiments sent against him were lost without a trace. Open tactics failing him, Pizarro resorted to his seasoned guile and treachery which always yielded sure-fire success. In the name of Friar Valverde, whom

* Pizarro should have been a crocodile in his past janma!
† Gonzales turned traitor and was captured and beheaded in 1548.
Manco strangely trusted, he sent envoys to the elusive Inca, suggesting a conference under the safe-conduct of the Bishop of Cuzco, to which the king agreed. At this stage occurred an incident which threw up, in vivid relief, the savage and inhuman character of Pizarro, even as it reflected the glory and pride of Inca womanhood.

Advancing towards the agreed meeting-place, Pizarro sent ahead a Negro slave with some gifts to the Inca, but without any previous intimation of his approach to the Indian chiefs on the way. Some hostile natives waylaid the Negro and killed him, taking him to be a Spanish spy, especially since he carried no credentials. For this 'crime', of which Manco had no knowledge, Pizarro took a most diabolical retribution. He had in his custody a young and most beautiful Inca lady, who was a junior queen of King Manco and belonged to the royal house of Huayna Capac. He had this princess assaulted and then stripped naked and tied to a post on the roadside. The princess was then ordered to be beaten with sticks till practically all the bones in her body were broken. To prolong her agony, she was then slowly shot to death with a shower of cruelly barbed arrows! During all this attack not a word was spoken by the queen, who had no idea at all of the provocation for this dastardly torture; not a groan escaped her lips, which were merely twisted into a contemptuous smile for the unspeakably low and unchivalrous character of her assailants. Her proud eyes, however, flashed a scorching fire of scorn and hatred for the barbarian who could stoop to this type of reprisal on an innocent and helpless woman for an insult to which she was a stranger. Even the rough and brutal soldiers of Pizarro were moved by her courage and fortitude and broke into loud protests, which were however powerless to move the despot. History has not recorded the name of this lovely and courageous martyr to her sex and race; but I am sure the enlightened reader will salute her memory with the respectful admiration, which it instinctively elicits. She was indeed a worthy sister of the heroines of Den-Pessar (in Bali Island), whose glorious story I have narrated elsewhere.

Consequent on this abominable deed, the Inca would hold no truck with the bandit-captain. But the hour of Nemesis for the latter was shortly to strike. The followers of Almagro (who called themselves 'The Men of Chile') were not idle after their
chief was executed in 1538. Poor and ill-nourished though they were (they had but one coat for ten of them, so that they went abroad by turns wearing this one coat!), they were full of pride and the spirit of revenge. Their dire want only quickened their thirst for squaring the account with the headstrong tyrant. Warnings were conveyed by friends to Pizarro, which he treated with contempt, even after his effigy was once found hanging on the public gibbet. The smouldering fire burst into flame on 26th June, 1541. Shouting "Long Live King Charles! Death to the tyrant Pizarro!" the 'Men of Chile' burst into the Governor's palace and attacked the bodyguard, who lost their head and fled. Pizarro's step-brother Alcantara (a bastard like himself), who intervened, was struck down; Pizarro himself was pierced in the throat while fighting valiantly for his life, but as he fell, a dozen swords entered his expiring frame. Thus died the third of the infamous trio who had made a pact in 1526, at Panama, to conquer Peru and rob it of its wealth and freedom, a pact which, against all the historical equities of the case, they were able only too well to accomplish.

Pizarro was born in corruption and deceit, and he lived his life through the same traits; and he also died as he had lived, by treachery, brutality, and violence. Few mourned him and none missed him, not even his King, who had waxed rich through the bastard's greed and inhumanity. His head was cut off and impaled on a pike for the public to gaze upon, and his body was left in the plaza to rot. Thus was Atahualpa avenged, as also other victims of the ex-swineherd's cruelty and greed. But Peru's sacrifice was unredeemed. The Kashatriya elite were gone forever, and with them disappeared the hallmarks of their great civilization. The Spaniards ruled supreme over the New World, from Mexico to Chile, for three solid centuries, enslaving the Indians and garnering the golden fruits of their labour through a policy of exploitation and frightfulness. These 'heroes' of Christendom nailed Peru to the cross. They made the song of the whip the national anthem. It is true that in this hemisphere they had no more advanced cultures to destroy, no great cities to pillage, no treasures to loot and divide, no organised governments to uproot, no elite to exterminate, no fine and superior social

* Subsequently, the 'Men of Chile' agreed to a decent burial with Christian rites.
structures to pull down, after Peru was laid low. But, as it was, the Conquistadors had written their brief but lurid story, in the pages of American history, in characters of blood and tears. And this story stands out as a warning and a tribute; it is a warning to the rest of the world, as to what European colonialism really was in the past, and could well be in the future; it is a tribute by implication to the other great Race of Colonisers, viz., the Indo-Aryans, who trod softly wherever they went, spreading only kindliness and light, learning and culture, along their line of progress. In their vast peregrinations they destroyed merely what was evil and they nurtured the good; the land was always a better place after the Aryan had come (and perhaps, gone). Incidentally, the Dons made one unconscious contribution to world history; by their utter blackness they made the lighted patches look brighter. Through their lust, cupidity, and vandal-ism, they made the Golden Age of Peru seem even more resplendent by contrast.

* K. Cornwallis, an American writer, thus versifies the tragedy of Inca's Peru, in his book, *Mexico and Peru*:

Columbus died but Spanish conquests spread,
And more and more the Indians filled with dread.
The poor untutored natives of the soil
The Christians treated as their lawful spoil
And made them serve as slaves where they ruled.
Ere by their cruel tyrants they were schooled,
They fell, like wheat before the reapers' hands.
Invasion's blight, careering over the lands,
Exhaustion, famine, pestilence and strife,
Left Death triumphant over "barbaric" life.
NOTE TO CHAPTER IX

IMPERIALISM AND DIVINE DISPENSATION

In the New World, we have seen the Spanish padres constituting themselves as the interpreters of the will of God and as the sole means of communication between the Almighty and the Iberian marauders. Indian history affords numerous examples of similar faith, on the part of the Iberians (Portuguese), in 'divine dispensations' in their favour. In the King of Portugal's instructions to Cabral (1500 AD) appears this significant passage:

"Before he (Admiral Cabral) would attack the Moors and idolators* of those parts with the material and secular sword, he was to allow the Priests and Monks to use their spiritual sword which was to declare to them the Gospel, with admonitions and requisitions on the part of the Roman Church, asking them to abandon their idolatries and diabolical rites, and to convert themselves to the faith of Christ† .... Should they be so contumacious as not to accept this Law of Faith and should they reject the law of peace which ought to be maintained among men for the conservation of the human kind, and should they forbid commerce and exchange which are the means by which peace is conciliated and obtained, in that case they should put them to fire and sword and

* Following Marco Polo, the European colonialists considered all Hindus, Buddhists and Jains to be idolators.

† Portugal produced the most debased sadist known to history in Azvedo, who, following his King's instruction, used to christen babies (at Galle in Ceylon) and "then force the mothers to pound their babies in a mortar for the satisfaction of hearing them scream. The victims... provided him with an opportunity for a horrible pun. The screams of the dying children, we are told, resembled the cry of a fowl called galle in Portuguese". (O.K. Nambiar The Kunjalis: Admirals of Calicut, P. 108)
carry on fierce war against them."* And a Portuguese historian (Barroes Joao De) argues thus, in justification of the criminal acts of piracy and vandalism committed by the Dons in Indian waters:

"...as we were masters of its seas, whoever wished to navigate, whether gentile or Moor, in order to do so securely and peacefully, asked for a safe conduct from our captains out there, which they commonly called Cartaz, and if this infidel is found not proceeding from places where we had fortresses which are in

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* The Portuguese made literal use of 'fire and sword', in carrying out these instructions. The Inquisition at Goa put under to the auto de fe (the stake) no less than 800 victims. The sword (and the gun) were used in the cause of Christ with a ruthlessness which causes a shudder of horror even at this distance of time, to read of them. Two instances, out of many, are cited below for the benefit of the reader:

"...In this (Calicut Pilgrim) ship came the owner, who was the chief merchant and the richest in Calicut. The ship was coming from the offering to make Mount Eli. The caravels went to it and made it come and anchor close to the Captain Major, who on learning it was from Calicut, ordered the men to go and pillage it.... The wealth carried in the ship would have sufficed to ransom every Christian slave in the kingdom of Fez and even then leave a handsome balance. The passengers offered all this wealth to save their lives... To save his life and those of the passengers, the leader promised Vasco da Gama a free lading of spices and pepper for all his ships. "Sir, you gain nothing by ordering us to be killed", he pleaded with Vasco da Gama, "command that we be put in irons and carry us to Calicut. If there, we do not load your ships with pepper and spices without anything for them, then you may order us to be burned... Consider that in war, they pardon those who surrender, and we do not fight. Do you put in practice the virtue of knighthood?" Vasco da Gama was neither touched by the appeal to knighthood nor by the piteous entreaties of the fifty women and children who were in the ship.... He dismantled the Moorish vessel, and confining its passengers under the hatches, set fire to it.... "Vasco da Gama", says Lopes, 'looked on through his porthole and saw the women bringing up their gold and jewels and holding up their babies to beg for mercy.' But there was no mercy. The Portuguese tried to board the vessel, but they could not. For eighty days and nights they fired into her with their bombards and sank her with the 380 souls on board" (The loot from this pilgrim boat was worth 22000 ducats.)

"On another occasion, while Vasco da Gama remained off Calicut, there appeared a flotilla of twenty-four Calicut boats, all ladden with rice. He seized these boats and their crew numbering 800. He ordered his men to cut off their hands, ears and noses... This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with their staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, heaped one upon the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and vessels set on fire".  

(Jayne: Vasco da Gama and his Successors, P. 65 et. seq.)
our friendship, with just title we may capture him as a fair prize of war. For although by common right the seas are common and open to all navigators......yet this law has force only in Europe among the Christian folk. But with respect to these Moors and gentiles, who are outside the law of Christ Jesus — which is the true Law, since they are condemned in the principal part, which is the Soul, that part of them which it animates, cannot be privileged with the benefits of our Laws.” It is frequently recorded in the Portuguese annals that, before commencing any action strongly savouring of rapacity and crime, the Padres showed the picture of Christ to the soldiery and pronounced absolutions from sins in advance!

Such a sanctimonious alliance between priesthood and predatory commerce is not rare; it is found frequently in the annals of Protestant missionaries who followed hard on the heels of the European filibusters who wended their way to the East to ‘shake the pagoda tree.’ By way of example, I give below some choice missionary pronouncements, heavily breathing the smug belief in the supposed Divine guidance in the affairs of the British intruders into India, in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The earliest writer was Charles Grant (Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, 1792), who, although not a professed missionary, yet believed that Britain owed a moral debt to India because of the “cruel abuse of authority by the British, for political and private profit”. Grant felt that “all offices of trust and authority are in the hands of foreigners, who after a temporary residence removed with their acquisitions in constant succession*...... Even the rapacious levies (of the native rulers of Bengal) went again into circulation and the tribute formerly paid to Delhi was little felt. The British debt to the country could only be paid by the communication of Christianity to the natives and promoting Western education, thus weakening the fabric of falsehood built by the degenerate Hindus, with their dishonesty, perjury, selfishness, social divisions, low position of women, sexual vice and cruelty to animals.” (!)

* It is a matter of history that nearly all the British adventures who held high office under the Company, returned home enormously wealthy. Much of their fortune was used in further corrupting British politics, which was already highly degraded. Even the interlopers among them (e.g. Thomas Pitt,) became near millionaires.
The missionaries following Grant readily took the cue of a 'Divine Plan' for India. W. Ward, *A View of History etc. of the Hindoos, 1820* asserted with supreme conviction that "it must have been to accomplish some important moral change in the Eastern World" that India had been placed so largely under the surveillance of Britain, "the only country on earth from which the intellectual and moral improvement of India could have been expected. A day of trial had been given to Portugal, Holland and France, but they were each, found to be unworthy of the great trust......they were therefore rejected".* Ward was full of gratitude to the Almighty for "placing this vast and interesting portion of humanity under the English Government". He, however, graciously added that the Hindus could never be classified among the barbarians "though they may have been inferior to the Greeks and the Romans."

James Pegg *A History of the Baptist Mission in Orissa, 1846* compares the role of Britain with that of the Roman Empire and finds the comparison quite comforting to the spread of Christianity and of European civilization in the East. Instead of the thundering Roman legions, clad in belt and armour, it will be the swarms of missionaries dressed in cassock and surplice who will convey God's message to the heathen and spread the Light. Pegg must have been heartened to read the recent effusions of Macaulay. This noble lord combined, with the most superficial acquaintance with India, a florid diction and an infinite gusto for hammering home his sententious views on the un wary—vide the following astonishing prophesy of his, contained in his historical *Minute on Indian Education:*

"If our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence [i.e., by 1870 or so!]. And this will be effected without any effort to proselytise; without the smallest interference with religious liberty, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection." In the same Minute he asserted (about the teaching of Sanskrit or Persian). "By universal confession there are (in these tongues) no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; their systems, where they differ from those of Europe, differ only for the worse......(Should we) counte-

* We will be justified in assuming that French and Dutch historians held a slightly different view of the matter!
nance at public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, or teach astronomy which would move to laughter girls at English boarding schools?"

To millions of Hindus in Bengal, Macaulay should have sounded like the voice of doom. The very idols in the temples and shrines should have trembled over their sapta-ratna pedestals when this sapient Whig unleashed his ponderous eloquence on his unsuspecting victims. Only a few years earlier (1817), Sir Thomas Munro, grown wise in the learning of the East, had told his Board of Directors: "Foreign conquerors have treated natives with violence but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none has stigmatized a whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them." The reader will be interested to learn that this opinion was expressed by Munro because the Board had refused to spend for years even the paltry sum of £10000 a year (rupees one lakh) set apart by them "to educate the natives". This was at a time when each British Resident or Governor was going home, panoplied like a Nabob, with a fortune reckoned in hundreds of thousands of pounds and won by sheer greed, cruelty, and bad conscience.†

*The contemporary German intellectuals would have been 'moved to laughter' by Macaulay's astounding ignorance, and commensurate dogmatism. Wilhelm Von Humboldt wrote an essay on the Bhagavad Gita calling it the most beautiful, in fact only true philosophical, poem found in all literature. Goethe tried writing in Deva Nagari characters and extolled Kalidasa. Herder called the Hindus "the gentlest race on earth who dislike causing pain, respect all living creatures, draw sustenance from milk, rice, fruits and herbs - pure undefined Nature's food. The nobility of Hindu religion puts to shame the European colonisers, missionaries, and would be educators". Said F. Schlegel, "India is the real source of all tongues, all the thoughts and utterances of the human race—everything without exception has its origin in India—China became a colony of the Indian Warrior Caste, even as Egypt had become of Indian Priest Caste earlier". His brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1st Professor of Indology in Germany, 1818) called Indian mythical poems "the dreams from the dawn of the human race". Fichte, Schelling and Schopenhauer extolled the virtue of Indian civilization. Schelling found the Upanishads the oldest source of human wisdom and rated them higher than the Bible. Schopenhauer called them the solace of his life and his solace in death.

† Munro was particularly shocked at the bigoted parsimony of Cornwallis, who fixed the salary of a (White) District Magistrate at Rs. 2000/- p.m. and his next junior (Indian) magistrate at a maximum of Rs. 50/- p.m.; (a remuneration considered as quite adequate to the standard of life of the 'native' by Cornwallis)!
J. C. Marshman (History of India, 1867), although writing under official auspices a text-book for the Calcutta University, felt impelled to refer to “a mysterious but inexorable necessity” which motivated the British occupation of India and to add: “A company of merchants of London had thus become the instrument, under the mysterious but wise and benign agency of Divine Providence, of establishing the British Empire in India, with all its attendant blessings and of leading the way to the extension of European supremacy throughout Asia.” Alas for the British! The same Divine Providence seems to have also given life, within two short generations, to Tojo and Mao-Tse-Tung!

G. U. Pope (Text-book of Indian History, 1880) felt small doubt about the future of British rule in India. “The analogy of history and a consideration of the laws which seem to govern human affairs forbid the expectation that the forms of Indian national life which have passed away should ever reappear. There is no second life for decayed civilizations and nationalities. No Rama will rise again to reign over the 56 Hindu nations. Muslim conquerors have had their day...Indian life in future must be identified with that of the Paramount Power.”

P. Anderson (The English in Western India, 1856) could not resist using pungent terminology in his Imperialistic fervour: “The thirst for riches, unscrupulous efforts of ambition and reckless violence... hurried the British on to Empire. The perfidy, the cunning which overreaches itself, the cowardice and the exclusive bigotry, which disgraced the natives, smoothed the way to their subjection; surely these results are being directed by the Universal Benefactor to good. We know of no other way in which India could have been regenerated. Had the British been a set of peaceful saintly emigrants, what impression would they have made on the country?” This rhetorical question obviously admitted of only one answer, an answer which would lie as a flattering unction on the British soul.

* This missionary self-assurance and elitism has been matched at the political level. Lord Curzon wrote (in 1905, to the Secretary of State) that he saw evidences of speedy disintegration in the Indian National Congress and that its best days were over. Perhaps the noble lord had even got ready a funeral oration, written in true Curzonian style, to be delivered at the appropriate moment, over the lifeless body of the Congress!
When contrasting enlightened Christianity with benighted heathenism, the foreign evangelists used a language which was usually reserved by the Englishmen of that time for the Welsh, the Irish, and the Jews. Peggs thought that it was Satan who inspired the great Jagannath festival; Marshman refers to "the superstitious precepts of the Prophet of Islam". Hough (History of Christianity in India), as usual in such cases, found the feeble Brahmins an easy victim for his vitriolic pen, because they "engrafted on the wisdom of the sages a system of idolatry as full of abominations as any that debased the soul of man." (Abbe Dubois had not wasted his talents when he made the poor Brahmin the recurrent object of his malignant attention.)

Towards the close of the 19th century, milder sentiments were in evidence, as well as less sarcastic thrusts at Hinduism or Islam; but even then the pious soldiers of Christ, treading hard on the heels of the Empire-builders, could not forbear strewing about left-handed compliments. Thus James Vaughan (1876) thought that the "Hindus approached nearer to the true ideal than any other people unblessed with the Light of Revelation." It was also occasionally conceded that the Light had shone on the Indian (though dimly), that "there were fragments of truth in Hinduism." J. N. Farquhar pleased that the best ideal of Hinduism found their fulfilment in Christianity; and Griswold (Religion of Rigeveda, 1923) gravely argued that "Christianity was the culmination of the Veda". Even Edward Thompson felt that "there was infantile confusion of thought in Mahatma Gandhi in his arguments in defence of the caste system."* The temptation to cast up moral balance-sheets (apropos of the British rule in India) was not often resisted, with the understandable corollary that the balance-sheet always showed a heavy surplus on the right side. Thus Thompson (in his Suttee): "It was a higher civilization which won both Akbar and the English"†— [forgetting that for the major

* forgetting that "there was more caste in a London suburb (in Victoria's time) than in the whole of Hindustan," in Keir Hardie's biting phraseology.

† Hitler would have gratefully used these phrases if he had triumphed in the last war against the Russians! For had not Nietzsche written (1890): "A daring and virile ruler race is building up on the foundation of an extremely intelligent gregarious mass...... We require an inter-growth of the German and Slav races. We (the Germans) require an unconditional union with Russia."
part of her recorded history, his own motherland had been dominated in succession by the Romans, the Angles, the Danes and the Normans.
CHAPTER X

THE MEXICAN ENIGMA

If this chapter seem somewhat lacking in finish and finality, I hope I can count on the indulgence of the kind reader. For one thing, the subject is so vast in its dimensions that a whole volume could not do it adequate justice. Besides, the ancient Mexican language is so full of intricacies and so heavily subjected to vagaries of spelling, that it is difficult for an amateur to tackle its pronunciations, especially when trying to fix Indo-Aryan phonetic equivalents. Further, as in the case of Peru, all the books of 'heathen learning' were systematically destroyed by the Spaniards. The Aztecs, and even some of their predecessors, knew well the art of writing (which they had probably acquired from Indo-Aryan sources via the Polynesian islands) and they made no niggardly use of this virtuosity. Their manuscripts were occasionally made of cotton cloth or vellum, but mostly they were written on a fine fabric spun out of the aloe plant (agave) or pressed out of the inner bark of the ficus tree—devices which were not unknown in South-East Asia, and which produced a writing material finer than even parchment. Before the Spanish conquest, large stores of these manuscripts had been collected all over the Aztec realm and an army of scribes was employed in copying them, whose skill and speed excited the admiration of the Dons, a sentiment which soon gave place to less worthy impulses. To quote Prescott (Conquest of Mexico): "The strange unknown characters inscribed on them excited suspicion. They were looked on as magic scrolls, and were regarded in the same light with the idols and temples, as the symbols of a pestilent superstition that must be extirpated. The first Archbishop of Mexico, Don Juan de Zumarraga, a name that should be as immortal as that of
Caliph Omar*, collected these paintings from every quarter, especially from Tezcuco, the most cultivated capital in Anahuac, and the great depository of the national archives. He then caused them to be piled up in a "mountain-heap"—as it is called by the Spanish writers themselves—in the market-place of Tlatelolco, and reduced them all to ashes! His greater countryman, Archbishop Ximenes, had celebrated a similar *auto da-fe* of Arabic manuscripts, in Granada, some twenty years before. Never did fanaticism achieve two more signal triumphs than by the annihilation of so many curious monuments of human ingenuity and learning!

"The unlettered soldiers were not slow in imitating the example of their prelate. Every chart and volume which fell into their hands was wantonly destroyed; so that, when the scholars of a later and more enlightened age anxiously sought to recover some of these memorials of civilization, nearly all had perished, and the few surviving had been jealously hidden by the natives. Through the indefatigable labours of a private individual however, a considerable collection was eventually deposited in the archives of Mexico, but was so little heeded there that some were plundered, others decayed piecemeal from the damp and mildews, and others again were used up as waste paper! We contemplate with indignation the cruelties of the early conquerors. But indignation is qualified with contempt when we see them thus ruthlessly trampling out the spark of knowledge, the common boon and property of all mankind. We may well doubt which has the stronger claim to civilization, the victor or the vanquished."

In a previous chapter I have referred to various theories concerning the origins of the Central and South American cultures, whose traces go back to the commencement of the Hindu Saka era (78 A.D.) and beyond. I have cited some expert opinions to the effect that these cultures owe their source and inspiration to the Asiatic mainland, and ultimately to Aryavarta. Though

* or of Mohd. Bin Bhaktyar, in India, who destroyed, among other priceless monuments, the world famous library at Nuddea. It may be added that the Spaniards crowned their folly by destroying, in 1697, not only the city and temple of the Itza's, but the fine collection of sacred books there, written in Maya heiro. Incidentally, the papyrus mss. destroyed at Alexandria supplied fuel to the public baths in the city for six months!
when the Spaniards came (in 1520 A.D.) it was the Aztecs who were in authority, several nations had preceded them in power in this area, as for instance the Tarasco, the Toltecs, the Olmecs, the Zapotecs and the Maya. Wherefrom did these early peoples come to Central America? Von Hagen (The Aztec—Man and Tribe) thinks that they all "came over the roof, via the Behring Strait". Scouting the once popular theory that the Red Man was a member of one of the Lost Tribes of Israel (Viscount Kingsborough was a victim of this belief) and holding that the Neolithic man was a land-wanderer and not a seafarer*, he argues thus: "Over the face of this strange new green earth, after long periods of evolutionary progress, man, real man, appeared. He is not out of the pale of world memory; three hundred centuries ago he was making zoomorphic engravings on the walls of caves, creditable intaglios of bison, mammoths, deer, wolves. In body he was a completely formed type; he had wit, ornament and a technique of living. The massive herds of mammals that roamed the earth soon made the acquaintance of this tool-using primate. He followed them, flowing around the Mediterranean and crossing it. He wandered through the wilderness of the Nile into the sylvan lands of India, Java, China, and throughout the whole of Eurasia. Finally he broke into that world-in-itself, Mongolia. . . . Forty thousand years ago, these men with the mongoloid eyes, following the northern paths of mammals, made the first invasion of the Americas."

Von Hagen concedes, however, that his theory is under siege from many quarters and that "archaeologists, botanists, geographers, have attacked it as untenable". To quote him again: "There are fifty 'strikingly similar' features between Pacific Island cultures and those of America, only to be explained by trans-Pacific diffusions. The 'diffusionists' insist that crossings between the continents, by raft, ship or outrigger, appear to have been numerous. Even though there is no proof, these theories have subsisted on the basis of faith, and now in the last years, of passionate feeling. But a feeling does not adduce its reasons. It has none; it must be lent to it. There is no positive proof on either side of the anthropological fence. Arguments, weighty and frivolous, are many."

* Despite strong evidences to the contrary in Polynesia, where, however, the people had regressed into a Neolithic culture from a much higher civilization.
While respecting the learned archaeologist’s anti-diffusionist bias, I would urge that the “fifty strikingly similar features” cannot be lightly overlooked or under-estimated, and the theory of a maritime cultural diffusion from South-East Asia dismissed as the vapouring of the “lunatic fringe” among the historians and anthropologists. It is the purpose of this chapter to marshal the evidence on which this “fringe” bases its lunacy.

As indicated, the Aztecs came tardily on the Mexican scene, i.e., circa 1200 A.D. It will be impossible to deal with the pre-Aztec history in detail within the confines of this chapter, but a cursory summary may be attempted. An important fact to be cognized at the outset is that all pre-Aztec cultures had their origins shrouded in some dubiety, overlapped each other chronologically, and several of them survived till the Spanish Conquest. As a matter of fact, what the Dons overthrew was merely the Aztec overlordship; below this lay several layers of earlier cultures, which were not entirely lifeless at the time of the Spanish rape of Mexico.

A rapid review of the early civilizations will be worth the effort, with the caveat that the dates indicated are only very approximate and are not without dispute; the names are also sometimes unauthentic, being tagged on by the Spanish conquerors* somewhat fancifully. The earliest culture in evidence is that of the Olmecs who flourished in the early centuries before Christ. They traded in rubber, jade, chocolate and bird feathers; they apparently practised circumcision and were given to head-hunting; their art was simple, forceful and realistic. They were followed by the Mayas, about whom we shall hear more presently. These gave place to the Mixtecs, who first appeared on the scene in the 7th century A.D. and lasted into the Spanish Conquest. They had colourful legends about themselves, and their chief deity, Quetzal-coatl (the plumed serpent), became the greatest divinity of the New World. Quetzal-coatl was half-human and half-divine; he was both priest and ruler, as well as the demiurge of God. According to a well-known myth which has probably a substratum of truth, he lived at Tula, ruled over the Toltecs, and was finally forced to flee his country by sea in a sailing vessel. But he left behind a vivid prophecy of his return in triumph at

* For example, the Aztecs never called themselves by this name.
a subsequent date, calculated in some hundreds of years in the future. *

Some remarks about these Toltecs, who lived to see the Dons arrive, although while in a state of subjection to the Aztecs, would be appropriate. Their name is apparently derived from their capital town, Tollan, Tullan, or Tula. This name is itself intriguing. According to a famous German writer †, Tollan is derived from tolun (= reed in Aztec), but there is, according to him another derivation which is based on the theory that the cradle of the human race was the Himalayan mountains. "But the collective name of these lofty regions was very anciently designated by appellations the roots of which were Tal, Tol, Tul, meaning tall, high...as it does yet in many languages, the English, Chinese and Arabic, for instance. Such were Tolo, T’hala, Talaha, Tulan, etc., in the old Sanskrit and primitive languages of Asia. Whence came the Asiatic Atlas and also the Atlantes of the Greeks, who, spreading through the world westerly, gave these names to many other places and nations. ...The Talas or Atlantes occupied or conquered Europe and Africa, nay, went to America in very early times. ...In Greece they became Atalantes, Talautians of Epirus, Aetolians. ...They gave name to Italy, Aitala meaning land eminent, to the Atlantic ocean, and to the great Atlantis, or America, called in the Hindu books Atala or Tala-tala, the fourth world,

* Strangely enough, one such date was 1519 A.D., when the Dons arrived! Such beliefs, in a future Messiah or the Redeemer, are common to most religions (e.g.: the Hebrews and the Moslems). Hindus foresee, in the distant future, a Kalki avatar; Buddhists contemplate the arrival of several Bodhisatvas. Many Christian sects hold similar views, some rather fantastic. For instance, the Mormons firmly held, to the arrival of the Lord to rule the earth early in the 19th century, George Turner announced that the Lord would arrive in 1817 and he even named the Lord’s future Cabinet, with the salaries fixed in advance! Turner averred that the Lord "would increase a hundred-fold the power of men and women to enjoy each other." (The year 1817 passed uneventfully but the Mormons were undismayed.) Joanna Southcott, a successor to Turner, maintained that she was pregnant with Shiloh, the new Messiah but she died soon after (of dropsy, a misleading complaint!). Other sectarians and prophets have since saluted the false dawn of pseudo-Messiahs on many an occasion.

† Buschmann.
Central America showing the distribution of the various tribes

Shaded portion shows the original home-land of the Mayas
Entrance to the Temple of Warriors

The steps of the Temple of the Sun at Teotihuacan
where dwelt giants or powerful men....America is also filled with their names and deeds from Mexico and Carolina to Peru; the Tol-tcas, people of Tol, and Aztlan, Otolum near Palenque, many towns of Tula and Tolu; the tales of Michuacan, the Mata-lans, Atalans, Tulukis, etc., of North America.” (C. S. Rafinesque: *Atlantic Journal*, Philadelphia, 1832-33.)

The Toltecs were great builders and were well instructed in the arts of agriculture and metal-working, and their calendar system was highly efficacious. In short, “they were the true puritarians of the civilization which distinguished this part of the (American) continent in later times” (Prescott). The Toltecs flourished between 200 B. C. and 700 A. D. in North Mexico, and their capital, Teotihuacan (Devavaka? = garden of the gods) near Mexico, whose remains cover an area of eight square miles, is an impresssive memorial to their civilization. The grand city was unrivalled in its own day, and it served as a model to its successors. When pressed from the north by the Chichimecs, the Toltecs moved south and founded the fabulous city of Tula (in 900 A. D.), which lasted till 1100 A.D. as the centre of Toltec power. This metropolis confined in its ruins many of the myths and legends of the Toltecs. The Padre Sahagun said of it, soon after Cortes overwhelmed the Aztecs: “The beautiful city of rich palaces of green jade, and white and red shell, where the ears of corn and pumpkins reached the size of a man, where cotton grew in the plant in all colours*, and the air was always filled with rare birds of precious feathers.”

I have mentioned earlier the Mayas as a pre-Aztec power in Mexico. The name has a Sanskrit ring about it, and curiously enough, their culture bears a close resemblance to that of Aryavarta in significant respects. Theirs has been called the classical age of Mexico, and the Mayan empire flourished from about 300 A. D. to 900 A. D. Even after the latter date, they continued to exist with diminished power till the Conquest and were finally overwhelmed by the Dons in 1537 A. D. Von Hagen gives the Mayas a genealogy going backward to 1500 B. C., a date which is difficult to accept, especially since Von Hagen himself admits that “for what length of time they built their temple cities before they set up their first calendar is not known; their earliest stele is

* The reference to coloured cotton is very interesting.
dated A. D. 416." Undisturbed for many centuries in their homeland, the Mayas had developed, before the 12th century, their calendar system, the glyph writing, and a fine stone-art statuary profusely distributed over complex temple cities. Some of these cities still survive. The Monte Alban (whose original name is unknown) was a ceremonial town, which can trace its early archaeological horizons back to perhaps 500 B. C. By this date the Mayans had achieved a calendar, a complete cosmogony and a system of hieroglyphics, which is still unfortunately a mystery. To quote Von Hagen:

"One will grasp how really early all this was if one remembers that in the same period of world history Nebuchadnezzar was destroying Jerusalem and carrying off the Jews to their first slavery. Cyrus, king of the Persians, was on the loose and the whole Middle East was in an expansion mood; by the time the people of Mexico were beginning to set up their temple-city states, Xerxes had conquered Egypt and was setting off to invade Greece. Although the 'Americas' had none of the stimulation of the 'Fertile Crescent' of the Near East — which brought the wheel, iron and the alphabet to the world — they were advanced in city-planning, writing and sculpture."

To one who has been following my thesis as embodied in these writings, the pertinent question will be: Did the Indo-Aryans come to Mexico at all, and if they did, was it as early as 500 B. C.? The answer is, we know not for certain; but there are some astounding resemblances between the Maya and Aztec cultures and that of Aryavarta (as we shall see presently) which can be explained only on the basis of an early contact between the two hemispheres, thanks to the missionary zeal and enterprise shown by the sons of Sapta Sindhu. The anti-diffusionists will, of course, put down such remarkable similitudes to the accident of "simultaneous growths," but I leave it to the discriminating reader to arrive at his own dispassionate conclusions.

Meanwhile we can glance at some vague semilegendary materials which have superimposed themselves on the issue. In India, there is a tradition that California was really 'Kapilavana', the forest abode of Sage Kapila, who allegedly left Indian shores
for a far-off clime*—Mexico itself (pronounced mashiko in Aztec, since the x is sounded like sh) is equated by some Indian scholars with Makshika, i.e., land of bees and birds. (To the natives, Mexico was par excellence the land of birds, as I shall show elsewhere.) Another theory derives the name from makshika, a mineral ore, described by Wilson thus: "Makshika is a mineral substance, of which two kinds are described. The svarna-makshika, or 'gold makshika,' of a bright yellow colour, apparently the common pyritic iron ore; and the rupya-makshika or silver makshika. They are, however, perhaps rather synonymous of gold and silver ore respectively, than the names of species." (Wilson's Sanskrit Lexicon.) Clavigero incorrectly derives Mexico

* vide the following quotation from Buddhist (Pali) literature:

"At that period our Bodhisatto, who was born in an illustrious Brahman family, and was called Kapilo Brahman, leaving that family, and assuming the sacerdotal character in the Isi (Rishi) sect, sojourned in the Himawanto country in a 'parnasala' (leaf hut), built on the borders of a pond in a forest of sal trees. This individual was endowed with the gift called the "bhoomilakkhanan,' and could soar up into the air. In a certain country where the grass, bushes, and creepers had a tendency in their growth, taking a southerly direction, then to face the east; where lions, tigers and other beasts of prey which chased deer and hog, and cats and snakes which pursued rats and frogs, on reaching that division, were incapacitated from persevering in their pursuit; while, on the other hand, each of the pursued creatures, by their growl or screech only, could arrest their pursuers; there, this (Kapila) Isi satisfied of the superiority of that land, constructed his 'parnasala.'

"Then the eight (four princes and four sisters of theirs) arrived in the new land in due course and set up a State. The officers of State thus argued: 'If these children had grown up under their father's protection, he would have formed matrimonial alliances for them; they are now under our charge' and then addressed themselves on this subject to the princes. The princes replied: 'We see no royal daughters equal to our sisters to wed. By forming unequal alliances, the children born to us, either by the father's or mother's side, will become degraded by the stain attached to their birth; let us therefore form matrimonial alliances with our own sisters.' Accordingly, recognising in their sister the character and authority of a mother, in due seniority (the four brothers) wedded (the other four sisters)." ..... (Buddhist Pali Texts.) Sage Kapila is mentioned in the Veda (R.V. X 27), as having sprung from Indra (in his role of Prajapati). Kapila was one of the ten Angirasas; according to the Vedic Index the other Angirasas despatched one of the ten, namely Kapila, "as equal to the task for the completion of the sacrifice," (R.V. X. 27, 16) to remote lands. Kapila reputedly took up his residence in the nether world and Indra, at one time hid the horse of an aswamedha sacrificer named Sagara, in Kapila's abode.
from the War God "Mexitli," of the region. The Sramana cult claims that Buddha himself paid a visit to this far-off land or that at least some of his not very distant followers did so. All these fanciful tales probably lend point to a great historical truth, viz., that in the remote past there was religious and cultural contact between the two hemispheres and that India somehow figured in this great spiritual traffic towards the far, far east. It is not without significance that the present descendants of the Maya people firmly believe that their ancestors came straight from across the seas from South-East Asia, and that the original home of the migrants was India.

This belief is not surprising in view of the close similarity in cultural indices between Aryavarta and Makshika. The Mayan society was modelled like that of the ancient Aryans; it was loosely integrated and there was something like a caste system. As in Peru, there was an 'elite', which was composed, in the main, of the immigrant clans. In the over-emphatic words of a learned writer, "Between the ruling hierarchy and the common people there existed inflexible barriers of caste and training; each group lived at extreme poles from the other ....... Both the priests and the nobility established lines of heredity through which their offices were passed on to succeeding generations." Bishop Landa (the notorious inspirer of the holocaust of Aztec manuscripts) has this to say on the situation: "They (the priests) taught the sons of other priests and the second sons of the lords, whom they brought up from infancy, if they saw that they had an inclination for learning. .......and his (the High Priest's) son or his nearest relation succeeded him in office." According to Landa, the duties of the High Priest were as follows:

"He was much respected by the lords .... besides the offerings, the lords made him presents and all the priests of the town brought contributions to him.... In him was the key of their learning and it was to these matters that they mostly dedicated themselves; and they gave advice to the lords and replies to their questions.... They provided priests for the towns when they were needed, examining them in the sciences and ceremonies and committed to them the duties of their office, and set good examples to people and provided them with books and sent them forth. And they employed themselves in the duties of the temples, in teaching their science as well as writing books about them...."
"The sciences which they taught were the computation of the years, months, and days, the festivals and ceremonies, the administration of the sacraments, the fateful days and seasons, their methods of divination and their prophecies, the cures for diseases, and events and their antiquities, and how to read and write with their letters and characters with which they wrote, and drawings which illustrate the meaning of their writings."*

* It is mentioned by G.T. Quintero (Education Among Ancient Mexicans) that there were 40,000 schools, with over a million students in the Aztec Empire, at the time of the Invasion.

This obviously means that practically all the juvenile population was being freely and compulsorily schooled! This is a most astonishing sign of progress seeing that in contemporary Europe, education was neither free nor wide spread. Perhaps the story of English education may serve as a true sample of the European situation in this respect.

"So little is known about London schools in medieval times that doubt has been cast on their existence." (Mitchell and Leys: A History of London Life, P. 103.) The Rolls of Parliament complain of a dearth of schools, in about 1500 A.D. In the 16th century, we hear of two schools in London (St. Anthony’s with 100 boys and St. Pauls with 150) and these were for the well-to-do; books were so scarce that only the master had them, the pupils, sitting cross-legged, had to learn lessons by heart! "Few had so over-powering a desire to learn that they studied willingly; they learnt their lessons because they knew they would be beaten otherwise." They were perhaps some guild of masters’ schools for workmen’s children but no traces of these could be found. In the 19th century, a few schools for the poor arose (the so-called Ragged Schools) but they proved a drop in an ocean! The Ragged Schools were often miserable hovels full of starving and naked children, "who were continually crying from hunger and falling from their seats exhausted for want of food". (Cole and Postgate, The Common People.) Before 1833, only those children of poor families were likely to receive any education at all as chanced to live near a church which conducted a free school. "The 18th century saw the completion of the process by which educational establishments for the use of the poor, were taken over by the wealthy. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and schools like Eton were allowed to disregard the provisions in their statutes (providing for poor scholars) and to use the money for the wealthy alone." (The Common People by Cole and Postgate, P. 94.)

In brief, there was no education outside the well-to-do communities and the very large bulk of the population remained illiterate till comparatively recent times. Higher education was confined to Oxford and Cambridge, to which only members of the Church of England could be admitted. (London University was founded under Queen Victoria in 1836.) Medicine and Law were not taught till the middle of the 19th century, upto which time "there were very few doctors and virtually no attorneys." Women were excluded from the Universities till London University threw itself open for them in 1878.
Assisting the High Priest was a group of soothsayers or prophets (called Chilas in Aztec: Sanskrit selah from seel, to meditate?) who were adepts in communing with the gods and in interpreting omens and portents. It will be seen from the above remarks that the social and sacerdotal set-up in the Mayan kingdom was analogous to that in ancient India. If anything, the priest enjoyed an even more honoured position in Maya-land than in our own country. In the sculptures they appear heavily robed and often bejewelled and seated on throne-like seats, raised on a par with those of the monarchs themselves. In the words of Morley, "their knowledge of astronomy, their ability to predict eclipses, their penetration into every phase of life, made them feared and respected and gave them a hold on the superstitions of the people equalled by that of no other class."

Below the priests were the hereditary nobility, corresponding to our Rajanyas. Each city (and district) was governed by a lord known in Aztec as Halach Uinic; below him were local administrators (like our gramanis) who possessed not only judicial powers but also command of a small body of soldiery. These headmen were assisted by village councillors (panchayats) and deputies. Each big town was autonomous to some degree, and at the top there was only a loosely federated authority, without such close political control as one would expect in a unified state. Religion, however, was a powerful cohesive force; while the State was not theocratic, the centralised priestly hierarchy, with a universal hold over the spiritual affairs of the people, was a strong binding and centripetal factor. Lands were also communally owned and there was little personal real property. The nobility and the priesthood were supported by tithes collected from the peasants, who paid a share of the produce, whether it was corn, salt, copal, incense, wild game, fruit or honey. In this respect, the agricultural system also resembled that of India.

Like the Incas, the Mayas were sun-worshippers; in fact, they called themselves Children of the Sun. In their complicated mythology, which bore a striking resemblance to that of India, the Sun occupied a supreme position. In the words of Hyatt Verrill (Old Civilizations of the New World): "Most prominent of all perhaps was the sun-god known as Kinichahua (Lord of the Face of the Sun) in Yucatan, and as Kinich Kakmo* (Fire-bird or Sun-bird, * Sanskrit: kakam = the crow?"
and identified with the red macaw or arara). As the Mayas were indirectly sun-worshippers, the sun-god held a very important place in their mythology. In nearly all the Mayan myths the origin of the race is solar, like that of the Incas, and since the sun rises in the east, all of the Mayas' mythical hero-gods, who were supposed to have brought culture and civilization, were credited with coming from the east." The god of Rain and Thunder (corresponding to our Indra) and the Invisible or Supreme God, Hunabku (like our Prajapatior Brahmanaspati) were also important figures of the Maya pantheon. The 'Plumed Serpent,' known to the Mayas as Kukulcan, was also a well-known deity, as was Itzama the Moon-god, who was conceived of as the son of Hunabku and the inventor of books and writing. Another famous god was Chac (or Sak), the presiding genius for fertility and rain. The Mayas envisioned the world as made of "several upper worlds and several lower ones" (in Indian style), with a patron god at each level. Various divinities were identified with the calendar (as was the case in India) and there was a profound belief in the immortality of the soul. "The soul was perpetuated after death in a state of serene pleasure or of eternal torment, according to the nature of one's deeds and the measure of one's devotion to his religious ideals," says a writer* whose remarks carry special significance to those acquainted with the Indian Law of Karma.† Strangely enough, suicide, in certain

† In Vol. I of this book, I have referred to the debt which Greece owed to India in religion and philosophy. Pythagoras was a staunch believer in the transmigration of the soul from body to body and in this, as in other matters, was deeply influenced by India. "Almost all the theories, religious, philosophical, mathematical, taught by the Pythagoreans were known in India in the 6th century B.C., and the Pythagoreans, like the Jains and Buddhists, refrained from the destruction of life and the eating of meat, regarding certain vegetables, like beans, as taboo" (Legacy of India, P. 5). Both Pythagoras and Empedocles claimed (like Buddha) to possess the power of recollecting their earlier lives. The complementary doctrine of Karma is the keystone of Plato's philosophy. According to the Greek, the soul is forever travelling through "a cycle of necessity" (cf. samsara chakra), the evil which it does in one segment of the circle of pilgrimage being expiated in the following one. Plato created Lachesis, the "Daughter of Necessity" (Karma personified) who fixed the next mundane habitation for the dis-embodied-soul, according to the good or evil done in the previous birth. Says Plato, "Some of the animals passed into men and into one another.
circumstances, was considered commendable, a doctrine which well accords with that of our ancient philosophy.\* The Mayan Hell was called 'Mitnal,' which generally tallied with the Hindu conception of this unpleasant and torrid region.

In the manner reflected in the incipient Vedic religious beliefs, and consistently with the practices widely prevalent in Polynesia, the gods were supposed to be susceptible to prayers and sacrifices, even as they could be alienated by the neglect to offer them in time. Natural calamities and personal misfortunes could be thus averted or mitigated through the wise ministrations of the astronomer-priests. Having assessed the importance and the proclivities of the gods in their varying aspects, and having marked their ever-shifting progress along the highways of time and space, the priests (and they alone) could determine when the gods under solicitation were in their most beneficent mood, and when their greatest number was in friendly conjunction (a virtuosity curiously resembling that obtaining in Aryavarta). Hence came the Mayan obsession with 'lucky time', a phenomenon which could be easily visualised by

the unjust passing into the wild, and the just into the tame'. The cult of Orphism (c. 600 B.C.) bore strong resemblance to Hinduism, especially after Pythagoras (582-507 B.C.) introduced the Eastern mystic practices into it. "Christianity, just as it accepted elements of Gnosticism and Mithraism, accepted elements from the Mystery Religions." This would be especially true of Orphism, which in its later developments has close parallelism with Indian transcendental philosophy. Orthodox Christianity broke away from metempsychosis; the latter, a sheet anchor of Hindu religion, travelled to the New World with the Aryans, as explained in these pages.

\* At extremely holy places, like Prayag and Benares, persons were allowed to kill themselves by drowning, with the desire of securing release from samsara..... The Anusasanaparva (25. 62-64) says that if a man knowing the Vedanta and understanding the ephemeral nature of life abandons life in the holy Himalayas by fasting, he would reach the world of Brahmu..... Among Jains a similar rule prevailed. The Ratnakarandasraavakacara (chap. 5) of Samantabhadra (about 2nd century A.D.) dilates on Sallekhana, which consists in abandoning the body or the accumulation of merit, during calamities, famines, extreme old age and incurable disease.

From the account of the suicidal death of Kalanos the Indian gymnosophist, given by Megasthenes (Mc Crindle p. 106) we can gather that the practice of religious suicide prevailed long before the 4th century B.C. Strabo (XV. 1. 4) states that with the ambassadors that came to Augustus Caesar from India, also arrived an Indian gymnosophist who committed himself to the flames like Kalanos.
the discerning reader familiar with the lagna, rahu-kala, etc., of Indian astrology.

This leads us naturally to the study of the Mayan calendar, whose complexity and near-perfection testifies to the astounding skill of the astronomer-priests who compiled it. By careful observation, through many centuries, they had meticulously recorded the movements of those celestial bodies marching in endless relays over the blue deep and mysteriously casting their spell over the destinies of mortal men. This esoteric knowledge the priests shared with few, but they used it to endow themselves with a technical prowess and a prestige which even now evokes the appreciation of modern critics. In the field of calendrics and mathematics, the Mayas reached a stage of evolution which far surpassed that of ancient Egypt and approximated to that of our Vedic Rishis. "Astronomy became the primary stimulus of their attainments, and the supreme proof of their intellectual abilities, as evidenced by their mastery of its principles. Tirelessly they laboured to explore the multiple aspects of time, to understand and placate its awesome influence upon the destiny of individuals and empire alike. And from their attempts evolved a calendrical lore which reached back millions of years in scope and encompassed a profoundly complex philosophy." (Prescott)

As already mentioned, the calendar was merely the vehicle of expression and the index of those benevolent or malevolent spirits who held in their hands the destinies of kingdoms. Its alternating cycles were supposed to bring with them the power and influence of their ruling deities; a similar concept prevails in India, where each year has its raja, mantri, etc. The Mayan calendar was the most accurate invention of this kind known to the ancient world.* It was extremely complex in structure and interpretation, and consisted of a series of independently revolving 'wheels' recording interrelated cycles of time. Two separate year measurements were observed; the tzolkin or sacred year made up of two hundred and sixty days, and a civil year known as a 'haab', composed of eighteen months of twenty days each, to

* "With patience, cooperation and intelligent deduction, they succeeded in measuring the synodical revolution of Venus so accurately that their error was only one day in 6000 years! This, an under-estimate by less than 24 seconds of the average synodical revolution, was no mean achievement". (Vanished Civilizations, P. 164).
which an extra month of five days was added, making a three-hundred-and-sixty-five-day year. The civil year was used in ordinary calendrical reckoning, whereas the shorter tzolkin determined matters pertaining to religious observances.*

Each day, month and year was given a sacred name as in India, with an identifying heiroglyph. The basic unit of the calendar was the day (glyphed ‘kin’—Sanskrit: din?); 20 kins became a long count month (or Uinal) and the cycle was constituted as follows (in the words of the learned Dr. Gallen Kamp):

18 uinals — a tun (a year without the addition of five extra days).

20 tuns — a katun (7,200 days)
20 katuns — a baktun (1,440,000 days)
20 baktuns — a pictun (2,880,000 days)
20 pictuns — a calabtun (57,600,000 days)
20 calabtuns — kinchiltun (1,152,000,000 days)
20 kinchiltuns — analautun (23,040,000,000 days)†

"In working out the calendric inscriptions it was discovered that every ‘Initial Series’ sequence was counted from a cryptic date recorded as 13.0.0.0.4 Ahua, 8 Cumhu, which apparently marks the beginning of Mayan chronology. It is referred to as the ‘Zero Date’ of all calendrical reckonings, and denotes a point roughly five thousand years in the past. Spinden interprets it literally as October 14, 3373 B.C. (It is 3113 B.C. according to the Goodman-Hernandez-Thompson correlation.) Oddly enough, this date was some three millenia before the introduction of

* "They (the Mayas) were the first people to conceive of time on the vast scale to which modern science has accustomed us. One stele.....calculates the day and month position for a date 400 million years in the past! Merely to contemplate this length of time, would have been quite impossible for a European before the XIX century" (Vanished Civilizations, P. 153).

† In Hindu calendars, a Maha yuga, consisting of the four yugas, had 4,320,000 human years equal to 12,00 divine years (roughly 1510,800,000 days) and two maha yugas constituted a day, in the 100-year life of Brahma! It is curious and significant, that, while the Hindus (Deva worshippers) followed the astronomical evolutions of the planet Jupiter, identified with the Deva-guru Bhraspathi, the Mayas and the Aztecs cast their yearly cycles on the synodical movements of Venus (or Sukra, the guru of the Asuras!). In India- the Barhapatyamana (Jovian cycle) is very ancient; it is mentioned by Manu, Parasara and Garga. Even Cunningham admits that 'it must have been in use before the Christian era' (Indian Eras, P. 18).
calendrics and hieroglyphic writing among the Mayas; thus archaeologists are agreed that it denotes a hypothetical event rather than a historical one. Perhaps, as has been suggested by Morely, the Maya considered it the day of the world's creation or the birth-date of their gods. It was from this point that the astronomer-priests began marking off divisions of lapsed and future time.

It is curious that the Mayans should go back approximately 5000 years for the start of their current cycle. Remarkably, the Hindus have done the same when starting their Kaliyuga in circa 3102 B.C.† (It is possible that a more detailed study of the Mayan glyph counts will make their national first year coincide with that of the Hindu Kaliyuga.) Another interesting feature of the Mayan calendrics was that their month was divided into two halves of 13 days each, somewhat corresponding to the Hindu lunar month consisting of two pakshas of 14 days each. The most astonishing parallelism with Aryavarta was, of course, in the ability of the Mayan priests to predict the lunar and solar eclipses long in advance, a prowess which had also permeated, from Aryavarta, the whole of Polynesia, as we have seen in a previous chapter. Using towers and platforms (as done by the Incas) with predetermined orientations, the courses of the two heavenly orbs were plotted in marvellous detail; eventually accurate tables were evolved for predicting their eclipses. Curiously enough, special studies were made of the synodical revolution of the planet Venus also, till a so-called Venus year was evolved and formed the base for a covert cult.‡

Like the Hindus, the Mayans were aware that there was a margin of error in their calendric cycles, which when accumulated, would eventually throw the whole system out of gear. Through careful and painstaking computations, this margin was reduced to infinitesimal proportions, and even then corrections were made to

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*Gallan Kamp:

† To be exact, Kaliyuga was born at 2 hrs. 27½ mts. on 20th February, 3102 B.C., according to the Hindus.

‡ In India Venus was equated with Sukracharya, the guru of the Danavas. There was a historical Rishi called Sukra who founded a philosophical school, somewhat in opposition to that of Brhaspati, who was the guru of the Devas. The 'Sukraniti' is attributed to Sukra. Says Lord Krishna in the Gita, "I am Asunakavi (Sukra) among the Kavis (poets)."
allow for discrepancies brought about by leap years and other synodical variations. To synchronise their civil year (of 365 days) with their sacred year of 260 days they had to develop much mathematical skill, without which their chronology would have been soon helplessly at sea.

Like the astronomical glyphs, two methods were employed in recording numerical notation, elaborate head-variant numerals and a more commonly used system of bars and dots. A dot was equivalent to one unit, and a bar equal to five. Numbers from one to nineteen were written in varying combinations of each thus:

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In the above table numbers above nineteen were noted according to their placement in vertical columns, and each ascending position increased in value by multiples of twenty from bottom to top. Numbers placed opposite a specific position were multiplied by its corresponding multiple of twenty; the column was then added to formulate the sum total.

To inveterate anti-diffusionists, it may sound rather strange that the Hindus also should have developed a notational system for figures up to 19 with dots and strokes somewhat resembling the Mayan hieroglyphics. But stranger coincidences (?) follow.

To quote Gallen-Kamp: "One of the most notable innovations brought about by the Maya in the field of mathematics was the principle of the zero. This abstract concept, essential to all but the most simplified calculations, had eluded discovery by the most

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* The reader may recall that, as mentioned by me elsewhere, in other Aryan-dominated lands like Java and Bali, there were local years of less than 365 days.

† As I have explained in Chapter X of Volume I of this book.
advanced civilizations of the Old World. At only one other place in antiquity—among the ancient Hindus—was its use independently evolved. Subsequently it passed to Arabia and was acquired by the Moors who introduced it into Europe during the Middle Ages; but the Maya were making use of the zero at a date far earlier than even Hindu mathematicians. It was represented in their inscriptions by means of a shell, an open hand, or one of several variant glyphs."

In the above quotation the learned writer seems to give undue credit to the Mayas, viz., not only for independently inventing the zero sign (which escaped the ingenuity of the Egyptians, the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans) but also for doing so earlier than the Hindus! I have demonstrated elsewhere (vide Vol. I, Chapter X) the hoary antiquity of the Indian achievement which is actually used in a treatise of the 3rd century B.C. (the Pingala Sutra) and also frequently referred to in earlier Vedic astronomic literature going back to the 2nd millennium B.C. The zero was glyphed like an oyster shell in Maya-land; in Aryavarta it was shown as a small dot or a small circle (kha or randhra = hole.)

Here are a few more points of interest concerning the culture of the Mayas:

A new-born child was always considered as a divine gift by the parents, who gave the child an infant name, and had its horoscope cast, as was the custom in India. Later on the family and

• "It seems a logical deduction that the Maya with their probings into the past and their measuring of greater and greater re-entering cycles of time, had developed the idea that time had no beginning. Set against the belief, current in Western Europe until a century ago, that the world was hardly 6000 years old, this was an astonishing intellectual advance." (Vanished Civilizations, p. 163.)

† The zero sign is also found in the Bakshali MS. of the 2nd century A.D. Regarding this MS (referred to in Vol. I of this book) the Legacy of India (generally very moderate in its assessments of Hindu achievements) says:

"It is a practical work...... written in an old form of Sarada characters...... The work deals with fractions, square roots, arithmetical and geometrical progressions, income and expenditure and profit and loss, computation of interest, the rule of three, summation of complex series, simple and simultaneous equations, quadratic equations, indeterminate equations of the second degree, and many miscellaneous practical problems...... The nine digits and the zero (dot) are used with place value...... In calculation, large numbers up to 23 digits are easily manipulated". The Mayan inscriptions are much later in date than the Hindu scientific texts. The earliest Mayan glyphs go back to the fifth century A.D.
real names were given to the grown-up child, as in our nama-
karana ceremony. Birthdays were calculated with reference to the
ceremonial year of birth, as in India. Cross eyes were considered
lucky.* Tattooing was often practised and teeth were filed to a
sharp point, and inlaid with turquoise or jade.† While the
common folk dressed themselves simply (in breach clouts and
armless gowns), the upper classes wore ornate vestments of rich
cloth, tastefully embroidered in gold. In warm regions and in hot
weather the lower classes of both sexes went naked above the
waist; in cold weather and in high altitudes cloaks and capes
made of wool and leather were used. Infant girls were “clothed”
in a waist-string from which an ornate mother-of-pearl shell
dangled in a significant manner, thus resembling the gold or silver
“peepul leaf”, formerly very common in India, especially in the
rustic regions. Marriage was allowed only after puberty in both
partners (usually 20 for boys and 18 for girls), and the parents
generally arranged the matches. In the words of Morely: “It was
important to choose a girl of equal background who was properly
trained in the domestic behaviour befitting an ideal wife. One had
to be careful not to violate certain restrictions which prohibited
unions between persons related by clan membership or prior
marriage. Such matters took time and followed a devious
procedure of bargaining; often a skilled matchmaker was engaged
to represent the bridegroom in the important question of a worth-
while dowry. After the wedding the groom was required to
dwell with his wife’s parents for several years to assist his father-
in-law and thus prove his abilities. He was then free to establish
a separate home with his wife.”

The typical Mayan village resembled greatly the Aryan
settlements in South-East Asia. Bishop Landa gives the following
description:

* This superstition obtains in India.
† Jade is a mineral consisting of two varieties, the nephrite and the jadeite
(silicate of aluminium and sodium, and silicate of calcium and magnesium). The
colour runs from white to dark green. No natural jade occurs in Mexico and
Central America but numerous jade objects of ancient date have been found.
“Many have thought that in its presence and use there was an indication of ancient
contacts between these peoples and the Orient” (Encyclopaedia Britannica
1957, Vol. XIII, P. 863). Jade occurs plentifully in New Zealand and all over
South-East Asia.
"In the middle of the town were the temples with beautiful plazas, and all around the temples stood the houses of the lords and the priests, and then of the most important people. Then came the houses of the richest and of those who were held in the highest estimation nearest to these, and at the outskirts of the town were the houses of the lower classes. And the wells, if there were but few of them, were near the houses of the lords.

Like the hatinrunas of Peru, the bulk of the Mayan population was agricultural. While the women attended to the household chores, the work of the men was in the fields. Before the sun rose each morning they left their houses for the milpas. It was well to work several hours before the tropical sun reached its zenith, when its rays were beneficial only to the sun-loving maize. Often they rested in the shade of the nearby forest. Sometimes they dissolved a lump of corn-meal dough (which they called pozole) in a gourd filled with water, and drank it to refresh themselves. Cutting and burning the milpas and holding back the jungle from the growing plants were difficult tasks; they had no tools to work with except stone axes and pointed sticks. Besides the sacred corn, they raised red and black beans, squash, melons, tomatoes, and sweet potatoes. Each day, before their labour began, the men prayed to the earth gods and burned copal before images which stood near by, watching over the neat rows of growing plants.

Sickness meant a visit to the medicine-man, who was often an expert in secretly compounded herbal curatives. Occasionally he used magic as a supplement, as in ancient India. If the prognosis was unfavourable, he would foretell not only the probable time of death but also the nature of the next birth!*

* Astrology walked in step with medicine even in Europe, till comparatively recent times. In the 14th century, John of Burgoyne (a healer) wrote as follows:

"Wherefore they that have not drynken of the swete drynke of Astronomye (i.e., astrology) may put to these pestilential sores (bubo-plagues) not fit remedies. He that knoweth not the cause, it is impossible that he hele the sickness."

Chaucer's physician (closely resembling John of Burgoyne) was 'well grounded in astronomic' and used his astrological knowledge in the very manner recommended by John, to forecast the cause and the prognosis of disease. Dr. T. Forrestier, who wrote on the "Great English Sweat" (sudor Anglicus or the epidemic of sweating sickness in 1485) prefaced his work by astrological signs, (representing the conjunction of the planets on that date, presumably explaining the origins of the fell visitation and its probable planetary cures!).
The dead were usually cremated, especially in the upper rungs of society. Burial was also practised in the case of Royalty, the place selected being the last house of the deceased, which would then be abandoned (as was the case among Peruvian monarchs).* Before cremation the corpse was washed and its mouth filled with corn and a piece of jade or gold or silver (as is still the case in India). Bishop Landa has this to say of the funeral obsequies: "It was indeed a sad thing to see the sorrow and the cries which they made for their dead, and the great grief it caused them. During the day they wept for them in silence, and at night with loud and very sad cries, so that it was pitiful to hear them. And they passed many days in deep sorrow. They made abstinences and fasts for the dead, especially the husband or wife; and they said that the devil† had taken him away since they thought that all evils came to them from him, and especially death."

There are several religious myths of the Mayas suggesting an Indian origin, but it will suffice for my purpose if I cite here one or two of them. One story relates to a Mayan ascetic called Yappan, who, to obtain eternal bliss, embarked on severe austerities. The gods got slightly jealous of his spiritual prowess and set a spy on him, who however failed to impugn the sage's fixed resolve. The goddess of love thereupon took on herself the task of breaking the saint's meditation. Decked in her best and making voluptuous gestures, she cast her deathly charms on poor Yappan, who got caught in her wiles. As he fell, the gods changed him and his faithful wife into scorpions, cursed to live in eternal darkness under a stone. The reader is probably aware of the Indian parallels, for there are more than one; for example, those of Viswamitra and of Bharadwaja. Donald Mackenzie‡ makes the following observation apropos of the Yappan myth:

"The search for gold and gems, which contained 'life substance' and therefore spiritual power, passed beyond India and reached America. They imported, as it would appear, into the New World not only their own religious ideas connected with gold and gems, but also the myths framed in India to justify the

* It will be recalled that in India, priests and kings who had become sanyasins (ascetics) were buried near their dwellings and not cremated. In Peru, as in Mexico, the king was also a priest.

† The Devil is, of course, equatable with the Indian Yama.

‡ Myths of Pre-Columbian America.
elevation of the priests above the gods. The story of Yappan appears to be of Indian origin—an echo of religious struggle which took place on that sub-continent in post-Vedic times, when the Aryan gods were represented as being afraid of the ascetics who set themselves to accumulate religious merit and spiritual power. The story of the temptation and fall of Yappan is too like that of the temptation and fall of his Indian prototypes to be of spontaneous origin in the New World."

In like manner, the Naga legends of India have their counterpart in Mexico; in fact, the national emblem of the Aztecs was an eagle holding a snake. According to old Aztec lore, when they were moving down south (in 1325 A.D.) they held on a rock an eagle of great size and beauty, holding a snake in its talons. This omen had been foretold in their oracles as an indication of the site of their future capital. The Aztecs promptly built a city on the spot, naming it Tenochtitlan (now called Mexico) and adopted the eagle-cum-snake as their national symbol. Mackenzie has this observation on the episode: "The Mexican eagle with the snake caught in its beak and talons is therefore like the Garuda-eagle of India which similarly preys on snakes. Both are mythical bird-gods. Both have their history as mythological beings rooted in remote times in a distant area of origin."

Even the Puranic story of Jarasandha finds its echo in Mexico. Hewitt, in his Ruling Races of Pre-historic Times, thinks that the story of the Mexican Sia Poohai is based on the Mahabharata legend. To quote: "In the Sia story, Poshai-yanne was born of a virgin-mother, made pregnant by eating two pinon nuts. This story is almost exactly the same as the Hindu legend in the Mahabharata, telling how Jarasandha, the first king of the United Kushikas and Magadh, was born as the child of the two queens of the Magadha king...... each of whom, when made pregnant by eating a mango-stone given them by the Moon-god (Chandra), bore half a child, the parts being miraculously united by an old woman called Jara, one of the Rakshasis."

Apart from what can be surmised from an interpretation of material remains (much of which is still to be exhumed), we know comparatively little of Mayan thought and philosophy. As already mentioned, all literary records were subjected to the fury of Catholic hatred. As regards the memory of the present day
descendants of the Mayas, this is not of much help, thanks to a severe intellectual regression among them, under centuries of Spanish misrule. The enforced, hurried, and often farcical "conversion of the heathen", has left him under a strong incubus of alien thought and manners, which has effectively severed the links with his own centuries-old tradition and culture. In more fortunate countries, the situation was different. Hindu thought and philosophy have come down to the present generations almost intact; so have Greek and Roman traditions to the modern European. But from the Mayas, who in many respects match the Asian peoples in excellence, history can draw little more than tantalising samples of their spiritual achievements. The following verdict has been passed on this great nation by Gallen-Kamp:

"On the sole merit of material remains the Mayas were long likened to the Athenians; were it possible to reconstruct the full range of their intellectual endeavours, such parallels would in all probability extend infinitely beyond these manifestations. Unfortunately, the priesthoods utilized their knowledge of hieroglyphic writing almost exclusively to record matters pertaining to astronomy. Little else can be read from the existing inscriptions, and the surviving peasant population can offer virtually no insight into the very distant past. Vast segments of Maya civilization were buried with the last of its guardian priests, perhaps never to be reclaimed."

It is true that the Mayas practised a limited human sacrifice of the ritualistic type. A few human victims (usually prisoners of war or selected maidens) were sacrificed to gratify or to appease the gods, but no portion of the sacrificial remains was consumed. It is likely, as Von Hagen thinks, that the Maya people adopted this reprehensible practice from earlier and less refined tribes. Even this (limited) human sacrifice has found its apologists, as the following quotation from Prescott will bear out:

"In reflecting on the revolting usages, one finds it difficult to reconcile their existence with anything like a regular form of government, or an advance in civilization. Yet the Mexicans had many claims to the character of a civilized community. One may perhaps better understand the anomaly, by reflecting on the condition of some of the most polished countries in Europe, in the sixteenth century, after the establishment of the modern Inquisition, an institution which yearly destroyed its thousands, by a
death more painful than the Aztec sacrifices; which armed the hand of brother against brother, and setting its burning seal upon the lip, did more to stay the march of improvement than any other scheme ever devised by human cunning.

"Human sacrifice, however cruel, has nothing in it degrading to its victim. It may be rather said to enoble him by devoting him to the gods. Although so terrible with the Aztecs, it was sometimes voluntarily embraced by them, as the most glorious death and one that opened a sure passage into paradise. The Inquisition, on the other hand, branded its victims with infamy in this world, and consigned them to everlasting perdition in the next."*

The reader will recall that such sacrifice (of human beings) was practised in many ancient communities in the Near East (the Hebrews, the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, etc.) who had either not imbibed the benign teachings in the Veda or had become contaminated by adverse influences. "It was of frequent occurrence among the Greeks as every schoolboy knows; in Rome it was so common as to require to be interdicted by an express law of the 1st century B.C., notwithstanding which traces of the practice may be discerned at a much later period." (Prescott) In England, the Druids practised this horrid rite on a massive scale. In the rest of ancient Europe, the situation was not far different. In fact, cannibalism survived in the Western world till the 9th century A.D.†

* Prescott: Conquest of Mexico. It is recorded that one Grand Inquisitor of Spain, Friar Torquemada, put to the stake, after painful torture, no less than 8800 persons, of whom 2000 were Jews. It may be recalled that the Romans were so fond of gladiatorial contests that every year thousands of the contestants were killed in this so-called sport, besides innumerable animals. In one celebration in honour of Julius Caesar, seven thousand gladiators were put to death. Emperor Trajan sent to their doom no less than twelve thousand such fighters, in one of his triumphs.

† In India, human sacrifices were contemplated in Vedic rites only symbolically; in the Purusha-medha yajna the victims, who were formally tied to the yupa-stambas, were released without injury and with handsome presents, after the recitation of the appropriate mantras. The sacrifice of homo sapiens was always regarded as a gross perversion of religious sanctions and was totally condemned by our orthodox leaders and philosophers. The great Sankaracharya successfully exterminated the debased Kapalikas who were addicted to making human offerings.
The great writer, Frans Blom, thinks that the Mayas were the “most advanced of the peoples of ancient America.” This opinion is not without support. They were great builders and had a taste for beauty. In personal appearance they were graceful, handsome and dignified, with a passion for cleanliness. Every daily chore started with a prayer; no important task was begun without the gods being propitiated with a cool drink made of ‘pozole’* (corn-meal, like the Indian saktu or barley flour) accompanied by a prayer, a sample of which is given below.

"Here before you I stand...Three times I stand before you to worship you.† Behold my Lord how I stand in your presence now to venerate. I stand in the presence of your holy name, lord God and in the presence of the lords of the forests, who are mighty. Forgive me my sins because I am here to worship these gods. That you may not forget me without cause I offer these five gourds of pozole in order that the mighty men, the lords of the forests who live on the mountain tops and who are the true lords, and are those who pass before to clear the roads, in order that they be pleased I repeat my drink."

Monogamy was the rule of life except among the Royalty. Crime was rare; heinous offences were severely punished, and sexual morality was extremely high. The gentle sex loved scents, unguents, and other beauty aids, but their use was always refined and restrained. The burning of incense and the waving of lights was a daily ritual, revealing a resemblance with Hinduism. The women were talented weavers and their textile products are admired even today all over the earth. The ancient Maya potters are the wonder of the world; in ceramic art they rivalled the Egyptians and the Greeks. Their musical instru-

* Pronounced ‘patcholee’; perhaps from Skt. pach = to cook; cf. ‘pachcharee’, a liquid dish in India.

† cf. The Hindu ‘trikala sandhya’ prayers. ‘Vanaspati’ or Lords of the Forests, were objects of veneration to the Hindus also. Curiously, the worship of great trees is found even now in Christian lands which had received heavy Aryan acculturation. To give an instance, in Lithuania (which resisted Christianity for a thousand years and was converted only about 1350 A.D.) “even now the veneration of great oaks is a widely spread custom in the villages... All Lithuanians have maintained much of their heathen practices and creed; the names of Pagan divinities, numerous in former mythology, are continually mentioned in songs and in common speech.” Encyclopaedia Britannica (1957, XII, P. 218.)
ments resembled those of pristine Bharat. About Mayan architecture, Frans Blom has this to say:

"When one wanders through the great Maya cities, one feels convinced that the Maya architects could not have accomplished such masterpieces as the great temples of Tikal, or the charming temples of Sun, The Cross, and the Foliated Cross at Palenque, nor the House of the Governor and the Nunnery at Uxmal, without first having laid out careful ground plans and having drawn up elevations and made sketches for the design. They must have made estimates of the amount of stones, with or without design, to be ordered from the stone-cutters and roughly calculated how many zapote-wood beams would be needed for their doorways.

"All Maya buildings were constructed of cut-stones and mortar. First, the inner and outer facing of the wall was laid and then they filled the space between these surfaces with crushed limestone rock and burned lime, which, when it settled and hardened, formed a product similar to poured concrete. In early Maya buildings the walls were then covered with a layer of stucco up to two inches thick in order to give it a smooth surface, but later buildings have their walls made of carefully smoothed stone blocks, covered with a thin layer of stucco to which colour was applied.""*

The Mayans were great road-builders, rivalling the Incas in some measure and even excelling them, because of the greater antiquity of the Mexican thoroughfares, which unfortunately carried only human traffic, because there were neither pack nor dray animals in Central America. Even today, many of the roads are intact, although heavily subjugated by the jungle. In commercial morality, the Mayans could not be excelled, as a Spanish historian attests: "In sales and contracts they had neither writings to oblige them to keep their word nor promissory notes with which to give satisfaction, but still the contract remained valid, provided only that the parties drank together publicly before witnesses...... The debtor never denied the debt, even though he could not pay

* "In the corbelled or false arch used by the Maya each course overlaps the one below until the space between the converging soffits can be bridged by a line of capstones. This same false arch was used in the ancient times in parts of the Old World." (Vanished Civilizations P. 161; cf. also the corbelled arches and tunnels found in Mohenjodaro.)
at once; but all was made certain by the debtor's confessing his debt, for the wife, children and relatives of the debtor would pay the debt after his death." They used as money bits of copper and cowries (as in India of that time).

Let us now take leave of the great Mayas and turn to the Aztecs who were in power in Central America when the Castilians arrived. Some Indian writers (Bhikhu Chaman Lal, for instance) derive the name from Sage Astika, well known in the Puranic legends connected with the Nagas and with King Janamejaya, who performed a sacrifice aimed at exterminating all the snakes in the world. *Astika Rishi prevented this tragedy to the serpent-world and his revered name is even today piously intoned by all Hindus who want protection against snake-bites.

The Aztecs spoke a different dialect from the Mayas and their religious practices were less refined, as we shall see. In cultural development, in dress, deportment, and social observances, they resembled their great predecessors generally, though occasional deviations were noticeable. To avoid unnecessary prolixity (and consistently with my thesis), I shall, in this chapter, deal only with such Aztec traits as seem to be inspired by South-Asian examples, thus betokening a racial movement across the Pacific from the Old World, via Polynesia.

Modern Mexico is in one respect even worse off than Bharat-With a population of about 25 million, it has seven hundred spoken dialects. And Nahautl (pronounced navatal) was (and is) the speech of the Aztecs, as of their predecessors in local history; and it became, like Quechua, the lingua franca of Central America. Many millions still speak it; it is full of curious consonant compounds like xtl, ctl, zxtl, pxtl, which are the nightmare of foreign students. It has a finished accidence and is inflective like our own Prakrit. "It is amazing to find any people so removed from the web of the Old World communications, yet developing so involved a speech and grammar," says Von Hagen. The art of correct speech was specially inculcated and highly prized among

* The Vedas mention a tribe called Yayavaras (literally, wanderers) whose priest was Jarat-Karu, who married the sister of Vasuki, the King of the Nagas. Jarat-Karu's son was Astika.

Another derivation, more philological, is from the Sanskrit word, Astika = believer in God. The Aztecs were eminently theistic.
the elite, who admired Nahautl for its polish and conciseness (like Sanskrit).

Like all American societies, the Aztecs practised social democracy of the type familiar to us in Aryan-infiltrated lands, from Bali to New Zealand. The society, not the householder, owned the land; all important decisions were taken by popular ballot. Even kings were elected; they were by no means autocratic*. Von Hagen has this to say of them:

"Each clan had its own council and an elected leader; of these the oldest or wisest or more experienced were selected to make up a council, and these were the link between the clans and the tribe's governing body. This council was narrowed down to four principals, who were advisers to the leader of the state and, as well 'electors of the 'king' (functioning, to pursue a convenient analogy, as did the electors of the Holy Roman Empire), since 'kings' were not such by primogeniture and were selected from the brothers of the previous ruler, or, if he had none, from his nephews, by the 'four'. These *tlatoani* were the key figures in Aztec government; they chose that 'noble' descendant who in their mind was most distinguished in valour, war, and knowledge. Such a one was Moctezuma, who was 'crowned' in 1503."

The married man merely got his land on loan from the community and earned its produce, not its title. Often such land was, in Aztec cities, only a floating island, i.e., reed-woven baskets, many feet in diameter and filled with earth and anchored in shallow water. "Mexican society existed for the benefit of the tribe and each member had to contribute his mite for the society." (Dr. Vaillant)

Marriage was both a sacrament and a social contract. It was arranged by old women brokers (who carried the brides on their back to the marriage pandal!). One must marry outside the clan (cf. the Hindu gotra), and outside limits of blood relationship.

* Such elective monarchies were not unknown in ancient India (cf. the ayudhajivi sanghas of the North-West). Even the hereditary ruler had to be approved by the State Council and he had to take an oath to the vis or common people, promising reciprocal loyalty and good government. Long before Greece ejected its kings, republican institutions flourished in India. Megasthenes bears witness to the tradition that sovereignty was dissolved and democratic institutions set up in various parts of India. "The greater portion of Aryan India—north, west and south—was covered with republican constitutions...except in the Doab and in Magadha, the whole country was republican." (Legacy of India, P. 155)
Love played a subordinate part to parental authority in effecting unions. Women had legal rights to property and had the right of divorce. The nuptial celebrations resembled Hindu rites to some extent; the clothes of the bride and the groom were "spliced" (i.e. tied strongly, in public) in token of marital union.

The houses were built either of volcanic stone or of adobe. The poorer houses had thatched roofs and no chimneys or windows; but even the humblest types had a steam bath for daily morning ablution, for which the Aztecs had the same passion as the Hindus. "The Spaniards were unable to hide their surprise at the love of bathing of the Aztecs, coming from a Europe where even a monthly bath was a rarity." (Von Hagen)† Even the Emperor bathed twice daily, once well before daybreak. For cleansing they used a natural detergent, the root of the sapanaria plant, which made a good lather (cf. our soapnut).

The food of the people consisted mostly of corn (maize), prepared in a variety of appetising forms. The Mexican tortilla‡ (maize pancake) was, and is, famous throughout North America (even as it is in Tibet and Kashmir). Was maize a native only of the New World? Once it was strongly held so, but doubts are now felt. "For the moment present evidence points to dissemination in all directions of the early forms (of maize) from an unknown centre," says Von Hagen, who adds: "In the beginning of the twentieth century, it was easy to state that maize (the Awarak-Carib name for corn) developed out of teosinte (euchlaena) which was considered to be the ancestor of corn, much as wild grass was the ancestor of wheat. Today the botanical appencart has been upset by findings that point to a hybrid between a species of tripsacum and maize as the origin-corn (both teosinte and tripsacum will cross with maize); and one of our great geographers—** who is not

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* In Mexico sexual motifs were always eschewed in art and religion.
† "The inhabitants of the 17th and 18th century, Europe had no passion for soap and water, even the most prosperous being extremely dirty. Medieval theologians had preferred dirt to the immorality they associated with bathing; and the Reformation had not extended to the bath-room." (Prof. C.N. Parkinson: *East and West*, P. 192.) Things had not improved even by 1850, in Great Britain, Burke used to call the common people "the great unwashed". In Edinburgh the usual answer to the question, "When were you last washed?" was, "When I was last in prison!"
‡ Pronounced tortia, sounding like Hindi rotia!
** Carl O. Saver: *Cultivated Plants of South and Central America.*
easily stamped into hasty conclusions—holds that the origins of maize "cannot even now be attributed with certainty to the New World as long as certain matters concerning South-Eastern Asia remain unsolved."

The Aztecs were wedded to a single-grain economy (even as the Polynesians were to one or two tubers). They had no milk, no peas, lentils, millets or animal food like beef and mutton. But they did have beans, squash and pumpkin, though not the potato (so famous in Peru), which fact makes Von Hagen think there was little contact between the two great nations, the Incas and the Aztecs. They had the sweet potato, called camotli (pronounced kamoli) in Nahautl (Sanskrit: kumala, or kumara?), about which Von Hagen has this to say: "The Aztec had the sweet potato (camotli); it grew in the warmer valleys below 6,000 feet. An ipomea, a tuber-bearing morning glory, it is one of a great family of over 100 species found throughout the world; many are tuber-bearing. The Chinese had the yam, which is Old-World in origin; they called it shu. This yam, which is a discorea, is found throughout Polynesia extending down to New Zealand, where it was assiduously cultivated by the Maori. But one cannot botanically equate the camote with the yam; they are different plants, though they are constantly confused with one another in the United States. Few Europeans are acquainted with one or the other, so that when Thor Heyerdahl, the Wrong-Way Corrigan of anthropology, wrote didactically that "(Kon) Tiki brought.........in the fifth century the Peruvian sweet potato to New Zealand," it is the apogee of botanical ignorance." Tomatoes were grown in plenty as well as chilli-pepper and pineapples, avocados and the bounteous chocolate tree (which today supplies the civilized world with a famous delicacy and which gave the Aztec nobles and princely warriors a refreshing drink, taken out of pure golden cups). On the whole, Aztec

*The Mexicans also grew the lime tree; the lime is considered to be a native of India and of South-East Asia. The Mexican lime closely resembles the Tahitian lime and it seems likely that the former was introduced from Polynesia. As regards the plantain, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (1957) Vol. III, P. 8. has the following remarks: "The antiquity of the banana is... incontestable. There are several Sanskrit names. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs have mentioned it as a remarkable fruit tree...... Sages (of India) reposed in its shade and ate its fruit; hence the botanical name *Musa Sapientum*. The cultivation of these varieties (of the banana) in India, in China and the Archipelago dates from an epoch impossible to realise; it even spread formerly into the islands of the Pacific and even to the west coast of Africa*. It would seem that the plantain had been introduced into South America even before Columbus.
agriculture was not so advanced as the Peruvian; irrigation facilities were exiguous and dependence on the rainfall was extreme and accounted for many of the rites intended to appease the Weather-God (thus recalling the Vedic prayers and ceremonies directed to Varuna, the Hindu God of Rain). The Aztecs used the cacao seed as money; all royal taxes were paid partly in service to the state (on a "clan" basis) and partly in agricultural produce. The latter was duly sent to the State storehouses and noted down carefully in the account books. The royal stores were used to meet the costs of government and of public works and also served as a reserve for a rainy (or rather, rainless) day.

The loom was the Aztec women's speciality, and the types used were the same as in Peru. The fibres of the maguey plant and of agave, as well as cotton, were extensively spun, the latter on the whorl spindle (the Indian takli). The yarn was dyed with vegetable colours, as in South-East Asia, and woven in glorious patterns and most marvellous designs. Quilted cotton jackets were made for martial use, which the Spaniards considered to be more effective than mail armour. Fine pottery was part of the Aztec cultural equipment; they were of nice grain and full of graceful patterns. The incense-burner in particular was quite a piece of ceramic art and looked curiously like what we in India use for the purpose (but made of metal).

The Aztecs, like the Peruvians, had a genius for trade (by barter mostly). "When we arrived at the great market place of the Aztec capital," says a Spanish writer, "we were astounded at the number of people and the quantity of merchandise and the good order and control which was maintained.... There are daily more than 60,000 people bartering and selling in a square twice the size of that at Salamanca." There was a street for edible game; one for herbs and roots and medicinal preparations sold by apothecaries; there was a row of barbers' shops for shave and hair-cut; great pieces of cotton cloth and bundles of yarn were sold in one street. Skins, fibre-goods, pottery of excellent quality, writing paper, tobacco, reeds covered with scented liquid-amber*, dyes of all sorts and of most brilliant hue, were all for daily sale, apart from grains and vegetables. Stone knives and slaves captured in war were also on exhibit, along with much gold and

* cf. our own agarubatti.
silver, both wrought and unwrought. Luxuries like feather mantles and costly furs were the objects of attraction for the wealthy, and there were public hot-baths for the fastidious. Commercial disputes and differences were decided on the spot. Wrote Cortes to his King: "A very fine building stands on the market square and serves as a kind of audience (tribunal) chamber, where 10 or 12 persons are always seated as judges who deliberate on all cases arising in the market and pass instant decisions against the offenders or the disputants."

Every city had its barter market, with fairs conducted in weekly rotation; often the fairs were held near great temples, where all tribal conflicts would be temporarily forgotten, since trade was "sacred and ordained by the gods". Cortes, speaking of a tribal market in a hostile country, wrote thus: "They behave like people of sense and reason;...... the foremost city of Africa* cannot rival them". Bernal Diaz was even more enthusiastic: "But why should I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market for I shall never finish if I tell in detail." The picture presented here by the early Spaniards closely resembles that often in evidence in contemporary India and South-East Asia.

The festivities and the games of the Aztecs resembled, superficially at any rate, those of the Aryan lands. Festivities and sacred rites were interlocked and their incidence was determined by a solar calendar of eighteen 20-day months, each one of which had its own ceremonies—ceremonies which verged sometimes on the grotesque and the horrible, inasmuch as they involved human sacrifices galore. (One estimate puts the annual number of victims thus immolated, at 20,000 in all Aztec territories.) There were festivals for rains and for fertility as in India, but unfortunately with human sacrifices. There was one resembling Deepavali, where the donors were merchants; one to mark the fall of the fruits (autumn?); still another to parade the weapon of war, and so on. The "feast of flags" resembled our Holi in which much water, coloured blue, was thrown on the males by the womenfolk, and there were mock-battles resembling Ramlila. The 360-day year was rounded off by five "empty" days,

* North Africa was the arbiter elegantiarum of the Castilians, who had been under Moorish rule for 800 years.
during which there was no music, no dance, and no festivity of any sort.*

The musical instruments of Mexico reminded one of Aryavarta. For instance, there was the drum hung from the neck and beaten with both hands (like our mridanga). The conch-shell was much in evidence (with its deep and sonorous blast) and was sounded in chorus at about four in the morning, when the planet Venus appeared over the eastern horizon. There were flutes like pan-pipes, and there were clinking shell attachments to the ankles, to help in beating time with a sharp note. The music was always rhythmical and lent cadence to the dancer; there was little of pure melody as such. Dancing was entirely religious and never sexual; it was intended to develop mystic communion with the gods, to the hypnotic beating of the drums.

It is in their games that the Aztecs came closest to India. The national game, the tlachtlis, which began as a sport and ended as a sacred rite sponsored by the sovereign, was played with a hard rubber ball,† which had to be thrown through a stone ring, projecting horizontally from a wall of the court. This game had no exact counterpart in India, but the other favourite indoor sport of the Aztecs, the patolli, was exactly like the pachisi played in India since ancient times and familiar throughout South-East Asia.‡ The great Edward Tylor noted this similarity and came to the conclusion that “the Mexican game came from Asia”. Steward Colin went into the esoteric significance of the game as played in Mexico, and thought that in its reference to the four quarters of the world and the calendrics ascribed to them, the American game tallied with the Hindu. In the opinion of Dr. Kroeber of California, “the mathematical probabilities of the

* In India the 13th or intercalary month, was called malimlucha, i.e., inauspicious; the annual five additional days were known as silent days.
† The Mexicans knew the properties of rubber (called olli) long before the Whiteman and used this resilient tree-juice in many ways.
‡ Panini (8th-7th century B.C.) mentions a board game closely resembling backgammon or draughts. The board was divided into squares, over which gamesmen were moved by either player in accordance with the results of the dice throw made by each. On each side of the board, there were chequered squares in which rival gamesmen could rest without being attacked. In India, ivory dice-pieces were used, while in Mexico, golden pellets were employed. The Encyclopaedia Britannica has the following remark: “Some hold that the mill-game, tit-tat-toe, pachisi, draughts, checkers and chess, all had a common ancestor” (Vol. XVI. P. 458). Pachisi is Sanskrit Pancha vimsati = Twentyfive, the highest throw.
two games having been independently invented are very low. The close correspondence between the rules of the two games indicates a real connection". The subsequent researches of Dr. Heine Geldern and Dr. Gordon F. Ekholm led the two anthropologists to the same conclusion. In Mexico, patolli was a gambling device and was played with smooth pellets of gold, on the chancy fall of which considerable stakes (of gold, silver, etc.) were lost or won! The reader will recall the passionate addiction of the ancient Aryans to dice-play (pachisi or backgammon is one such), a trait which seems to have travelled with the ancient mariners quite across the wide oceans into the so-called New World.

The Aztecs believed in the great (or Maha) yugas, like the Hindus; they envisaged four great cosmic cycles, at the end of each of which the universe was destroyed, only to be again regenerated. Prescott, most significantly, adds this comment: "The belief in these periodic convulsions of nature, through the agency of one or the other of the elements, was familiar to many countries in the Eastern hemisphere; and though varying in detail, the general resemblance of outline furnishes an argument in favour of a common origin." As regards the story of the Deluge, the Aztecs had the tradition almost in the same form as in the Eastern world, except that the boat was rescued by a bird instead of by a fish or a whale. "They believed that two persons survived the Deluge, a man named Coxcox,* and his wife. Their heads are represented in ancient paintings, together with a boat floating on the waters, at the foot of a mountain. A dove is also depicted, with the hieroglyphical emblem of languages in his mouth, which he is distributing to the children of Coxcox, who were born dumb. The neighbouring people of Michoacan, inhabiting the same high plains of the Andes, had a still further tradition, that the boat in which Tezpi, their Noah, escaped, was filled with various kinds of animals and birds."

Another point of coincidence was as regards the divine mother of the Aztec race, resembling the Biblical Eve. The Aztecs called her "our first lady and our mother", "the first

* Pronounced 'cosh-cosh'; can this be a variant of "Chakshusha" the name of one of the Manus, after Vaivasvata? The Parsees called this Manu "Chishpish".
goddess who brought forth, by whom sin came into the world”, etc. It may be recalled that the Hindus had a similar legend of Brahma and the Creation. The Aztecs had certain other rituals which strongly reminded the Spanish missionaries of their own Christian practices. For instance, the making of an image of maize flour and then distributing it, after mixing it with a little blood to the congregation†, reminded the Christian priests of the blessed Eucharist; similarly, the washing of the lips of infant Aztec children with sanctified water and giving the young ones a name, savoured of the Catholic baptismal ceremonies. Strange to say, the dying Aztec, like a good Catholic, called in a Father Confessor when at the point of breathing his last; only, this Confessor was the astrologer-priest, who intoned his sacred verses into the dying person’s ear to ensure the future happiness of the departing soul. (cf. our karna mantra)

The sign of the cross was frequently encountered in Mexico, a fact which puzzled the worthy Romish prelates, who were not aware that crosses (the ankh and the swastika) were old sacred symbols both in Egypt and in Aryavarta. On such occasions the Jesuit imagination was inclined to run riot over these verisimilarities; the migration of the Aztec tribes to the South was compared to the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, and certain Central American localities were even identified with those mentioned in the Old Testament! Even the name Mexico was attempted to be derived from the Hebrew equivalent of ‘Messiah’.‡

* In Indian mythology, Brahma is represented as springing from a lotus, growing on the navel of Vishnu; Brahma is said to have then created mankind by an illicit connection with his own daughter, Saraswati. This story is repudiated in the Manusmriti. The latter says that originally the universe was enveloped in darkness, The self-existent Prajapati then manifested himself creating light and dispelling the gloom. He then created the waters and deposited in them a seed which became the golden egg. This egg gave birth to Brahma; the Lord then divided the egg into two parts, creating the heaven and the earth. Brahma became the progenitor of all the worlds, through ten Prajapatis (or mind-born sons).

† In Vedic sacrifices, such a practice was not unknown, especially where a ‘pinda pasu’ was used... In temple worship, the distribution of the prasadam is a familiar ritual in India.

‡ These seeming identities were attributed by the worthy Spanish priests to the work of the Devil who, in the words of Herrera, “chose to imitate in everything the departure of the Israelites from Egypt and their subsequent wanderings,” in order to confuse and to confound the Conquerors!
Prescott, in spite of his deep Christian piety, could not well persuade himself that His Satanic Majesty had been at work in creating these illusions of similarity. He preferred to think that both culture and religion had travelled across the continents and the oceans into the New World. To quote: "These coincidences must be allowed to furnish an argument in favour of some primitive communication with that great brotherhood of nations on the old continent, among whom similar ideas have been so widely diffused. The probability of such a communication, especially with Eastern Asia, is much strengthened by the resemblance of sacerdotal institutions, and of some religious rites, as those of marriage, and the burial of the dead; by the practice of human sacrifices, and even of cannibalism, traces of which are discernible in the Mongol races; and, lastly, by a conformity of social usages and manners so striking that the description of Montezuma's court may well pass for that of the Grand Khan's, as depicted by Maundeville and Marco Polo. ... The habit of burning the dead, familiar to both Mongols and Aztecs, is in itself but slender proof of a common origin. The body must be disposed of in some way; and this, perhaps, is as natural as any other. But when to this is added the circumstance of collecting the ashes in a vase and depositing the single article of a precious stone along with them, the coincidence is remarkable." Prescott points out how the Aztecs resembled the Hindus and the Buddhists in having periodic cycles of years (cycles of 52 years against the Hindu 60) and in naming each year of the cycle after an animal or other object. In Prescott's words: "The similarity of these conventional symbols among the several nations of the East can hardly fail to carry conviction of a common origin for the system." Concerning linguistic evidences (which are indispensible, according to Toynbee, if one were to argue the case for diffusionism), Prescott feels that he is on less certain ground in view of the numerous

* Prescott, quoting Humboldt, mentions that in a number of cases (e.g. hare, monkey, dog, serpent) the names of years were the same, while in a few others, names of New World animals were substituted for the Asiatic ones (e.g.: the jaguar, in place of the tiger). In Hindu mythology, there were 12 animals identified with the five elements. The elements are well-known; the animals are the hare, the lion, the serpent, the ape, the eagle, the horse, the tiger, the sheep, the dog, the ox, the mouse and the boar. The Chinese copied this classification but substituted the dragon for the lion, which was unknown in that country.
linguistic groups in Central America, and he prefers to leave the issue open for further study.

As regards tradition, or what I would term 'the memory of the race', the remarks of Prescott deserve citation: "The theory of an Asiatic origin for Aztec civilization derives stronger confirmation from the light of tradition, which, shining steadily from the far North-west, pierces through the dark shadows that history and mythology have alike thrown around the traditions of the country. Traditions of a Western or North-western origin were found among the more barbarous tribes, and by the Mexicans* were preserved both orally and in their hieroglyphical maps, where the different stages of their migration are carefully noted." The learned historian marks the absence of domesticated animals in Central America (despite the availability of the bison in the immediate north) and the ignorance of the use of iron despite large surface deposits. He is, however, able to find an adequate explanation for these conflicting factors which would not seriously detract from his own general conclusion: "The reader of the preceding pages may perhaps acquiesce in the general conclusions, not startling by their novelty. First, that the coincidences are sufficiently strong to authorize a belief that the civilization of Anahuac was in some degree influenced by that of Eastern Asia. And, secondly, that the discrepancies are such as to carry back the communication to a very remote period; so remote that this foreign influence has been too feeble to interfere materially with the growth of what may be regarded in its essential features as a peculiar and indigenous civilization."

Aztec justice was based generally on the theory of restitution, as in ancient India; stealing meant a heavy compensation to the victim. Where restitution was not possible, death or exile was the penalty in serious cases. Religious crimes (e. g. temple robbery) were considered specially heinous, and witchcraft was a deadly offence. On the whole, the law code erred on the side of severity; the history of Mexico, with its eternal strife among warring tribes, must have led to a hardening of the social attitude towards transgressions, especially since human life was considered rather cheap in the whole area. With all this, a sense of stern equity and natural justice prevailed even at the highest levels, as the following observations will amply bear out.

* All Mexican peoples prayed facing the west, except when worshipping the morning Sun; the sacred land was in the west.
Students of Indian history are aware of the eminent Chola king who earned the coveted title of Manu-neeti mannan* (i.e. the king who ruled strictly according to the hoary Institutes of Manu). The Tezcucans (of the same tribe as the Aztecs, 'whom they rivalled in power but surpassed in excellence') had one such ruler whose name was Nezhualpilli (meaning "a prince born after a fast"), who was given to his parents after years of pious supplication to the gods, and who came to the throne in 1470 A.D., i.e., fifty years before the Dons overran his fair country. Nezhualpilli was a great son of a greater father (as I shall indicate presently), and in point of probity he resembled his distinguished father, and perhaps even improved on him. He was so keen in his sense of equity that in the execution of his judicial writs he allowed his stern moral sense to override even his natural affections, just like the Chola monarch I have mentioned. Nezhualpilli's eldest son by his lawful queen (i.e., the Crown Prince) was a youth of great personal charm and outstanding intellectual endowment, with a gift for rhetoric and impromptu versification. One day he was accidentally discovered to have exchanged a correspondence, in poetical composition, with a lady of the royal household, a person of humble birth from Tula city, but richly gifted by the poetic Muse. This beauteous lady wrote fluent and graceful verse and was so well endowed in mind that she was often invited to discuss important matters of state with the King and his ministers at the State Council. The exchange of verse between the Crown Prince and the royal lady-in-waiting was not amorous; on the contrary it was obviously a competitive exercise in literary skill†, but the offence was a capital one in Tezcuco, as no person could carry on a clandestine correspondence with a

* This king (of the 11th century A.D.) had installed a big bell before his palace which any one having a complaint could ring and thus be received in audience by the king. One day the bell was rung by a cow whose calf had been run over and killed by a desperately driven horse-chariot. The king made prompt enquiries and found that the offender was none other than his own son, the Crown Prince. Since the killing of a calf was a capital offence, the king in great sorrow, had his own son executed, despite the demurrer of his State Council. It is stated that this king never smiled again or indulged in a pleasantry.

† Sample: The prince writes the first two lines of a quatrain; the lady supplies the remaining two lines. Such an intellectual exercise was an Aryan trait. Vatsayayana calls it "kavyasamasya-purana" and asks all young ladies to become proficient in it.
woman, either unmarried or married to another. The offence in this case was aggravated by the fact that the woman in question belonged to the royal household, and was a ward of the king.

The transgression was referred to the State Tribunal,* which, most creditably to itself, pronounced a sentence of death. The verdict was submitted to the unfortunate king for confirmation and he gave it without hesitation, although he was stunned with grief and was heartbroken to the point of prostration. The remarks of Prescott on this most moving episode are worth reproducing: "The king, steeling his heart against all entreaties and the voice of nature, suffered the cruel judgment to be carried into execution. ... He had the stern virtue of an ancient Roman, destitute of the softer graces which make virtue attractive. When the sentence was carried into effect, he shut himself up in his palace for many weeks, and commanded the doors and windows of his son’s residence to be walled up, that it might never again be occupied.’’†

I have mentioned that the father of this antipodal ‘Manuneethi mannan’ was an even greater personage than his stern-minded son. Prescott presents a glowing picture of the father who, as already mentioned, belonged to that branch of the Aztec nation known as the Acolhuans or Tezucans, after their famous capital, Tezcuco, which was built *circa* 1200 A.D.

* The reference to a Tribunal, by the King is interesting since it conforms to ancient Indian practice. Readers may be familiar with the fact that according to our Smriti-karas, the King merely carried out the sentence pronounced by the Judge, although he had the right of pardon, except in cases of murder etc. The Judge himself was guided by the Sabha or Jury. "It was they (the Jury) who found a man guilty or otherwise...... This theory was a settled principle of Hindu jurisprudence...... Manu and Yajnavalkya (were) too zealous lawyers to leave it out... He (Yajnavalkya) emphasises that the same law obtains for the Crown Prince, the King’s brother etc., as for an ordinary citizen and that no one was exempt from the operation of the law.” (Jayaswal: *Manu and Yajnavalkya—*P. 82.)

† Most curiously, an identical story is told of the Chola King, Elala-Sena, who invaded in Ceylon in 205 B.C. and set up a ‘Dramila’ Kingdom at Amuradhapura. The *Mahawamsa* says that this eminently just monarch had installed a bell with a long rope, near his bed and the bell could be rung by any aggrieved person, night or day. Elala’s son while driving in a chariot round the royal tank in the city ran over and killed a calf. The mother-cow at once went to the palace and pulled at the bell-rope. On learning the full story, the just but pitiless King had his son crushed under the same chariot-wheel which had *over-run* the calf!
to commemorate the founding of the Acolhuan empire. About 1418 A.D. a kindred tribe belonging to the Aztec family (the Tepanecs) invaded Tezcucuo, and captured the city after killing the then ruler before the very eyes of the 15-year-old Crown Prince named Nesabualcoyotl (whom I shall henceforth call Nesa, for short). The romantic career of this young prince, who became a throneless fugitive, is as full of strange and stirring events as that of Prince Charles of England or of Akbar the Great of India. The following is a synopsis of the exciting life of this unbelievably noble youth, following the murder of his father.

Nesa was captured and put in a dungeon, from which he managed to escape with the help of the city governor, who took his place in the cell and was promptly beheaded for his contumacy. Subsequently, the fugitive prince was allowed by the Tepanec conqueror to remain unmolested in his own palace for 8 years, during which Nesa acquired all the learning and all the martial arts suitable to his status. His luck soon changed, however, as a new usurping ruler of the Tepanec, a merciless tyrant, was bent on the destruction of the ex-Crown-Prince, being jealous of his good looks and splendid attainments. A clandestine attempt on the latter’s life was foiled by the devotion of a tutor, who secretly took the place of the intended victim and paid forfeit with his life for his loyalty. The Tepanec usurper thereupon openly sent an armed mission to capture and execute the prince. The latter received the mission in assumed friendliness, but secretly made his escape through an oversize earthen pipe carrying water into the palace. The enraged despot thereupon set a heavy price on the escapee’s head (promising the betrayer a lovely maiden in wedlock to boot), but fortune favoured the brave prince, who often escaped capture by a hair’s breadth, and ultimately took refuge in the mountain fastnesses. Here his life was one of alarms, sudden marches and fantastic escapes from the jaws of death. None of his subjects would betray him, despite temptations and horrible tortures. But the Prince was often in such sore straits that he actually besought his protectors, on one occasion, to give him up to the enemy, but the fond devotion of his subjects could not be suborned.

Meanwhile Maxtla, the Tepanec tyrant, was by his mean and cruel conduct provoking numerous enmities, all of which gathered
head suddenly. Under the leadership of Prince Nesa, a sizable rebel force assembled and Nesa was soon able to give battle to his unscrupulous enemy, who was routed and put to ignominious flight; Nesa entered his own capital in triumph, and soon afterwards a Triple Alliance* was entered into by him, with Tezcuco, Mexico and Tlacopan as partners. Battle was again joined with the usurper and Maxtla was finally overcome and killed, to the great joy of the liberated population. The Triple Alliance continued till the Conquest.

Nesa started his regal career with a general amnesty. "A monarch may punish, but revenge is unworthy of him," he said. He was averse, however, even to punish and went to the extent of honouring those who had deeply offended his cause. "These measures may be due to policy, but there are some acts of policy which only a magnanimous spirit can execute," says Prescott. Nesa set about repairing the ravages of the protracted war. In the words of Prescott: "He framed a concise but comprehensive code of laws, so well suited, it was thought, to the exigencies of the times, that it was adopted as their own by the two other members of the Triple Alliance...... He divided the burden of government among a number of departments: such as the council of war, the council of finance, and the council of justice. This last was a court of supreme authority, both in civil and criminal matters, receiving appeals from the lower tribunals of the provinces, which were obliged to make a full report, every four months, or eighty days, of their own proceedings to this higher judicature. In all these bodies, a certain number of citizens were allowed to have seats with the nobles and professional dignitaries. There was, however, another body, a council of state, for aiding the king in the despatch of business, and advising him in matters of importance, which was drawn altogether from the highest order of chiefs. It consisted of fourteen members; and they had seats provided for them at the royal table."

* The terms of this Alliance (only vaguely known now) provided for mutual warlike defence and offence and for division of spoils, Tlacopan taking only a fifth and the others equally sharing the balance. A King was to be elected as the 'Chief Speaker' of the Alliance, by the Council of Four, which included representatives of each of the partners as well as the Chief Priest of the Aztec tribe. For almost a century, during which the Alliance lasted, its terms were scrupulously adhered to by all the partners.
"Lastly, there was an extraordinary tribunal, called the council of music, but which, differing from the import of its name, was devoted to the encouragement of science and art. Works on astronomy, chronology, history, or any other science, were required to be submitted to its judgment, before they could be made public. This censorial power was of some moment, at least with regard to the historical department, where the wilful perversion of truth was made a capital offence by the severe code of Nezahualcoyotl. Yet a Tezcucan author must have been a bungler, who could not elude a conviction under the cloudy veil of hieroglyphics. This body, which was drawn from the best-instructed persons in the kingdom, with little regard to rank, had supervision of all the productions of art, and of the nicer fabrics. It decided on the qualifications of the professors in the various branches of science, on the fidelity of their instructions to their pupils, the deficiency of which was severely punished, and it instituted examinations of these latter. In short, it was a general board of education for the country. On stated days, historical compositions and poems treating of moral or traditional topics, were recited before it by their authors. Seats were provided for the three crowned heads of the empire, who deliberated with the other members on the respective merits of the pieces, and distributed prizes of value to the successful competitors."

The Academy, which bespeaks the artistic genius of Nesa, was not only a nursery of learning and the sciences (like the Tamil Sangams)* but also an archive full of valuable manuscripts. Its idiom was the finest in Mexico and was the language of the local literati long after the Spanish conquest. "Tezcuco claimed the glory of being the Athens of the Western World," says Prescott. The Emperor himself was no mean poet and he submitted himself to competitive assessment along with the lowliest of his subjects, before the Academy. Many of his odes are still preserved; though a little florid in diction, they are free from meretricious ornamentation and hyperbole; they are tinged with a little melancholic moralising and introspection, as the following extract would indicate:†

* or like the Great Academy at Pataliputra.
† The monarch's philosophy seems to tally somewhat with that of the Hindu Vedantins.
"Banish care," he says, "if there are bounds to pleasure, the saddest life must also have an end. Then weave the chaplet of flowers, and sing thy songs in praise of the all-powerful God; for the glory of this world soon fadeth away. Rejoice in the green freshness of thy spring; for the day will come when thou shalt sigh for these joys in vain; when the sceptre shall pass from thy hands, thy servants shall wander desolate in thy courts, thy sons and the sons of thy nobles shall drink the dregs of distress, and all the pomp of thy victories and triumphs shall live only in their recollection. Yet the remembrance of the just shall not pass away from the nations, and the good thou hast done shall ever be held in honour. The goods of this life, its glories and its riches, are but lent to us, its substance is but an illusory shadow, and the things of to-day shall change on the coming of the morrow. Then gather the fairest flowers from thy gardens to bind round thy brow, and seize the joys of the present ere they perish."

Nesa, however, was not always engrossed in his dalliance with the poetic Muse. He was essentially a man of action, as his numerous military campaigns attest. He also fostered agriculture, and embarked on large-scale public works, both utilitarian and decorative. "The land was covered with a busy population, and towns and cities sprang up in places since deserted, after the Dons set their predatory foot," says a writer. Nesa filled the capital with stately edifices and pleasant parks. The following quotation from Prescott will be perused with interest by the reader who will no doubt pass in critical mental reflection the pretended claim of the 16th-century Europeans to have borne aloft the burning torch of Western civilization into a savage and barbarous island. "He erected a magnificent pile of buildings which might serve both for a royal residence and for the public offices. It extended, from east to west, twelve hundred and thirty-four yards and from north to south, nine hundred and seventy-eight. It was encompassed by a wall of unburnt bricks and cement, six feet wide and nine high for one half of the circumference, and fifteen feet high for the other half. Within the enclosure were two courts. The outer one was used as the great market-place of the city, and continued to be so until long after the Conquest,—if, indeed, it is not now. The interior court was surrounded by the council-chambers and halls of justice.
There were also accommodations for the foreign ambassadors; and a spacious saloon, with apartments opening into it, for men of science and poets, who pursued their studies in this retreat or met together to hold converse under its marble porticos. In this quarter, also, were kept the public archives, which fared better under the Indian dynasty than they have since under their European successors.

"Adjoining this court were the apartments of the king, including those for the royal harem, as liberally supplied with beauties as that of an Eastern sultan. Their walls were incrusted with alabasters and richly-tinted stucco, or hung with gorgeous tapestries of variegated feather-work. They led through long arcades, and through intricate labyrinths of shrubbery, into gardens where baths and sparkling fountains were overshadowed by tall groves of cedar and cypress. The basins of water were well stocked with fish of various kinds, and the aviaries with birds glowing in all the gaudy plumage of the tropics. Many birds and animals which could not be obtained alive were represented in gold and silver so skilfully as to have furnished the great naturalist Hernandez with models for his work. .... The whole of this lordly pile contained three hundred apartments, some of them fifty yards square. The height of the building is not mentioned. It was probably not great, but supplied the requisite room by the immense extent of ground which it covered. The interior was doubtless constructed of light materials, especially of the rich woods which, in that country, are remarkable, when polished, for the brilliancy and variety of their colours. That the more solid materials of stone and stucco were also liberally employed is proved by the remains at the present day; remains which have furnished an inexhaustible quarry for the churches and other edifices since erected by the Spaniards on the site of the ancient city."

Two hundred thousand men were estimated to have worked on these royal edifices for some years, thus reminding one of the similar enlightened labours of the Kambojan kings, on the other side of the Pacific. There were minor palaces for the King's numerous sons and daughters, which were utilised for the practical education of the royal charges. Here they were instructed in all the exercises and accomplishments suited to their station; comprehending, what would scarcely
find a place in a royal education on the other side of the Pacific, the arts of working in metals, jewelry, and feather-mosaic. Once in every four months, the whole household, not excepting the youngest, and including all the officers and attendants on the king’s person, assembled in a grand saloon of the palace, to listen to a discourse from an orator, drawn from the priesthood. The princes, on this occasion, were all dressed in neguen, the coarsest manufacture of the country. The preacher began by enlarging on the obligations of morality and of respect for the gods, especially in important persons whose rank gave such additional weight to example. He occasionally seasoned his homily with a pertinent application to his audience, if any member of it had been guilty of a notorious delinquency. From this wholesome admonition the monarch himself was not exempted, and the orator boldly reminded him of his paramount duty to show respect for his own laws. The king, far from taking umbrage, received the lesson with humility; and the audience, we are assured, were often melted into tears by the eloquence of the preacher.*

Nesa was not only a great builder; he had the true artist’s love for the pleasant and the beautiful. He filled the country with rural retreats and embellished the capital with a number of villas strewn round about the hill overlooking the city. The high grounds were terraced and laid out like a hanging garden, with a large reservoir at the top fed by an aqueduct, carried for several miles over hill and dale on masonry piers and buttresses. On a huge rock on the top, the king wrote the story of his life in hieroglyph; nearby were several statues of the ruler himself.

*The Aztec orator-priest bears a striking resemblance to katha-kalakshepm expert of Aryavarta.

The reader will doubtless, join with me here in paying a respectful tribute to our venerable bhagavata, whose studied eloquence, interlarded with soul stirring music has edified and thrilled Indian audiences for untold generations. His poetry moves the hearers to their depths; his oratory bubbles, effervesces and overflows with drama, suspense, and subtle (and often impromptu) humour. In surprisingly quick time, the preacher can run through the gamut of human emotions, from the tender to the awesome, the compassionate to the bellicose, from the grave and the sublime to the pitiful and the diverting. The audience, be they unschooled rustics or urban sophisticates, listen in an atmosphere of spell-bound silence, moving between alternate fits of laughter and tears; of disgust and admiration. In the kalakshepm, entertainment is mixed with enlightenment; moral inculcation is always at the forefront of the bhagavata’s dedicated art.
some cast in gold. Numerous other reservoirs fed the city with water, through canals, fountains and graceful cascading falls over rock. Marble porticos and pavilions stood below these fountains and cascades, along with circular baths cut out of solid porphyry. Round about were garden terraces with steps so highly polished that they shone like mirrors. At the base of the hill stood the royal villa, of which Prescott gives a vivid account. "In the midst of cedar groves, whose gigantic branches threw a refreshing coolness over the verdure in the sulriest seasons of the year, rose the royal villa, with its light arcades and airy halls, drinking in the sweet perfumes of the gardens. Here the monarch often retired, to throw off the burden of state and refresh his wearied spirits in the embowering shades of his paradise, or mingling, in the cool of the evening, in the festive sports and dances. Here he entertained his imperial brothers of Mexico and Tlacopan, and followed thehardier pleasures of the chase in the noble woods that stretched for miles around his villa, flourishing in all their primeval majesty. Here, too, he often repaired in the latter days of his life, when age had tempered ambition and cooled the ardour of his blood, to pursue in solitude the studies of philosophy and gather wisdom from meditation."

A multitude of authentic stories testify to the magnanimity and rectitude of this great monarch. In his early life he gave his affection to a young and handsome princess who was being secretly trained to become his legal spouse; this lady innocently and impulsively promised her hand to another nobleman who accepted the offer. Feeling slighted, the offended monarch appealed to the State Tribunal, which found, however, that both the princess and her fiance were ignorant of the fact that the lady was being groomed for queenship. The Court, with an independence which redounds to its credit, acquitted the couple, and the monarch acquiesced in the ruling in truly sportsmanlike manner, although it took many years for his wounded heart to heal. The king took all judicial verdicts seriously, although he often tempered justice with abundant mercy. Like King Vikramaditya of India (4th century A.D.), he loved to indulge in nocturnal rambles in his capital, disguised as a commoner, so that he could see and listen for himself and judge the state of the realm and the feelings of his subjects.

* In this weakness for self-portrayal, Nesa departed from Aryan traditions; but he had exemplars on the other side of the Pacific.
On one such occasion, when attended only by a single lord, he met by chance a boy who was gathering sticks in a field for fuel. He inquired of him 'why he did not go into the neighbouring forest, where he would find a plenty of them.' To which the lad answered: 'It was the king's wood, and he would punish him with death if he trespassed there.' The royal forests were very extensive in Tezcucu, and were guarded by laws fully as severe as those of the Norman tyrants in England. "What kind of man is your king?" asked the monarch, willing to learn the effect of these prohibitions on his own popularity. "A very hard man," answered the boy, "who denies his people what God has given them." Nesa urged him not to mind such arbitrary laws, but to glean his sticks in the forest, as there was no one present who would betray him. But the boy sturdily refused, bluntly accusing the disguised king, at the same time, of being a traitor who wished to bring him into trouble.

Nesa, on returning to the palace, ordered the child and his parents to be brought before him. They received the order with astonishment, but, on entering the presence, the boy at once recognizing the person with whom he had discoursed so unceremoniously, was filled with consternation. The good-natured monarch, however, relieved his apprehensions, by thanking him for the lesson he had given him, and at the same time, commending his respect for the laws and praising his parents for the manner in which they had trained their son. He then dismissed the parties with a liberal largess, and afterwards mitigated the severity of the forest laws, so as to allow persons to gather any wood they might find on the ground, if they did not meddle with the standing timber.

On another occasion, while loitering behind a curtained window of his palace lodge, he overheard a woodcutter bitterly assail his own impecunious fate, contrasting it with the luxurious ease of the king, who allegedly did little to earn it. The forester's frightened wife hushed her husband into silence, warning him of possible eavesdroppers. The couple were soon brought before the king, who asked them what they were wailing about. On being told the exact truth by the woodcutter, the monarch not only forgave the couple but sent them home with rich presents, adding, however, a small homily on these lines: They should ponder over the hardships of royalty and the transience of human
glory. If the ruler disposed of great wealth, he also had undreamt-of calls on his purse. Far from leading a life of cushioned luxury, he, Nesa, was being continuously overwhelmed by the cares of government and the responsibility for guarding the peace and welfare of his numerous subjects. "Go," he said, "with what I have given you you will be rich; I, with all my wealth, will be poorer than you will be."

Nesa was munificence personified; his instinct was not to hoard but to distribute his wealth, seeking the needy and the virtuous.* But the king abhorred outright begging, since in his realm there was no need for it (as was the case in the land of the Incas). Every man had work found for him and enough land given to till. The disabled and the old were the care of the State.

This great monarch had even glimpsed a little of the transcendental philosophy of the East, by what process of communication we know not. His humane temperament shrank from some of the execrable sacerdotal rites of his people, like the ritual killing of human beings. The following tale was told of the events leading to his philosophic conversion.

For some time after marriage he remained childless, to his great anxiety and mental travail. The Chief Priest attributed this misfortune to the displeasure of the gods in not being supplied the customary human victims, following the king's interdict on such sacrifices. Reluctantly Nesa consented to the customary offerings being restored, but when still an heir was not forthcoming he burst out in great indignation: "These idols have neither heart nor feeling and could not bestow happiness on man. This prerogative lies only with a Supreme, All-knowing, All-Powerful God, the Creator of the Universe, on whom alone I will rely." He openly professed this sublime faith and tried to wean away his subjects from their questionable practices. To suit his new philosophy, he built a stepped pyramid (cf. the Meru of Indian cosmogony) and put up a nine-storey tower on top of it, to represent the nine heavens. The tenth storey consisted of a black canopy studded with gold designs and precious stones which he dedicated to "the Unknown God, the Cause of all Causes, the

* In this respect he resembled some of the great kings of Aryavarta. For instance, Harshavardhana more than once gave away all his temporal wealth to the poor and the learned.
Master of all Creation."* This tower was furnished with all types of musical instruments, which were played during the prayers, to which the faithful were summoned by a sonorous metallic gong. No images were used in the worship (none was allowed in the tower), as being inconsistent with the concept of the "Unknown God." Needless to say, bloody sacrifices were entirely replaced by the offering of nuts, flowers, scents and perfumes, and by the profuse burning of copal incense, in the Hindu tradition.

In his last days the venerable monach gave himself up to astrological and mathematical studies and to pious meditations on human intellect and understanding, which often took concrete shape in songs and litanies composed by the royal bard himself. A sample will suffice here:

"All things on earth have their term, and, in the most joyous career of their vanity and splendour, their strength fails, and they sink into the dust. All the round world is but a sepulchre; and there is nothing which lives on its surface that shall not be hidden and entombed beneath it. Rivers, torrents, and streams move onward to their destination. Not one flows back to its pleasant source. They rush onward, hastening to bury themselves in the deep bosom of the ocean. The things of yesterday are no more to-day; and the things of to-day shall cease, perhaps, on the morrow. The cemetery is full of the loathsome dust of bodies once quickened by living souls, who occupied thrones, presided over assemblies, marshalled armies, subdued provinces, arrogated to themselves worship, were puffed up with vainglorious pomp, and power, and empire.

"But these glories have all passed away, like the fearful smoke that issues from the throat of Popocatepetl,† with no other memorial of their existence than the record on the page of the chronicler.

"The great, the wise, the valiant, the beautiful,—alas! where are they now? They are all mingled with the clod; and that which

* It may be recalled that in the Rig Veda there is a song addressed to "the Unknown God" or Hiranyagarbha (R.V. X 121). The Vedantic concept of the Unknowable, All-powerful, and Omnicent Creator, is traced to this Sukta by Indologists. St., Paul, in one of his Epistles (to the Athenians) accused the Greeks of "even worshipping an Unknown God," in Hindu fashion.

† a local volcano.
has befallen them shall happen to us, and to those that come after us. Yet let us take courage—illustrious nobles and chieftains, friends and loyal subjects,—let us aspire to that heaven where all is eternal and corruption cannot come. The horrors of the tomb are but the cradle of the Sun, and the dark shadows of death are brilliant light for the stars."

The year 1470 A.D. saw this great ruler "travelling to the eternal mansion of the Sun", in the same spirit of serene detachment which had characterised his whole life, and after handing over the reins of government to his tender son, barely 8 years old (who has been already introduced to the reader). Nesa had found his realm dismembered, almost in ruins, and grovelling beneath the foot of an alien tyrant. In his fifty years of rule, he eliminated foreign despotism and breathed a new life into the nation. He raised trade and commerce to unexampled heights of prosperity; he filled the valleys with lush crops and the kingdom with architectural marvels of grace, beauty and public benefaction. He enriched the arts and gave his subjects a refined and exotic philosophy. In justice and social behaviour he came close to the image of the 'ideal king' visualised in our Dharma sastras. In adversity he showed firmness and courage; in prosperity, restraint and compassion. His parting words to his tender son were typical of his great mind. "My beloved son," he said, "never fail to worship the 'One Unknown God'.—Do not wail and lament but sing the song of gladness and show a courageous spirit." Prescott's glowing tribute to this wise sovereign is worth reproducing:

"Thus died the greatest monarch, and, if one small blot could be effaced, perhaps the best, who ever sat upon an Indian throne. His character is delineated with tolerable impartiality by his kinsman, the Tezcucan chronicler: 'He was wise, valiant, liberal; and, when we consider the magnanimity of his soul, the grandeur and success of his enterprises, his deep policy as well as daring, we must admit him to have far surpassed every other prince and captain of this New World. He had few failings himself, and rigorously punished those of others. He preferred the public to his private interest; was most charitable in his nature, often buying articles at double their worth, of poor and honest persons,

* Fernando Ixtililo-Xochitl. a descendant of the Aztec royal house, who wrote a 'History' a hundred years later, in Spanish.
and giving them away again to the sick and infirm. In seasons of scarcity he was particularly bountiful, remitting the taxes of his vassals, and supplying their wants from the royal granaries. He put no faith in the idolatrous worship of the country. He was well instructed in moral science, and sought, above all things, to obtain light for knowing the true God. He believed in one God only, the Creator of heaven and earth, by whom we have our being, who never revealed himself to us in human form, nor in any other; with whom the souls of the virtuous are to dwell after death, while the wicked will suffer pains unspeakable. He invoked the most High, as ‘He by whom we live,’ and “who has all things in Himself.” He recognized the Sun for his father, and the Earth for his mother. He taught his children not to confide in idols, and only to conform to the outward worship of them from deference to public opinion. If he could not entirely abolish human sacrifices, derived from the Aztecs, he at least restricted them to slaves and captives.”

The rest of the story of free Mexico is told in a few lines. Nesahualpilli died prematurely in 1515 A.D., amidst a sea of gloomy forebodings and after witnessing a gradual decline of power in his own people (the Tezucans) and a corresponding rise in the pretensions of the Mexican branch of the Aztec nation. In his closing days, the distant provinces fell away from allegiance; the army grew restive and slothful; and the civil services sank into inefficiency, while the priesthood often forgot its duties. The shrewd Mexican leader, Montezuma (also spelt Moctezuma) had started fishing in troubled waters and nibbled away at the outlying Tezucan domains. When Nesahualpilli was no more, this Aztec Chief was invested with the title of Emperor (literally Chief Speaker), hitherto reserved for the Tezucan regal family alone. He it was who was in power when Cortes arrived, in 1519 A.D., in the Carribbean waters, determined to overwhelm the Mexican principalities in an orgy of violence and spoliation. But Montezuma was not a heartless tyrant, as the Spaniards sometimes made him out to be. He was duly elected to his high office by the Council of Four, and it is recorded that he at first declined the honour, deeming himself unworthy of it. (He actually appointed himself a sweeper of the Sun-temple to show his bona-fides.) Bernal Diaz thus describes him: “The Great Moctezuma was about forty years old, of good height and well-proportioned, slender and spare of flesh,
not very swarthy but of the natural colour and shade of an Indian! He did not wear his hair long......his scanty beard was well-shaped and thin...His face was somewhat long but cheerful......He was very neat and clean and bathed once every afternoon.* He had many women as mistresses, daughters of Chieftains, and he had two† great Cacicas as his legitimate wives. He was free from unnatural offences. The clothes that he wore one day, he did not put on again; he had 200 Chieftains in his guard......and when they went to speak to him they were obliged to take off their rich mantles and put on others of little worth.......to enter barefoot with eyes lowered to the ground and not to look at his face...and they made him three obeisances.” He was adept in statecraft and learned in glyph-writing, astronomy, and all the martial arts. He started life as a priest and was scrupulous in his sacerdotal duties even after royal investiture. Von Hagen presents this picture of this great ruler: “Moctezuma ruled well; he spread the realm farther than all others before him; tribute was collected from 371 towns. Justice, in particular, was well organised by him.” “If there were any excess of defect he did then punish it rigorously... And also to discern how his ministers did execute their offices he often disguised himself.....If they offended, they were punished. Besides that he was a great justiciar and noble, he was very valiant and happy.......and he obtained great victories and came to his greatness,” adds Jose de Acosta.

With all his great attainments, Montezuma was no match for the Spaniards, with their cavalry, their musket and cannon, and mail and wile. Treachery and deceit won the day, as also did calculated cruelty, helped by ancient prophesies and dark forecasts. The Aztecs themselves were also to blame, as they failed to win over the trust and loyalty of their partners and their peoples.

* For the sake of comparison, I cite here the remarks of Marco Polo about the Kingdom of Sunderbandi (the Pandyan King of Madura):

“They have also such a custom that all, both males and females, wash themselves each day twice over with water their whole bodies, that is morning and evening; nor otherwise, for anything in the world would they eat or drink until they are all washed and he who would not wash himself twice a day is held among them a heretic.”

† Only one, according to all other writers.
The description of Montezuma's capital (Tenochtitlan) reads like a page from the Arabian Nights. Bernal Diaz unburdens himself of the following glowing account:

"Gazing on such wonderful sights, we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real. On one side on the land, there were great cities, and in the lake ever so many more, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we—we did not number four hundred soldiers!

"And when we entered the City, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us, how spacious and well-built they were!—of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet-scented trees, with great rooms and courts. We went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the pond of fresh water. Great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake outside, so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone monuments with pictures on them. Then the birds of many kinds which came into the garden. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered such lands as these. Of all these wonders that I then beheld, today all is overthrown and lost, nothing is standing!" (to the eternal shame of the Christian invaders). The reports of later Spanish writers indicate that Bernal Diaz, if anything, under-painted the picture. The style of life led by Montezuma was such as to put into the shade the vaunted glories of the Caliphs of Baghdad or the Sultans of Delhi. No European monarch of his time (much less the highly impeccable Spanish ruler) could even remotely approach him in the richness of his personal appointments or the breathtaking splendour of his court. Like the Inca, he never wore the same robes (each worth a small fortune) twice. He bathed and washed only from silver vessels, he ate and drank only from gold utensils. He was waited on only by nobles of the purest blood. The royal bill of fare (never less than 300 dishes!) was such as to beggar description. Game from distant forests and fish from the gulf of Mexico (over 100 miles away) were brought daily to the king's
kitchen. His golden table equipage was never used a second time; it was given away!

In a sense the city was like Srinagar in Kashmir (or like Venice, to the Westerners). The main streets were all canals, with bridges and dykes over them; the town had been built as a haven of safety on two islets lying three miles off Lake Tezewca, a collection of waters about 1500 sq. miles in area and situated at an altitude of over 7000 feet. The city itself was four square miles in size and contained a population of between a quarter and a half million.* A broad causeway ran through it, being intersected by another equally big, so that the city was cut into 4 quarters (like Inca’s Cuzco). “Along———(this) causeway 2 pipes are constructed of masonry, each 2 paces broad (6 feet) and about as high as a man; one of which conveys a stream of water very clear and fresh.” (Cortes) [The other one lay empty to be used when the first was being cleaned.] As the causeway had, at intervals, removable bridges in case of attack, the fresh water conduit, as explained by Herman Cortes, “flows into a kind of (ceramic) trough as thick as an ox (i.e., 25 inches thick), which occupies the whole of the bridge.” A fourth and last causeway, the shortest, not much over a half mile in length, connected the city with the mainland at Tepeyacac.

The causeways were the greatest engineering feats of the Aztecs, serving both as a communication and as a dyke-levy. The view was everywhere straight and unobstructed, and one could see two miles ahead along the causeways, which were lined with building. “Very beautiful and very large, both private dwellings and temples,” according to Cortes. The great stone-paved plaza measured, as do the boundaries of the zocalo of present-day Mexico, 520 by 600 feet; and bordering that square there were the Great Teocalli with four lesser pyramids on its several sides; the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, a rounding structure entwined with green open-fanged serpents; a raised dais on which gladiators fought; the sacred ball court, with, on one side, the residence of the officiating priests and, on the other, the house of the military

* Von Hagen places it at a smaller figure, but he admits that the city was as big as Rome under Marcus Aurelius and much bigger than was London at the time of Queen Elizabeth—when it had a population of less than 60000 souls, against 75,000 in contemporary Paris. In 1400, there were only 3 towns in England with a population of over 10000 (London harboured 40000 inhabitants).
Order of the Eagles, an 'elite' warrior class. [The tzompantli, or skull rack, on which hung the craniums of the sacrificial victims, was close to the ball court.] Three causeways terminated in the main square (just as in Cuzco, the capital of the Inca, the roads of "four quarters" that ran the length and breadth of their empire terminated or began in the main plaza); of these, Ixtapalapa was the southern road and causeway, by which the Spanish first made their inroad. The water entered the city at the great square and was from there either piped off to other sections or was gathered, as one still sees women today gather it, in water jugs.* The city, gleaming white in the sun, with brightly coloured houses and temples, surrounded by the blue lake, must have appeared to be a floating city, something out of the Thousand and One Nights, with its gardens and aviaries and multitudes of people, giving it a life as orderly as a large monastery; and so it seemed to Bernal

* The Spaniards had reason to be astonished at the wonderful water-supply of the Aztec city, for in Europe of the time, a controlled and well-planned hydraulic system was undreamt of. Here again, London can be taken as a sample. In the 13th century, Thames water was attempted to be served to citizens but it was not much of a success. The river was full of impurities and the water described as "hard, turbid and stinking" in 1598 (as it was host to all kinds of refuse and sewage) and "the odour remained even in clean linen." The river Fleet got choked with mud and filth and became known as the Fleet Ditch until it finally disappeared. Early in the 17th century, some water was brought from Hertfordshire springs through tunnels and conduits and was distributed through hollowed elm trunks used as pipes (wooden pipes persisted till 1850); but because of their poor strength water was allowed only three hours a day, three days a week; on other days, the public (London had in 1809 a population of over half a million) had to collect water in "kettles, casks, pails and even soup plates" from the public fountains. Because of the "medieval but obdurate" habit of Londoners, of throwing dirt and refuse into the river, even Thames became a receptacle of filth and debris, as all the sewers discharged into it. The slaughter houses, tanneries and tar works contributed to the defilement. "From its general hue of greenish coffee-colour, the river deepened to the colour and density of black treacle near the outfall... this was the water which Londoners had to drink" (at 82 million gallons a day in 1850, A.D.). Sydney Smith said, "There were a million insects in every drop of London water; thank God people drink beer instead!" The climax came in June, 1858, when an exceptionally hot weather and poor rains, combined to produce what was called "The Great Stink", a foul miasma which threatened the meeting of the Parliament and of the Law Courts and "which made people hold their nose inside a medicated kerchief when crossing the London Bridge. London had to wait still for her 'sweet waters' until the Metropolitan Water Board was born in 1903." (A History of London Life by Mitchell and Leys, Pp. 273-274.)
Diaz: "We were amazed and said it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis." The impression that the city made was so lasting that, even when this same Bernal Diaz was eighty-four years old, half blind, deaf, aching from his old wounds and memories, and owning little for all his time and effort, he could still write: "It was indeed wonderful and now that I am writing about it, it all comes before my eyes as if it had happened only yesterday."

The city was carefully policed, and over a thousand persons were daily employed in watering and sweeping the streets, "so that a man," said a Spaniard, "could walk through them with as little danger of soiling his feet as his hands." Fresh water was brought into the city from a long way off in ceramic pipes, a double course being laid to facilitate periodical cleaning and as a safety measure, as already mentioned. This water fed numerous fountains and reservoirs in the city and openings existed in the conduits from which canoes on the lakes and causeways could draw fresh and pure water.

The Emperor's palace was so vast that "its terraced roofs would provide ample room for 30 knights to run their courses in a regular tourney," says a Spanish observer. Von Hagen's description of the palace is as follows: Two stories in height, Moctezuma's living quarters were on the second floor. The rest of the magnificent structure was honeycombed with rooms. There were sumptuous quarters for the 'kings' of the city-states of Texcoco and Tlacopan to which the Aztecs were allied; there were other rooms for at least three hundred accompanying guests, always

* When on 13th August 1521 the city of Tenochtitlan was completely destroyed by the Spaniards (during the process of storming it), Herman Cortes is supposed to have shed tears in having destroyed "one of the most beautiful sights in the world", "and the best-planned city he had ever seen". It had water supply laid on to all its parts and "its sanitation was in advance of anything seen in Europe till the 19th century" (Prescott) i.e., 300 years later. While Londoners were throwing their night soil into the streets, in Tenochtitlan the excreta were carefully collected by canoes and taken into the fields to be used as manure.
coming and going. Below there were the tribunals, especially for those held until given trial, rooms for the ‘judges’ (achcauhcalli), the public repository (petcalco), where all the tribute from the 371 tribute towns was delivered and stored for distribution. It is to one of these rooms that Bernal Diaz was conducted to see the tribute. “There was a great Cacique......and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Moctezuma and he kept it in his account books......and he had a great house full of every sort of arms......and in other quarters, cotton, foodstuffs, chocolate, feathers, gold, jewels, all that was part of the tribute-economy.” In other sections were the rooms of the administrators who kept a record of the economy of the theo-democracy.

On the second floor were the rooms of Montezuma’s wife, his concubines and their offspring, his hundreds of guards and attendants. “Every morning at dawn,” said Cortes, “there were over 600 nobles and chief men present in his palace, some of whom were seated, others walking around the rooms......The servants of these nobles filled two or three courtyards and overflowed into the street.”

The rooms were amazingly decorated with carved cedar beams, which “could not be bettered anywhere,” said Cortes, “for they were cut with ornamental borders of flowers, birds and fish.” The walls were presumably adorned with hangings. Bernal Diaz and his “merrie boyes” were lodged in the Palace of Ayayactl, near to Montezuma’s Great Palace on the square, and the “great halls and chambers were canopied with the cloth of the country......the walls coated with shining cement and swept

* For the sake of comparison, the following details are given: In India in the 1st millennium B.C., the palace of the king was situated in the centre of the city. The chancellery called Maha Matrium was built in front of the palace, on the right hand. The Law Courts, named Dharma Sthayam were on the left hand. Near the High Court buildings was a Hall filled with necessary accessories for the convenience of the Judges and the Jurymen, including a place for bath and ablutions, and a small temple. The Hall was open on all sides, so that no case could be heard in camera. The Courts would be decorated with trees and lawns on the outside, and with garlands and armorial designs (lakshanani) on the inside. The ceiling and the pillars of the Hall were beautifully sculptured (vide the Sanchi and Barhut reliefs), and there were statues and pictures of deities. Sacred fire was kept constantly burning in the Hall of Justice and the throne of the Chief Justice was adorned with “seed gems” (bijaratna). In front of the Chief Justice were seated the Bench Clerk, the scribe (yanaka) and the Jurymen (Sabhyas) [see Jayaswal; Manu and Yajnavalkya, Ch. VI].
and garlanded.” Montezuma’s Palace was decorated with murals and bas-reliefs and with door hangings, and had so many rooms and doors that the “Halls of Moctezuma” seemed like a labyrinth, at least to one Spaniard, who confessed: “I entered it more than four times, and there was always more and more to see and always I grew weary from walking and for this I was never able to see everything.”

We now come to the pièce de résistance of the royal city, its aviary and its zoo, which astonished the Conquistadors who had never seen such marvels in Europe, which had none.* The aviary was an immense institution filled with diverse sorts of birds of bright plumage gathered from all over Central America, and kept in charge of more than 300 trained assistants who knew intimately the habits of life of their gay and enthralling charges. Birds of prey were not excluded from the collection, but naturally they were kept apart, and 500 turkeys were used up daily to feed them. The menagerie of wild animals was another exciting spectacle, full of all types of the denizens of the forests and mountains of the New World. The collection included a large number of reptiles noted for their size or for their venom. All the inhabitants of the zoo were housed under ‘natural’ conditions as far as possible, with freedom of movement within reasonable limits. Expert keepers looked after the precious inmates which would have gladdened the hearts and eyes of scientists and nature-lovers anywhere in the world. But the Spaniards reacted differently to these splendid curiosities. “The rude followers of Cortes did not trouble themselves with such refined speculations. They gazed on the spectacle with a vague curiosity, not unmixed with awe; and as they listened to the wild cries of the ferocious animals and the hissings of the serpents, they almost fancied themselves in the infernal regions”.† As a result the Dons hunted down merci-

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* In Aryan lands, however, gardens, aviaries and animal collections always formed part of the Royal estates. In old Sanskrit dramas, the romantic adventures of the hero and the heroine centered round these udyanas or pleasure gardens. The temples had their nandavanas. I have, for the benefit of the reader, attached a Note to this Chapter on “Medieval London: its epidemics and its sanitation”, in order to contrast the situation in an European city with that obtaining in the “barbarian” capital of the Aztecs.

† A sentiment which probably strengthened their resolve to pillage and to exterminate that fair city, the jewel of Central America.
lessly and in wholesale fashion what the Mexican rulers had nurtured with such thoughtful and solicitous care.*

Ten large tanks stocked with variegated fish were reserved for the food of wildfowl of all sorts, whose customs and ways of life were carefully studied. Extensive gardens were laid out all round the city, most pleasing to the eye and filled with fragrant shrubs and flowering trees, and most of all, with a veritable treasure-house of medicinal plants. No country has afforded more numerous species of curative herbs than Central America; the Aztecs well appreciated their medicinal virtues, and had made a speciality of the use of such vegetative products in treating human ailments. The Aztec herbalists studied and classified their plants according to their therapeutic value, but much of their work was lost in the *auto-da-fe of the Spanish bigots. Says Von Hagen: "There is little doubt that Aztec herbal medicine was far advanced. Certainly a people who could offer a remedy for relieving ‘the fatigue of those administering government and discharging public offices’ must have had a vast pharmacopeia or else a good sense of humour!"†

In modern times a nation is judged for intellect, by the number of books brought out by its people. Similarly, ancient countries should be assessed by the quality and quantity of writing material used by them. Judged by this standard, the Aztecs would rate very high among their contemporaries, as they excelled in paper-making and in writing. Paper (called amatl) was considered so valuable that it was an article of tribute‡. The Chinese made paper from mulberry; in India the palm-leaf (tala-patra) and the inner bark of the ficus and the birch trees were long used as writing material. This practice spread

* The Spanish example was not neglected by other Whites if we look to the fate of the bison in North America, of the elephant in Africa and the kangaroo in Australia.

† Some of the plants in use (e.g. the dhatura) were well known in S.E. Asia. Expert study by India-based students will probably identify many more such. The planting of gardens and orchards by kings was an ancient Aryan custom, enjoined on rulers by Nitisastras. Readers may be interested to learn that Akbar the Great planted at Darbhanga, a mango orchard (called the ‘Lakh Bagh’) of 100000 trees. Such orchards were unknown in Europe, at the time.

‡ Montezuma’s tribute list reads: “24000 reams of paper should be brought yearly as tribute to Tenochtitlan”; Von Hagen adds: “This means 4,80,000 sheets. No other nation in the world used so much paper at the time.”
throughout South-East Asia and Polynesia; the Mayas and the Aztecs, strangely enough, used the bark of the same (wild) ficus tree for making paper. This paper was used in writings of all sorts and in painting. (The Mayas prepared a huge encyclopaedia in 660 A.D.) Paper was not an Aztec invention, but they perfected it and bred a reverence for it among the people*. The fact that the Indians had books and writing greatly astonished the Conquistadors. "There is so much to think over," said Bernal Diaz, "that I do not know how to describe it, seeing things as we did that had never been heard or seen before or even dreamed about." So much so that they sent back to Spain, along with the first golden plunder, two of such books. Horoscopes, genealogies, land-accounts, tribute lists, judicial proceedings, poetry and prose compositions, municipal property lists, trade accounts, all went on to the paper-books. These, the Spaniards systematically destroyed, adding bigotry and vandalism to their other crimes of violence, lust and cruel exploitation.

To round off this narrative, here are some more descriptions of the city, which would show the high standard of excellence reached by the State and its people. Says Prescott:

"There were long ranges of buildings in the enclosure appropriated as the residence of the priests and others engaged in the offices of religion, numbering in all to several thousand. Here were also the principal seminaries for the instruction of the youth of both sexes, drawn chiefly from the higher and wealthier classes. The girls were taught by elderly women who officiated as priestesses in the temples, a custom familiar also to Egypt†. The Spaniards admit that the greatest care for morals and the most blameless deportment were maintained in these institutions. The time of the pupils was mostly occupied—as in most monastical establishments—with the minute and onerous ceremonial of their religion. The boys were likewise taught such elements of science as were known to their teachers and the girls initiated into the arts of embroidery and weaving, useful in decorating the temples. At

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* This is also a trait of the Hindu, to whom all books are sacred, being dedicated to Saraswati, the goddess of learning. No good Hindu would touch a book with his foot; if this should happen accidentally, the book should be pressed to the forehead in token of reverence.

† Such priestesses were not un-known in Aryan-acculturated lands in South-East Asia.
a suitable age they went forth into the world to assume the occupations fitted for their condition, though some were permanently dedicated to religion."

The area was also covered by edifices of a still different character. There were granaries filled with the rich produce of the temple-lands and with the first-fruits and the offerings of the faithful. One large mansion was reserved for strangers of eminence who were on a pilgrimage to the ‘Theocaillli’*. The enclosure was ornamented with gardens, shaded by ancient trees and watered by the fountains and reservoirs fed by the copious streams outside the city. The little community was thus provided with almost everything requisite for its needs and for the services of the temple. "It was a microcosm in itself, a city within a city......... The rude conquerors saw only the evidence of barbarism in the temple. In the fantastic and symbolical features of the deities, they beheld the lineaments of Satan; in the rites and ceremonials, his own special code of damnation; in the clean and modest deportment and the careful nurture of the inmates of the seminaries, only the snares by which Satan would beguile his deluded victims! But before a century had elapsed, the descendants of these same Spaniards discerned in the profundities of the Aztec religion the obscure but none the less unmistakable features of Jewish and Christian revelations! Such were the opposite conclusions of the illiterate and barbarous soldier and of the learned and refined scholar. A philosopher, untouched by superstition, might well doubt which of the two (conclusions) was the more extraordinary!" (Prescott)

Alas for Mexico and its great ruler! Their fate was sealed as soon as he was found to be rich beyond the wildest dreams of the marauders; when to this was added the discovery of his guilelessness and lack of ‘ballistics’† his doom was as good as pronounced. That the wealth of the city was such as to rob the Conquistadors of all sense of shame or restraint is clear from the following typical incident of the early days of the invasion.

When the uncultured Spanish plunderers saw the Aztecs so much concerned about their spiritual welfare and so immersed in

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* Sanskrit: Devaka Ilia? = Temple.

† Cannon and musket—not to mention the cavalry horse.
their engrossing rituals, they thought that they also should have a house of worship, "partly," says Bernal Diaz, "from the propriety of the thing and partly to impress the heathen." Cortes asked the king for permission to convert one of the stupendous halls of the Royal Court into a Chapel. The monarch gave his ready acquiescence and sent his own artisans to help furnish the Christian house of prayer.

While the hall was being remodelled, the Dons saw a door which had been recently plastered over. The Spaniards, who had heard a rumour that Montezuma had kept in safe reserve all the wealth that his father had left him, had no qualms of conscience in breaking open this suspicious-looking door. To their gratified astonishment, they found the rumour to be only too true, since the door led into a large hall filled with incredible riches. There were beautiful and costly raiments encrusted with gold and precious stones, articles of wonderful and curious workmanship in gold and silver. Large bars of these precious metals, along with unrefined ore of the same; numerous articles of furniture fit for Royalty and in-laid with costly metals and many other articles of value, too numerous to be listed. Wrote Bernal Diaz, who was one of the first entrants into this Hall of Riches: "I was a young man and it seemed to me that all the precious wealth in the world was there in that room".

As a tailpiece to this chapter, here are a few interesting miscellania about ancient Central America. Many experts believe that cotton was introduced into the New World from South-East Asia, along with the ficus tree and the sweet potato, but the argument is still going on. The chewing of cacao leaves with lime is considered by some to be based on the Hindu custom of using lime with pan-supari. Light log-rafts were called 'catamarans' in Mexico, a word seemingly borrowed from Asia. The use of stringed beads for praying, and the wearing of neck ornaments resembling the Indian 'rudraksha', are noteworthy features of Mayan civilization, as well as the blowing of conches to summon the faithful to prayer. Corbelled arches, the use of serpent motifs in basements and columns, stone-cut window lattices, the wide application of the lotus symbol in sacred architecture, the use of the cowrie as coin—all these are striking evidences of 'diffusion-

* It need not be added that the first loot of the marauders was the contents of this room!
ism’, in the opinion of such distinguished writers as Mathe-Brun, Beechey, Wilkes, DeGuignes, Geine Heldern and Georg Friederici.

The Aztecs were expert archers, using the long and the short bow; they had also a variety of javelins and spears, some of them barbed, as in India. Like the Incas, the Aztecs had a wonderful postal system which carried information to the Emperor, almost every day, from the remotest corners of his realm! The laws of slavery in Mexico were similar to those in Aryavarta. Men and women could sell away their freedom, in times of distress or danger, but they could redeem themselves when able to do so, and their children were always free. The only other type of slave was the prisoner of war. Marble was extensively used in Central American buildings; the Bird Palace of Montezuma (already described) had a long and beautiful colonnade of pure and brilliant marble all round it, at the sight of which the Spaniards were speechless. “When most of Europe was still ‘in the woods,’ the Aztecs were living in fine marble palaces and had built stately temples,” says a writer. The superior Aztec women were often heavily bejewelled; they wore gold and pearl necklaces as well as collars of jade, emerald or turquoise. The men were great lovers of sport; the princes particularly were extremely fond of the chase, in which they used the bow and the flying spear with great dexterity. The Aztecs had periodical competitions in foot-races, wrestling, rope-dancing, swimming and rowing, thus recalling the practices in Peru. They had also an aquatic ball game, resembling water-polo.

Sacred fires were kept continuously burning in the temples. The streets, canals and plazas were well lit at night with rows of oil lamps. The houses of the rich were served by bright crystal chandeliers.

The Mexican bards† composed songs dealing with the genealogy and the exploits of the national heroes, which all children were encouraged to learn by heart, along with the

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* Cortes confiscated for his personal profit all the emeralds that Montezuma wore. One stone was as big as a man’s hand and elaborately carved. Cortes was offered 400,000 ducats for this emerald, which he refused. He gave it to his Spanish fiance. [A ducat was worth an English pound.]

† These bards thus resembled the sutas mentioned in Vedic literature, who were considered to be so important as to be called Rajakrits or King-makers.
other branches of study. Said Acosta: “Nothing has surprised me more or appeared more worthy of praise than the care and method which the Aztecs observed in the tuition of their youth. Education was compulsory and all youths were encouraged to speak the truth.”

Of the people themselves, Clavigero, a 16th century Spanish writer, says: “The Aztecs were of good stature, rather exceeding than falling short of the middle size, and well proportioned...... They had good complexion, black eyes, firm, regular and white teeth, and thick glossy black hair ... Many of the women were fair and beautiful, their beauty rendered more winning by the sweetness of their manners and speech, and the pleasant modesty of their demeanour .... Their constitution was sound and their health robust.* It was not uncommon for the Aztecs to attain the age of 100 years ...... Generosity and disinterestedness were their special features. They gave without reluctance even what they had acquired after great labour.” One Spanish priest described the royal women-folk as miracles of beauty and as light of complexion as the more swarthy Spaniards themselves.

* Epidemic diseases like cholera and small pox were introduced by the Spanish; small pox alone killed six million natives in the two Americas, in the course of a few years; yellow fever was brought in by the marauders from Europe. Epidemics like the sweating sickness and the bubo plague were unknown in pre-Colombian America, as was also the fell disease of leprosy. As regards the terrible venereal affliction (lues venerea), which was known in the 16th and 17th century India as ‘Phirangu rogha’ (i.e., Portuguese malady), its origins are now clearly traced to Europe and it is a relic on the American Indians to foist its propagation on them. Von Hagen is emphatic that the Americas did not first breed this disease. Regarding this theory, “that the lues venerea came from the New World with the returning ship of Columbus, there was never any body of facts consistent as regards time and place in support of the theory. It is as difficult, to say the least, to conceive of the origin of this disease among the savages of Hispaniola, as among the natives of Europe. The American theory is now hopelessly dead; the more that the New World became known, the less did syphilis appear indigenous to it. In fact, the disease followed the track of the Europeans entering America......” (C. Creighton: *A History of Epidemics in England*, P. 430.) After mentioning that the disease was known as the French Pox in England, Spanish Pox in France, and Naples’ Sickness in Spain, Creighton argues that the disease always existed in Europe in the middle ages, but that it broke out in a devastating severe epidemic form in Europe in 1495 after the mercenaries of Charles VIII of France dispersed from the siege of Naples, in that year. In 1494 autumn, there was an unusual prevalence of this disease in the South of France, from where it spread to Spain, Italy, etc. The European filibusterers carried the disease to India, and South-East Asia and ultimately to Polynesia. The New World had already been heavily infected in the wake of Columbian voyages. A scaldalous detail worth mention is that many be of the clergy were found afflicted. In his arraignment, Cardinal Wolsey was accused of carrying the infection to the King, who however ‘escaped by divine grace!’
In war, the Aztecs observed certain rules of conduct. No fighting was started without a proper council of war; every effort was made, through missions and embassies, to achieve the objective sought for by peaceable means, before hostilities started. The enemy was always given ample notice; it was considered a disgrace to attack an unguarded enemy. On occasions, the Aztec commander sent arms to his opposite number in order to make the fight more balanced.

Mexico contained the largest building-mass in the world, larger than even the Pyramid of Cheops in Egypt. Cholula, the capital of the Mextic nation, had a stepped pyramid (like the familiar marae of South-East Asia), with a base covering 44 acres, and 187 feet in height! Its apex measured an acre and was visible for many miles around. The city of Cempoala had a plaza laid out in stone which measured 120 acres in size. "The courts were all whitewashed and burnished.... One of the scouts thought that this white surface which shone so brightly must be silver," says Bernal Diaz.

Sculpture was the greatest contribution of the Aztecs to art. Much of the sculpture was weird and awesome, startlingly resembling the makaras, nagas, kalas and the dwarapalas of Indonesia. While realism was its hallmark, it was not without vitality and some delicacy of touch.

Certain Hindu rules of conduct were prominently present in Mexico. Witnesses always swore "with the eye of God on me", which corresponds to our form of asseveration, viz, "Ishwara Sakshi". Along with prostration, it was the custom, while greeting high personages, to touch the ground with the right hand and then place it on the forehead as a mark of respect. (This was done three times before the King and before sacred images, exactly as in India.) The Aztecs had a religious order, bearing a striking similarity to our Yogis, who observed severe austerities for years, taking only one meal a day and allowing their hair to grow long and become matted. Certain priests went about dressed in pure white gowns and lived by begging, like the Sramanas. Although a mildly intoxicating drink was known, drunkenness was severely punished and the priests never drank any intoxicating

*The same chivalry was noticed in New Zealand also, as narrated in an earlier chapter. Manu would have been gladdened to see his war-code in action ten thousand miles away from Aryavarta!
beverage whatsoever. Fasting was considered a punishment for sins; hanging flower garlands over the necks of images, reading omens through the flight of birds, were other points of resemblance.

Cortes estimated the size of the Aztec Kingdom to be larger than Spain's. It is a mistake to think that the Mexicans had no idea of the wheel; huge stone wheels have recently been unearthed. Among the loot gathered from Montezuma was "a golden wheel like a sun as big as a cart-wheel, with many sorts of pictures on it—a wonderful thing to behold—and another wheel of greater size of silver of great brilliancy in imitation of the moon."* (Cortes) These went intact to Charles V. Albert Durer, a goldsmith who saw the loot sent to Charles V, had this to say of it:

"I saw the things which were brought to the King (Carlos V) from the New Golden Land (Mexico); a sun entirely of gold, a whole fathom broad; likewise a moon entirely of silver, just as big; likewise sundry curiosities from their weapons, arms and missiles—all of which is fairer to see than marvels....

"These things were all so precious that they were valued at 100,000 gulden. But I have never seen in all my days what so rejoiced my heart as these things. For I saw among them amazing artistic objects and I marvelled over the subtle ingenuity of the men in those distant lands. Indeed I cannot say enough about the things which were there before me."

Feather-weaving on mosaic was an Aztec accomplishment, even as it was in Peru and in Polynesia. "Let no one doubt the magnificence of this art," says Von-Hagen. "One piece has been preserved, that sent by Montezuma to Cortes, when the latter first landed at Vera Cruz and was believed to be God Quetzal-coatl himself, returning to reclaim his empire." This glorious piece of art now rests in a burst of golden green iridescence in the Royal museum of Vienna. (Feather-weavers were called amanteca in the Nahautl tongue.)

The Aztecs had a festival resembling the Hindu 'Chakrapuja', in which four individuals suspended by cords from a tall pole

* The reader will recall that exactly similar treasures were looted from the Inca temple in Peru.
rotated vigorously round it to the chanting of songs. Like the Hindus, the Mexicans venerated the Pole Star and the Seven Bears.† The Pole Star was considered the lord who guided travellers; and according to the Spanish writer, Sahagun, “he was the god of traders and merchants”.

Finally, here are two quotations from modern historians:

“The Aztecs were a highly moral people, had strict laws and punished unchastity with death. Aztec Royalty lived on a scale of magnificence unparalleled in the annals of nations. The Royal palaces of Europe were small and mean, compared with the palace of the Aztecs!” (Bancroft)

“From Mexico, a civilization that might have instructed Europe, was crushed out. It has been Spain’s evil destiny to ruin two civilizations ....... and to be ruined thereby.” (Draper)

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* The Chakra Puja was a very ancient festival rite in India. In historical times it was accompanied by such gruesome practices that the British Government forbade the rite in 1864, at the instance of the missionaries. The Italian Della Valle (circa 1620 A.D.) thus describes an exhibition witnessed by him at Ikkeri (Canara): “A great beam was set up at a great height, in the city. On certain important festivals (Gauri Puja?) devout people hung themselves on hooks from this beam and sang hymns in honour of the gods, rotating all the time and brandishing their swords and bucklers” — Often there was fatality among the participants.

† The legends connected with the Pole star (the Dhruva nakshatra) are well known. The Seven Bears (Sapta Rishis) gave rise to an ancient Hindu Calendar, the Sapta-Rishi Cycle of the Laukiaka Era, widely used in Kashmir in ancient times. The Rishis are supposed to remain in each lunar mansion for 100 years (at the time of the Bharata war they were in Magha). This cycle of 2700 years began, so far as the present eras are concerned, in 4077 B.C. The next cycle commenced in 1377 B.C. and ended in 1323 A.D. As pointed out by Cunningham, the still earlier cycle will commence in 6777 B.C., a date mentioned by Pliny, Arrian etc., as the starting point of Indian History, according to the Indian philosophers who made the claim before Alexander the Great.
NOTE I TO CHAPTER X

There are a few more parallelisms between Asia and Central America, some of which are of a slightly speculative character and are not free from controversy. A brief summary of these is added here, to stimulate the interest of the reader as well as to round off the subject.

Col. J. C. Ward (Lost Continent) is of opinion that the Mayas were definitely descended of Hindu seafarers and that their religious progenitor, Tsamma, came from South-East Asia. (I have already cited the official view of the Mexican State.) It is considered by Mexican experts that cotton was introduced from India into Central America. There is evidence of some elephant motifs in Mexican painting and architecture; this knowledge could have gone only from S. E. Asia, since there were no elephants in the New World. Mr. Eric Thompson (Archaeology of South America) is of the view that the art of dyeing was learnt by the Americans from S. E. Asia. Some writers derive ‘Yucaton’ from “Yogasthana” in Sanskrit; Gautemala from Gautamalaya;† Yakkiis (the national spirit) from Akhis or Ahi, the evil serpent of the Aryans. Hewitt would derive the name Maya from Vedic Magha and the tribal name Nahua, from Nahusha. Harold T. Williams (Mysteries of Ancient South America) finds resemblances between Mexican hieroglyphs and the ancient writings of Tibet. He thinks that the South American word ‘Vira’ (e. g. in Viracocha) is a corruption of Sanskrit Viraj. The name-giving ceremony of the Mayas was called Tchsihil, which meant a “second birth” in the local language, thus resembling ‘dwija’ in Sanskrit. Male children were usually

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* i.e., in the historical period, Mammoths and horses lived in North America over six or seven thousand years ago, and were hunted by Paleolithic man.

† Elsewhere I have suggested that Gautemala may be derived from Ketumala. In ancient Sanskrit literature Jambudwipa was divided into nine regions, viz., Kuru, Hiranmaya, Ramyaka, Ailavrata, Ketumala, Badrasya, Kinnara, Hari and Bharata.
given their grandfather's name; girls were given names after plants and flowers (as in India), says Dr. Rafael Karsten (Civilisation of South American Indians). The custom of widows removing their hair prevailed among priestly classes in Mexico. Mexican women in the monthly periods were segregated and even put on temporary fasts. Men and women rarely interdined. Food was first shown to the sacred fire before being eaten; hands were cleaned and the mouth rinsed before and after each meal.

A warrior's death on the battle-field was considered exemplary. The practice of piercing the tongues and the cheeks was known, as a dedicatory ritual. Cold-water bathing was the rule, usually twice a day among all the people. Female ear-rings were made of tiger claws (as in India). Mexicans knew 2500 medicinal herbs, which were freely sold all over the land. The practice of spreading sweet grass for sitting on, reminds one of the durva mattress of India. Belief in rebirth and the permanence of the soul was universal. Dogs were supposed to guide the departing souls to the land of the forefathers (as in Indian myths). The four Yugas had four colours, white, yellow, red and black, as in India. Similarly the four cardinal points had four colours, as in India (south colour was deep-blue).

Some Western writers aver that Buddhism had even penetrated the Americas. (It may be recalled that Buddha claimed 'Solar' descent.) In support of this theory, Harold T. Wilkins has tried to demonstrate the strong resemblance between the writings in Tibet and those found in Brazil; he is supported by Carlos Leon (Inter-America) in this view, as well as by Donald Mackenzie, whose surmises are familiar to my readers.

The strong resemblances between the temple architecture of Mexico and that of South India have drawn the attention of many Western writers like Karl Ruppert, E. H. Morris, etc. The stepped pyramids of Mexico in particular, are greatly reminiscent of the 'marae' of Indonesia and Polynesia. In addition, motifs like makaras and serpents, images in the shape of pillars resem-

* The reader will be familiar with the injunctions of the Smriti writers that five points, (two hands, two feet and the mouth) should be cleaned with water, before each meal and after.

† the tiger was, of course, the jaguar.
Ganesa image

Rakshasa and Hanuman motif (?), found in Mexico
bling mukhalingas, and of dwarapalas, are common to these areas.

Finally, the Ganesa idol has been traced in Mexico; some writers are positive of this identification, though naturally contrary reactions are equally in evidence, vide remarks below.

I append some photographs copied out of that splendid publication entitled *Vanished Civilizations—The Mayas*. I hope I shall not be charged with indulging in farfetched speculations by giving my imagination delirious play, when I read into these pictures strong evidences of Hindu influence in Mayan architectural motifs. The first image (which is described by Western writers as the picturing of a ‘tribal tapir-faced god of the Mayas’) seems to me to suggest the portraiture (albeit in an unorthodox manner) of Lord Ganesa or the Elephant-God of Hindu mythology. As is well known, this Indian divinity has the face of an elephant (gajanana), with only one tusk (ekadanta) and he carries in his hand round sugar-filled rice-balls so dear to his protuberant stomach (modaka-hasta). In the Mayan statue all these indications are there, the most significant being the round cakes held in the palm. Further comment seems needless, except to point out that it does not stand to reason to suggest that the South-American tapir had somehow figured in the depiction of a Maya god.

The second relief in stone is described in *Vanished Civilisations* as the image of a fierce demigod holding a torch; the third picture in the series is thought to represent a bold and leering jaguar making fun of his tormentors by standing (with his arm on his hip) in an attitude of supreme contempt and nonchalantly trailing his tail “which is lit with pompoms and flares”, to use the language of *Vanished Civilisations*. To me these two pieces of sculpture are suggestive of an episode in the *Ramayana*, where the mighty and devoted Hanuman, when acting as the emissary of Sri Rama, is captured by the minions of Ravana, who set fire to the monkey-god’s tail, with terrible results to Ravana’s opulent city, Lanka, which Hanuman burns down, with his flaring appendage. In the Mexican statuary we see a Rakshasa holding a burning torch, and by his side we see a gigantic monkey-like figure with an angry and supercilious look, standing in a defiant attitude, although its tail is all aglow with the fire lit by the Rakshasa.
NOTE II TO CHAPTER X

MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, ITS EPIDEMICS AND ITS INSANITATION

According to Herodotus, Egypt and Libya were the two healthiest countries he knew of; but with the rise of Christianity the ancient practices of Egypt with regard to the disposal of the dead (embalming, 'dry' burial and cremation) gave place to promiscuous inhumation and this extended to Christian Greece also, as a religious obligation. The result was the first recorded out-break of bubo-plague in Athens, in the 2nd century A.D.; and in the 6th century, Byzantium (Constantinople) caught the infection (542 A.D.) and spread it far and wide in Europe, wherever the process of corpse disposal was far from hygienic. This pestilence swept England and Ireland in 664 A. D., and is mentioned by Beda. In subsequent centuries England was practically "the endemic strong-hold of the bubo-plague", (Creighton) which occurred with distressing frequency and increasing fatality. Particularly destructive of life (before the Black Death) were the epidemics of 1086 (soon after the Norman invasion) 1103, 1112, 1175, 1201, 1247, 1258, 1271 and 1315. In almost every case, the pestilence was either followed, or preceded, by famine and the total mortality was such that substantial areas of the land were left uninhabited.

The Black Death (a most terrible epidemic of bubo-plague) is unprecedented in the annals of any country, in the Old World. Only the New World could match it when it, lost almost half its population in some areas, in the early post-Columbian decades, thanks mainly to the plague, smallpox, yellow fever and the "sweating sickness" (a speciality of England), propagated by the European freebooters and the slavers. So much has been written about the Black Death (which started, curiously enough, again in Constantinople) that no detailed description is necessary here. "It remained domesticated in the soil of Europe for more than 300 years as the plague......For three hundred years plague was the grand 'zymotic' disease of England." (Creighton - A History of Epidemics in England) The Black Death wiped out one half of the popu-
lation of London; "in some houses, only two out of twenty were left". In the whole country perhaps a fourth of the population was hurried to the grave. The consequent scarcity of labour produced famines which added to the horror of the situation in the land. A class of paupers and beggars (mainly escaped villeins) arose, always on the road, begging or thieving; this wandering poor could not be restrained, despite severe legislation and there was wholesale demoralisation of national life, as happened in Athens of the II century A. D.

The following decades saw repeated attacks of this fell disease. In 1375, 1390 and 1405 there were serious plague epidemics. In 1407, thirty thousand men and women were reported to have died in London alone (over half the population) and the king and his nobles fled from the accursed city. In 1478, occurred another 'Great Plague', about which it is recorded that the Fifteen Years' War had not consumed a third as many people (as this epidemic). This was followed by a series of sweats (sudor Anglicus or the English sweat), described as an unheard of affliction, which affected mainly the well-to-do. 1513 saw another bubonic visitation; Erasmus wrote on this occasion that he was avoiding London because of plague and robbers there! In 1535 another ferocious outbreak forced King Henry VIII to flee the capital. The year 1563 was another bad one for Proud Albion. With 20,000 deaths in London alone (about a fourth of the population) there was adjournment of Parliament and the Law Courts and a flight to the country by the affluent. Queen Elizabeth went to Windsor, 'and set up gallows on the marketplace with instructions to hang all those as should come from London. No goods were to be brought from London on pain of hanging without judgments'. 1575 marked another cruel epidemic, the infection and mortality being most evident at the sea-ports. In 1603 (the year when Elizabeth died) the disease took an upward swing and raged London and the southern counties. In the city alone over 33000 people gave up the ghost (about one in four). The new King (James I) could not pass through the capital for his Coronation because of the epidemic and had to go to Southampton. Dramatist Thomas Dekker, talks of "sinfully polluted suburbs, the loud groans of the raving sick, death struggles of the departing souls, the grievous wails of the bereaved, the hundreds of hungry graves filled slovenly with jumbles of un-coffined
bodies etc." Sometimes the dying were thrown over the dead, and the sick servants and serfs were driven into the streets by the masters. The well-to-do fled into the countryside (often disseminating the foulness) but were everywhere met by curses and threats. Empty houses were rifled and coffers broken open; few parsons and medical men remained at their posts; all writers and dramatists (including Shakespeare) fled the city.

Succeeding years saw more of the plague, the provincial cities suffering most; to add to the terror, another malignant fever made its appearance, the so-called 'spotted fever' (but also termed the typhus or the 'ague of a hundred names'?). In 1625, there was another violent spread of the 'bubo' in London, with a death toll of over 35000 in twelve months (a fourth of the population again). Creighton (ibid Vol. I - P. 519) calls it a great national calamity since it stopped all trade and left great confusion and poverty behind; the rich were all gone and house-keepers, servants and apprentices went begging in the streets. London was at the time literally the plague-spot of England, nay, of the whole world. Added to the plague were fatal influenza and typhus, which were rendered more acute because of the Civil Wars. The period from 1645 to 1665 saw many outbreaks of sickness; plague, goal-fever, the work-house fever, the ship-fever, the sweat, and typhus, making for fat church-yards and opulent parsons.

Passing over other outbreaks of plague in 1657, 1659 etc., we come to the Great London Plague of 1665, round which much horrendous literature has gathered, religious and profane, in prose and in verse. The Restoration led to over-crowding in the City and a relaxation of morals. Small pox, yellow fever and dysentery were already in play in London, which was definitely a sickly place when the bubonic scourge struck. "The sudden assault of the disease even on the apparently healthy added to its terror in 1665, especially in the rat infested slums; the allies of plague were dirt and squalor, as usual." (Mitchell and Leys: A History of London Life.) Despite some counter-measures, like isolation of houses, burning of infected clothes (which rules were often disregarded) the malignance spread like fire. (De Foe's readers may find all the horrible details of the disease in his Journal of the Plague Year.) The dead numbered nearly a hundred thousand, i.e., over one in four; in one week alone there were 12000 burials within the City. The poor were left stranded (while the rich fled) and bore the
brunt of the attack; quacks and charlatans flourished as did thieves and house raiders. Some of the fancy remedies in vogue were: hanging a dead frog near the fire place; tobacco chewing or smoking; catching the “French pox” deliberately; smelling something sweet and strongly scented etc. etc.

Burials were (as usual with plague epidemics) most haphazard and hundreds of bodies were tipped into open graves. Whole families were wiped out and two-thirds of London was shut up. "Grass grew in the streets (as Pepys records) which were full of pestiferous creatures begging for alms, many with (bubo) sores and limping." The bitterly cold weather of 1665 brought some relief; and the Great Fire of London (which flattened four-fifths of the City) burnt up the vestiges of the dreaded disease, which slowly disappeared from the soil of England, as sanitation and methods of burial improved.

Speaking of sanitation, the following details about London will be of interest to the reader now made acquainted with the standards of personal and civic cleanliness in Aryan-dominated lands, including Peru and Mexico. *There was no drainage in medieval London*, even as there was no systematised water supply. The town sewers (called shores) were only banked up water courses which ran down the streets and the declivities of the City to the town ditch, and thence to the Thames. The greatest nuisance was the offal and blood of the shambles thrown on the ditches, to flow down to the river after each rain. Open places became latrines and cesspools; the Moor (beyond the wall) was a 'common latrine', breeding unspeakable stenchers. The houses were shockingly insanitary. Erasmus wrote thus in 1520: "Floors covered with rushes; the new piled on the old, for 20 years without clearance, befouled with all manner of filth, spillings of beer, remains of fish, with expectoration, vomit and excreta all over." Regular streets were few, as there was no orderly expansion of the Capital. "Even the main streets were dark and airless, and their gutters full of filth. The highways were disgustingly dirty and in places, very dangerous" (Mitchell & Leys: *ibid*, P. 161.) "The new parts (i.e., suburbs) were built over cesspools which were more dangerous that even the visible nuisances satirized by Swift and Gay." (Creighton, Vol. II, *ibid*, P. 87). The over-crowding was unbelievable; often about a hundred people lived in a single
house, with a single privy under the stairs. Says Wilan (1801) "The passages (of the houses) were filled with putrid excrement and other abominable effluvia from a vault at the bottom of the staircase." To crown all, there was the nuisance of the window tax, "which in effect was a tax on light and air", enforced by a galling and corrupt machinery. "This tax caused one-seventh or less of the British houses to have enough light to pay the tax." (Cole & Postgate: *op. cit.* P. 306). This tax extended even to prisons, (in which debtors and felons were mixed up) and the few windows there were closed up to avoid payment of tax, by the wardens. To cite the case of one prison, "In George's Ward (prison), sixteen by fourteen and only eight feet high there were kept no less than 32 to 40 prisoners one whole year. As there was no room for all of them to sleep on the floor, half slept in hammocks suspended over the sleeping figures. Locked in between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. and forced to ease nature within the room, the stench arising from this cell was noisome beyond expression.......Several (of the prisoners) perished for want of air in summer, and by famine in winter." (Creighton: *op. cit*; Vol. II, P. 91.) In another Debtors' Prison (Marshalsea) 8 or 10 died every day of disease or starvation. The criminal jails bred another menace, viz., gaol fever which was so contagious that many judges, lawyers and sheriffs died of infection, which spreading to the Assize towns "carried off hundreds" during gaol deliveries, which were called Black Assizes, as a consequence.

The domestic sanitary arrangements were primitive beyond belief. Every house-holder had a cellar which was the latrine-cum-urinal during the day; at night chamber pots kept inside sleeping rooms served the purpose. He was expected to carry and empty once a week the slop and filth accumulated in the cellar into the gutter or kennel which ran down the middle of the street. "It was natural for those in the upper floors to empty the slop out of the windows to the peril and discomfort of passers-by; complaints of this practice were made even in the 17th century....Dwellers at street level often found a foul flood running into their houses by the door." (Mitchell and Leys: *A History of London Life*, P. 14.) There was only one public latrine for each ward, set close to the river bank, but these were often "very ruinous". The open street drains and the dilapidated public latrines caused an insupportable miasma; the rubbish cluttering the streets added
to the scavenging problem. Even by 1850, things had not improved. "Drains of any kind were presumed to be no more necessary than they had been fifty years earlier. Dung (excreta) which was still considered to be a marketable produce, when left to decay in the streets of Lancashire towns (in 1850) led to results which it is not suitable to describe." (Cole and Postgate, *The Common People*, p. 306.) "Had it not been for the kites and crows which carried off and consumed great quantities of offal, the street cleaners would have been powerless to deal with the problem." (Mitchell and Leys, *ibid.* ) The rotten rushes thrown by householders and the dung and dirt from the stables often blocked side streets and lanes, which were so narrow that opposite roofs nearly touched each other. Mounds of stale fish and all sorts of debris and household refuse added to the quota of dirt. The only way of removing them was to load them into carts [with high tail-boards] and tip the contents into the appointed lay-stalls. But there were no such till the 14th century; the number of carts was only 12 (in the 17th century) for a city with such a large and growing population. "At times of crises like epidemics, matters became very bad indeed. A system of main drainage was inaugurated only in 1849, but the work proceeded very slowly." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

There were no good roads even inside the City, as the highways were merely of packed earth, only occasionally cobbled. The lumbering wagons from the country often got stuck hopelessly in the stinking black mud which, a foreigner said, was London's special characteristic. The houses of the poor were all thatched and rickety; more substantial ones projected far into the streets, while the overhanging signboards were so low as to be a positive menace to the unwary. Cobbett (1823) called London, 'the Wen' and its rural approaches "most unpleasant, full of deep ruts, broken axles and broken bones."

"It might be argued (from the mass of evidence available) that London (upto the 19th century) was consistently squalid, filthy and stinking, but the fact that people protested against the abuses, and nuisances were recognised as such, proves that they were not certainly regarded as inevitable." (Mitchell and Leys, *ibid.*, p. 17.) This weak apology scarcely detracts from the view that London was far from being the clean, salubrious, and prosperous
metropolis which the imagination of romantic poets and interested writers had conjured up for the vision of posterity. It was more full of the elemental odours of the stables, abattoirs and sewers than those of sanctity, or of the sweetness of enlightened and opulent social life.
APPENDIX

SOME NOTES ON ARYAN JURISPRUDENCE

In a moving peroration, Edmund Brouke said, "God forbid that we should pass judgment on a people who framed their laws and institutions prior to our insect origin of yesterday". A nation is, or should be, judged by the laws and the judicial institutions which marked its debut into history. Assessed by this standard, the Indo-Aryans could claim to have led the vanguard of all the nations of the ancient world. In the words of Sir Henry Maine, "The Hindus had Laws twice as old as the legislation of Solon and the Twelve Tables of Rome." (Early Law and Custom: P. 3) Mayne (Hindu Law and Usage: Preface) pays his own tribute in these words: "Hindu Law has the oldest pedigree of any known system of jurisprudence and even now it shows no sign of decrepitude. No time or trouble can be wasted which is spent in investigating the origin and development of such a system and the causes of its influence."

In the title to this Appendix, I have used the expression "Aryan", instead of the more usual "Hindu", since the system of our ancient laws and procedures applied to all communities, whether Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, or belonging to those amorphous groups called shamans, zoolators, devil-worshippers, etc., by the uncharitable. It is a tribute to the catholicity and basic equity of this jurisprudence that it could be applied, with necessary modifications and relaxations, not only to the highly diverse communities within Aryavarta, but could be carried to many a distant land where the Aryan cultural flag had been hoisted aloft in the dim remote past.

* Yet British writers, particularly missionaries, have not hesitated to pass stinging judgments as I have indicated elsewhere—judgments, which in retrospect seem to throw into the shade the fulminations of William Archer and Miss Mayo.

† In Volume I of Aryatarangini, I have stressed the close affinity between the Hittite Code of Laws and those of our Sastras. In this volume, I have drawn attention to the overt application of our Niti-Sastras in distant lands traversed by the Aryans—e.g. Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, and Cambodia. The New World also seems to have been infiltrated by our legal concepts and usages, as the reader will, doubtless, appreciate. The "Brehan Law" of Ireland has traces of
It will obviously be beyond my scope to deal in detail with the civil and criminal legislation of the Indo Aryans. In this Appendix, therefore, I shall depict only the broad outlines of the legal procedure in vogue in Aryavarta about 2500 years ago. It was the age of the great Smritikaras, an age that witnessed the flowering of Aryan genius in various fields. It was an epoch that preceded the birth of the Greek and the Roman civilizations, both of which borrowed heavily from Aryavarta, not only in language, religion, philosophy and culture, but also in the elements of jurisprudence. It is true that even the Vedas and the post-Vedic literature of very early periods refer, incidentally, to legal institutions, but these references are scanty and nubilous. It would appear that in Vedic times, the King† administered justice, but he could delegate this power to his adhyakhas. There were tribal courts and trade guilds, which were presided over by royal judges, helped by local assessors. Petty cases were decided by the gramyaavadin, or village magistrate, who resorted to trial by ordeal occasionally, and more often to arbitration. The laws of inheritance, contract, debt, money-lending, etc., seem to

Aryan practices, according to Maine, who equates Brehan with Brahmin. Some Western scholars, however, would link Hindu jurisprudence to ancient Babylon. Thus G.P. Sherman: "The influence of Babylonian law travelled beyond the borders of Babylon—eastward to the Law of Hindusthan, specially the famous Code of Manu." This view has been ably refuted by Dr. U.C. Sarkar (Epochs in Hindu Legal History, P. 11) who points out that apart from there being no communication between the Dharma writers and Babylon, there are few points of similarity between Hammurabi and Manu.

† Buhler and Jolly, following Max Muller, held that all Hindu Law developed from Vedic Charanas and that the Dharma (or Kalpa) sutras merely reflected the traditional aspect of Hindu Law and procedure, as it existed from the remotest periods. Dr. Jayaswal is inclined to attribute such refinements of Aryan jurisprudence to the Arthashastra schools. Dr. U.C. Sarkar, however, says that "it is difficult to accept the view of Jayaswal that the Vyavahara law must have been based on, and preceded by, many secular law-treatises like Kautilya's Arthasastra".

† The King was identified with Varuna, who "as the normal governor of the universe stands far above any other deity in the Vedas". (Macdonell) The earthy rule of the King was equated with the moral sovereignty of Varuna, the hater of falsehood, the sparer of the erring suppliant, and the protector of the Rta. Manu calls Varuna the lord of (appropriate) punishment; a man giving false evidence is bound by the fetters of Varuna for a hundred births; and the god would not spare even a guilty monarch or priest, whose punishment will be all the more severe, as Manu takes care to point out. An image of Varuna stood in the Court Hall, which could therefore be correctly described as a Temple of Justice.
have been already well developed in Vedic times. In the sphere of criminal law, there was often an overlapping of the concepts of sin and crime; religious lapses and legal transgressions had very thin boundaries in those ancient days.

In the post-Vedic period, the concept of a purely secular law had its faint beginnings; but for a long time, under the ruling authority of the Dharmasutras (the Codes of Righteous Conduct), the distinction between impure behaviour and positive crime remained often blurred. Gradually, however, the prerogatives of sovereignty developed, and what was known as the King's Law (i.e. secular jurisprudence) came into being. This was particularly the case after the evolution of the Arthasastra (Science of Polity) about the first millennium B.C. The Arthasastra writers emphasized the concepts of secular (or King's) law, and of reason as the mainspring of judgments, in preference to the mere rulings in the canonical texts. For instance, Kautilya holds up the King as the fountain of justice and avers that where there is conflict between rational law and the Sastras, the former shall prevail (vide quotation below).

* Says Apastamba: If you ask why the decisions of the Aryas presuppose the existence of a Vedic passage, then I answer: "All precepts were originally taught in the Brahmanas but (some of) these texts have been lost. Their former existence may, however, be inferred from usage. It is not permissible to infer the former existence of a Vedic passage when (mere) pleasure is obtained by following a custom; he who follows such (wrong) usage qualifies for Hell". It is obvious that early Aryan Laws had an ethical background and reflected the "sense of the community", as evaluated on a high religious plane. "The sacerdotalism which occupied a prominent position in the Smritis, could not be rivalled by any other literature or law." (Dr. U.C. Sarkar, ibid. P. 10).

† All Hindu Law is generally traced to the Dharmasutras. The latter are derived from Dharmasutras, which are themselves born out of the Kalpasutras. The former are divided into three branches, viz. Srouta, Grihya and Dharma Sutras, dealing respectively with rituals and sacrifices, domestic rites and observances, and the rules of good conduct and penances. In actual practice, the canonists often mixed up all the above topics in their compendious writings, and much secular law got interlarded with pure canon and ritual.

‡ "In virtue of his power to uphold the observance of the respective duties of the four castes and of the four divisions of religious life, and in virtue of his power to guard against the violation of the Dharma, the King is the fountain of justice (dharma-pravartaka).

"Sacred law (dharma), evidence (vyavahara), history (charitra), and edicts of kings (rajyasana), are the four legs of Law. Of these four in order, the later is superior to the one previously named.

"Whenever there is disagreement between history and sacred law or between evidence and sacred law, then the matter shall be settled in accordance with sacred law.

"But whenever sacred law is in conflict with rational law (dharma-nyaya or King's law), then reason shall be held authoritative; for there the original text (on which the sacred law has been based) is not available." (Artha-sastra, Ch. I, BK. III)
A vexed question is as regards the antiquity of the Dharmasutras, which originally formed the basis of all positive or civil law. Western historians, with their well-known tendency to belittle the antiquity of our sacred literature, make most of them Mauryan or post-Mauryan. Even Indian authors are not free from this impulse, it being apparently considered the height of scholarship and detached judgment to lessen the hoariness of our learning and culture, by fatally overreading an occasional interpolation, by severely excluding circumstantial data and internal evidence, and by insisting on epigraphs and artifacts, or the testimony of foreign writers. Unfortunately for us, ancient Sanskrit authors always preferred to cloak their works in humble anonymity, particularly about their date, country, name of the king, etc. Besides, the possibility of innocent interpolations in the ancient texts, and of rash 'modernisation' (often for laudable reasons) cannot be entirely ignored, though their incidence is unduly stressed by critics. Broadly speaking, the period of the Dharmasutras (which deal, inter alia, with vyavahara or judicial procedure and substantive law on diverse subjects) falls within the period ranging from 1000 B.C to 400 B.C. Dr. P. V. Kane dates the Dharma and the Shruta sutras of Apastamba, Asvalayana, Baudhayana, Katyayana and Vasishtha between 800 B.C. and 300 B.C. (vide his History of Dharmasastras, Vol. I. Chronological Table)*. I have suggested elsewhere in this book that the original Manava Dharmasastra should be attributed to circa 1000 B.C. (Sir William Jones placed Manu in 1280 B.C.; Elphinstone in 900 B.C.; and Monier Williams in 500 B.C.). The fact that the extant Manusmriti is professedly composed by an Acharya named Sumati Bhargava does not vitiate my assumption. Frequently with our ancient religious texts, often transmitted by word of mouth, it became at some stage necessary to edit and to arrange them in a finished form for the easy use of posterity. Vyasa ("arranger") did this signal service for our Vedas and for some of our Puranas. The tradition of Prajapati (i.e. Manu) com-

* Dr. U.C. Sarkar (Epochs of Hindu Legal History) holds Gautama to be the oldest of the Sutrakaras, even though he refers to various earlier authors, including Manu, by name, Dr. Sarkar places the Sutra writers between 1000 B.C. and 300 B.C.; he ranks Baudhayana below Apastamba, in point of age. Both the latter belonged to Andhradesa and followed the Krishna Yajur Veda. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that several of our Smritis had two versions, viz. laghu (condensed) and brihad (expanded); it is surmised that the latter contained some interpolations,
posing a work of 1,00,000 verses for the benefit of mankind, is well established and is referred to in the *Mahabharata* and other ancient compositions. According to Narada, he abridged the original *Manusmriti* to 12,000 couplets; his disciple Sumati Bhargava further reduced its contents to 4,000 verses, to facilitate easy application.

Dr. Jayaswal, however, finds the extant *Manusmriti* "full of political, social and sacerdotal prejudices," and thinks that it is "a code as well as a controversy". Its allegedly strong pro-Brahminical bias he attributes to the fact that Sumati Bhargava was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga, a Brahmin monarch who was strongly anti-Buddhist and "rooted in caste prejudices". Accordingly, Dr. Jayaswal would regard *Apastamba Dharmasutra* as more ancient and authoritative than the *Manusmriti*, which he considers to be a product of an "orthodox counter-revolution" and to which he would attribute a date of only II century B.C.

I suggest, however, that the tradition, and the literary testimony, placing Manu at the head of all Smritikaras should not be ignored and that the extant *Manusmriti*, though a comparatively late redaction, should be considered fully authoritative of the views of the doyen of *Dharmasastra* writers. The argument of Maine that the term 'Manava' used by ancient writers means a *gens*, a clan or a gotra, and not a school of legists, is clearly questionable. With regard to Dharma law, therefore, Manu holds the same dominant

*Manu and Yajnavalkya*, P. 42. Maine gives high praise to Narada for freeing law from its sacerdotal trappings and for providing a cogent alternative to private feuds and reprisals. "He places in front of everything the description of the court, its mechanism, its procedure and its test of alleged facts." *(Early Law and Custom*, P. 381)

† Practically all Dharmasastra writers cite the Manava Code as high and ancient testimony. Even Kautilya places Manu at the head of his authorities, although he often differs from him. The attempt of Dr. Jayaswal to bifurcate (for purposes of jurisprudence) the Arthastras from the Dharmasstras, does not seem to be quite happy. It is clear that Kautilya owed much in this respect to the Smriti writers, as he repeatedly acknowledges in his great work. It is not without significance that virtuous and just kings were known as "Manuneeti rajas". "The monuments of jurisprudence which lay claim to the highest antiquity are those of the Hindus," says Maine *(Early Law and Custom*, P. 160) with reference to the Smritis.
position as Panini does with regard to grammar, and Yaska with regard to etymology*.

Concerning the successors of Manu in the composition of Dharmasutras, it is not easy to give an exact chronology, although it is possible to fit them into approximate historical periods. Dr. P. V. Kane lists the following as authors of the Dharmasutras, viz., Apastamba, Gautama, Baudhayana, Katyayana, Vasishtha; to these, as we have seen, he assigns a period falling between 800 B. C. and 300 B. C. The Manusmriti (of Sumati Bhargava) he takes to 200 B.C. (for reasons indicated by me), and to Yajnavalkya, Vishnu and Narada he assigns the early period after Christ, assigning as late a date as 300 A.D. to Brhaspati, (who is, however quoted by Kauṭilya !) Dr. Jayaswal gives precedence to Apastamba, as mentioned above. Other critics consider Baudhayana to be older; Prof. Jolly and Macdonnell consider both Baudhayana and Gautama to be older than Apastamba. As regards Katyayana, the grammarian, there is no doubt that he is pre-Mauryan, as is probably also the author of the Sukra Niti. Kamandaka, possibly a pupil of Kauṭilya, is usually assigned a date round about 200 B. C.†

The Mitakshara of Vijananeswara (11th century A. D.) lists some great Smritikaras**. The Vyavahara Mayukha of Nilakanth

* Max Muller thought the Manusmriti a late work because it did not use the sutra style of composition and indulged in polished verse. Judged by this test, most of the major Upanishads must lose their chronological precedence! As Basham points out, the literally hundreds of verses which are common to the Mahabharata and the Manusmriti must be traced to a common earlier source, viz. the original composition of Manu. (A.L. Basham: The Wonder that was India, P. 113)

† As the reader would have noticed, the Aryan legal texts most in use in Further India were those of Manu and Kamandaka. Occasionally, the authority of Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brhaspati is also cited. The Smriti laws appear to have been in vogue in places like Kamboja and Bali, in the early centuries of the Christian era. The condensed Manusmriti (Kutara Manava) is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions.

** It will be interesting to quote here Vijananeswara's list of authorities; Smritikaras: Manu, Atri, Vishnu, Harita, Yajnavalkya, Usanas, Yama, Apastamba, Katyayana, Brhaspati, Sankha-Likhita, Gautama and Vasishtha. Upanismitikaras: Paitamaha, Baudhayana, Pulastya, Gargya, Kasyapa, Narada, Aswalya, Bhrgu, Viswanmitra. (It is clear that the list is rather confused in respect of chronology and classification.) Dr. Sarkar terms the following as authors of Dharmasutras — Gautama, Apastamba, Baudhayana and Vasishtha; Manu, Harita, Narada, etc., are called 'Dharmasastra writers' by him.
Bhatta (16th or 17th century A.D.) cites the rulings of the following authorities in the main: Manu, Yajnavalkya, Katyayana, Brhaspati, Narada, Vyasa and Samvarta. Where there is a conflict of opinion, the later commentators suggest their own choice or some sort of via media. Naturally this had led, in both civil and criminal law, to substantial divergencies in the Indian homeland itself, as every student of our jurisprudence knows. The Mitakshara has gained wide currency in the south of India, while in Bengal and in the north-east, it is the Daya-bhaga (of Jimutavahana, that has become authoritative; in Western India, the Vyavahara Mayukha remains the standard reference of the pundits.

In addition to scholastic differences, there were various differences in law based on local or family custom, the regulations of guilds and caste panchayats. The early canonists knew the difference between ethics and law, namely, that while ethics was the study of the supreme good, laws applied only with reference to time and place. Custom played a noticeable, but not a dominant, role in early Hindu Law (even as it did in Roman Law and in English Common Law), but its importance has been overemphasised by writers like Mayne. The Smritis were as much based on moral urges, social needs, and religious dictates as on primitive custom. As Mayne himself admits, hoary practices (e.g. commercial slavery) were modified by the canonists, consistently with their high ethical outlook. Even when they could not change the law, they expressed firm disapproval; for example, Apastamba thoroughly disapproved of Niyoga, cross-cousin and uncle-niece marriages, though he recognised the prevalence of these customs in parts of Aryavarta. The Smritikaras realised that to go against custom, even if they be reprobed, was to provoke discontent and even rebellion, as Kautilya also emphasises. But it is an exaggeration to say, as Mayne does, that "custom was the residual and over-riding body of positive law". Bad customs (e.g. Rakshasa and Paisacha marriages) were severely frowned upon and ultimately driven out of use. It is reasonable to infer that, as Aryan precepts advanced inside India and overseas, their basic ideas of law, sociology and ethics were imposed mildly and imperceptibly on peoples subscribing to other and less acceptable usages and customs. To mention only one instance, Tolkappiyar endevoured, through his impressive Sutras, to introduce Aryan habits of conjugal life (non-promiscuity, ritual consecration, constancy,
mutual trust and regard) on the Tamilians, about 2500 years ago. Similar evangelistic efforts are historically noticeable in Greater India, as the laws of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, Java and Bali fully attest.

Panini points out how the word Dhharma has two applications, viz., (1) an act of religious merit; and (2) custom or social usage (IV.4.92). Any act which conforms to this social usage is named by him as ‘dharmya’ and he also calls non-deviation from such usage as ‘nyaya’ and ‘abhresha’. Apastamba opens his treatise with the following phrase: “Athato samayacharikan dharman vyakhyasyayam” (“We shall now propound Dharmas or laws based on custom”). Katyayana explains the above sutra by saying that Vedic Charanas (schools) had a two-fold authority: (1) annaya or sacred tradition embodied in canonical texts; and (2) dharma or customary law compiled from actual observances and practices. Later writers, however, tried to crystallise civil law in terms of the legal texts, including the Vedas. While attributing to the Vedas supreme authority, reliance was placed on “Smritis”, i.e. the body of laws contained in the various legal codes†, which

* Students of modern Hindu Law may be aware of the curious and persistent effort made in the last century by a Madras Covenanted official, named Sellers, to prove the inapplicability of the Hindu Smriti Codes (particularly of the Mitakshara school) to some native communities of South India, whom he described as heretics, apostates and devil-worshippers. It is to the credit of the Madras High Court (presided over by Justice Ellis) to have refuted the theories of Sellers and to have continued the application of the old Hindu laws even to Christian converts and to the so-called depressed classes and ‘criminal’ tribes.

† Thus Dr. Jayaswal (Manu and Yajnavalkya—P. 66): “Sumati Bhargava equates Smriti with Dharmasastra, the only sources of Dharma-law Patanjali agrees with his view, although we find Apastamba employing ‘nyaya’ in the interpretation of Dharma laws”. (Sumati Bhargava condemns hetu-sastra or ratiocination if it be in opposition to the sacred texts). Maine warmly approves of Narada “as he depends wholly on civil sanction and his religious character shows itself chiefly in earnest and often very impressive exhortations to the observance of the law and moral duties”! Incidentally it may be mentioned that Roman law also emanated mainly from text-book writers. The Law of Citation (426 A.D.) recognised the work of five jurists. The famous Digest of Justinian, (507-525 A.D.) was largely made up of readings from law-books. The curious reader may be interested to read, in this connection, the views of Macaulay: “The work of digesting a vast and artificial system of unwritten jurisprudence is far more easily performed and far better performed by a few minds than by many, by a Government like that of Prussia or Denmark than by a Government like that of England. A quiet knot of two or three veteran jurists is an infinitely better machinery for such a purpose than a large popular assembly, divided, as such assemblies almost always are, into adverse factions. It is the work which specially belongs to a Govt. like that of India, to an enlightened and paternal despotism.”
were given a binding status within broad limits. It may be stated at this stage that our ancient manuals of good conduct started by laying down what a man should do to be a good \textit{Arya} and what spiritual penances he should undergo for transgressions. Subsequently, the demands of society were recognised by laying down secular punishments for offences against society and for moral lapses (as opposed to religious ones)*.

With regard to the crucial question as to how to decide if reason (\textit{nyaya}) be in conflict with \textit{Smriti} or even \textit{Sruti}, here again opinion varied. The secular (or the \textit{Arthasastra}) school gave due weight to rational interpretation. Thus Kautilya (the most eminent authority on the subject, although admittedly not the most ancient) makes reason prevail even against the \textit{Sastra}, as we have already seen. Yajnavalkya (the most oft-cited authority on Hindu Law after Manu and the inspirer of Vijnaneswara) opposes senseless orthodoxy and says that where \textit{Smriti} texts are in opposition to each other, reason should prevail, as regards \textit{vyavahara} or secular law; he makes it clear, however, that in jurisprudence, the \textit{Smritis} are entitled to more respect than \textit{Arthasastras} in general. Katayayana sums up the position admirably.† Following closely the earlier writers, he indicates four bases of judgment, viz., moral law (\textit{Dharm}, Civil Procedure (\textit{vyavahara} or evidence), Customary Law (\textit{charitra}) and King's Regulations (\textit{Rajasasana}). In this sequence, the one following overrules the one preceding, according to this legist.

As to what was customary law or, in other words, the legal practices of Aryan communities, opinion was somewhat divergent, depending on the geographical definition of Aryavarta and Brahmavarta. Manu had a narrow concept of the Aryan land (as is natural in such an early writer), while other law-givers took a more extended view of what could be considered the home of pure Aryans. The later commentators (e.g. Medhatithi) were often

* Dr. Sarkar calls this synthesis of dogma and custom “a happy compromise between the Philosophical method of thought and the Historical and Analytical method of thinking on the part of the Hindu jurists”. The importance given to customary law is reflected in the curious theory of the Mimamsa school that all custom was but lost or forgotten Sruti or Smriti! \textit{vide} also K.R.R. Sastry, \textit{Hindu Jurisprudence}, (1962) for an instructive comparison with Roman Law and Custom.

† Prof. U.N. Ghoshal (\textit{The Classical Age}, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, P. 356) describes Katayana's work as the climax of Hindu Jurisprudence.
perplexed by these conflicting views and were inclined to hedge in their opinions, to the delight of those pettifoggers who were crowding our law courts in the early British days. It will be obviously beyond the scope of this Appendix to discuss in detail all these anomalies and discrepancies in Aryan jurisprudence. An attempt will be made below to give the essential ingredients of judicial procedure envisaged by the Aryan lawmakers who crystallised their ideas in workable fashion, about 2500 years ago. I must enter a caveat, however, at this stage, to point out that this is not a treatise on the legal system of the Hindus, but only a cursory summary of some prominent features of the judicial and legal set-up, indicative of the high quality of Aryan jurisprudence as it existed even in semi-historical times.

**Legal Machinery and Administration:** The Vedic literature incidentally refers to magistrates, policemen, and judicial institutions, even though it is recognised that, owing to the law of *karma* and palingenesis, all earthly rewards and punishments are only transitory*. Panini (8th century B.C.) refers to the master of law (*dharmapati*), arbitrator (*sthya*), plaintiff or complainant (*parivadi*), eye-witness (*sakshi*), other witness (*saksha*); he mentions the administration of the oath (*satyam karoti*), the taking of sureties (*pratibha*), crime (*saahassika*), punishment by fine and corporally, convicted person (*dandya*), mutilation and beheading (*sirshachcheda*). It is clear that, even by the 7th or 8th century B.C., the law and judicial procedure were both well established.†

The *Smritis* confirm this fact. Manu divides his legal treatise under 18 titles, which are summarised thus by Nilakantha, the author of *Vyavahara Mayukha*: “Of those titles, the first is debt or loans for consumption; the second, deposits and loans for use; the third, sale without ownership; the fourth, concerns among partners; the fifth, subtraction of what has been given; the sixth, non-payment of wages or hire; the seventh, non-performance of agreements; the eighth, rescission of sale and purchase; the

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* The real punishment for sinners is in the next birth. Says Vishnu: "Mortal sinners enter the bodies of worms; minor offenders, of birds; lower criminals, of aquatic animals." The customary penances would in some measure mitigate suffering in the next birth, and would also ensure future good conduct in this life.

† There is no mention in all our Law of the procedure known as “trial by combat” in European countries. Trial by ordeal (unknown to Roman law) was a favourite legal remedy in Europe.
ninth, disputes between master and servant; the tenth, contests on boundaries; the eleventh and twelfth, assault and slander; the thirteenth, larceny; the fourteenth, robbery and other violence; the fifteenth, adultery; the sixteenth, altercation between man and wife and their several duties; the seventeenth and eighteenth, gaming with dice and with living creatures; these eighteen titles of law are settled as the groundwork of all judicial procedure in this world.”

Coming to an actual description of the legal and judicial apparatus of the Aryans 2500 year ago, the following observations are offered. In the words of Narada, “The eight constituent parts of a legal proceeding are the King; the officer (Judge); the Assessors; the Law Book, the Accountant; the Scribe; gold and fire for ordeals; and water for refreshment”. The judicial set-up in the ancient Aryan communities bespeaks a high degree of culture, and breathes a spirit of fairness to the subject, concurrently with the conservation of the commonweal and the protection of society. I have described earlier (vide Chapter X—page 594) the structure of the law courts†. (Sir Henry Maine praises the Hindu system of

* The Vyavahara Mayukha amplifies Manu with some more heads of detail which are reproduced below:

“Constitution of the Hindu courts; duties of the prince as chief magistrate; duties of the sabhasada or assessors; duties of the pradivyaka or Chief Justice; several descriptions of courts; institution of suits, inadmissible suits; plaint, how to be drawn; proof, by which party to be produced; the four steps, pada, or divisions of a suit, viz., bhishapada, uttarapada, and pleadings of the two parties, kriyapada; production of evidence and sadyassiddhipada, decision by the decree; miscellaneous subjects connected with the administration of justice; the nature of proof; pramanam and its kinds, namely, human proof or evidence, manushya pramanam, and divine proof, by oath and ordeal (divyapramanam); evidence of three kinds, namely, likhita (writings), sakshi (witnesses), bhukti (enjoyment), nature of each briefly stated.”

† Brhaspati suggests that courts should be so held as to suit the convenience of the parties. “For wandering foresters let a court be set up in the forest; for soldiers, near their barracks; for merchants, near their meeting places.” The permanent courts should be in the centre of the city with a big court hall, well decorated and open freely to the public. That the Sabha halls were really attractive is proved by the Sanchi and Bahut reliefs, (III century B.C.) Law-books formed part of the equipment. Seed gems (bija ratnas) were placed on the seat of the Judge. Fire was kept constantly burning before the images of the gods, to lend solemnity and high moral tone to the proceedings. The court sat only in the forenoon (7-30 a.m. to 11-30 a.m.) and remained closed on New Moon and Full Moon days, and the 8th and 14th days of each fortnight (i.e., 6 days in a lunar month). It is significant that this practice is even now followed in Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, etc.
fixed law courts and contrasts it with the medieval English practice of the courts travelling with the King to the great travail of the litigants.) Says Manu: "A King desirous of inspecting judicial proceedings, must enter his court of justice, composed and sedate in his demeanour, together with Brahmans and Counsellors, who know how to give him advice. Without ostentation in his dress and ornaments, let him examine the affairs of litigant parties." And Yajnavalkya adds: "The King, divested of anger and avarice, and associated with learned Brahmans, should investigate judicial proceedings conformably to the sacred code of laws." The King should be simply dressed, with his right arm bare (as required on sacral occasions). A smile should always adorn his face, even in the presence of heinous offenders. Manu has laid down a very salutary rule, which modern administrators may well cogitate upon: "If a Judge were found negligent in his decision by the King, on hearing an appeal from that Judge, the latter could be fined up to 1000 gold or silver pieces according to the gravity of the lapse." To prevent undue influence, no private interviews were allowed between the parties and the Judge. *

Katyayana points out that "a King who investigates together with his Chief Judge (pradivihaka), minister, Brahmans, domestic priest and assessors of the court, according to law, shall attain paradise." The emphasis is always on fairness, serenity and good conscience. § Although the King can adjudge himself,

* Kautilyya has a number of severe rules against erring Judges and assessors. Examples: A Judge browbeating or unjustly silencing a disputant, will merit a fine. For defaming a party in court, the fine will be doubled. If he skips cross-examination, prompts a witness, or provides a previous statement to an accused, a heavy fine will be enforced. For persistent delay, postponement through spite, evading or confusing issues, the highest amercement will be attracted, "When a Judge or commissioner unjustly imposes a corporal punishment, he shall be either condemned to the same punishment, or made to pay a double fine." The Sabha, if found to err, would be subjected to the same standard of punishment.

† The king is eulogised by Manu as the symbol of legal sanction. "Punishment governs all mankind; punishment alone preserves them; punishment keeps awake when (the king's) guards are asleep; if the king punish not the guilty, the strong would oppress the weak even as big fish in the sea (eat up the small ones)." (IX. 23) The reader will appreciate the separation of judicial and executive functions, and the fine checks and balances found in Aryan jurisprudence.

§ It will be noticed that, apart from appointed counsel (called ministers), pundits could volunteer legal advice, or give it on request from the Judge, as amicus curiae.
usually he was expected to delegate this work to the Chief Judge (pradhivika), whose qualifications are thus described by Brhaspati: “He who, in a cause, asks the questions, and in like manner cross-examines, and who, extracting the (desired) information, speaks first, is termed the Chief Judge.” And Vyasa adds: “Let the King appoint as his (Judicial) minister, a man well informed in the meaning of all the sciences, free from avarice, one who speaks justly, wise, of a family famed of old for these qualities, being a twice-born man (dvija).” Katyayana would not appoint a Sudra to the post: “If there be no learned Brahman, let the King then associate in the administration, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya, skilled in the Dharmasastra; let him carefully keep a Sudra (from such affairs).”

In addition to the (Chief) Judge, there were the following officials in all courts. To cite Kautilya: “In the cities of sangrahana, dronamukha and sthaniya and at places where districts meet, three members acquainted with Sacred Law (dharmasthas) and three ministers of the king (amatyas) shall carry on the administration of justice”. The dharmasthas were assessors, known also as sabhyas, whose qualification is described by Yajnavalkya thus: “Persons who are versed in literature, acquainted with the Law, addicted to truth and impartial towards friend and foe.” Their number could be a minimum of three and a maximum of seven. The minister was, as we have seen, a sort of counsel, who would help the King or the (Chief) Judge in arriving at the correct facts and also suggest the sentence. All the Codes make it clear that it is the Sabha or the Jury which finds on a man’s guilt or otherwise, and the merits of the plaintiff in civil matters. The Judge pronounces the verdict and the sentence, and the King arranges for the execution of the decree or the sentence.

* But the fourth caste was not totally unrepresented. A veracious man must be appointed, under the orders of the assessors, for calling and taking charge of witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants; he should be a “stout Sudra, whose ancestors have followed a similar avocation.” (Vyasa)

† The plan of the court was rectangular; the King or the Judge sat at the head and opposite to him was the Accountant; the assessors sat to the right of the King and the Secretary or Clerk of the Court, to the left. There were special boxes for witnesses (called arahah by Sukra). Kautilya gives the Chief Judge a salary of 48000 panas a year; the Secretary and the Accountant will receive only 500 panas each; the Puisne Judge will receive 12000 panas.
Even when the King sat in court, he had to accept the opinion of the Chief Justice*. The jurors must speak out without fear or favour; otherwise their guilt would be equal to that of the King, in the event of an unjust verdict. If the jury (i.e., the sabhyas) were found to be cowardly or partial, they were severally liable for a fine equal to twice the value of the suit. (In criminal offences, even corporal punishment may be substituted for a fine.)† The King (or the Chief Justice) should address the complainant thus: "Fear not, O Man, but speaking the truth, disclose the details of your charge." (If a Judge or a Juror tried to bully a complainant or a witness, he was liable to be fined heavily.) On a complaint being thus preferred, the King should issue the necessary summons after being satisfied that the charge was reasonable; and an official would be deputed to bring in the adversary.§

Besides the (Chief) Judge, assessors and learned counsel, two more appointees constituted the Court; these were the Accountant and the Secretary, "who are skilled in expounding words and mean-

* Brhaspati puts the situation thus: "The Judge is the speaker, the King enforces sanctions, the Jury are the examiners of the cause, the common (Dharma) law gives the decision, i.e., victory, recovery or punishment."

† The King had the right of pardon, except in very heinous offences. The King was supposed to be a party in such crimes as treason, forgery of royal seals, false coinage, etc. According to the Sukra Niti, the King was himself the complainant in ten kinds of serious crimes. Similarly, in civil cases concerning minors, gods, ascetics, etc., the King was officially represented.

§ As Yajnavalkya succinctly puts it, "The same law obtains for the Crown Prince, the King's brother or father-in-law, as for an ordinary citizen, as none is exempt from the operation of the law." (I-357/358), "The sabhyas were not servants of the crown. They very much resemble the present Jury; yet both had different origins and history. The English jury first came in as witnesses of the neighbourhood. But the sabha was a remnant of the national assembly of Vedic times. The sabhyas represented the constitutional sovereign authority of the nation." (Jayaswal: Manu and Yajnavalkya, P. 114)

§ The issue of court summons bespeaks a superior evolution of law. In other countries (e.g., Rome) about this time, the complainant himself had to produce the accused, using violence if necessary. According to certain Smritikaras, the complainant had the right of private arrest, pending the arrival of the court official. Certain persons were exempt from personal attendance, through summons; "Let not the King summon the sick, minors, very old men, persons in danger, those employed in religious offices, those engaged on the king's duty or in temples, young and friendless woman born in a noble family, inmates of convents or persons in mourning." (Katayana). Persons in danger were those in boats, on elephants, a high tree, etc.; women who were profligate or degraded, could be freely summoned,
nings, adepts at counting free from error, and learned in the different characters and dialects.” (Yajnavalkya) The Accountant was obviously necessary for assessing the value of properties, damages, fines, etc. The Secretary was an expert scribe who took down the entire proceedings in the court.*

The plaintiff had to state the case first in the presence of the defendant. “This is termed a charge or declaration, which should be significant, (not vague), technically precise, unequivocal, consistent with the original complaint, uncontradictory, susceptible of proof and not adverse to (local) probability or custom, (as for example, a man suing for theft of betel nuts in Madhyadesa, where betel trees do not grow) with particulars of hour, date, month, year, season, ruling king, country, locality, village, (name of the field in case of land disputes), as also details of the opposite party and the assessed value of the property (in question) etc.” (Yajnavalkya). Katyayana says that the (Chief) Judge should inscribe on paper, the plaint, “after it had been corrected on a writing board in white letters”; and the plaintiff can modify his declaration until such time as the defence is entered after which no correction will be allowed. “A false plaint should be utterly dismissed; similarly, a plaint prohibited by Government or detrimental to the interests of the city, a trade-guild or a village.” A plaint jumbling together different heads or counts of charges need not be ipso facto dismissed but taken up in the proper order.

The defence must be taken down in writing in the presence of the plaintiff. The defence can be of four categories, according to Katyayana: “a denial, a confession, a special exception and a plea of former judgment†”. A faulty defence is one which is dubious, restrictive, vague, self-contradictory, etc. The authorities aver that a verbal error does not vitiate a claim fatally in civil causes (e.g. an incorrect claim for recovery of debt does not invali-

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* I have described elsewhere (Vol. I, Ch. V) many points of close similarity between the Hittite legal procedure and those of Aryavarta. Among others, the verbatim record of court proceedings is notable.

† An example of a special exception is where the defendant admits a payment made to him but says it is for a consideration. Plea of previous judgment is the well-known res-judicata. Manu makes it clear that where the defence is a total denial, the proof rests with the plaintiff; where a special exception is urged or res-judicata, the onus is shifted to the other side. “A copy of the former decree must be produced, if previous judgment is pleaded.” (Yajnavalkya)
date the debt due.) Except in common law criminal cases, the defendant can take reasonable adjournments; and in any case, he should be allowed reasonable time for defence; (3 fortights were the maximum). The plaintiff should, however, be ready with his case immediately on being called up by the Court. In his reply to the defendant’s answer also, the plaintiff was not allowed any delay. The privilege of inferior (hina) pleading was recognised and the plaintiff could shift his ground. As Narada points out: “The right of the suit is not lost in civil cases on account of fraud-in-speech.”

In the case of witnesses, those of the plaintiff were to be examined first; if, however, he had no need for witnesses (relying on documents, etc.), the defence witnesses should be examined. A clear rule required that surety (cf. modern bail bonds) should be taken from both sides (complainant and accused), before the case was commenced in Court, for the satisfaction of the judgment (which may go against either party). Certain persons cannot stand as surety.*

“The giving of security (like giving of evidence) between brothers as well as between man and wife is not recorded, i.e., not acceptable.” (Yajnavalkya) If either party is unable to give surety, he is to be closely guarded and he should pay for the guards; in the case of the well-to-do, the guarding need not be within a prison but may be at the persons’ own house. Apparently, sureties could be accepted even in serious criminal cases.

Yajnavalkya defines evidence as of three kinds, documents†, possession, and witnesses; in the absence of all these, a divine test

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* For example, a prisoner, one under sentence in another case, a person of doubtful character, a pauper, an outcaste, a government servant, an ascetic and an insolvent. The surety should have enough property “to meet the claim in question as also any fine payable to the king.” (Katayana)

† Seven kinds of documents are mentioned in the Smritis as in use “among men in general” and three kinds of Royal edicts. The latter must bear the Royal seal; the former can be either self-written or prepared by another (who should also sign). A man selling himself into slavery had to sign a bond; similarly, a man who had undergone purificatory penances after committing an offence, had to obtain a written certificate to this effect. Royal edicts, according to the Smritis, should be either in silk or cotton cloth or on copper plate, sealed with the Royal signet seal, “for the information of future kings.” (Yajnavalkya) The King should appoint a Secretary for writing down these orders, but the King “should write in his own hand boundaries of measurement.” (Vasishtha) “In all higher cases where an accusation is sustained, the writing which is passed when the dispute is finished is called a deed of peace.” (Katayana)
could be resorted to (but not where human evidence is available).*
In disputes about gifts, sales, payment of wages, gambling, etc.,
 witnesses were considered important; in respect of houses, roads-
 ways, easement rights, water courses and such-like, possession
 (i.e., usage) was the determinant factor. Ordeals were deemed
 advisable in cases like (alleged) forgery, false coinage, spurious
 jewellery, theft of deposited articles, adultery and heinous
 crimes committed in secret places (where witnesses were not
 likely to be available). Brhaspati would allow the choice
 (between witnesses and ordeal) to the accused in cases of violent
 affray, very old offences, etc., since witnesses might be confused
 or forgetful. In cases of fixed property, ordeal must be excluded,
 but if other evidence is unavailable or non-conclusive, the King
 shall decide by his own considered opinion, "for he is Lord of
 all." "Every document which is in the handwriting of the
 party himself is considered sufficient evidence unless obtained
 by force or fraud." (Yajnavalkya). Illiterate persons can give
 their consent before witnesses, by putting their mark. "A
 writing made by a dying person, a person in fear, in great pain,
 by women, by intoxicated persons, etc., does not stand." Only
 one witness to a deed is normally insufficient, especially if he
 be of doubtful character.†

Possession: Possession (bhukti) alone constitutes no evidence
without clear title, but possession beyond human memory
(smrtakala) is adequate even without title (e.g., hereditary
possession for three generations or sixty years). Adverse posses-
sion is recognised. "Loss occurs to him who for 20 years
observes his land enjoyed by another without interfering; in the
case of movable property, for ten years." "But a pledge, a
boundary, a minor's estate, a deposit, women, king's property

* "Proof by ordeal is not declared when living witnesses are present; and
when there are deeds and documents in a cause, neither ordeal nor witnesses shall
be resorted to." (Vyavahara Mayukha) In the case of the cases of Guilds, Corpor-
ate Bodies, etc., the proof of them must be in written deeds only.

† Legal documents are of very ancient date and are mentioned in the Jataka
tales. (An instrument executed in 575 B.C. was seen by Fa-Hien.) Panini was
aware of them, and he mentions that the name of the king's mother should also be
mentioned along with the regnal year, etc. If a document is lost, the Court
could compel the execution of another. When the transaction covered by the
deed got expired (e.g. when a debt was fully paid up) the document was suitably
 cancelled, as is done even today.
and the property of srotrias are not lost by adverse possession." Manu, however, would not recognise adverse possession in the case of land, even in favour of the King; such a possession had the elements of theft in it, according to this famous law-giver. (Incidentally, this rule proves the antiquity of the Institutes, which were composed at a time when the King's power was still limited by public opinion or priestly surveillance.)

Witnesses: Twelve sorts of witnesses are mentioned, including those kept concealed and those who offer a spontaneous deposition. "The Secretary, the Chief Judge, and the Assessors in succession, are witnesses when the King himself presides." A single witness was considered unworthy of credence, unless with the consent of both parties, unless the witness was well known and reputable, and unless the case justified such a step (e.g. a secret pledge). Preferably, witnesses should be of the same class, sex and profession as the parties (e.g. among artisans, artisans; among foreigners, foreigners). The list of incompetent witnesses (especially for attesting documents) is long and includes jugglers, infidels, slaves, hunchbacks and gamblers. But in extreme cases, these can also testify, especially in charges of "adultery, theft, affray, and such criminal transactions." (Yajnavalkya) Katyayana holds that "of witnesses recorded, and summoned by a litigant party, should one utter a contradiction, all will be rendered incompetent by this contradiction." The method of examining witnesses is thus described by Manu: "In the forenoon, let the judge, being purified, severally call on the twice-born, being purified also, to declare the truth in the presence of a symbol (some image) of the divinity, and of Brahmans, while the witnesses turn their faces either to the North or to the East."* Katyayana adds: "The witnesses being assembled in the middle of the court-room, in the presence of the plaintiff and the defendant, let the judge examine them, after having addressed them (all together) in the following manner: "What ye know to have been transacted in the matter before us, between the parties reciprocally, declare.

* According to Kautilya, the Brahmin was merely asked to state the truth; the formula for the Kshatriya and the Vaisya appealed to their bravery. Even the Sudra was not made to swear, according to Kautilya.
at large, and with truth, for your evidence in this cause is required."¹

The oath to be taken differed with the caste of the witness. Thus Manu says: "Let the Judge cause a Brahman to swear by his veracity; a Kshatriya, by his horse or elephant and his weapons; a Vaisya, by his kine, grain and field; a mechanic or servile man by (imprecating on his own head, if he speaks falsely) all possible crimes." The regard for truth was the life-force of the ancient Aryan, as even foreign writers have attested. Says Narada: "Truth is the soul of man; everything depends on it. Strive to acquire a better self by speaking the truth. There is no higher virtue than veracity; no greater crime than falsehood."²

Says Manu: "Brahmins who tend herds of cattle, who trade, who practise mechanical arts, who profess dancing and singing, who are fallen from their proper sphere of life, they who live by the bodies of others, they who long only for the privileges of twice-born men, are to be examined as if they were Sudras."³ The Judge not only administered the oath, but also cross-examined the witnesses, who were allowed their expenses and diet-money, the amount being charged to the loser of the case. (The fee paid to a witness apart from bhatta, was incredibly low—1/8th of a pana.) A person agreeing to give evidence but later on refusing to do so was liable to be punished by being asked "to pay the whole debt (value of the suit) plus interest, with a 10% added, within 46 days." (Yajnavalkya) Perjury (parokta) was a serious offence, as was also self-assertion without evidence (swayamvadi); both were requitted with heavy

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¹Hear-say evidence was severely excluded. "The importance of direct evidence was appreciated very early by Hindu Jurists" (Sarkar—_op. cit._ P. 73)

²Maine pays a high tribute to Narada, in this context: "The portions of Narada’s treatise which deal with evidence appear to me specially remarkable, not only for the legal doctrine... which is on the whole extremely modern, but for the elevation of moral tone displayed in its language on the subject of true and false witness, which should be set off against the unveracity attributed to the modern Hindu." (!)

³In Manu, the list of avocations forbidden to a Brahmin is truly formidable. Normally he should live by teaching, officiating as priest, and by accepting gifts from proper quarters. In the Smritis, by a Brahmin is meant only a Brahmin who is a Srotriya and a Sishta. "A Brahmin without learning is like an elephant made of wood" is an adage repeated by several of our sages—"A Sishta is one who is free from envy, anger, pride, cupidity hypocrisy, confusion of ideas etc, and who owns enough grain to last him, and his family for not more than 10 days." (Baudhayana).
fines. Another curious rule of Manu reads thus: "The witness who has given evidence and to whom within 7 days thereafter a misfortune happens from disease, fire, death of a kinsman, etc., shall be condemned to pay the debt (the suit value) and the fine." The great Yajnavalkya would even compromise with the inexorable sanctity of truth. "Where men of the four great castes will be liable to suffer capital punishment, there indeed the witness may speak untruths; for him a penance is necessary for purification."*

** Trial by ordeal:** The Dharmasastras mention nine modes of physical ordeal, viz., by scales, by fire, by water, by poison, by consecrated water, by rice, by burning oil, by hot iron, and by the drawing of lots. The ordeal of taking oaths is also mentioned. According to Jayaswal, the Arthasastra does not recognise ordeals; "Not a word, not a line is mentioned about proof by ordeal in the Arthasastras...." The Arthasastra school held that law was a human creation, a creation of a society of thinkers, as asserted by the Sukra Niti in clearest accents. Why should they allow the gods to come in and interfere with them?***(As mentioned elsewhere, the ordeal was unknown to early Roman Law; it was however widely prevalent in medieval Europe).

I may now make some brief observations on a few of the criminal and civil heads of trial, as known to the Indo Aryans about twenty-five centuries ago.

**Criminal Law:** Manu and Yajnavalkya are the leading authorities on the subject, but Smritikaras like Katyayana, Brhaspati, Narada, Vasishtha command respect from later commentators. Aryan jurisprudence differs from the ancient laws in non-

* For dwija witnesses, the penance was a Saraswata oblation; for a Sudra, the penalty was to feed ten kine. The untruth was probably condoned because the sin of causing a person's death would fall on the witness, (a curious point in ethics!) Manu would permit a light oath only to save a srotia Brahmin's life.

** Jayaswal: (op. cit. P. 134) He points out that even ordeal by oath (sapatha) was not recognised by the Vyavahara school. Manu knows only of two ordeals—fire and water—besides sapatha. The later writers increased the number to nine, as above, As Maine points out, some of the ordeals are not really so brutal as they seem; this jurist feels that in the ordeal of the hot iron (the accused licking a heated plough-share) the saliva will protect the tongue if the man were innocent and his mouth not dried up with guilt! It would also seem that the gods protected those from injury (e.g. while fire-walking) if they were pious, honest and truthful.
Aryan countries (e.g. the Assyrian and the Hebrew legal systems, neither of which, according to Driver and Miles, had a religious origin), in adhering more to the system of retribution (fines and compensation, also known as wergild and wite) rather than of retribution in kind. Further, although the law might look severe on paper it was always understood that judicial discretion should be used to mitigate punishments*. The Arthasastra writers (if we take Kautilya as an example) lent towards lenity as a rule. The Buddhist way of life (which gradually spread over India after about 500 B.C.) must have also toned down the harshness of punishments**.

Aryan law divided crimes into categories according to their seriousness. At the head of the list were atipatatas (mainly, incest) for which there was no expiation possible under Dharma rules and capital punishment was inevitable. The mahapatatas (high crimes) came next. Yaska lists seven such; Manu reduced the number to five, but by about 500 B.C., they were limited to four, viz., serious theft, human (especially Brahmin's) murder, adultery with preceptor's wife, and sura-drinking (Apastamba). Below the mahapatatas were, in a descending order, various other groups of offences†, some of which belonged more correctly to the category of sins, rather than of social crimes (e.g. the eating of forbidden food and excessive lament). It will be tedious to list all of them in

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* Even secondary acts of treason call for comparatively light punishments. "This shows that many of the torture-punishments (vadha) mentioned in the Code of Yajnavalkya were merely technical names for punishment, and in fact they meant only fines or imprisonment...... In that view the Code of Yajnavalkya would be an extremely kind Code of Criminal Law, even a great improvement on Kautilya." (Jayaswal: Op. cit. P. 171)

** Dr. Jayaswal gives great credit to Yajnavalkya for rendering criminal law more benign. "He (Yajnavalkya) cured the injury done to society by the Code of Manu; he prescribed uniform laws and removed the weight of social depression off the limbs of the nation...... What Asvaghosha did as a preacher (against reactionary Manava dicta), Yajnavalkya did silently as a legislator. The legal genius of the race... in criminal law, found nothing to add; it accepted Yajnavalkya as final."

† These 'crimes' were described as upapataka, jatibhramsakara, apathrikarana, sankarikarana, malinikarana, etc., by Manu.
this brief Appendix, but a selective synopsis may be attempted (following mainly Yajnavalkya's classification).

**Abuse**: Most text-book-writers start the list with abuse or assault-by-words (vakparushyam), defined as (a) calumny (apavada) (b) contemptuous talk (kutsana); and (c) intimidation (abhivatsana). Slander was punished with comparatively small fines*, the amounts varying with the status of the offender and the victim (as is but equitable). Threatened injury was treated as "assault by gesture." "The abusive suggestion of illicit connection with mother or sister shall merit a fine of 25 panas." (Yajnavalkya)**.

**Assault**: Assault (or dandaparushya) was also known as affray and battery. If such assault was in return for a similar provocation, no punishment was due (Brahaspatai). A distinction was drawn between simple hurt and grievous injury, with and without bloodshed. Regarding the much-decried dictum of Manu about cutting off the offending limb of a low-born man assaulting a Brahmin, interpretations have varied†. Katyayana, commenting

* Fines were divided into three kinds, lowest, middle and highest, by the law-givers. In the 4th century B.C. (cf. Kautilya), the fines ranged as follows: lowest, from 48 to 96 panas; middle, from 200 to 500 panas; highest, from 500 to 1600 panas. The pana was the copper Karshapana (of sixteen mashas), otherwise known as Karshika. One Karsha was equal to one-fourth of a pala and four Kakanis made one Karshapana; twenty cowries made one Kakanî (Vyavahara Mayukha, P. 171). Earlier ages had fines fixed in terms of cows! The cattle were handed over to the king who passed them on to the relatives of the victim (in cases of murder etc.) a bull being added as the King’s gift! Fines lower than 48 panas were obviously nominal and could be waived.

** This widespread form of rustic abuse has persisted through the ages all over India, and in the diverse tongues of the land!

† Dr. Shyama Sastry is inclined to think the rule, which follows Manu, to be an interpolation in the Arthasastra. "This singular passage (that the limb of a Sudra beating a Brahmin should be cut off) dealing out an abnormally high punishment for a minor offence is evidently an interpolation, as it is inconsistent with the author’s own principle of gradation in punishment... and also with his intention to get rid of mutilation of limbs by fines levied in lieu thereof." (Arthasastra, P. 220, foot-note). Some other commentators consider Manu to have merely indulged in an 'artha-vada' (a picturesque exaggeration) not to be taken literally. In any case, the rule was probably almost never applied in practice, as every important successor of Manu has ignored this and similar formulae in the Institutes. Kautilya has a long chapter on the substitution of fines for mutilation. The Mauryan statesman expresses a definite distaste for the harsh corporal inflictions found in earlier Dharmasastra writers. As mentioned elsewhere, Yajnavalkya has even improved on Kautilya by humanising punishments.
on another Manu rule, viz., "He that raises his hand against a Brahmin shall have his hand cut", says, "Just as fines are laid down for abusive language between men in the regular or reverse order of the classes, even so shall fines for violent affray be imposed.

Yajnavalkya is clearly of the view that the notorious lex talionis* was abhorrent to Aryan jurisprudence: "He (Yajnavalkya) would treat the injunction about maiming as only a mere name for heavy fine" (Jayaswal). Jayaswal also thinks that the anti-Sudra bias in Manu was not aimed at the Aryan of the fourth caste generally but only at the Veda-decrying and pretentiously learned Buddhist and Jaina monks of low order. It is also probable, as Dr. Jayaswal suggests, that Sumati Bhargava (the editor of the Institutes of Manu), who was probably smarting at the inroads made by heretical creeds into Vedic religion, 'improved' on the original Manava Code, by interpolating some ferocious punishments of the nature now discussed.

In the case of injury to organs or limbs, "whatever amount is determined as fine, the same sum shall be given (to the victim) to cause pleasure and for a cure, as fixed by the learned men" (Katyayana, who thus lays down a scale of compensation). A very salutory rule of Manu says: "According to the use and value of

* Semitic Law (Assyrian and Hebrew) specialised in lex talionis, "the child of the blood feud and the parent of the doctrine that punishment must fit the crime". Even when the State enforced punishment the results were brutal. For example, one kissing a maiden must have his lips cut off; a married man seducing a virgin, must handover his wife to the father of the victim for prostitution. Closely related are the "mirroring punishments": an arsonist should be burnt, a coiner should be boiled in molten metal.— In India, such infinctions were not unknown; e.g., a man cutting open a dyke or a reservoir, was to be drowned in the same waters; an arsonist should be thrown in the fire caused by him. On the whole, however, heinous crime must have been rare in ancient India. Says Magasthenes: "Theft is of rare occurrence. The simplicity of their laws and contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. Their houses and property they generally leave un-guarded. These things indicate that the Indians possess good sober sense." Huien Tsang has the following observation: "Although they are light minded, they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread retribution in another state of existence... They are not deceitful or treacherous and are faithful to oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude and in their general behaviour much gentleness and sweetness."
great trees must be never set for injuring them; this is an established rule." (In England, till the 19th century, the cutting of trees and the stealing of fruits was a capital offence, even for minors). If a cart driven by a man, or an animal owned by him, did injury to others, the law of assault (now a tort or civil wrong) came into play and fines were inevitable as well as compensation to the aggrieved party.*

Robbery: Steyam (robbery and theft) was a very serious offence in Aryan law. "Sudden and direct seizure is robbery. Fraudulent or indirect seizure is theft" (Kautilya). The Smritis divide the object of theft into three categories: ordinary (e.g. furniture, vessels), middling (e.g. clothes, goats and sheep, metals other than gold) and valuable (e.g. gold and gems, kine, elephants and horses); and amercements varied to correspond. Curiously, offenders against property are also categorised into open and concealed thieves; the latter are obvious, being housebreakers, dacoits, pickpockets, (utshepakas—shoplifters?), highwaymen, kidnappers, cattle-lifters, etc. The 'open cheats', also termed "denominated swindlers" (Brhaspati), are those whose professions are particularly susceptible to venality and heavy fines are indicated for their transgressions; (e.g. for false weights, selling soiled goods, spurious jewellery, pretended astronomical expertise, partiality in assessors and arbitrators, etc). A make-believe sanyasi is however, to be "put to death, if he had traded too profitably on the credulity of the people." In the case of clandestine theft, punishments are severe in the Dharmasastras. For instance, a highwayman is to be hanged; a burglar is to suffer mutilation: a

* It may be recalled that in the Assyrian and the Hebrew Codes, a bull going a man was to be stoned to death. In Aryavarta, the owner of the bull was liable to pay compensation but no fine, if the accident was beyond his control.
† Samples of open thieves: traders, gamblers, assessors, officials taking bribes, cheats, fortune-tellers, harlots, artisans, counterfeitors, arbitrators and perjurers (Narada). Manu calls those living by buying and selling, "open cheats." It is clear that the law-givers, besides having a low opinion of certain professions, considered several others as affording easy scope for duplicity and illicit gain.
‡ "Uṣṭa: pa'na" probably means pilferer of clothes, etc. in courtyards and houses; (kīrṣēshara) and not shoplifters (as thought by some translators), who must have been few in our land, judged even by present trends. Thel reader may be aware that in the West, shoplifting is a major profession. In America, the value of goods that are lost is estimated at one billion dollars a year! In England, the corresponding professional turnover is figured at £.50 million. (i.e., one pound per head!)
kidnapper or a thief of gold or gems suffers capital punishment. But Kautilya tones down all such punishments into fines of varying amounts. Even a kidnapper of men, or a purloiner of gold, was liable for a middle amercement only, but false imprisonment or gaol-breaking meant the highest fine. It is clear that ancient Aryan practice (if not the rules on paper) showed great restraint in this respect in contrast to the ferocious laws in other countries, which survived till modern times. Finally, the well-established communal responsibility for ensuring the safety of goods and persons is exemplified in Yajnavalkya's dictum (following Manu): "The village shall pay (the value of the stolen property) when within its own limits or wherever the trace (of the thief) goes; the five-village community, if the trace goes beyond one krosa (2 miles) or else the ten-village community" (in cases where the thief is not apprehended and the property recovered).

Heinous offences: Sahasa (or felony) is classified by Brhaspati into 4 kinds, viz., killing a human being, robbery with violence, rape and grievous assault. The earlier Dharma writers prescribe capital sentence for murder and heavy punishment for abettors and accessories. Killing in self-defence is no felony; even if the attacker be a Brahmin, this is permissible, but if the defender desists from taking the Brahmin's life, his action is praiseworthy*. A Brahmin committing a murder is not to be executed but to be branded and exiled from the country. (Kautilya would send him to the mines.) Strisamgrahana (seizure of women) covers both rape and adultery. In the latter case, the offence is against the husband or guardian; in the former case, the offender violates both the victim and the husband or guardian. A distinction is drawn between adultery with a guarded woman and that with one who is not†. Manu's rules are strict and seem to have been mitigated by other writers. Taking Yajnavalkya as the working standard, the position is as follows:

* "He will get the spiritual benefit of an aswamedha sacrifice", says Yajnavalkya (a clear case of arthavada!)

† A guarded woman is one who remains in the antahpura and is usually not seen in public. Stri-samgrahana included illicit conversation, correspondence, touching of person, etc.
(a) for adultery generally, imprisonment and fine, when the
offence is anuloma*;
(b) rape in similar circumstances would invite the same
punishment, but higher in quantity;
(c) rape and adultery in pratiloma cases, torture, and in
some cases, execution;
(d) rape and adultery in ‘equal’ cases: highest fine.
Kautilya would impose a fine in all cases, the amount varying
with the gravity of the offence, and would do away with torture,
except where the Queen is involved. (Kautilya would totally
condone fornication with a maiden—whether of the same or even
higher caste—if she had been kept unmarried for 3 years after
puberty, provided she had no jewellery in her possession! Another
humane rule provided for the purification, after severe
penances, of victims of rape, of all castes. (This concession was
extended to even cases of adultery-with-consent, in certain
circumstances.) However, in cases of incestuous intercourse or
intercourse with a woman in a specially honoured or protected
position (e.g. wife of a pupil, of a close friend, a female devotee,
etc.), the offender was mutilated in a significant manner and then
killed. In all cases of willing adultery, the woman also was
liable for fine at half the scale fixed for her guilty partner. (No
mutilation or death was specified for females in the later Codes;
Manu would permit a wantonly adulterous woman to be torn by
dogs, but this was probably only a theoretical publication.)

Miscellaneous Offences: Carnal dealings with a female
slave meant a heavy fine even if the slave was a consenting part-
ner. A caste Hindu having intercourse with an outcaste woman
would be branded and exiled. In a reverse situation, the outcaste
male would be liable for the death penalty. Bestiality and devia-
tion† were punished by severe fines, as also indecent exposure
before women. A man putting away a virtuous and obedient wife
was heavily fined, besides being made to pay for her maintenance.

* anuloma—when the offence flows from the higher caste to the lower; the
reverse is pratiloma. Buddhist nuns were normally of the lower class; “their
position was anomalous; as they had left home, they were treated as public
women and legal outcastes.” (Jayaswal: op. cit., P. 168).
† Coitus et ore.
Gambling in secret was an offence, on the part of both the gamblers and the house-owner*. Using false dice, fraud in undergoing ordeals, forging or altering the king’s edicts, feeding prohibited food to dwijas, selling unclean meat, etc., were liable to high amercement; selling beef meant mutilation. Similarly, there were graded fines for killing (intentionally) various kinds of animals and birds, in addition to paying compensation to the owner. A pretended Brahmin was fined at the highest scale; if he actually partook of food at a sraddha, he was branded, in addition. One abusing the King was to be banished; if the offender plotted against the king’s life or welfare, he merited capital punishment. The punishment for theft increased with the social status of the offender; the Sudra paid 8 times, the Vaisya 16 times, the Kshatriya 32 times, and the Brahmin 64 times the value of the stolen goods, as fine! An unjust decision by a Judge meant a fine equal to double the value of the suit, on both the Judge and the assessors. A needless and vexatious litigant was fined twice the value of his claim. Property useful for living was exempt from confiscation.

“When confiscation of all property is ordered, it is not right for the King to take away the weapons of a soldier, the conveyance of transporters, the instruments of musicians, implements of artisans, and the jewellery of professional women.” (Narada) “If a King levies a fine unjustly (or an unjust fine has accrued to him), let him, with his own hands, give it back, increased thirty-fold, to Brahmins.” (Yajnavalkya)

Some other curious crimes legislated against are listed below.

A person not running to help another in danger; one entertaining at sraddhas, Sramanas, Ajivikas, etc.; causing abortion to a female slave by medicine; one abandoning a servant brought from elsewhere for help; abandoning a companion in a forest or when on the way in a journey; washermen wearing the clothes of their clients or hiring them out, or substituting them or keeping them too long; goldsmiths purchasing gold from unauthorised persons;

* Kautilya visualises a Superintendent of Gambling “who will centralise gambling with a view to find out spies and thieves.” The Superintendent would supply dice at a kakani per pair, supply water, accommodation, etc., on hire. The puritanical Manusmriti altogether prohibits gambling and wagering. Yajnavalkya would allow them under proper regulations,
passing counterfeit coins*; physicians causing death by negligent treatment; musicians, dancers, mimics, and dumb-players ‘causing too much loss or indulgence’ (i.e., making people spend extravagantly); mortgaging inferior goods after falsely labelling them as superior; conspiracy among merchants to raise or lower prices unconscionably; adulteration of consumer goods; cornering of essential commodities like foodgrains†; failure to provide oneself with the ten appliances (dasamuli)‡ to fight fires in summer; mounting the roof of one’s own house after midnight; construction of unstable houses, or defective carts, thus endangering life.

Those unable to pay court fines were imprisoned and made to work off their fine. Imprisonment also was awarded as substantive punishment in some cases§, but, “on the day of the birth-star of the King as well as on full-moon days, such prisoners as are young, old, diseased or utterly helpless, shall be let out from the jail; or those of charitable disposition.......may liberate the prisoners after paying adequate ransom.” (Arthasastra, P. 165)

About slavery in ancient India some comments have been offered elsewhere. Kautilya (reflecting the general view of the Smritikaras) asserts that no Aryan, i.e. a member of one of the four

* Making a counterfeit coin called for the highest fine; knowingly accepting one in the treasury was a capital offence.

† Kautilya enunciates a counsel of perfection (which sounds somewhat strange to modern ears) when he says, “Authorised persons alone shall collect grain and other merchandise. Also shall merchants be favourably disposed towards people in selling grain and other commodities.”

‡ The dasamuli are: tubs and pots filled with water, a ladder, axes, winnows, hooks, leather water-bags, etc.

§ The prisoners could either work for the king or could be hired out to enable them to gather a wage and ultimately redeem themselves by paying the fine. “Once in a day or once in five nights, the jails shall be emptied of prisoners in consideration of the work they have done... or after adequate ransom paid in gold.” (Kautilya, who also adds that whenever a new country is conquered the prisoners should get release or remission.) During imprisonment the inmates were fed by the State. In contrast, the reader may be interested to know the situation in England as revealed in a 16th century judgment:

“For if one be in execution, he ought to live of his own, and neither the plaintiff nor the sheriff is bound to give him meat or drink... And if he has no goods, he shall live of the charity of others, and if others will give him nothing, let him die in the name of God, if he will, and impute the cause of it to his own fault, for his presumption and ill-behaviour brought him to that imprisonment.” (Dive vs. Maningham, 1551)
castes, shall ever be a slave. Selling of tender Aryas as slaves by kinsmen called for substantial fines; by others, heavier sentences. * "It is no crime for mlechchas to sell or mortgage the life of their own offspring, but never an Arya shall be subjected to slavery." (Arthasastra, P. 206) "But to tide over difficulties, to find money for fines or court decrees, or to recover household implements, the life of an Arya can be mortgaged; but his kinsmen shall as soon as possible redeem him." Any such slave trying to run away to foreign countries will become a slave for life. Interfering with the rights and privileges of a slave was a serious offence. No slave (even a mlechcha) can be given demeaning occupations, like carrying dead bodies, sweeping latrines, etc. "No female slave shall be required to attend a master bathing naked." Hurting, or violating the chastity, of a female slave by the owner meant her immediate release to freedom, besides a severe fine for the offender; rape on a female slave carried the above punishment plus a sulka (or dower) for her marriage. (The terribly contrasting situation in other countries, ancient and modern, where slavery has prevailed, will be only too well known to the reader.) An Arya captured in war shall pay a ransom "proportionate to the danger involved in his capture" or at least half the assessed amount before release. † "A slave shall be entitled to enjoy not only whatever he has earned without prejudice to his master's work but also his inheritance (from relations)."

* In Roman law, the child could be sold away as a slave by the father, either to foreigners or to other Romans. "Both slaves and children could be noxally surrendered for their delicts." (Prichard: Roman Private Law, P. 70) It was not uncommon for ordinary Roman citizens to possess as many as 200 slaves. The cruelty practised on slaves was such that the later Emperors had to pass laws forbidding slaves to be forced to fight wild beasts or to be put to death without a magistrate's approval. These relaxations were attributed to the benign influence of the Stoics, whose leader was Zeno (Jina?).

† After one year all prisoners of war automatically became free, according to the Manusmriti. One cannot but admire the salutary safeguards embodied in our ancient texts, in favour of these unfortunate.

‡ Under Roman law, the slave could be mutilated or done to death by his master. Conditions were scarcely better in Europe in the middle ages. In England, the serf was no better than a slave (he was also called villanus or nativus). "His lord could put him to work of any kind; the King's courts will not interfere; he is merely the chattel of his lord to give or sell at his pleasure. In relation to the lord, he is rightless. It is not clear that the villein
Civil Laws: It will be outside the scope of this Appendix to go in detail into the civil jurisprudence of ancient India. Both the Artha and the Dharma sastras reveal a very advanced state of well-ordered social life, with legal contrivances and juristic remedies which had undergone a long process of evolution since the Aryans first composed their Vedas (about six or seven thousand years ago). The causes of civil disputes* and torts were rationally identified. The laws of inheritance were, within broad limits, clearly defined, the principles of ‘agnatism’ and pariachal descent being well established. Women’s rights were not unprotected and the inviolability of ‘stridhana’ was guaranteed by many a rule. The principle of adoption (for reasons connected with the spiritual welfare of ancestors) travelled from India to many other countries. As Sir Henry Maine points out (op. cit, P. 58), “The effective worship of the Romans was to the Lares and Penates. Their clay or metal images stood in the innermost recesses of the house and represented forefathers who in the earliest days had actually been buried in it before the hearth.”† The practice of or his heir could set the law in motion for killing or maiming against his lord.

—Against the lord the serf had no proprietary rights. Any moveable goods of his, the lord can take for himself.” (Pollock and Maitland: History of English Laws, I, P. 417/418). In ancient India, the slave had a distinct legal personality and enforceable rights; thus Kautilya: “Those who do not heed the claims of their slaves shall be taught their duty (by the king)”. Moral injunctions in favour of these unfortunate are many. To quote Aparajasta: “A man may stint himself of food, or his wife or sons, if a guest suddenly arrives, but not a servant or a slave.” (Dharmasastra, II, p. 9/11) Manu places the slave and the son on the same level as regards corporal punishment (VIII, 299—300). Both can be beaten, with a rope or a small stick, only on the back and never on the head; otherwise the offender will be punished as a thief. While in Aryavarta, the slave was an exception to the social order, in Europe, serfs and villeins (the ‘unfree’ as they were called) proved a very substantial ratio of the population. Slavery existed in Western society till modern times; i.e. till 1865 in America, and 1833 in the British Empire. In British India it was legally abolished only in 1843.

Marriage is the basis of all (civil) disputes, according to Kautilya, who therefore wisely foresaw women and remained wedded only to his profession of Prime Minister. Manu attributes the evil to debt; Usanas to house-building; and Bhrahaspati to deposits.

† Maine points out how ancestor-worship is still the religion of a large part of the human race, e.g. among the Chinese; the Japanese, etc. Among the Hindus, the pitrs occupy an honoured but a subordinate place in the sraddhas; the offerings to them are not an act of worship but a symbol of their sustenance in the spirit world. Manu clearly says, “Do not begin a sraddha or end it, with oblation to ancestors; he who does so quickly perishes in his progeny.” The doctrine of avatars assumes that the hero is divinely inspired, in a physical sense; here is no case of mere ancestor-worship.
\textit{Niyoga} (condemned by great legists like Manu, Apastamba, etc.) was rare and it eventually disappeared into the mists of contumely and disfavour among the Aryans, although it travelled to other lands in their wake. Levirate procreation is often mentioned in the Bible (Matthew, 24. \textit{et seq.}) with approval, so that "a man's name may not be put out of Israel." It prevailed in Greece, especially in Sparta. It went further in Athens, where instances of a brother marrying his half-sister (to save the estate) are noticed by Plutarch.

Cruelty to wives was forbidden in the texts. A wife should not be abused even by such words as "you half-naked, cripple, fatherless, motherless," according to Kautilya, who would allow the husband to correct a highly refractory wife "by three beats on her hip with a small bamboo stick or the palm of the hand." (Curiously, this formula is found in the \textit{Brihadaranyaka Upanishad}.) Any severer chastisement meant \textit{half the fine as for defamation or criminal hurt}, for the husband! In contrast, the reader may be aware of the despotic power possessed by the \textit{paterfamilias} in Roman Law, which power extended even to dealing out death to the wife or the son.

The property of persons dying without any heir escheated to the King, except in the case of srotria Brahmins, whose assets were divided among their Brahmin neighbours of good character and conduct.

Fines were leviable for abandoning a son by the father, and vice versa; similarly, uncle and nephew, and teacher and student. Taking a treasure trove without report meant a heavy fine\footnote{A sweeper finding valuables in the street would be given one-third the value, except for gems, which belonged wholly to the king. The discoverer of mines, precious stones or a treasure trove, would get 1/6th as his share, but if he is a servant of the State, he will get only 1/12th. All treasure troves beyond 100000 panas belonged only to the king. A treasure trove found by a pure and honest man in his own house belonged to him entirely. All these rules evince quite a modern spirit.}.

There are various other civil transactions about which our ancients had framed elaborate rules which compare well with modern legislation. Brief remarks on the salient features of some of these rules are given below:

\textbf{Debt}: Kautilya points out that "the nature of transactions between creditors and debtors, on which the welfare of the
hingdom depends, shall always be scrutinised." Just interest was 15% *per annum*, but traders could be charged 5% *a month* and foresters 10%, and sea voyagers as much as 20% *a month* (in view of the greater risks involved). Interest was payable yearly, but it would not accumulate beyond twice the principal (cf. the law of damdupat). Sons and even grandsons of deceased debtors should discharge their parent's obligations. "Debts between husband and wife, father and son, and among brothers shall be irrecoverable" (Kautilya), but a husband was liable for the debt of his wife. Arrest for debt is as old as the Rig Veda (*vide* the "Gambler's Lament").

**Pledges and Deposits**: Transactions regarding pledges and deposits must have been numerous, as the elaborate rules indicate. The formalities regarding debts generally applied to deposits, etc., but subject to *force majeure*; calamities, wars, piracy, etc., would negative the liability for returning deposits and pledged articles. Depositories converting to their own use articles placed with them were liable for a heavy fine; deposits lost or damaged were to be made good. In the case of productive pledges (usufructuary mortgages), no interest accrued. A pledgee delaying return, on demand, of the pledge was fined. If the creditor (or pledgee) be absent on foreign journeys, the debtor could deposit the amount due with a village elder, to avoid interest accumulation.

**Sealed Deposits**: Rules similar to those for unsealed deposits, applied here also. If an alleged depository denied the transaction, the antecedent circumstances and the character and social position of the depositor were the only evidences†.

**Hire of property, Retail sale, etc.**: Hired property must be returned intact, but "if owing to distance in time or place or owing to inherent defect in the property, or unforeseen accident, the property is lost or destroyed, it need not be made good."

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* No physical punishment beyond arrest was imposed on the debtor, who could sell himself into temporary slavery and thus discharge his obligation. In early Roman Law (cf. the XII Tables) a debtor could be killed and his flesh distributed among his creditors!

† Sāyā Kautilya, "Artisans (karavah) are naturally of impure character; it is not an approved custom with them to deposit for some reliable reason." (The Sastra writers had obviously a low opinion about some professions, as pointed out elsewhere.) Kautilya also propounds certain ruses and contrivances to unmask faudulently-minded depositories.
(Kautilya). Retailers must reimburse to the wholesalers the full sale value plus profits earned, less their own commission; and any loss in sale value due to delays on their own part should be made good to the wholesaler. In the case of merchants belonging to trade guilds, the guild rules would apply. A master hiring a servant should acquaint his neighbours of the wage; if no wage were settled in advance, the amount should be fixed in relation to the time spent and work done. Failure to pay wages or misappropriation of wages meant a heavy fine for the master. No promise to pay unconscionable rewards (like ‘half of all property’) by a man wanting to be rescued from a great personal danger (fire, wild animals, etc.) would be enforceable. A servant neglecting his master’s work was liable to be fined, unless he was ill or involved in calamities; the employer then had the right to get his work done by another servant. Guilds of workmen contracting for a work had a grace period of one week for completing the work. A healthy person who deserted his company (i.e., his co-operative organisation) was liable for a fine.

Marriage contracts: “Among the three higher castes, the bride could be rejected (for valid reasons) before the rite of panigrahana, but among Sudras, before nuptials.” A bride found to have lost her virginity could be rejected even after panigrahana and the groom would get back his sulka and stridhana.

Sales of bipeds and quadrupeds could be rescinded within three fortights for animals and one year for men, if defects be found in the objects of sale in the interim.

Regulations regarding Welfare and Public Health: The rules about weights and measures in the Sastras are elaborate and reveal a high regard for commercial probity. Adulteration of foodstuffs, etc., was a serious offence calling for heavy fines. Middlemen’s margins were carefully regulated and

—“Where the wage is not settled in advance, a cultivator shall get 1/10th of the crop grown; a herdsman, 1/10th of the butter clarified; a trader, 1/10th of the sale proceeds.” (Kautilya)

** The Arthasastra has detailed rules as to how priests joining in a common ritual should divide their perquisites and what the liabilities of the sacrificer (yajamana) were.

† There is no sanction for polyandry in the religious texts. As Maine says the Mahabharatha episode is capable of varying interpretations. On the other hand, there was polyandry in ancient Sparta, and among Venetians in the Middle Ages.

‡ This refers to debtors selling themselves to their creditors, etc.
enforced. Precautionary regulations against fires, floods and pestilences, were in vogue (including the chanting of mantras and worship of appropriate gods). Throwing dirt into the street meant a fine of 1/8th pana; allowing household water to collect on the street, 1/4th pana (double these rates, in the rajamarga). Excreting faeces in places of pilgrimage, reservoirs, etc., meant fines from 1 pana upward; similarly for throwing dead bodies of animals (cats, dogs, etc.) on the road. Every householder must arrange for latrines and for their daily cleaning, failing which he would be amerced.

I may perhaps end this Appendix with some brief remarks on the privileged position accorded to Brahmans in the old canonical texts, which has evoked sneering hostility in Western critics. Conceding that the Brahmans have been eulogised in the scriptures and exempted from certain taxes and extreme punishments (mutilation and decapitation), the rationale of this situation has to be carefully analysed. As Dr. P. V. Kane, (History of Dharmasastras, Vol. II, P. 136) observes: “It should not be supposed that the Brahmanas inserted these eulogies solely for the purpose of increasing their importance and tightening their hold on the other classes. If the other classes had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of Brahmanas would have given them the influence which they as a matter of fact wielded.” Their influence was a growth of centuries and they themselves were as much parts of the huge edifice of the caste system as the other varnas. Besides, the Brahmanas had no military force behind them. They could only succeed in influencing the other varnas by persuasion and their own worth. The Brahmanas were the creators and custodians of the vast literature that had grown up, they were the guardians of the culture of ages; they were expected to shoulder the burdens of teaching and preserving the vast literature on such gifts as were voluntarily made. Though many among them did not live up to the high ideals set up for their order, there must have been not a few who made as near an approach to the fulfilment of the ideal as possible. For

* It is not without significance that the Dharma Codes (Kutara Manava particularly) were in application in Further India, Ceylon, etc., where pro-Brahmin influences were not dominant; the Kshatriya rulers could have easily scrapped the few privileges accorded to the priestly class, if the Kings or the people had felt these privileges to have been neither deserved nor requisite.
centuries human societies have everywhere acquiesced in the government and control exercised by small coteries of the elite, generally the elite of birth, who have guided the destinies of their societies on traditional lines of religious and social order. The ideal before Brahmanas was to lead a life of comparative poverty; they were forbidden to follow many worldly pursuits and depended on the generosity of their patrons. While finding fault with the Brahmana writers of over two thousand years ago for these eulogies they bestowed upon themselves, one should not forget that even in the 20th century, when the pursuit of scientific studies is professed to have reached its zenith, we hear ecstatic and arrogant eulogies of the White Man's burden, of the great and glorious achievements of the Nordic race, and the greater and more glorious future it is destined to attain."

To crown the injustice done to the Brahmins, a la Abbe Dubois, the Western writers read the ancient Smriti rules in the context of the egalitarian ideas of the 20th century, forgetting also that for over 1500 years the privileges visualised by the rishis have remained practically a dead letter*. As Vijnaneswara says (apropos of Gautama's dictum: 'The King is the ruler of all except Brahmins'), these were only laudatory remarks not to be taken literally, and Gautama was merely echoing some Vedic texts. The Mitakshara hastens to add that all the privileges mentioned in the old texts applied only to Brahmins who were Srotriyas, led a pure life and were indigent. Haradatta amplifies Vijnaneswara by adding that even such a Brahmin would merit his exemptions only if his offence was accidental, unpremeditated and done through oversight or ignorance**. In

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* Except that perhaps in some Indian states like Travancore, death penalty did not apply till recently to a Brahmin offender, who was given hard labour for life instead. The reader will recall that the Brahmin Charudatta was condemned to death in the drama Mrichchakatika, thus showing the Smritis to have been obsolete even in Gupta times, in this respect. On the other side, Brahmins have always been singled out for discriminative treatment by foreign rulers. The jaziya (polltax) levied on the Brahmins was the highest. In Kashmir, Sikandar Shah collected the equivalent of 20 mds. of rice as jaziya from each Brahmin. In the time of the Delhi Sultans and some Moghul rulers, the tax was onerous, being four to five rupees per head (the value of ten bags of rice per family). More recently it is a disability, if not a positive punishment, to be born a Brahmin in some parts of our country.

** Even in such cases, the Brahmin should come before the King, confessing his guilt and asking to be beaten with a cudgel. Kautilya would permit a Brahmin to be drowned in water, for treason or similar felony.
the case of heinous offences, the Brahmin (though spared physical tortures) would be branded in various ways, have his top knot cut, and exiled from his family and country—perhaps even a worse punishment than death. And the Brahmin usually led a life of austerity and penury, till perhaps very modern times. Even a harsh critic like Sir Henry Maine has this to say: "......the life which they chalk out for themselves is certainly not a luxurious, and scarcely a happy, life. It is a life passed from first to last under the shadow of terrible possibilities. The Brahmin in his youth is to beg for his teacher; in maturity as a householder, he is hedged round with countless duties of which the involuntary breach will consign him, in another world, to millions of years of degradation or pain; in old age he is to become a homeless ascetic or hermit. It is possibly to this combination of self-assertion with self-denial and self-abasement that the wonderfully stubborn vitality of the Brahminical ideas may be attributed." (Early Custom and Law, P. 48) That one-sixth of the spiritual merit acquired by the Brahmin accrued to the King (i.e. the State) was not an idle concept in those days.

As Maine observes (ibid, P. 44), it was the alliance between the King and the Brahmin which saw the beginning of true civil law. The Brahmin acted as a sublimator of royalty; as a brake on

* Marco Polo (circa, 1300 A.D.) has this to say about the Brahmns of South India, (Travels, P. 314 et seq.): "Brahmins are among the most trustworthy men in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie and all they say is true. All foreign merchants ignorant of the customs of the country, seek out a Brahmin who deals with the customer honestly and with such anxious care, as if acting for himself. Nor does he ask for anything in return leaving it to the stranger to recompense him. The Brahmns eat no meat nor drink any wine. They lead a very chaste life and know no women except their wives. They never touch others' belongings and would kill no living creature or commit any action which they consider a sin. They have as distinguishing sign, a cotton thread over one shoulder which they tie beneath the other arm. They worship idols and pay heed to omens and the meeting of birds and beasts. They have a custom of observing the shadow of the sun and not doing anything when it is not of the proper length (Rahukalam?). When they hear anyone sneeze, they stop their project and go no further. They are the most long-lived people in the world, and this is because of their abstinence and their chewing betels. Some of them called Ciou-ughi (Sivayogi) live up to 150 to 200 years, who are very abstemious and eat only rice, milk and fruit."

† "A just king, and a Brahmin learned in the Vedas, these two uphold the moral order of the world." (Apastamba).
erratic kingly power. But for the oft-repeated requisite of the King being always to be guided by his ministers and his chief purohit, fearful despotism would have flourished in Aryadesa and we would not have heard of any ‘Mamuneeti manmans’. Even in historical times, the Brahmin had retained some of his virtues and part of his tough moral fibre (vide the quotation from Marco Polo given supra)* Kalhana mentions many occasions in which the Kashmiri pundits were able to restrain wayward or despotic monarchs by the practice of a species of satyagraha.

And finally, the Brahmin's legal immunities have had their counterparts in Christian lands, though in such a distorted form as to be a parody of Hindu concepts. For example: "The clergyman in England was not so by birth, he had to be ordained. Yet clergymen claimed that an ordained clerk, a monk or nun charged with serious offences called felonies could be tried only by an ecclesiastical court and this was conceded by the ordinary courts. This privilege was gradually extended to persons not ordained, viz., to doorkeepers, readers, exorcists (all of whom merely assisted the clergy) and finally to all who could read or pretended to read a few words from the Bible. Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland† admit that the procedure in the ecclesiastical courts was little better than a farce (P & M, Vol. I, P. 426; Holdsworth, Vol. III, P. 296). The ecclesiastic courts never pronounced a judgment of blood; the bishop only deprived the offending clerk of orders, and relegated him to a monastery, or kept him in prison for life or a shorter

* A Brahmin drinking liquor will have boiling spirit poured down his throat as a penance (he would die in the process). For another offence his prayaschitta would be to be burnt inside a hollow image.

† "We have reason to believe that the procedure in the Bishops' courts was already becoming (in the 13th century) little better than a farce. The ecclesiastical courts never reformed away the old-world process of compurgation, (i.e. a few people swearing to the veracity of the accused cleric and thus gaining his acquittal). The common practice in England was for the clerk to thus purge himself... The Church would never pronounce a judgment of blood... Every Bishop should keep a prison... and every clerk convicted of a capital crime should be kept in gaol for the rest of his life—This then was the punishment due to felonious clerks; we fear that but few of them suffered it... for centuries yet to come the benefit of clergy will breed crime and impede the course of reasonable and impartial justice." (Pollock and Maitland: History of English Law, Vol. I, Pp. 445/446)
period and very rarely whipping and branding were ordered."
(Kane: History of Dharmasastra, P. 142)"

It will be clear from the foregoing all-too-brief remarks that
even 2500 years ago, the law of the Indo-Aryans had evolved to a
high juridical plane, from the rude levels of *lex talonis* and private
vengeance. It had developed into a system of jurisprudence
entirely regulated by the state, its main principle of enforcement
being restitution in place of retribution, wherever possible [cf.
the *Wergeld* (compensation) and the *Wite* (judicial fine) of medieval
English usage]. Where the interests of society required it,
punishment took the form of corporal inflictions and of amerce-
ments payable to the State, which maintained an efficient police
force and an integrated judicial apparatus, at public cost. In Europe
it took many hundreds of years for such legal concepts to mature;
in some backward countries, even today, private feuding is not
barred by law or public opinion.

Another refinement in Aryan law was the absolute equality of
judicial processes for all citizens. The prince and the pauper, the
Brahmin and the Chandala, had to undergo the same legal ritual,
if arraigned before a court, and punishment was usually more
severe for the wealthy or the learned, than for the indigent or the
unlettered. The immunities extended to a Srotriya Brahmin were

*In more modern times, we have had White Brahmanas scattered all over the
world. In India, Whitemen (including Americans, who could be Red Indian
or Negro) had till very recently special privileges not available to Brahmins 2500
years ago. In Aryavarta, the judicial courts and procedure were the same for a
Brahmin as for anyone else (not excluding a Chandala). In India, however,
"European British subjects and Europeans and Americans in general could claim
some startling privileges when charged with criminal offences which even the
Brahmins of over two thousand years ago did not claim. For example, under
Sec. 443 of the Criminal Procedure Code of India (as it existed before 1923), they
could not be tried by any Indian Magistrate (however senior and experienced) and
in serious cases like murder, even a Sessions Judge who was himself a European
British subject, could not sentence a European British subject to more than one
year's imprisonment (Section 449). Any European or American could claim to
be tried by a mixed jury of which not less than one half had to be Europeans
or Americans, while an Indian offender could not claim the privilege in his own
country that not less than one half of the jury that tried him must be Indians."
(History of Dharmasastra, P. 142/143). In America itself, the position of the
Negro, *vis a vis* the Whites, especially in the Southern states, is very well known.
Portugal and South Africa are still full of legal discriminations and judicial
exclusiveness, which are an abomination to the civilized world.
clearly of a sacral character, unlike the privileges of the patricians in Rome and the nobility in England. In ancient India there were no Church courts claiming exclusive jurisdiction in Civil matters like marriage, legitimacy and divorce. The Hindu tribunals were not also engines of oppression like the Star Chamber of the Tudors and the Stuarts, or avenues of fiscal extortion, like the General Eyre of England.* In Aryavarta, the Royal judicial writ was equable and universal; both the Dharma and the Artha schools emphasise the need for making justice easy, cheap, and certain to the high and the low alike. More than the puritanical dogmas laid down by the rishis, it was the spirit of high moral purpose behind them, which lent distinction to the ‘Codes of the Gentoos.’† In contrast, one may notice the situation in medieval Europe, particularly England. In the latter country, the most notable emblem of feudal authority, was the ‘Manorial Court’, presided over by the baron or his steward. It was this institution which dispensed ‘justice’ in most civil, and many criminal, cases to the villein and the serf, who had often to seek redress in this very forum against, their own lord, who thus became the judge and the executioner in his own causes. It was not without significance that the symbol of the baron’s judicial authority was the gibbet, set up in front of each Manor House and not infrequently carrying the gruesome exhibit of its potency.

Maine mentions with appreciation the meticulous care, and the psychological acumen, with which evidence was recorded and assessed in the India of old. Every charge required proof (a divine one, if human evidence were lacking). This was the case even if an accused pleaded guilty in advance. In Western countries,

* About the notorious General Eyre Courts of Norman England, Bolland (vide The General Eyre, P. XIII) stated: “Let me say at once, bluntly, that the origin and purpose of the commissions out of which the General Eyre grew, that the main purpose of the General Eyre itself, was not the administration of justice but the gathering together in the King’s Exchequer as much money as possible and in any way possible.”

† Marco Polo showers high praise on the legal integrity of the Pandyan and the Chola monarchs of his time (A.D. 1300). He relates with relish a story of Sundara Pandya and the merchant. The latter, who was owed by government some money for long, once, saw the King riding on a horse in the high street. The creditor promptly drew a circle on the pavement round the King and dared the latter to cross the circle without paying his creditor. The King stayed within the marked area till the debt was paid by a Treasury official.
till comparatively recent years such safeguards were noticeably lacking. In medieval England, a thief caught in the act was instantaneously put to death; an escapee was ‘outlawed’ with the risk of being killed by any one who could catch the offender. The absence of a regular police force in England till the 19th Century has been adverted to earlier.

Reference has already been made to the absurd lengths to which the doctrine of ‘benefit of clergy’ was carried in Europe; the result was often a travesty of justice leading to the nurture of a prolific tribe of immunised criminals. In Aryavarta, even the strotia Brahmin, (saved from mutilation and death) had to undergo either life-long banishment or hard labour in the mines. Finally, Aryan Law became more and more liberal and humane as the years passed, unlike in Europe, where more and more offences were added to the ‘capital’ list, with the lapse of time. I may perhaps end this Appendix with a well-known quotation from Manu: “The King should punish by stages; gentle admonition, afterwards harsh reproof; thirdly deprivation of property (ie. fines) and only last, corporal punishment” (Manu VII 129; also Yajnavalkya I 367).

* “Outlawry was a sentence of death pronounced by a community which had no constables or professional hangmen. To pursue the outlaw and to knock him down fatally, as if he were a wild beast, was the duty of every law-abiding citizen.” (Pollock and Maitland: History of English Law—Vol. I., P. 476)

In India we had the practice of, ‘outcasting’ with consequent heavy spiritual and social penalties; In Christendom, however, “excommunication was ecclesiastical outlawry and the excommunicate became a spiritual leper and could do no valid act in law.” (Pollock & Maitland—ibid, P. 478) Any one dealing with him was severely punishable.

† The test of literacy for the ‘benefit of clergy’ was to repeat the first line of Psalm 51, which became known as the ‘neck verse’ as it saved a man from hanging etc. Criminals found it easy to memorise these words of the Bible.
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