

**I. P. MINAYEFF**

**TRAVELS**

**in**

**and**

**DIARIES**

**of**

**INDIA & BURMA**

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Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff, 1840-1890.



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## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

We consider it a great privilege to be able to bring out an edition of I. P. Minayeff's DIARIES in English.

Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff, the great Russian Indologist, whose contributions to the field of Indology in general and the study of Buddhism in particular are of great importance, was a great friend of India and came to India thrice. During his travels in India, Burma and Ceylon he wrote three diaries of which the first one was turned into a book by Minayeff himself, but before he could take up the other two diaries he died a premature death. These two diaries were brought out in a printed form a year ago by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, under the able editorship of A. P. Barannikoff.

It seems to be in the fitness of things that an English edition of these two diaries about India and her two nearest neighbours is now being published in India, and we believe this is the first time that a full-bodied English translation of a Russian book is being thus published here.

The charge of translating Minayeff's work is a great charge and entails immense responsibility—the subject of Minayeff's works being a highly specialized one.

While aware of the magnitude of the task we have done our best to perform it successfully, giving due attention to every stage of its production. But in spite of all the care we took inaccuracies crept in here and there, for which we beg the forgiveness of the readers.





## EDITORIAL NOTE

The Indian Diaries of Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff, the great Russian Indologist of the 19th century, occupy an important place amongst his scientific contributions. Minayeff visited India thrice—in 1874-75, 1880 and in 1885-86. At the time of his first trip to India he also visited Ceylon and Nepal, and at the time of the third, Burma.

The results of his longest trip in 1874-75 were generalized by him in the well-known book **Sketches of Ceylon and India: From the Travel Notes of a Russian**, (St. Petersburg, 1878, Parts I and II), and also in a few historical, ethnographical and socio-political articles. I. P. Minayeff could not, however, turn his impressions of the second and third trips into a completed work. He died in the bloom of his creative genius, leaving behind him more than 130 published and a series of unfinished works including his Indian Diaries.

Ordinarily, travel notes are written not for contemporaries, nor for the posterity, but, first of all for the writer himself. The Diaries of I. P. Minayeff in this regard are no exception. Minayeff was putting down his observations and appraisements, his thoughts and moods day by day and, needless to say, without any classification or system. He seldom added any important explanatory notes to his fleeting impressions and detailed descriptions, the reasonings of the various types of his interlocutors, their covert remarks and frank utterances contained in his Diaries. I. P. Minayeff himself did not need them, and while writing

the Diaries, he, naturally, did not take into consideration the enquiries of probable readers in future. We have reasons to suppose that Minayeff on his return to Russia wanted to turn these into a new comprehensive work or into a series of open sketches.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that that is exactly how he treated the Diary of his first journey. Those few pages relating, in particular, to his journey to Burma, which took the form of a completed literary work in the very process of his keeping the notes, also speak of Minayeff's intention of publishing his Diaries. In any event it is possible to assert without the risk of falling into an error that the author himself would not have published the travel notes of his last two travels in the form in which they are now presented to the readers, i.e. in the form of a literal reproduction.

Hence the Diaries of Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff need explanations of a historical, socio-economic, political, linguistic and biographical nature. By reason of the special character of the literary genre of diaries, elucidations of the important events taking place in India and Burma, upon which the notes of 1880 and 1885-86 not infrequently dwell, are made in an extremely irregular manner. Sometimes events are depicted unusually clearly, sometimes however they are described fragmentarily, only the different sides of those events being shown. While painting a picture of those events on a highly beautiful canvas with a profoundly historical background, perfectly familiar to him but far from being so to his readers, he paints them with a miserly use of words.

The short sentence, which I. P. Minayeff dedicated on the 14th of February, 1880 to the famous fighter and defender of the oppressed Indian masses Vasudev Balwant Phadke (See Note 41) who was sentenced to life-imprisonment by a British court in 1879, serves as a typical example of this. "Phadke had honest and lofty intentions; it was not difficult to predict his failure." Minayeff limited to a few words the expression of his genuine adoration for Phadke and at the same time gave a faithful but undecipherable evaluation of his activities which, consequently, require an explanation, an exposition of the political

1. (Drafts of articles written by I. P. Minayeff on the basis of the Diary of 1880 are preserved in the archives of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. "About the condition of Western India in 1880", "Nizam and Hyderabad", "In the country of the Nizam". "Ellora Monuments". An article—"Englishmen in Burma", relating to the travel of 1885-86, was printed in "Messenger of Europe" in 1887-No. 11, pages 153-191).

biography of Phadke, of the history of the heroic act itself and its importance in the struggle for freedom of the people of India.

The above illustration shows that the task of explaining in the Notes the inner significance of each of the memoranda (and memoranda of a highly varied character at that) proved to be an extremely complicated affair.

After the demise of the initiator and premier organizer of the present publication—Academician Alexei Petrovich Baranikoff—this work was continued and completed by a group of workers of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff belonged to the generation of Russian Orientologists, which came into being in the sixties of the 19th century. Consequently he became an Indologist at a time when the problems of bourgeois-democratic revolution confronted the Russian society as the climax of its historic development. Under the direct or indirect influence of democratic ideas grew and flourished a leading Russian science. This tendency of development was reflected in a progressive trend towards Oriental Studies, and I. P. Minayeff was one of the most conspicuous representatives of this trend.

The progressive views of our learned author are not, however, to be assimilated as a certain conclusive and logical system of advanced ideas. Definite eclecticism, in particular, was inherent in the world-outlook of Minayeff and out of this grew those unavoidable and obvious contradictions which are found in his Diaries as well as in many of his scientific and socio-political works.

I. P. Minayeff clung, for example, to the reactionary views of a few idealists—historians who considered religion to be the basic motive force of history. It was not by chance that he wrote as the epigraph to his **Sketches of Ceylon and India** the words of Carlyle: "It is true in every respect that to man religion is of supreme importance". It was not accidental that in his Diary of the first journey a good part of his observations is devoted to themes tainted in one sense or another with religious colouring, beginning with the description of Buddhist monasteries and ending with Hindu-Moslem relationship,—a question which, by the way, was not understood by Minayeff and consequently wrongly interpreted by him. It was again not by chance that he wrote in his 'Sketches': "uptill now all communities of Asia were forged together by religion; in this bond of union only they were finding their peace".<sup>1</sup> As

1. "Sketches of Ceylon and India", St. Petersburg, 1878, Part II, page 209.

A. P. Barannikoff (see p. 34) observes, the first and immediate task, pursued by I. P. Minayeff during his three trips, was the study of historical monuments of Buddhism and collection of literary materials relating to the history and dogmatism of Indian religions. N. D. Mironov in the 'Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts in the Russian Public Library' (at present M. E. Saltikov-Shchedrin State Library, Leningrad) writes that a vast majority of these manuscripts (philosophical, canonistic, mythological, poetical and historical matters) were acquired and brought to Russia by none other than Minayeff.

However, I. P. Minayeff while weaving a rich fabric of historical researches repeatedly put forward and defended propositions which ran contrary to his idealistic world-outlook as a whole. A real champion of national science and one inspired with a deep sense of duty towards the cause, Minayeff untiringly sought for historical truth and had great admiration for objective proofs of critically investigated sources of which he happened to be an astute judge. On the whole, our learned author found solutions to the problems of Indian history—such solutions as still retain their full cognitive value and ought to yet afford much to the Soviet scholars working in the different spheres of Indology. It would not be an exaggeration to say that many of the opinions expressed in his Diaries and a few chapters in his important scientific works are marked with the stamp of peculiar and unconscious materialism.

Materialistic tendency is found, for instance, in the remarkable work of I. P. Minayeff, **Ancient India**. Regarding the famous journey of Afanasi Nikitin ("Journey Beyond Three Sea") as the paramount source of the history of India, Minayeff specially emphasized the fact that Nikitin described the presence of social contrasts as the factor determining the condition obtaining in the country. "The Russian traveller remarked: 'Village people are almost naked, while the landowners are considerably richer and extremely luxurious'. This neat and valuable observation of Afanasi Nikitin's reveals his exceptionally keen power of observation. He carefully observed the true condition of things in ancient India"<sup>1</sup>.

I. P. Minayeff paid constant attention to economic problems. Suffice it to say that agrarian relations in India of the middle ages and of his time more than once formed the subject matter of his

1. I. P. Minayeff: **Ancient India**. Notes on Journey Beyond Three Seas by Afanasi Nikitin (St. Petersburg 1881, page 111).

researches. He considered the agrarian relations existing in India to be the result of conditions historically evolved. In his brilliant commentary on the aforesaid "Journey Beyond Three Seas" by Afanasi Nikitin, Minayeff gave in many respects a correct description of the rural community of Marathas. In the **Sketches of Ceylon and India** Minayeff stressed the fact that "From the time British India came into existence, the agrarian problems have agitated the minds of the vast majority of the native population this way or that." In determining the future of the Asian peoples he attached very great significance to the stormy economic invasion, by the capitalist countries, of the economically backward countries of the Asiatic Continent which were not yet turned into colonies. It is possible to detect this point of view in his Diaries and this is also reflected in his published works. In 1887 writing about China he said: "We are on the eve of great events in Asia: the Western trader is preparing to go beyond 'the great wall' with his merchandise and his ideas, with all the goods and chattels of his civilization . . . the question is about the economic conquest of a country with a population of 400 millions, about the beginning of a western enterprise in a new and extensive sphere and about a new domination of the entire core of Asia."<sup>1</sup>

Materialistic leanings appear also in the pages of Minayeff's well-known researches on Buddhism. In it, especially, the idea is developed that Buddhism sprang forth not as a system of static dogmas, but as a live, dynamic, inwardly contradictory sectarian movement amongst the masses.<sup>2</sup> Minayeff related the desire for giving to Buddhism a universal character and at the same time a rigid canonistic form to "facts of political history" of a much later epoch. The creation of a union of "all countries from Ganga to Oxus" under the rule of the Kushans had a decisive significance at the time when, according to Minayeff, Buddhism was converted into an instrument for cultural and political expansion, as a result of which "the necessity for written canons became manifest."<sup>3</sup>

It should of course be remembered that I. P. Minayeff, less than anybody else, was prepared to interpret Buddhism as an ideology promoting the predatory aims of the ruling heads of the Kushan Empire. The central objects of his attention were the

1. "The British in Burma". "Messenger of Europe", (Vestnik Evropl) 1887, Book II page 190.

2. I. P. Minayeff's Buddhism. Investigations and Materials, Vol. I, Issue I, St. Petersburg 1887, pages 11, 92, 223 etc.

3. Same as 2, pages 239-240.

philosophical and dogmatic sides of the teachings of Buddha. But a comprehensive study of the chosen theme led Minayeff through a series of problems towards conclusions which went farther and deeper than the original conception of his work. One cannot overlook the fact that the materialistic character of the analysis of different problems in the works of Minayeff was determined not only by the logic of objective data acquired in the process of investigation; materialistic tendency and clearly expressed historicism in the works of our distinguished Indologist were in ideological conformity with the progressive trend in Russian scientific ideas of the seventies and eighties of the 19th century.

This tendency is noticeable in many of the generalizing opinions of Minayeff. This—may be, without the author being conscious about it—appears, for instance, in his definition of the essence of classical Indian art—a definition which regards the great artistic past of India as “a brilliant history of people’s creative work spread over more than twenty centuries”.<sup>1</sup> His estimate of the role of the Indian national press in the development of literary languages of the country is remarkable for such breadth of historical outlook. “Press”, wrote Minayeff, “did for the language in India what was done in Italy by Dante and in Germany by Luther”.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact this role of the Indian Press reflecting, both ideologically and artistically, the process of national consolidation of the different peoples of India could not but be of exceptional importance. We should not also forget that the brotherhood of editors and writers of the Indian Press of the seventies and eighties included very well-known writers and the most militant political workers of India who were seeking for means of contact with the people and were eager to speak with them in a language which they understood<sup>3</sup>.

Minayeff’s materialistic tendency manifested itself yet in another very essential aspect: his constant anxiety not to be

1. “Buddhism”, Vol. I, Issue I, page 98.

2. “Sketches of Ceylon and India”, part II, page 198.

3. The distinguished Bengali writer Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya in the seventies was, for example, the editor of the progressive, literary-artistic journal “Bangadarshan”, (Bengal Mirror). See dissertation of V. A. Novikova “Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya as writer, and publicist”, Leningrad 1953. The newspaper in Marathi language “Kesari”, (Lion) of the outstanding leader of the radical wing of the Indian national movement B. G. Tilak, was founded by him in 1881. Patriotic articles by Tilak and his followers were published in it.

shut in within the limits of "pure science", but to probe carefully into the very essence of life. As is emphasized by A. P. Barannikoff (See page 26), I. P. Minayeff considered the task of Indology to be very broad. Hence everything which had any connection with India interested him—be it her religion, her history and culture or economy, or questions of current politics and war, and freedom movement. There could not have been any better proof of this than the Diaries of his travels.

The Diaries of I. P. Minayeff were written during a period which was the turning point in the new history of India. In fact during the time covering the years of his three journeys (1874-1886) the most important colony of England was definitely being turned into a market for sale and a source of raw materials and was becoming the monopoly sphere for the export of British capital. Exactly at the time of Minayeff's Indian tours, development of capitalism in India was becoming clearly discernible, with a net-work of railway lines quickly springing up, large factories growing in number and cadres of Indian proletariat coming into being. On top of it, along with the British capitalists dominating the economic life of the country, a class of Indian bourgeoisie was rising to the surface and a multitudinous intelligentsia was taking shape.

By hampering and crippling the process of development of capitalism, that had already begun in the country, the yoke of colonial regime was stirring up dissatisfaction and indignation in the various strata of Indian society, speeding up the growth of national freedom movement. This movement manifested itself in the antagonistic moods of the young Indian bourgeoisie, in the revolutionary-mutineering activities of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia and, above all, in spontaneous sporadic risings of the oppressed agrarian masses.

Serious internal troubles, facing the colonial regime, were supplemented by heavy reverses, in the second Anglo-Afghan war (1878-80), causing much loss of blood and money and also straining Anglo-Russian relations in the Middle East. The British occupation of Burma (1885) gave rise to no less a difficult situation of a military, material and political character. A serious clash between English and French colonial interests in the peninsula of Indo-China served as the direct cause of the capitulation of the Burmese Kingdom of Ava, and this conflict of interests impelled the British Government to do away with Burmese independence as much as their French competitors were going to do. But the British erred in thinking that the capture of Mandalay, capital of the kingdom, would put an end

to military operations. A cruel and prolonged guerilla warfare ensued. This soon became a real threat to British domination in 'conquered' Burma. Thus, unceasing predatory wars of England and her external political conflicts helped to complicate the internal situation in India.

This transitional epoch gave a severe shock to the minds of the principal classes of Indian society and brought about a change in their consciousness. Breaking up of the old social structure undermined the principles of life and ideological foundations sanctified by time and religion, and brought with it the formation of a progressive socio-political ideology. This bilateral process struck Minayeff most, and he constantly reverted to this in his Diaries. Minayeff wrote down notes in a business-like order about everything concerning the immediate object of his journey, namely, the collection of sources and acquaintance with the monuments of ancient times, and at the same time, he wanted to note the signs of, and explain the reasons for, the collapse of the traditional ideological foundations brought about by the appearance of a new capitalistic structure in colonial India. By reason of his over-all idealistic world-outlook, Minayeff was not in a position to appreciate this decisive fact as the principal and determining factor. Nevertheless, he proved himself capable of drawing an objective and faithful picture of the situation and mental frame of the contemporary Indian society. His notes, very frequently reproducing the varied opinions of his interlocutors, speak of the rigour of colonial regime and the impoverished condition of the peasantry oppressed by taxes and the British laws which were protecting the privileges of the landowners and usurers. The Diaries also note the pitiable impotence of the Indian ruling princes and the marked decline in learning in India of the Middle Ages. At the same time the Diaries clearly speak about the rise of a whole stratum of learned Indians who had received European education, about the formation of a trend, in the groups of intelligentsia, of exploiting their European knowledge for strengthening and developing political ideology of a bourgeois type, and also about the emancipatory mood prevailing among the intelligentsia.

Thanks to his versatile education and his remarkable mastery over a few Indian languages (not to speak of his knowledge of a few of the European languages), Minayeff without difficulty mixed with representatives of extremely varied types of social and ethnological groups in India. With equal ease he discussed with Indian students their conditions of life, ex-



changed opinions with Indian and European scholars and talked with poor Burmese monks, important heads of monasteries and fellow-travellers whom he came across. He was acquainted with the distinguished political workers of the young Indian bourgeois-national movement and, in particular, with one of the pillars of that movement, Surendranath Banerjee. He met British officers participating in the shameful war in Burma, Indian feudal princes, colonial officers of all ranks and biggest of them all—the Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin. Judging from his notes in the Diary, Minayeff made the acquaintance of a few Bengali literati in March, 1886. It is possible that in the spring of 1886 he met Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya. That such a meeting did take place is suggested by the dedicatory inscription on the works of this distinguished author which were received by Minayeff and are now preserved in the library of Oriental Faculty of the Leningrad University.

Arriving in 1880 from Russia, where revolutionary agitation then prevailed, I. P. Minayeff was particularly interested in everything that had any relation to the awakening of colonial India, which had already begun. Genuinely moved by the tragic fate of Vasudeva Balwant Phadke, Minayeff wanted to know what Indians themselves thought about this heroic son of the Marathas. Eleven days after his arrival in India, on the 31st of January, 1880, he recorded some biographical information about Vasudeva after a talk with Kashinath Telang, a prominent worker of the national movement. On the 3rd of February, the students of the college at Poona expressed before Minayeff their agreement with the emancipatory aims which inspired Phadke and told him that they had attended the trial of Phadke. On the 4th of February, at a meeting with Minayeff a brahman spoke disapprovingly of the activities of the Maratha patriot. Immediately after this, in a students' hostel the boarders showed him an album of celebrities: "Amongst the notables was Phadke". On the 5th of February, Minayeff met a teacher of the school which had just (January, 1880) been founded by young Tilak, the future leader of the democratic wing of the national movement in India. It transpired that this teacher, who was a co-worker of Tilak, was also close to Phadke and was even prosecuted for Phadke's act. It clearly appears from the Diary of the second trip of Minayeff that the act of Vasudeva Balwant Phadke created a deep impression upon various circles of the Indian society and that this was a strong proof of the growth of general dissatisfaction against the colonial regime.

Whomsoever he came across—be they scholars, bureaucrats, monks or merchants—his interlocutors directed their conversation, in the ultimate analysis, to the theme of this general dissatisfaction; they talked about the burdens of the Afghan War, discontent amongst the young students and the antagonistic mood of bourgeois and feudal sections of the society. At the same time Minayeff noted as a characteristic feature of the conditions existing in India and Burma the defiant conduct of foreign conquerors resulting from their hatred towards the people oppressed by them. If, for example, his visit to the cities famous for their architectural monuments is briefly recalled, it will be seen that Minayeff could not help remembering that even these gigantic products of Indian art (as also the rest of India) were not safe from the neglect and capriciousness of foreign rule. Thus, in the dazzling beautiful Durbar Hall of the palace of the great Moguls, "Wine is handed out to British soldiers". This attitude of contempt of the alien masters of India and Burma towards the inhabitants of the country and their customs and cherished objects came to the notice of Minayeff more than once. Speaking about the Burmese partisans he wrote on the 28th of March, 1886: "A good territorial police would be able to suppress them, and their appearance is explained by the contemporary economic condition of the country. But this is exactly what the British cannot realize, they cannot realize the profundity of the hatred which they inspire in the natives. Listen to the terms in which soldiers and merchants speak about the natives and what they wish and you will understand why the Burmese take to shooting from behind the bushes. Administration here is not bad, but the arrogant British are . . ."

With extraordinary scientific objectivity I. P. Minayeff noted down everything that attracted his attention. However, the evaluations of Minayeff himself, as has already been mentioned above, are not always noted for their logic. In fact, he sometimes declared European civilization, that is, the set of new relationships in India brought in by capitalism, as something shallow and superficial and not in any way touching the "essence of oriental life". At the same time he compared the invasion of India by the European 'civilizers' to an elemental calamity destroying the "entire structure of life." This can be explained by the existence of an inner contradiction of views in Minayeff. On his way back to Russia, on the 6th of April, 1886, Minayeff wrote in his Diary: "The first inroad of civilization into a culturally underdeveloped country can be com-

pared to a ceaseless, relentless working of a terrible natural phenomenon—to an inundating downpour or a stormy gust of a tornado. This inroad of the civilizers sweeps and destroys the entire structure of life. The order of the old life goes to pieces in the presence of a triumphant invasion of something new, something seemingly better, but in point of fact the new thing does not strike its roots into the conquered soil either quickly or suddenly: it destroys the old and for a more or less long time leaves a *tabula rasa* . . .” With his world-outlook restricted by the limitations of his own class, Minayeff in the course of his generalizations and conclusions expresses, in the language of a historical materialist, his unreserved sympathy for the most radical spirit of the Indian society of his time, and more than once takes the side of the oppressed Indian masses.

Sincere sympathy for the enslaved peoples of the East forcefully pervades those pages of Minayeff's Diaries which relate to the conquests of Burma. Minayeff arrived in Burma at a time when it had just been occupied by British troops and he witnessed the beginning of the people's resistance to the foreign conquerors. Wherever he went he came across traces of plunder and violence reminding him of the just concluded unjust and predatory war. Sometimes a feeling of pity and anger seizes him and compels him to change the entire style of writing the travel notes. At times he abandons his habitually brief expositions and his way of noting strange words and opinions, and refrains from giving his personal opinions about them but brings into play his uncommon literary talent. It appears as if he is addressing the future readers of his Diaries with words coming directly from his heart and is relating to them the story of the fall of the ancient civilization—a civilization which had outlived itself—of feudal Burma destroyed by the fire and sword of British colonizers. He raises his voice against the self-assumed power and despotism of the British military clique which had occupied Burma but was still far from subduing her and he points to the fact that in Burma “a merciless civilization is striking its roots”—a new and cruel form of oppression of the people in the interests of British merchants and enterprisers. The words of Minayeff ring as indicting today as they did 70 years ago when for the first time they appeared in the pages of his Diary. They evoke responsive reception by Soviet readers and find sympathy and gratitude wherever a struggle goes on for peace and friendship amongst the peoples.

It is necessary to say a few words about the illustrations given in this book. A part of them consists of well-known reproductions of a few of the monuments of Indian art which were either the objects of study by I. P. Minayeff or mentioned in his Diaries. The rest are reproductions of the works of A. D. Saltikoff, N. N. Karazin and V. V. Vereshchagin and also of the Soviet artist K. I. Finogenoff, who visited India and reflected in their works India's natural beauty, her people and the great creations of her civilization.

Prince Alexei Dimitrievich Saltikoff (1806-1859) was probably the first Russian artist who accomplished a journey to India. Connoisseur of the East, diplomat and thereafter a tourist and a talented writer of Indian history (Marx referred to his neat characterizations), he was also an able painter with originality. His works, which are noted for their grace and speak of the artist's boldness of drawing, include interesting pictures of Indian feudal life and portrait-reproduction of types of people constituting the Indian society—from the begging Fakir to the distinguished landowner Zemindar and the ruling Raja. Saltikoff had been to India twice—in 1841-1843 and in 1845-1846.

Nikolai Nikolaevich Karazin (1842-1908) visited India soon after the third tour of I. P. Minayeff. Author of many entertaining novels and adventure stories with plots relating mostly to the period of annexation of Central Asia to Russia, Karazin was also a painter of battle pictures and an illustrator who was attracted by effective, but often false, decorativeness. But a few of his paintings are undoubtedly close to the realities of life: one such is his "Gwalior Fort", which has been included by the Board of Editors amongst the illustrations for the Diaries of Minayeff.

Our readers are well-acquainted with the name of the distinguished realistic painter Vasili Vasilievich Vereshchagin (1842-1904), who is famous even beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. But it is not known to everybody that in his works the theme of India occupies an important place. He showed through his studies and paintings the different aspects of Indian life and a few motifs of Indian history with unusual clarity and surprising precision. He made his first journey to India in 1874-76 i.e. at the same time as Minayeff. His second journey was in 1882. Vereshchagin thought of drawing two series (in his own words—two "poems") of pictures which would narrate the tragic history of the British conquest of India. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, however, diverted his attention and denied him the

opportunity of executing his plans about India. Yet what he could do in the field of pictures about India has remarkable artistic and cognitive value. Minayeff spoke about the Indian studies of Vereshchagin with great appreciation. In his review of the illustrated book of the artist, published after his second trip to India, Minayeff wrote: "the text of it is interesting, beautiful illustrations give it a striking significance . . . As regards refinement and mastery, the portrayals of Indian types, temples, and mountain scenery leave nothing to be desired".

Thus the works of V. V. Vereshchagin not only adorn the edition of the Diaries of Minayeff, but, coinciding with the time of the travel notes of Minayeff, they also serve as an excellent supplement to this valuable historical source.

The manuscript of the Diary of Minayeff's second journey to India (Archives of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Collection 39, List 106) consists of (1) Note Book of the size of 16 x 10 cm. with a brown cloth binding (40 sheets) wherein are included the notes of the 10th and 18th January, 1880 (beginning of the Diary), and also rough notes of the 18th April, 29th April and 5th May, 1880: the rest of the Note Book is filled with calculations and notes of travel expenses; (2) Note Book in a green cloth cover of the size of 19.5 x 12 cm. (74 sheets), which contains the remainder of the notes of the Diary.

The manuscript of the Diary of Minayeff's third journey to India and Burma (Archives of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Collection 39, List 106) consists of two Exercise Books in black leather covers—the first of the size of 17.5 x 11 cm. (193 sheets) written on both sides of the paper and the second of the size of 20 x 13 cm. (109 sheets).

Preparation for the printing of the manuscript of the Diaries was begun under the auspices of the Geographical Society of U.S.S.R. towards the end of 1920 by the niece of I. P. Minayeff, the late Alexandra Pavlovna Shnaider who, in addition to this work also conducted a sorting of the archives of Minayeff and collected large materials for his biography and the bibliography of his works under the guidance of Academicians S. F. Oldenburg and F. I. Stcherbatsky, pupils of Minayeff. A. P. Shnaider went through the entire text of the Diaries written in a hardly legible hand and copied the same and yet the work of the publication of his Diaries did not proceed farther than this preparatory stage.

After the great patriotic war (Second World War) in connection with the observance in 1950 of the 110th anniversary of

the birth and 60th anniversary of the death of I. P. Minayeff, Academician A. P. Barannikoff proposed to resume the work of preparation for printing the manuscript and publishing the same. A. P. Barannikoff carried out a comparison of the copy of the text made by A. P. Shnaider with the original manuscript, wrote a biographical sketch of Minayeff specially for this publication and compiled a series of notes. Barannikoff's premature death cut short this work of his.

After the death of A. P. Barannikoff, the task of continuing this work was entrusted to his colleagues of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.,—candidates of historical sciences—N. M. Goldberg and G. G. Kotovsky who prepared the text of the Diaries for the press. The main portion of the explanatory notes was compiled by G. G. Kotovsky; the preface of the board of editors and a number of historical notes were written by N. M. Goldberg: explanations and translations of the Pali terms and texts found in the Diaries were given by Barannikoff's colleagues of the Institute of Orientology, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.,—candidates of Philological Sciences—V. S. Vorobyeff-Desiatovsky and V. I. Kalyanoff.

The Diaries are being printed according to the rules of the new orthography and punctuation, the peculiarities of the author's transcript being, however, preserved. Certain entries of a personal character have been omitted from the Diaries, and a better part of those short notes of travel, which do not directly concern India and Burma, has also been excluded.

Texts in square brackets (explanatory) and the translations of foreign words and sentences given in the footnotes have been written by the board of editors.

It is necessary to emphasize that the published Diaries of I. P. Minayeff are not only a very precious historical source of the history of India and Burma of the eighties of the 19th century, but they also furnish fresh proof of those old Indo-Russian cultural relations which, set up during the time of Afanasi Nikitin, have now been further developed, and that fruitfully.

# **Biographical Sketch of I. P. Minayeff**

(1840-1890)

Academician A. P. Barannikoff

Ivan Pavlovich Minayeff was a great scholar, Orientalist-Indologist, talented writer of socio-political literature and a traveller in India.

He was born on 9th (21st new style) October, 1840 in Tambov in an officer's family of modest means. While at home he acquired sufficient knowledge of two European languages—French and German. He studied English later in his University years. His mother took much care in imparting education to him at home, and Minayeff cherished the warmest attachment for her up to the end of her days.

I. P. Minayeff received his secondary education in Tambovsky School. He completed his studies there in 1858 and in the autumn of the same year he entered the Faculty of Oriental Languages which had not so very long before been opened in Petersburg University. He concluded his studies there in 1868 in the Sino-Manchurian Department. A year before finishing his University career, I. P. Minayeff received a gold medal for his essay "Geographical Studies of Mongolia".

In the University I. P. Minayeff was a pupil of a great Sinologist of his time and renowned scholar of Buddhism—Prof. V. P. Vassilyeff. His passion for Buddhism inspired him to study original sources of ancient Buddhism. Thus he set to studying Indian languages which opened to him the door to ancient monuments of the history of Buddhism. He took up the study of the ancient Indian language Sanskrit under D. A.

Kassovich, the first Professor of this language in the Petersburg University. I. P. Minayeff further widened and strengthened his knowledge in the sphere of Indian languages by learning Pali, a language in which the literary traditions of Buddhism of the south are preserved. He also learnt Prakrit in which language ancient Indian inscriptions had reached us. He studied modern Indian languages as well.

In 1863 I. P. Minayeff went abroad on a prolonged scientific mission, where he worked under eminent Indologists of his time. In Germany he studied Sanskrit under Weber and Benfey, in Berlin he attended lectures delivered by one of the founders of the Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages, namely F. Bopp. Thereafter he worked at the British Museum in London where a large collection of Indian manuscripts had been preserved, and also at the Paris National Library in France where he worked on Pali manuscripts. I. P. Minayeff's Catalogue of Pali manuscripts of Paris National Library was the result of his studies of ancient manuscripts written in Pali language. This catalogue is still preserved there in manuscript.

In 1868 I. P. Minayeff returned from abroad as a great scholar of Indology. In 1869 he published a masterly dissertation: "Pratimoksha-Sutra, a buddhist text published and translated"<sup>1</sup>. In the same year 1869 he was selected as a Reader in the Department of Sanskrit Literature of the Faculty of Oriental Languages, Petersburg University. In 1871 I. P. Minayeff went over as a Reader in the Department of Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages of the Historico-Philological Faculty. In 1872 he defended his thesis for Doctorate "Essay on the Phonetics and Morphology of Pali Language"<sup>2</sup>, and in 1873 he was selected as Professor Extraordinary in the Department of Comparative Grammar of Indo-European Languages. This post he held (from 1880—Ordinary Professor) up to his death. I. P. Minayeff died of Tuberculosis, even before he was fifty. He breathed his last on the 1st (new style 13th) of June, 1890, in Petersburg.

Along with his pedagogical duties Minayeff carried on very valuable scientific work. Family he had none, and he lived for science alone devoting all his energy to the cause of science.

Apart from his long mission from 1863 to 1868 I. P.

1. Vide Supplement to Vol. XVI, Notes of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1868, LII, 122 pages.

2. "Essay on the Phonetics and Morphology of Pali Languages", St. Petersburg, 1872, XLIV, 96 pages.



Minayeff went abroad many times in pursuit of his scientific work and he worked in the libraries of Germany, France and England.

In addition to his frequent visits to Western Europe Minayeff made three voyages to India. His first visit to India lasted for the period from June, 1874 to December, 1875, second visit, from January to May, 1880 and the third from December, 1885 to April, 1886.

During his journeys Minayeff kept diaries which are all the more valuable because their author stood very high in the sphere of the latest developments of science, possessed deep and extensive knowledge of the history and archaeology of India and knew a number of Indian languages, ancient and modern. One could rarely come across in European travellers to the East such a combination of knowledge of diverse subjects.

I. P. Minayeff was for many years a fellow of the Russian Geographical Society. He was elected a fellow of the Society on the 1st of December, 1871 and continued as such till death. He used to take a very active part in the work of the Society. The Society in its turn rendered him substantial assistance in his first journey to India, providing him with letters to administrative authorities in India with a request for their co-operation. On his return from his first journey to India, Minayeff took a particularly energetic part in the work of the Society and worked as one of the most active members of the Ethnological Section of the Society. In connection with the memorandum of the well-known geographer and traveller M. E. Venukoff about the study of Aryan races along the upper reaches of Amu Darya, in the Hindukush etc. Minayeff compiled **A Collection of Information About the Countries on Amu Darya**. The collection was published by the Geographical Society.

During the last years of his life he was taking an active part in a series of enterprises of scientific interest taken in hand by the Society. And so, in 1878 he became a member of the Commission on the project of a scientific and trade expedition to Afghanistan, and in 1879, a member of the Commission on the study of the old bed of Amu Darya. He also took part more than once in the Commissions of the Society for the conferment of rewards for scientific contributions, and Commissions for discussion of the results of scientific work. In all enterprises of a similar nature he revealed deep erudition. In 1888 he became a member of the Commission for compilation of ethnographical programmes. In 1878 Minayeff was elected a member of the Council of the Society and as such did much organizational work. Never for once did Minayeff's work for

the Society cease till the departure abroad of the savant in 1889 while he was seriously ill.

As a scholar I. P. Minayeff adopted a singular path. He finished his studies in the Faculty of Oriental languages in the Sino-Manchurian Department, but dedicated himself to the study of India. He was preparing himself for teaching the history of the East, but was constrained to keep himself busy with the work of the Chair of Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages. For the latter he never cherished a lively and sustained interest.

The scientific heritage left by Minayeff is altogether remarkable. To our regret, part of his work contained in the manuscripts has not uptill now been printed. The major part of his scientific work is connected one way or the other with the study of India. The breadth of the field of interests of Minayeff as an Indologist is surprising. Although his attention was focussed primarily on Buddhism and its history, he made a profound study also of the medieval and modern history of India, its linguistics, literature and folk-lore, and published a number of important texts in Pali and Sanskrit.

Minayeff always showed an unflagging interest in Geography, and to this were due the first scientific work of his student days and a number of later studies. Even shortly before his death he published an obituary dedicated to N. M. Przevalsky.<sup>1</sup>

Minayeff considered the tasks of Indology to be very vast. He spoke about this in his speeches delivered in connection with the symposium of Petersburg University dated the 8th February, 1884, on "Study of India in Russian Universities". He pointed out: "For a Russian scholar the east cannot possibly be a dead thing and a solely bookish object of scientific enquiry . . ." "It is necessary for us in Russia to study not only ancient India but also modern India," and "study of ancient India should not shut out the scientific and practical importance of the living phenomena in contemporary India".<sup>2</sup> In order to evaluate the importance of the magnitude of the task of Indology, as understood by Minayeff, it is necessary to remember that German Indology, for example, absolutely ruled out the study of medieval

1. J.M.P.E. Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1888, No. 11, pages 49-50.

2. About the study of India in Russian Universities: See Report on the condition of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg and activities of its scholars after 1883 . . . . St. Petersburg 1884, pages 83-102.

and modern India, inasmuch as from the German point of view during this period "old Aryan traditions" had grown weak in India. Even in Russia direct pupils of the late I. P. Minayeff did not inherit Minayeff's wide conception about the tasks of Indology, and concentrated all their attention on the study of ancient and early medieval India.

The works of Minayeff can be classified into five groups: (i) Linguistics, (ii) Historico-Literary, (iii) Researches on Folk-lore, (iv) Work on the History of Buddhism and (v) Historico-Geographical work.

**1. LINGUISTIC WORK:** Notwithstanding the fact that Minayeff was in the Department of Comparative Grammar of Indo-European languages for about twenty years (1871-1890), the quantity of his purely linguistic work available to us is not large. This fact is easily understandable: we learn from the biography of the savant and the notes in his diaries that the field of his fundamental interest lay somewhere else. Nevertheless, his contributions in the sphere of linguistics are quite valuable, the most important of which are the following:

"Essay on the Phonetics and Morphology of the Pali language" (thesis for the Doctorate). In the sixties and seventies Pali attracted particular attention of European scholars as a language in which ancient monuments of Buddhism of the South were preserved. I. P. Minayeff was one of the greatest scholars of this language in Europe. His Pali Grammar was the most comprehensive and authoritative contribution of his time in this regard. This book was soon translated into French and English. The English translation was meant for the study of this language in India itself.

Considerable importance used to be attached in his time to the lectures of Minayeff on general linguistics which were published in lithograph.

As a result of his study of Sanskrit a treatise by him **Declensions and Conjugations of Sanskrit Grammar** was published in 1889 in lithograph and was for a long time the only means of studying Sanskrit through the medium of Russian.

Minayeff deals with the questions of general linguistics in a number of reviews of well-known works of eminent European linguists of his time. Occasionally he directed his attention also to a few special and hitherto unexplored regions of linguistics—for example, phonetics.

As a linguist-Indologist Minayeff also commented on works devoted to different Indian languages. In particular, he wrote a review of the articles of Franz Miklosich on dialects and

wanderings of Gypsies<sup>1</sup> wherein the part of their migration has been traced and the Indian origin of the language of the Gypsies, convincingly proved.

On the borderline between the purely linguistic and philological works of I. P. Minayeff stand his numerous publications of texts of old Sanskrit and Pali authors. His very first contribution "Pratimoksha Sutra" includes in it the publication of such a text. Throughout the entire course of his scientific activities Minayeff devoted attention to the publication of ancient Indian texts. They were printed either in Petersburg, for example, "Mahavyutpatti" etc. or in the "Journal of the Pali Text Society" in London. Publication of these texts had a great bearing on the development of Indology.

II. **HISTORICO-LITERARY WORKS:** The most important of his works devoted to the history of literature are his work on Pali Metrics and his "Essay on the most important monuments of Sanskrit Literature"<sup>2</sup>, the latter being for a long time the only means of acquaintance with the history of ancient Indian literature through the medium of Russian. A part of the works devoted to the history of literature is preserved in the legacy of manuscripts left by Minayeff.

III. **CONTRIBUTIONS ON FOLK-LORE:** A very important portion of his scholarly work is represented by his works on Folk-lore. His chief contribution in this regard is—"Indian Tales and Legends, collected in Kumaun in 1875"<sup>3</sup>. The tales, which have been translated into Russian and printed, are intended for "specialists who are either occupied with the comparative study of the monuments of people's creative work or interested in all kinds of new ethnographical materials". The author considers—and quite rightly—that the tales are "remarkable for their genuine naivety and originality". In the preface Minayeff gives short historical and geographical notes about Kumaun, which lies on the slope of the Himalayas; speaks about its inhabitants and furnishes much interesting ethnogra-

1. Franz Miklosich. *Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, I—VI, Wien, 1872—1876—Miklosich. *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeuner-Mundarten*, Wien, I, II, 1874, III, 1876. *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, LXXXIII Band, Heft III, IV. In *J.M.P.E.*, 1877, No. 3, pp. 190-194.

2. *General History of Literature*.. under the editorship of V. F. Korsh Vol. 1, part 1, *Literature of the Ancient East*. St. Petersburg 1880, pages 114-156.

3. *Indian Tales and Legends collected in Kumaun in 1875* by I. P. Minayeff, St. Petersburg 1876, XX—pages 249.

phical information. He dwells upon the folk-lore of Kumaun and the circumstances of its development in great detail. The collection contains translation of 47 tales which had been recorded in Pahari language, and of 23 legends.

India is a country which is noted for its unique wealth of folk-lore. Indian tales even in the middle ages had wide circulation in the East as well as in the West and enriched national creative work and literature of many peoples. Indology, however, is concerned mainly with tales and legends which had long ago been given literary shape in India. Even at the present time, in European Indology not many tales and legends are known, which have been written down directly from the lips of native story-tellers. Greater importance is, therefore, attached to the original notes of Minayeff. It is well-known that his contemporaries considered the tales and legends collected in Kumaun by Minayeff as extremely valuable. The original of Minayeff's record of the tales never came out in print.

His other works on folk-lore are based on the literary elaborations of the subjects of the tales, such as his "Indian tales".<sup>1</sup>

His work on "Jataka"<sup>2</sup> evokes considerable literary and historical interest. "Jataka" is an original Buddhist literary work in which rich folk-lore material is incorporated in the form of narration about the numerous rebirths of Buddha. I. P. Minayeff was one of the first Indologists of Europe who evaluated the great historical significance of this monument.

Minayeff's account of "Presentation of Folk-Dramas on Holi Festival in Almorah"<sup>3</sup> and a few other contributions form part of his work on Indian Folk-lore.

**IV. WORK ON THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM: A** number of Minayeff's fundamental works is devoted to the study of one of the oldest religions of India—Buddhism, which had long ago disappeared from that country but had been widely accepted in Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, China and other countries of the East. Minayeff's outstanding work "Pratimoksha Sutra" is the first fruit of his labours connected with the Buddhistic

1. J.M.P.E., 1874, No. 11, pages 68-104; 1876, No. 2, pages 368-403, No. 4, pages 314-340, No. 5, pages 69-97.

2. A few stories about the rebirths of Buddha. J.M.P.E. 1871, No. 11, pages 87-133. A few words on Buddhist Jataka. J.M.P.E., 1872, pages 185-224.

3. Published by S. Oldenburg in J.D.O., R.A.S., (Journal of the Department of Orientology, Russian Archaeological Society) V, 1890, St. Petersburg 1891, pages 290-300.

branch of his studies. Apart from the carefully prepared text and its Russian translation, this book contains an extensive preface which sets out the historical importance of the published document. This great scientific work was published with that exceptional care which distinguishes the publication of all the works of Minayeff.

The chief contribution of the scholar in this branch is his comprehensive work **Buddhism: Investigations and Materials.**<sup>1</sup> The first issue contains "Introductions about sources" and the second, a few Sanskrit texts. The author himself considered this work to be a careful study. I. P. Minayeff had time only to print the first volume which was published towards the end of his life, when he had already acquired deep and many-sided knowledge of the history of Buddhism, based on his study of its sources in Sanskrit and Pali languages.

The first two issues, in the words of the author, "must be regarded as an introduction to the exposition of the Buddhist doctrine in its historical sequence". The author wished ". . . . . to explain the question of antiquity of the earliest sources and to present to the reader a general outline of Buddhism in its ultimate evolution . . . . ." He considered it necessary to "subject once again to scrutiny the conclusions and conditions which were almost generally accepted by the latest research workers". In the opinion of the author, before an exposition of the Buddhist system can be made, "it is essential to put to some critical examination the available information about the earliest fate of the Buddhist community and its holy scriptures, and to determine their character and also the time at which they first became available. . . ."

In the first issue the author subjected to a critical examination the history of ancient Buddhism, its institutions and its doctrines, organization and basic religious and philosophical conceptions. In this connection he examined the history of the ancient Buddhist monasteries and spoke about the heretical doctrines and split in the internal organizations of Buddhism. Examination of the problems of Buddhism is bound up with the study of ancient monuments of Buddhist art (Bharhut Stupa, Bharhut images), and also the inscriptions of Asoka, which are preserved in different Prakrits. Only a great and versatile scholar could fulfil such a task as this in the field of history of

1. **Buddhism. Investigations and materials.** Work of I. P. Minayeff, Vol. 1. Issue 1. Introduction: about sources, pages 280. Issue II, XII. pages 159, St. Petersburg 1877.

Buddhism. This work of Minayeff has been translated into French.

The second issue of the first volume contains reproduction of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts having great bearing upon the history of Buddhism. Each text was published on the basis of numerous old manuscripts.

Owing to the untimely death of Minayeff, researches on Buddhism remained incomplete. After the death of Minayeff some portions of the existing materials were published by his pupil Academician S. F. Oldenburg under the title "Materials and Notes on Buddhism".

Intensive research on Buddhism was preceded by a series of works dealing with different problems relating to the history of ancient Buddhism, for example, "Information about Jains and Buddhists"<sup>1</sup>, "Community of Buddhists Monks"<sup>2</sup>, "Message to the Disciple. Work of Chandragomin"<sup>3</sup> and a few others.

**V. HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHICAL WORKS:** The last group consists of geographical works which deal mainly with the geography of India.

It is clearly seen from the Diaries of Minayeff that the study of geography occupied his thoughts throughout the span of his scientific pursuits, as much in his student days as after the conclusion of his University education. Minayeff made contributions dealing with different questions of geography throughout the course of his life; they marked the beginning and the successful conclusion of his creative journey.

The humanitarian character of Minayeff's education determined the historical approach of his geographical pursuits. Physical geography did of course interest him but he frankly admitted his inadequacy in this respect and as a person applying himself strictly to his own scientific work never once trespassed into domains which, he felt, were beyond his competency.

**Geographical Studies of Mongolia**, the work of his student days, marks the beginning of his geographical pursuits. In the opinion of the reviewer this work can be characterized as "a monumental work which surpasses all expectations and more than meets all the requirements of the Faculty"<sup>4</sup>.

1. J.M.P.E., 1878, No. 2 pages 241-276.
2. J.M.P.E., 1879, No. 1 pages 1-35.
3. J.D.O., R.A.S., IV, pages 29-52.

4. Annual ceremonial Symposium of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg held on the 8th of February, 1861. Report on the condition and scientific activities of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg for the year 1860, pages 68-71, 87.

His work **Information about the Countries on the Upper Reaches of Amu Darya**<sup>1</sup>, written nearly twenty years after the work of his student days, also dealt with questions of historical geography. In the preface the author points out that "the countries, which have actually been surveyed in the present work beginning from near Bactria on the West and ending with Pamir on the East, lie between the Russian border on the north and Hindukush on the south." The territory described above is included, in part, in that 'neutral strip' which was commissioned to defend the British Indian rule against imaginary external alarms and was the subject of prolonged diplomatic negotiations a few years ago. The scientific interest, apart from the political, connected with the study of these countries is very great. The author goes on further to speak about the importance of the study of this part of Asia for the sake of geography and natural science. "But the ethnographer, the linguist, the archaeologist and the historian—each one of them fixes his attention equally eagerly on these little-known but curious regions" (IV).

Deep interest in historical geography is created by his short article, "New Facts concerning the Relations of Ancient India with the West"<sup>2</sup>. The article is based on an ancient text in Pali which bears testimony to the existence of India's trade relations with Babylon.

Minayeff's voluminous work—the translation of "Travel of Marco Polo"<sup>3</sup>—also speaks of his wide scientific interest in the questions of historical geography.

This work was concluded by him in the later years of his life. It saw the light only after the death of the translator.

Amongst his works on historical geography is the short but very valuable article, "Forgotten Path to China"<sup>4</sup> which appeared as a review of the "Fourth visit of N. M. Przevalsky to Central Asia". The author of the article lays before himself the task of . . . "explaining the archaeological and ethnographi-

1. **Information about the Countries on the Upper Reaches of Amu Darya**, by I. P. Minayeff. St. Petersburg, 1879, VIII and 270 pages, together with a map of Pamir and adjoining countries.

2. J.M.P.E., 1870, No. 8, pages 225-239. See also *Buddhistische. Fragmente, Melanges Asiatiques*, 1872, VI, pages 577-599.

3. I. P. Minayeff. *Travel of Marco Polo*. Translation of old French Text. Publication of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society under the editorship of V. V. Bartold, St. Petersburg, 1902, XXIX and 355 pages.

4. J.M.P.E., 1889, No. 7 pages 168-189.



cal importance of those places which Przevalsky passed through in the third stage of his journey, from Lob to Khotan . . .” (168). “Przevalsky,” continues Minayeff, “went along the road once trodden by Marco Polo, and by his observations and accounts once more acknowledged the magnitude of the achievement of the Great Venetian”. (169) The review contains a number of very interesting and important additions to the findings of Przevalsky. As is the case with many other reviews of Minayeff, this article presents itself, in essence, as an independent contribution on historical geography by a distinguished expert.

Amongst his contributions relating in equal measure to history and historical geography, two dealing with the relations between India and Russia occupy prominent places.

His great work **Ancient India**<sup>1</sup> deals with “Voyage Beyond Three Seas” of Afanasi Nikitin. Minayeff points out that the man from Tver, Afanasi Nikitin, was “a wonderfully clever and observant traveller . . . Afanasi Nikitin skips over many things . . . . But everything important he treats intelligently . . . . Many valuable facts necessary for an insight into the life of ancient India and observed by his contemporaries, who went to India, find place in the memoirs of Afanasi Nikitin. The memoirs of the Russian traveller, Afanasi Nikitin, compare not unfavourably with the geographical documents of the 15th and 16th centuries. Yielding often to the writers of those documents in the beauty of exposition and the wealth of factual details, Nikitian the man of Tver, far and away excels many of them in impartiality, lucidity and keenness of observation; correctness of observation and sobriety, for which all his information is distinguished, give us the right to compare his travel notes with the notes of the most outstanding travels of ancient times.” (2).

Intended originally to be a commentary on the “Voyage” of Nikitin, Minayeff’s **Ancient India** appears at the same time to be an outstanding work of research on the history of medieval India.

In the explanatory notes on the passages quoted by him from the “Voyage” Minayeff cites parallels from the works of ancient travellers as well as from the works of contemporary geographers, travellers and historians.

When mentioning any geographical name Minayeff gives a short historical account of the geographical place tracing it

1. I. P. Minayeff’s **Ancient India**. Notes on the Voyage Beyond Three Seas of Afanasi Nikitin St. Petersburg, 1881, 174 pages.

down to his own time. In essence, Minayeff makes an independent study of those geographical places and facts which were mentioned by Afanasi Nikitin. To the views of Afanasi Nikitin, Minayeff adds his detailed historical commentaries which still retain their scientific value.

Thanks to the work of Minayeff, in which we find a combination of his profound knowledge of historical geography, history, and archaeology of India, with his knowledge of Indian languages, and in an equal measure, with his knowledge of contemporary India and her mode of life, the "Voyage" of Afanasi Nikitin has become a reliable historical source.

The article "Russian thoughts about India in ancient times"<sup>1</sup> is very closely allied to his work **Ancient India**. This article was written in connection with the work of D. Kobeyko about the order of Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich to Muhummad Yusuf Kasimov, sent to the Court of the great Mughal Aurungzeb in 1675; all the same the article rouses interest by itself.

"In ancient Russia attempts were made more than once to establish an intercourse with India", says Minayeff. "In the interests of historical geography as well as of history of the Russians in Asia, it cannot but be desired that a collection, as comprehensive as possible, of documents resembling those published by Mr. Kobeyko should see the light at the earliest opportunity . . . Russian documents are curious, more so, because many of them relate to the epoch before the beginning of modern history of the East" (350). Referring to the failure of the mission of Yusuf Kasimov he remarks: "But even after him attempts were made in Moscow to establish contacts with India; Russian people more than once tried to reach there both by sea and land routes" (355). "All the information about another Russian traveller in India, Simon Malenki, (end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century) has also not been brought to light. He visited Agra and presented himself before the Great Mughal in Delhi . . ." The author goes on to say: "Merchant of a hundred drawing rooms, Simon Malenki was sent to India for selling the Tsar's treasures and wares and for buying all kinds of Indian goods for use in the Tsar's household. A few people were also sent with him; some returned to their native land and one, namely, Andrei Semennoff even disclosed some facts about his sojourn in India" (356).

1. J.M.P.E., 1884, No. 10, pages 349-359.

In "Russian thoughts about India in ancient times" Minayeff briefly reconstructs the history of Russian voyages to India, partly on the basis of archive materials, and speaks about the routes adopted by merchants and envoys in their travels to Afghanistan and India.

The works arising out of the three trips to India of Minayeff himself are of very great interest.

As a result of his first trip three articles and a big book dealing with contemporary India saw the light. The first article, "In Bihar"<sup>1</sup>, deals with that part of India—Bihar—which in ancient times witnessed the highest development of Buddhism, and where Buddhism maintained its sway longer than in any other province of India. It is, therefore, understandable why Bihar aroused very strong interest in Minayeff whose centre of Indological interests was held by Buddhism. In the province of Bihar he visited cities which figured most prominently in the history of early Buddhism: Nalanda, Rajgriha (Rajgir), and Gaya. He describes the contemporary condition of these ancient centres of Buddhist culture, speaks about archaeological monuments and archaeological works and provides historical information about each city he visits. Apart from furnishing historical and historico-archaeological data Minayeff, briefly but with exceptional clarity, speaks about the contemporary situation of the country and characterizes the relationship obtaining between the Britishers and the Indians. "Between the natives and the Britishers gapes such an abyss that it is not possible for anybody now to throw a bridge across" (20) . . . "Morally estranged and hating each other, the Britisher and the Indian although inhabiting the same city live far away from each other" (22). Subtle remarks of the author, such as these, go to show his deep understanding of ancient and contemporary India.

The other article "From the tour of India"<sup>2</sup> in its first part 'Brahmos' deals with the socio-religious movement started in the beginning of the 19th century "amongst people who had had European education" (194). Minayeff notices the activities of Rammohun Roy, Debendranath Tagore and Keshabchandra Sen towards reform, and sets out the basic principles of the teachings of the Brahma Samaj. The second part of this article carries the name 'Mathura'. Mathura is one of the most ancient cities of India, one of the holiest places for Jains and Vaishnavas and a city linked with the legends of the life of Krishna. Minayeff

1. J.M.P.E., 1876 No. 11, pages 1-29.

2. J.M.P.E., 1876 No. 12, pages 194-236.

gives a historico-archaeological note on the city and speaks about the then condition of the ancient historical monuments. But the archaeological antiquity does not shut out the present from the author's view. He speaks about the newly opened branch railway line, about Indian passengers and about the community ownership of land (218-219).

The third article "In Nepal"<sup>1</sup> deals with Nepal. The author furnishes sufficiently detailed information about the physical geography of this country, little known at that time, and writes about its history and the numerous legends which supplement the meagre historical data and about the religious faiths of the people in which creeds of Buddhism, Hinduism and local primitive religions were interwoven. Data given by him about the contemporary economic and political condition of the country, the multi-tribal nature of the population and their occupations and modes of life are of special interest.

The results of his first journey to Ceylon and India are systematized in **Sketches of Ceylon and India**<sup>2</sup>, the principal work of Minayeff as traveller. This work consists of two parts: 'In Ceylon' and 'Sketches of India'. The part devoted to Ceylon consists of six chapters (I From Galle to Gambantota, II Colombo and Buddhist monks, III Kurunegala and the Silver Monastery, IV Anuradhapura and the Environs; V Kandi; VI Excursion to Alut Nuvara and Ceylonese traits). 'Sketches of India' contains eight chapters (I In Bihar; II Nepal; III In Kumaun, Almorah and Almorah singers; IV Northern and North-Western Frontiers of India, Passages to India; V British Laws in India VI Mathura and the Vaishnavas; VII Muslims in India; VIII Young India and Brahmos).

In the preface to the first part it is said: "The author . . . . spent nearly two years in India and on the island of Ceylon, went round practically the entire island and a considerable portion of Northern India, from Calcutta to Lahore. He visited Bihar, Nepal, Kumaun, some parts of the Punjab and Rajputana and concluded his Indian tour at Bombay. A part of the notes written during his travels was printed in different periodical publications and has now been incorporated in this book in a somewhat revised form; a few chapters, however, appear for the first time here . . . . The author aimed at retelling

1. Messenger of Europe, 1875, No. 9-10, pages 297-318.

2. I. P. Minayeff. Sketches of Ceylon and India. From the travel notes of a Russian. Parts I-II St. Petersburg 1878, Part I, V and 284 pages; Part II, 238 pages.

only those of the things witnessed by him for the appreciation of which he considered himself to be pre-eminently equipped" (1).

The author points out that his attention was mainly directed to one aspect of Indian life—the religious. It is difficult to imagine a traveller as much equipped to study this particular aspect as I. P. Minayeff was. Having gone round almost the entire island of Ceylon including the remotest corners, the author draws a picture of the then condition of archaeological monuments, Buddhist temples, Stupas and other religious and architectural memorials. While describing this or that monument the author invariably gives a historical note based on earliest sources. But I. P. Minayeff does not only describe the religious and archaeological monuments. He also speaks a good deal about the mode of life and day-to-day existence there, and lucidly describes the state of culture in Ceylon. Speaking about the contemporary economic and social conditions of the island the author refers to the local chronicles and compares the island's decadence with its glorious past. With delicate but expressive touches the author delineates the mutual relationship between the Singhalese and British colonizers. His information about the survivors of the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon—the Veddas—evokes considerable interest.

The chapters dealing with India are no less interesting. Even those portions of the book which had been published earlier in journals were supplemented by new facts. For example, in the book Minayeff deals with the forms of land-ownership and tillage of the soil in India as well as in Ceylon. He also writes about the various strata of peasantry. He says, for instance, "in the district of Patna there are many landless farm labourers . . . reduced to a state of slavery. In South Bihar very often it so happens that a debtor either sells himself or his children into bondage" (195).

"Sketches of India and Ceylon" appears to be a book, the significance of which does not grow less by the passage of time, inasmuch as information contained in it was collected by a highly competent scholar. Of course, as has been pointed out above, in his first journey Minayeff's attention was directed chiefly to the study of Buddhism. The tasks which he had set before himself determined even the route of his travel: Ceylon with its ancient Buddhism; Bihar with its relics of early Buddhism and Buddhism of a later period; and Nepal where Buddhism still prevailed. The author devotes much of his attention to the monuments of Buddhism and archaeology in general, while speaking about the ruins of temples and ancient Buddhist cities, Stupas and other archaeological monuments.

At the same time the author furnishes a lot of data regarding contemporary India. He speaks about the inhabitants and their occupations, particularly about division of land, conditions and forms of land-ownership and tillage of the soil, wages of labour, mode of life and pastimes of the inhabitants, and about folk-lore. Colonial administration of the country and the relationship between the local inhabitants and the Britishers also engage the attention of the author. Such a wide comprehension of Indian life by an impartial and erudite traveller permits us to regard this book of Minayeff as one of the important sources of the study of the relevant parts of the country in the seventies of the 19th century.

During his second and third travels through India Minayeff applied his mind more to the problems of the day, but at the same time he continued his study of the material culture of Buddhism and the state of Buddhism in his time. He visited the famous monuments of Buddhist architecture and art (Ellora, Ajanta and others). In Burma he acquainted himself with the condition of Buddhist monasteries and libraries, the system of traditional Buddhist education and the condition of Buddhist religious community.

It is a matter of deep regret that the Diaries, which Minayeff was keeping of his travels of 1880 and 1885 and 1885-1886, were not compiled by himself. But even in the existing form the Diaries are of immense scientific value.

His article "Englishmen in Burma" was published as a result of his third trip. I. P. Minayeff visited Burma at a critical phase of its history—in the first days of the liquidation of independence of that country. In his article he gives a short historical note on Burma and speaks of the advent of Europeans, subjugation of the southern part of the country, the inhabitants of Burma, the agrarian problem, administration of the country and people's education.

The author found himself in Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, "soon after British troops had occupied it . . . . sovereignty passed into British hands without struggle and without resistance. But there was no peace in the country . . . 'bandits' (as the British used to call the Burmese partisans—A.B.) appeared on the scene". There is a vivid and picturesque description of the occupation of Mandalay, and looting of the properties of the inhabitants and the royal palace by British

troops. The information supplied by our traveller is of immense value to the historian.

Geographical researches of I. P. Minayeff and the results of his first-hand observations are supplemented by a series of reviews of real scientific value. Of this kind are his works "Nepal and its history"<sup>1</sup>, "Mode of life of tribal people in contemporary India"<sup>2</sup> "New Information about Kaffirs"<sup>3</sup>, "Landownership in contemporary India"<sup>4</sup>, and a few others. Like almost all the reviews of Minayeff these, too, are independent works, presenting interesting results of his personal observations.

I. P. Minayeff adorned the front row of the most eminent Indologists of his time. He was famous not only in Europe but also in India. His works on Indian linguistics helped the development of European and Indian sciences. His Pali Grammar was being used for the study of this language even in India. His historical works were valuable contributions towards the study of the history of medieval and modern India. On top of all this he was one of the founders of scientific study of Buddhism of the south.

During his travels I. P. Minayeff made a valuable collection of Indian manuscripts and objects of Indian art and its cults, preserved in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. The manuscripts are kept in the M. E. Saltikoff-Shchedrin State Public Library.

Notwithstanding his early demise I. P. Minayeff left not only a rich scientific heritage but also founded the first Russian School of Indology which produced specialists on folk-lore (S. F. Oldenburg) and on the study of Buddhism (F. I. Stcherbatsky), and philologists and linguists (D. Kudriavsky, N. D. Mironoff) and others.

The scientific activities of I. P. Minayeff, which ceased before time, form one of the most glorious chapters of the history of Russian Indology.

1. Review on History of Nepal . . . with an introductory sketch . . . by the editor Daniel Wright, Cambridge, 1877 J.M.P.E., 1878, No. 1, pages 61-85.

2. Review on A. Lyall. Asiatic studies. J.M.P.E. 1878, No. 3, pages 164-188.

3. Review on J. Biddulph: Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh, Calcutta 1880, J.M.P.E. 1882 No. 5, pages 139-157.

4. Review on B. S. Baden Powell: A manual of the land revenue systems and land tenures of British India. Calcutta 1882, J.M.P.E. 1883 No. 11, pages 135-152.





# DIARIES



## DIARY OF THE SECOND JOURNEY TO INDIA.

(January to May, 1880)

Coming from Perim,<sup>1</sup> we anchored at the bay off the African coast on the 10th of January, 1880, at about 10 o'clock or a little earlier than that. An Italian flag was fluttering on the shore. The bay and the entire coast was occupied by the Italian Company 'Rubattino<sup>2</sup>'. The coast belongs to the old province of Saba<sup>3</sup>. The two islands are called Margaritta and Gumbert. The captain tells us that the port has only mercantile importance.

La baie d'Assab\* is almost in the same latitude as Aden and at 43° eastern longitude.

**18th January:** Salar Jung<sup>4</sup> had Arab soldiers. The soldiers were unruly; did not want to submit to anyone excepting to their own commanders, in short, they were causing him trouble and Salar Jung wanted to get rid of them—to send them away from Nizam<sup>5</sup>. British Government came to his rescue; gave him money so that he would have the means to send them away from Nizam. But now the Deshmukhs<sup>6</sup> want them back. The Deshmukhs are convinced that only the Arabs can keep British soldiers at bay. British Government does not permit S.J. to

\*Bay of Assab.

conscript Arabs. On board the ship there are three Arabs who are going to Hyderabad<sup>7</sup>.

Salar Jung wanted to take a loan from Nicol and Co. He was forbidden<sup>8</sup> by British Government.

**20th January, 1880, Bombay.** Yesterday at 8-30 I went out to the shore. Bombay could not stir up in me such strong feelings as, I remember, Ceylon with its luxuriously green shores did.

It appeared to me as if I had left India only yesterday, but five years\* have already gone by since I left this same Bombay with regret,—with regret because I felt that little had been done in two years.

Some amount of satisfaction which I felt yesterday in the apartment of Watson's Hotel could be explained mainly by the fact that crossing the sea on board an Italian ship was not particularly pleasant.

Yesterday at dinner I happened to sit by the side of an Australian who could not boast of much elegance of manners.

My neighbour, coming to know that I was a Russian, began to talk about the possibility of a war between England and Russia<sup>9</sup>; then he frankly declared that Russia should join with British Government and that England was so powerful that she could cope with ten countries like Russia.

**20th idem: Convocation** was held today at the Bombay University.

I learnt about this in the morning from a newspaper and I wanted to set off without a ticket. But I was told at the Library of the Asiatic Society<sup>10</sup> that a ticket was necessary, and I was sent to the Registrar Mr. Peterson. There were no more tickets, but Mr. Peterson kindly permitted my entry.

The ceremony wore a somewhat strange, but in any event, a very curious spectacle.

The public were composed mainly of the natives; there were of course some Englishmen but they were in a conspicuous minority. The galleries were occupied exclusively by the natives.

\*Mistake: Only four years had elapsed (Ed.)

At 5-15 Sir R. Temple<sup>11</sup> made his appearance, led by the same Registrar and accompanied by his own suite.

He has aged since I saw him last. But the same moustache and Napoleon III beard were there. R.T. was followed by the honorary fellows and the staff of the University; everything the same as in English Universities.

In conclusion S.R.T. read out his speech. He read long, indistinctly and with extremely unpleasant diction.

And the ceremony terminated with this.

Indians with their turbans, Parsi caps and **gowns** thrown over their shoulders, presented a curious spectacle.

Among the spectators, there were (a good) few native women.

European influence! That's it!

**21st [January]** This morning I went to see the Governor. His Excellency was sleeping, but I met his Secretary, young Mr. Hart, and he was very kind.

At breakfast. In course of conversation my Australian neighbour asked an American, "Had you been to Russia?" He replied, "Yes". "What do you think of that country?" "A stupid place", he answered.

I disclosed my nationality. The American showered apologies.

**22nd January:** This morning I went to Mr. Peterson. In course of my talk with him I observed that here, in India, public opinion<sup>12</sup> was strongly antipathetic to Russia. He did not deny that.

Peterson expressed his desire to learn Russian.

In the evening I dined with Major Fitzgerald and there I became acquainted with Jacob.<sup>13</sup>

**24th [January]** Yesterday I attended a ball at Sir R. Temple's. The ball was monotonous and for me extremely boring. Of natives there were only 2 or 3 Parsis. I did not find any Indian.

This morning a young B[achelor of] A[rts] called on me. From the talk I had with him I learnt the following things about the life of the students.

Majority of the students are brahmans. A man of the middle class spends about Rs. 30 per month and lives decently; he pays Rs. 10 as **college fees**, a rupee for a room; he spends Rs. 15 for board.

There are also poor students who are striving for **scholarship\*** and giving lessons.

I met Professor Bhandarkar<sup>14</sup> today; we talked, among other things, about Brahmo Samaj<sup>15</sup>.

A vast majority of the Brahmos have parted ways with Keshab Chandra Sen<sup>16</sup>. The marriage of his daughter with the Raja of Cooch Behar<sup>17</sup> was performed according to Hindu rites. His friends at Bombay asked for clarification on this subject, but he was not pleased to answer their letters.

The Brahmos do not recognize the 'books of revelation' or, as he himself put it, 'infallible'<sup>18</sup> books. Some of the followers of Keshab Chandra Sen wanted to liken him to Christ, asserting that salvation was possible only through him. Arya Samaj is different from Prarthana Samaj<sup>19</sup> in so far as it acknowledges the infallibility of the Vedas, but at the same time in its congregations it devotes its attention chiefly to social problems.

I saw many photographs of inscriptions at Indra Lalji's<sup>20</sup> place. The inscriptions published by Cunningham<sup>21</sup>, are not correct, particularly the Kalsi inscription.

In Mathura, Indralalji found new Huvishka<sup>22</sup> inscriptions. He has also a big collection of Kshatrap<sup>23</sup> coins.

Peterson in course of conversation today blurted out that in India the **educated classes** are not contented, but not so the ordinary people. I think this is quite probable; the **riaiya** do not know, and quietly suffer **Ingrizi Raj**<sup>24</sup>.

In the evening I was driving through the city, saw Coffee Khana [Coffee house] and the temple near Mamba Devi tank<sup>25</sup>.

**25th January:** This morning at 11 o'clock I went to Shivram Sadashin Nadkarni at No. 5, Jambulwadi, to see the students' hostel.

They live in four rooms in the upper floor. There are

\*In the present case "for getting education".

four of them. For the rooms they pay Rs. 11; they have two servants who together have to be paid Rs. 7. Two of them are brahmans, the other two belong to some other castes. The brahmans do not dine with their comrades, but they have only one cook. They did not admit me into the kitchen.

The rooms looked curious, there being a complete absence of furniture in those low rooms. A chair was brought for me. The boarders sat on the floor. Two of them are preparing for the law examination and they read Strange's books<sup>26</sup>.

There are orthodox brahmans also in the college, but they are in an insignificant minority.

While we were talking, an indigent student came in. He gives lessons in Latin language in a family of a Parsi and receives Rs. 20 for this. He is the son of a clerk and has been supporting himself throughout the period of his study. He was educated at St. Xavier's school. In the beginning he was living with the family "all found", and teaching the children for board, lodging and Rs. 5 per month.

It is difficult for college students to find accommodation. The authorities dislike them for their independence. People receiving university education are held in suspicion by the British authorities. But this suspicion, which is shared even by the present head of the Education Dept., is not well-grounded. The youth are independent but loyal. They serve more willingly under British administration than under native.

Poor people go to colleges and people belonging to well-to-do classes rarely go there. I asked them whether they had been to the Convocation. The answer was "no"; it was difficult to secure tickets. Requests [for tickets] by the natives are not even replied to by the Registrar.

**26th January:** Yesterday evening I went to the Prarthana Samaj Mandir. I arrived there at about 5 o'clock and found about 5 persons in the Mandir. I sat down by the side of a visitor. He did not appear to belong to the Society and had come in just to listen. I began to talk to him. He is a teacher in a private school. He is also teaching English in

a night school. There are about 30 pupils in this school, including some Sepoys.

The service began at 5 o'clock. Singing was accompanied with instrumental music, one was playing on the piano there and another on a national instrument which was mentioned to me as a Tambura(?). Singing was quite pleasant. The service continued till 7 o'clock. The sermon lasted about an hour. The whole ceremony was on the pattern of the ceremony of the Unitarians.

The Mandir itself was very simple and bare of all decorations. There were a few rows of chairs and benches in the large room.

All present sang in chorus.

Among those present there was a lady. An Indian Nihilist: Majority of the persons present at the meeting yesterday were non-members. There were about fifty ladies.

Women of Bombay, particularly of Gujerat, are not **purdahnashin**.

I had been to Elphinstone's College<sup>27</sup> today. The Principal, with whom I had a talk, remarked that there were feelings of strong antipathy in India against Russia these last 3 or 4 years; but this antipathy was particularly marked in military circles. Besides, the Principal also observed that in Bombay there were very few people belonging to the liberal party, about 5 people, and they were accused of lack of patriotism.

The Principal observed that in his college he did not encourage religious tendencies, not even Brahmoism. Indians are much too inclined towards mysticism.

Theosophical society is not altogether spiritual. Blavatskaya<sup>28</sup> calls herself a Countess.

**27th January:** In recent years much is being written in Indian newspapers<sup>29</sup> about Russia. Mere interest in daily events cannot explain this phenomenon. All news, communicated, are calculated to undermine the credit of Russia and to lower her in the eyes of the native population.

The signs of interrogation (in brackets) here and farther on appear in the original text of the diaries (Ed.).



**29th January:** This morning a Mysore Pandit called on me; he brought his own book of Geography in which he tries to prove and, according to his own belief, has actually proved, that there is, in fact, information about America in the Mahabharat.

In the evening Prof. Kunte came accompanied by his son, Shastri,<sup>30</sup> and the same Mysore Pandit.

We talked about Buddhism. Although the Professor was not at all well-read in this subject, he was interested in Buddhism. He had been to the island of Ceylon—Colombo and Kandi; brought back some manuscripts from there and he had read Lalitavistara<sup>31</sup>.

During our talk I touched upon the hatred, which is at present noticeable in Britishers, towards Russia. The natives, in the words of the professor, do not share this hatred. It is difficult to ascertain the real feeling of the natives. Either they do not speak out their minds or they do not speak the truth. There is however no doubt that they regard the Afghan War with extreme apathy.

Kunte, like many native scholars, looks upon European Orientalists with disdain. This trait is noticeable in a lesser degree in Prof. Bhandarkar and Shankar P. Pandit<sup>32</sup>, both of whom are men of great tact. Kunte said plainly that European Orientalists were superficial.

**31st January:** Kasinath Telang<sup>33</sup> was with me just now. He is very young and handsome. Speaks English glibly but with strong national accents. He appears to be very nice. In course of discussion he touched upon the Afghan War; the war, according to him, was senseless, there was no necessity for starting it and above all India would be saddled with the cost. The natives learn about Russia only through English newspapers, and, of course, do not like us enough. The Britisher's notion that in India the educated classes alone are discontented is entirely false. The cultivator is discontented. This discontentment has not of course reached an active stage in the process of its development, but it exists and is growing.

Reasons for this discontentment boil down principally to

high rates of taxation, reaching up to 4s. (shillings) per capita.

Subsidiary reasons: ban on exploiting the forests; **Licence Act**<sup>34</sup>. A village barber, sometimes earning not even three rupees a month, has to pay much more than that amount. High rates of taxation on land. Payment of taxes to be made with money and not with the yields of nature. In our discussion we referred to the social problems. Widow marriage created serious unrest in the native society. Specially, the women took up their arms against this movement. A few threatened to fast unto death, if their husbands would attend a widow marriage.

Of Brahmos i.e., those openly belonging to this sect, there are not many. In Bombay altogether not more than a hundred people. But secretly sympathetic, there are many more. The believers look upon the Brahmos with indifference.

About two years ago, Prof. Bhandarkar arranged a **Kirtan** or in other words, a sermon with music and song. This was very much liked by the old believers. Many of them think that in the new movement there is a good deal that is old.

Vasudev knew a little English and was serving the British. Even being in British service he very freely expressed his views on British Government. He was betrayed by the dacoits who had been arrested by the police.

Press laws<sup>35</sup> strike one as being unjust as much as iniquitous; not the same measures are applied in the cases of the natives and the Britishers.

Half of the British population in Bombay is composed of barristers. The natives more willingly have a British barrister, naively imagining that a British Judge would sooner listen to his own brother—the white barrister. In view of the high salaries enjoyed by British officials, the incidence of taxes is felt particularly by the uneducated masses.

Salt<sup>36</sup> is taxed. There is prohibition against manufacture of salt from sea-water and, gathering of leaves and brushwood in the forest.

British officials do not like people with university education for their independence.



**"SLEEP OF MAYA".** Relief on the pillar of the wall of Bharhut Stupa (III—II centuries B.C.).



**AVALOKITESWARA** Stone statue from Gandhar (I—III centuries A.D.).

**3rd February:** Yesterday evening I came to Poona and I am stopping at Napier Hotel. The hotel is quite dirty and the rooms are uncomfortable.

I was travelling from Bombay in the company of a merchant. We talked, among other things, about the Afghan War, and my companion remarked that the Afghan War should not have been started, it would bring nothing but losses, and even assuming the best possible outcome of it, annexation of a poor country like Afghanistan could not in any way be profitable. Telang frankly declared that to start the war had been absurd.

On the eve of my departure from Bombay I went to Pandit Guttulalji. I arrived at his place at about 5 o'clock. The Pandit was in the oratory. I was led to his room. A large room. In the centre stood a small table with writing materials on it. In a few minutes a blind man was brought in. Many visitors had gathered in the room, including even those who, it appeared, were strangers to the house. We took our seats and an absolutely banal conversation in Sanskrit commenced. Thereafter tests of improvisation were held.

I was asked a few questions about Russia: about the railways and so on.

At the end the Pandit presented to me a book—a description of the ceremony held in his honour on the 17th of August, 1879.

This morning I was driving around Poona; the city of the natives has a very poor look. The houses for the most part are mud-houses. At 1 o'clock today I went to the Deccan College<sup>37</sup>. Examined Jain manuscripts; I chose one and wanted to get a copy of the same, this gave rise to a curious talk with the Principal Mr. Oxenham<sup>38</sup>. He insisted that I should approach Dr. Buhler<sup>39</sup> for materials about the Jains and when I observed that I could have the very same materials from native scholars, he vehemently disputed it. Dastoor<sup>40</sup>, who was present at the discussion, did not at all like Oxenham's remark. When we came out of Oxenham's room, Dastoor in his turn remarked: "These Britishers do not understand anything".

In the evening three students came to me. We went on talking for about two hours.

All the three expressed the same opinion about Phadke<sup>41</sup>; the end was noble, but the means stupid. They had attended court, and may be, they too had shouted "**Phadke ki jai**" (Victory to Phadke). Dissatisfaction with the British is also noticeable in them; the very same complaints that one so often hears: (1) higher posts are not available to the natives, (2) poor people suffer on account of taxes. Taxes are heavy. They are not reduced even during famine years and this never happened under the native rulers; (3) India's wealth is making its way to England.

To my question to them about the Afghan War they replied that they did not know the truth about this war because the Government would not disclose full information.

The students live in rooms in the college: they have to pay 12 rupees for board and lodging, 5 rupees for college fees, 4 [rupees] in five months for service.

There is no surveillance on the students. The seniormost student has control over them. There are no restrictions. They leave their beds at 5 o'clock in the morning; from 11 to 4 lectures, with breaks. They can amuse themselves in the evenings. One rarely comes across a waster amongst them.

In the evening at dinner we had a discussion about the Afghan War; my interlocutors expressed their conviction that a war between Russia and England in Afghanistan was inevitable. Forces are being mobilized in Afghanistan, in large numbers.

**4th [February]** Today I went to see the temple on Parvati hill. The temple, which was built in the middle of the last century, does not look at all interesting. In the principal temple stands the image of Mahadeva with silver feet, in the other temples attached thereto, there are marble idols. A broad stone staircase reaches up to the summit and one can climb it on an elephant. Prince Vallisky climbed the hill in this manner. He gave five hundred rupees to the brahmans. Duke Sauterlensky gave them one hundred. The brahman who was relating this to me regretted very much that at that

time he and his comrades did not know that Duke Sauterlensky was much more rich than the Prince; it seemed as if the brahmans were ready to ask for the balance from the Duke. They took three rupees from me.

The brahmans escorting me were talking in English. One of them for some reason walked into the Christian Church.

Said about Phadke: "A fool. Ruined himself for nothing!" But the suffering of the poor is not denied even here.

Near the temple are the charred walls of the palace of the Peshwas<sup>42</sup>, running all around. The brahmans showed me the window through which Baji Rao watched the battle of Kirki<sup>43</sup>. Half way to the top they showed me the cremation ground of the last widow who became a **Suttee**<sup>44</sup>. At the foot of the hill there is a vast lake; from the top the view is really magnificent. British Government have confiscated lands belonging to the temples and in lieu they are giving annual subsidy for maintaining the temples.

I went to the Deccan College today; examined a part of the Jain manuscripts; went to the students' rooms. The rooms are of the same size, but differently done. Which room belongs to a well-to-do student can at once be seen; in it there is a bed with a mosquito net; the number of books is much larger. The books are mostly English. One comes across amongst them Spencer, Darwin, Mill, Draper, but along with them also the Theosophical Journal published by Madame Blavatskaya who is called the Countess here:

An Indian is an eternal mystic; he continues to admire Spencer and at the same time is devoted to spiritualism.

Today I heard Nobada being played and Sanskrit shlokas<sup>45</sup> sung.

Indian students are much milder and quieter than our students. After the lectures they do not remain under observation. I should like to see what would happen in the dormitories of our universities under such circumstances.

After dinner there was a talk on education; my interlocutor, an Englishman, finds that education is not necessary

for the natives. They get spoilt and become dissatisfied: this is the gratitude from these cattle!

In one room the students showed me an album. Among the notables was Phadke.

**5th February:** Yesterday evening, looking for the editor of the Deccan Star, I went to a house where the New English School<sup>46</sup> is located. The editor is a teacher here. This house belongs to a descendant of Nana Farnavis<sup>47</sup>. The family has now become impoverished and receives a small pension from the Holkar. Generally speaking, there are in Poona numerous legends of Maratha rule. There is hardly a house worth the name where there is no legend or some sort of a link with the recent past. Shivaji's palace was burnt down last year. The editor, who visited me today, turned out to be a friend of Phadke. He was even produced before court. The talk with him was not uninteresting. Strong, though not active, dissatisfaction with the British Government.

The Famine Funds<sup>48</sup> were frittered away in the Afghan War.

The Kunbis<sup>49</sup> pay 2½ rupees as taxes and have an income of 4 rupees. Taxes with all their severity descend upon the cultivator. Out of a thousand cultivators not more than four can read and write. They do not know about the Vernacular Press. Vernacular newspapers are read only by the Kalkarni<sup>50</sup>, but he is appointed by the Government and is of course on the side of the latter.

Removal of import duty told not only upon the mill-owners<sup>51</sup>, i.e. rich people, but also on the poor depriving them of their means of livelihood.

Spirit of discontentment is very much widespread amongst the students of the Deccan College and so is the spirit of independence.

Licence tax mainly affects the poor. Indian money makes its way to Britain.

**7th February:** Hyderabad: Reached Hyderabad yesterday evening. Stopping at a hotel located at Secunderabad.

This morning I set out in the company of a brahman to see



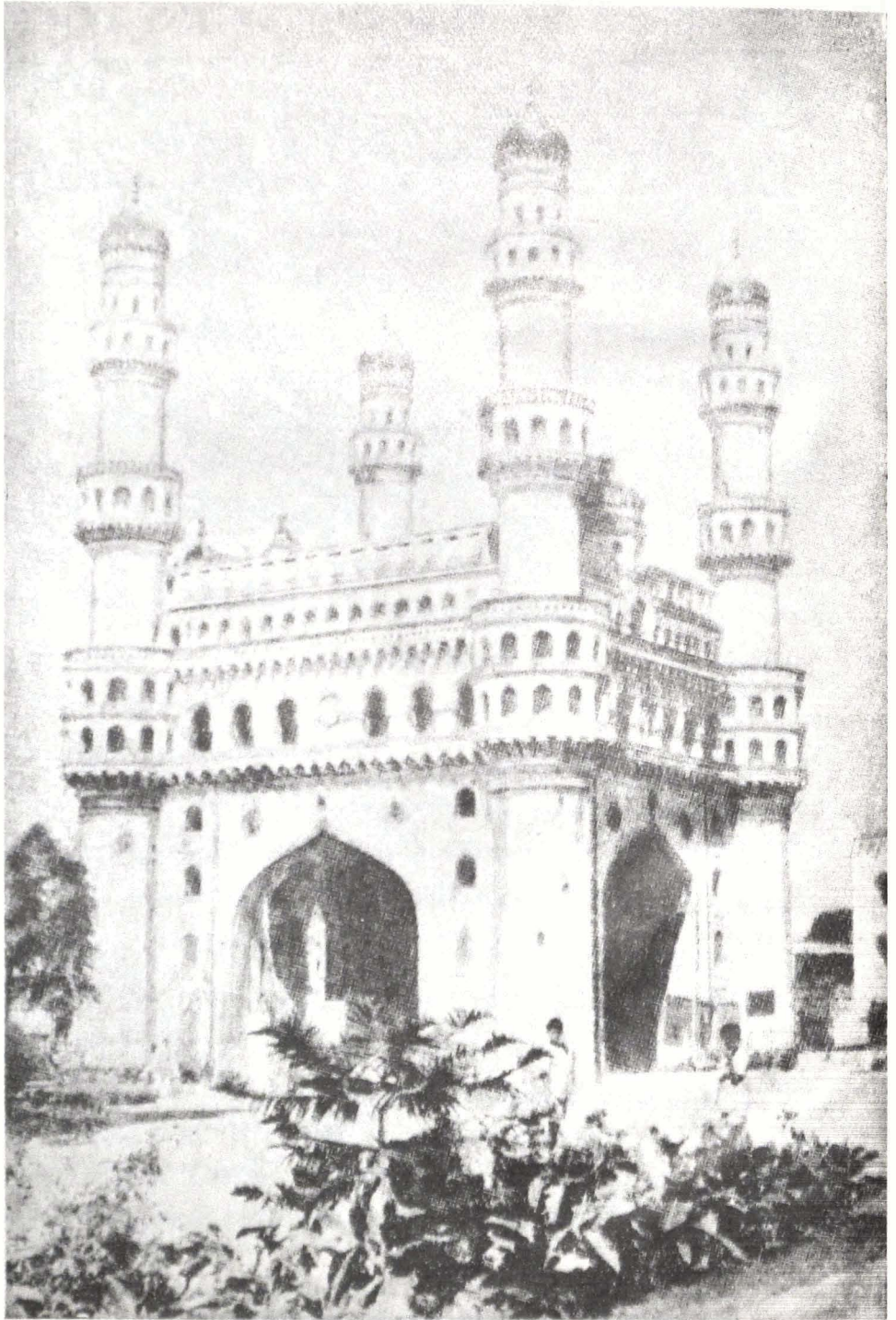
Недовольство между турками и англичанами.  
 После замирания у Р. отъехали в город. Там в <sup>такой</sup> <sup>разной</sup>  
 Сивахе. Разговорились об афганской войне. Афганская  
 война ведется не с целью безопасности индийских  
 границ не для Индии, но для английских владений на  
 азиатских землях.

Тогда же имел место, высшие намерения, чудачу  
 его не трудно было предсказать.

По дороге в Турку на сивахе ваджа вала с Махорова К.  
 Указывая мне в одном месте на Таблебадские плоско-  
 горы; он сказал: „вот это мы оставили Аузану, вез  
 у нас Бераар! Бераар взят для завоевания, делая Табоуча  
 гекк, там же мане Самар-Хану не удалось получить  
 назад Бераара. А за этим он едет в Сивахе.

Сивахе, состоящие на службе Низака, пожелав  
 болоние хановане и осле знаменитые подарил  
 15<sup>го</sup> февраля Мера везеро судиский уезд Голем-Кад.

Дорога туда осле живописна и хороша. Особливо  
 ваданой в орам Махорова присылки двуконки <sup>горы</sup>  
 на слани холма. Там губернатора не велики, кофур  
 обширные сады. Воврал, Турдей, вкоре после это  
 гажока, вкоре он вкоре быть вкоре красив.  
 Эти двуконки губернаторов, это земли для Вези-Лорав.  
 В отрасли на индийские земли, должишь, сию  
 колотв глава тузсман.



“CHAR MINAR” in Hyderabad.

Secunderabad and Hyderabad where Salar Jung, the Bismarck of India, rules.

Hyderabad is a clean oriental city; the most notable thing here is its population; it is a mixed one and, seems to be very warlike.

In the streets we came across soldiers in large numbers.

We also came across elephants. It is said that there are about 200 elephants here.

I saw the Nizam's palace, Salar Jung's palace "**Char Minar**"<sup>52</sup>. The roads are wide, but there are no beautiful buildings. The most beautiful is the Char Minar.

On my way to Hyderabad I noticed a few forts on the roadside. These forts were built in the villages to resist the Marathas.

On the day of my departure for Poona a student came to see me. The **Deccan Star** is little read by students.

Indian History is read in brief in English, and for some years the subject is not studied at all.

All the subjects without exception are taught in English. The students talk among themselves in English and very seldom in Marathi.

**8th February:** Yesterday at 3-30 I drove to the Residency to meet Captain Wilson<sup>53</sup>. The reception was officially polite. Wilson arrived in Hyderabad in November last year and, according to his own admission, has very little acquaintance with the country.

His wife came in while we were talking. I was introduced to her. The conversation was not interesting even before; but with the arrival of the lady the talk became even smaller and revolved round 'heat'.

All official correspondences with the Nizam are carried on in Persian and English languages, exactly as in legal proceedings.

The Residency is a big building, or more correctly, a cluster of numerous buildings amidst luxurious gardens.

This morning I drove to Balaram<sup>54</sup> where I saw the Hindu

temple of the same name. The temple is not at all remarkable. All the brahmans whom I saw here—the Telinga Brahmans—are from Madras. Many of them were talking in English and not one in Sanskrit. One young [brahman] remarked that Madrasi brahmans were now studying English more willingly.

On my way back to the hotel I saw the barracks; construction of these huge buildings must have cost many a pound sterling.

I was informed today that one of the wives of Salar Jung was an English woman: he had picked her up in his last trip to Europe; his Secretary is also an Englishman.

Yesterday I heard that Salar Jung was very much in debts. He is indebted practically to all the bankers of the city, just as the Nizam Government is. The Parsis occupy the key positions here, and only two of the Sardars<sup>55</sup> are Marathi. The Hindus, it is evident, are not held in favour here, only the most wealthy and illustrious being the exceptions.

The proprietor of my hotel now informs me that Salar Jung has only three wives and he has neither an English wife nor an English mistress.

**9th February:** This morning Dastoor Rustomji<sup>56</sup> was with me. The old man came riding a horse. He is handsome and apparently quite a decent person. He speaks softly and with some affectation.

He was with me for half an hour and during our talk touched upon the Afghan War. I asked him, "What do the people of Hyderabad think about the war?" "Opinion is divided", he replied, "some consider this war to be unjust." He was very reserved on this subject, although it was he who first started talking about it, and opined that much would depend upon the ultimate result of the Afghan War.

I observed that apparently the native treated Afghan War with the utmost indifference. "Do you think so?" he asked me. And then added that the natives understood very well how closely dependent was British rule in India upon success in the Afghan War.

I said that there was no doubt about the ultimate success of the British. "Yes", he answered, "they will win, but what would this war cost....."

I went to the school where the sons of Salar Jung were reading. There were two of them in the school. The elder was reading Ferishta<sup>57</sup> in Persian. The younger was drifting from class to class and on my question whether he knew anything about Russia he answered in the affirmative. I asked "Where is Russia?" "To the north of India", he replied. "What are the cities in Russia?" "Constantinople", the boy promptly answered.

Mr. Crown informed me that he had eighteen boys in his school, and all, with the exception of two Hindus, were Muslims and sons of distinguished Hyderabadians.

In Hyderabad parents do not consider it their obligation to pay for the education of their children. The belief that the State is bound to meet the expenses of the education of children is so deep-rooted in the minds of the natives that Salar Jung has decided to admit boys free from next year and the upkeep of the school is going to cost about two thousand rupees.

The boys read English but not with ease. The sons of Salar Jung speak English, but very little. Salar Jung himself learnt English only during the last three years.

After this I went to Sir R. Mead's<sup>58</sup> and spent a sufficiently dull hour and a half in the company of Lady Mead. She was showing me photographs and the conversation was obviously not getting on.

**10th February:** This morning I went out of the house at about 5 and arrived at Captain Wilson's place at about 6. At 6-30 we set out for Golconda in a carriage sent by Salar Jung. The road to Golconda does not present anything of interest—just the same as the city itself. The roads which we had to ride through were ugly and full of mud. The Nawab's<sup>59</sup> palace I saw from a distance, from the fort.

We were taken to the fort, at its gates there was a forma-

tion of a guard of honour and Sir Salar Jung himself was waiting for us.

Sir S. J. looks a perfect gentleman and speaks English very well considering that he learnt this language, as Lady Mead was telling me yesterday, in his old age, only about three years ago.

He appeared somewhat tired and ill. His entourage were dressed in semi-European costume and almost all of them speak English. One of them, Mauivi Syed Hussain<sup>60</sup>, was very sympathetic and spoke English like an Englishman. I learnt from him, among other things, that the talk about Golconda diamonds was in all probability a myth created by the fame of wealth of the Golconda kings. Diamonds used to be extracted many years ago in Nizam (Hyderabad)—about 80 years ago—but at a different place.

The Golconda fort is indeed very interesting; we went up to the very top; the environs, seen from the top, present a magnificent spectacle.

The fort is curious primarily because access to the fort until very recent times was extremely difficult. Many of the members of Salar Jung's suite went inside the fort for the first time today. The Nawab is in Golconda and on the strength of this fact we were admitted into Bala Hissar. This fort, however, has no importance from the military point of view today. The view of the fort is picturesque both from far and near. To climb up to the top is extremely easy, but Mrs. Wilson had to be carried thither in a Shampan.

After seeing the fort we came down and went to Salar Jung's place for breakfast. Breakfast, or Chhotahazri, was prepared in the European style and a splendid breakfast it was. At the end of the breakfast each of us was given a glass of whipped cream with sugar and very fine but large round pieces of local bread (not thicker than a sheet of notepaper).

One comes across a few tombs while entering Golconda. They cannot however claim any elegance.

Salar Jung was very kind to me and although Captain Wilson was trying to draw him away from me he came near me and talked to me a few times.

**11th February:** Yesterday I dined with Sir R. Mead. The dinner was good but the talk small—there was a discussion about personalities I did not know, and apparently of very little account, about the natives drinking wine, about the Babu dining with Europeans. Here I heard again that many brahmans, particularly of the south, belong to the Masonic Lodge.

I am staying in Secunderabad where British troops are stationed over a stretch of twelve miles. The Residency is surrounded by the Nizam's soldiers.

New arrivals of Arabs are not permitted in the territory of the Nizam, not, as Wilson says, because of political considerations but because these are brigands and violent people.

**11th February:** I was driving through Hyderabad today. Undoubtedly the population of the city is the most remarkable thing here, it is at the same time most varied.

I met an Afghan who was in the service of the Nizam. I am mentioning him because, judging from his conversation with me, he has no clear idea about Russia. There are many Afghans in the employ of the Nizam.

**12th:** Yesterday I dined and slept at the house of Sir R. Mead.

The administration of the country has improved considerably during the last twenty years; nevertheless there is much to be desired yet. Bribery is very rampant here.

Today Major Campbell<sup>61</sup> related to me the following: Once a native belonging to the higher class of the society of the place came to him. The talk turned on holding local womenfolk behind the purdah. The native expressed his opinion against purdah and in proof of his sincerity brought his daughter the next day to visit Campbell's daughter. But the same native, in the wake of this, spread a rumour in the city that he had secured the favour

of the judge by selling his daughter to him and hence he was now in a position to influence the decision of the judge and of course he intended to exploit this for the benefit of those who would pay for the same.

In Nizam (Hyderabad) there are good many highly influential Sardars under whose patronage many plotters take cover.

The title "Patil" used to be very highly valued by the Holkars, and it caused Sir R. Mead much trouble to induce the Holkar to part with this title<sup>62</sup>.

This morning we drove to the artificial lake Mir Alam. When we arrived there, we found that a steamer was waiting for us. Rowing for a while on the lake we sat in the carriage and started for Mir Kabir's<sup>63</sup> place to have breakfast. It was an excellent breakfast with champagne, ice cream and many other delicacies and wines.

The host and his second son were present at breakfast. We were taken round his palace, shown Mir's menagerie, his collection of rare objects, musical boxes etc.

The palace of Mir Kabir is a fine specimen of residential houses of the native aristocracy which can very easily be characterized as being luxurious but not tastefully furnished.

Here I found a Zenana guard composed exclusively of women, and dressed like soldiers.

This *partie de plaisir* had a special feature. The guests never troubled about the hosts but were ordering about in the palace of the Mir, just as if they were in a hotel.

Thereafter we had **tiffin** at Sir R. M.'s.

Very little is generally said about the Afghan War; but today a few words were said. Lady M. spoke about the Bhil uprising and expressed her desire that the troops should not be removed from Secunderabad.

Practically all the soldiers have been removed from Poona.

**14th February:** Early in the morning today I returned to



Poona. Had breakfast with Major Rowlandson<sup>64</sup>. Talked about the natives.

The Nizam has a regular army only five thousand strong. The inhabitants of the city (Hyderabad) are brigandish, and in earlier times, say about 20 years ago, murders were so frequent a happening that to walk on the streets was not without its dangers. The population uptill today is armed. The irregular army of the Nizam is very badly equipped.

A feeling of dissatisfaction is very widespread among the natives.

After breakfast at R.'s place we started for the city. We went to the Shivaji Printing House. Talked about Afghan War. Afghan War is being prosecuted not for the safety of the Indian borders, nor for the sake of India, but for Britain's benefit and that with India's money.

Phadke had honourable and lofty intentions ; it was not difficult to predict his failure.

On our way to Poona we were sitting in the same compartment [of a railway carriage] with Major R. At one place he pointed out to me a sparse forest and said, "This is what we left to the Nizam after taking away Berar from him," Berar had been taken for money ; money was paid off long ago, nevertheless Salar Jung did not succeed in getting back Berar. That is why he went to England.

Britishers serving the Nizam receive fat salaries and munificent gifts.

**15th February:** Yesterday evening I went to see Ganesh-Kind<sup>65</sup>. The road to that place is very good and picturesque. The most remarkable are the Temple of Mahadeva at the confluence of two rivers and the Chhatarji Temple<sup>66</sup> on the slope of a hill.

The Governor's house is not big but is surrounded by spacious gardens. During the rains and soon after they are bound to be very beautiful.

These mansions of Governors and houses of Residents which are built with Indian money must be a thorn in the flesh of the natives. They are already talking about it on the quiet now. What is going to happen in a few years' time?

Perhaps what Major R. said yesterday would come to happen. He said, "In about 50 years' time Britishers will have to part with India!"

About 20 years ago the inhabitants of Hyderabad were much more wild and robberies used to take place in broad daylight. It happened not infrequently that the buyer and the seller failing to come to an agreement on the question of price would take up arms and the negotiations for price ended either in bodily injury or death. It would also happen that some wicked jester would take into his head to shoot in broad daylight at a banker returning home with his bag of money and without further ceremony or protests from any quarter would appropriate the money himself.

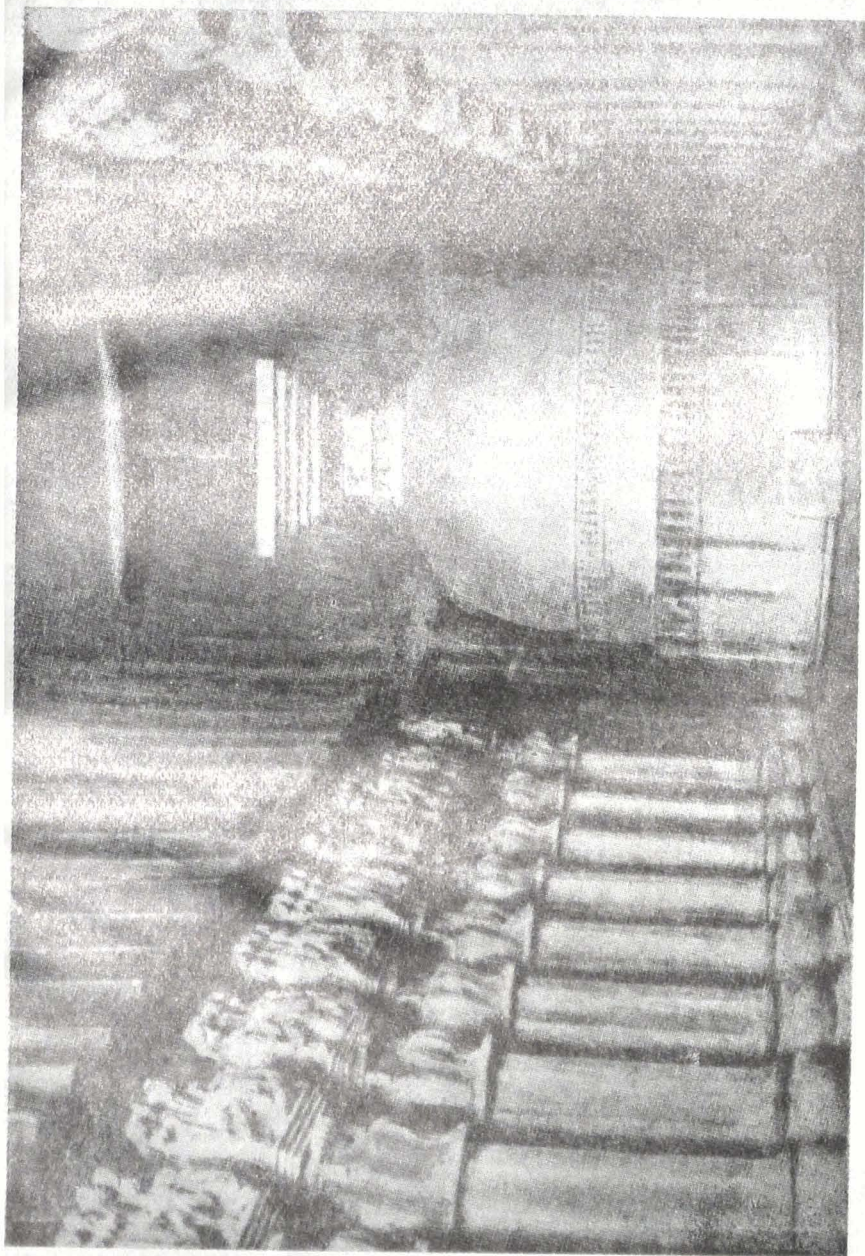
This morning I went to Oxenham and met Doctor Kielhorn<sup>67</sup>. Talked about manuscripts.

**16th [February]** Last evening I went for a drive with Kielhorn. We went to the college. From the talk I had with Kielhorn I noticed that he fully shared the view of the Britishers about the natives. Dastoor confirmed the same, although I did not lead him on to this topic.

At 1-30 I left Poona and in three hours' time I arrived at Lanauli where I stopped at a very clean hotel. Here it is definitely cooler than in Poona and Hyderabad.

**17th: Thana<sup>68</sup>.** This morning I went out to see the caves of Karli<sup>69</sup>. The road from Lanauli at the beginning is very good. Only the last mile is indeed very bad.

The Caves of Karli are very interesting. A few of them are carved out on the sheer wall of the mountain. The middle one, or the Temple, speckled with inscriptions, is particularly interesting. In the concave construction, wooden arches are still preserved. The 'dwara-mandapa'<sup>70</sup> exactly resembles the entrance



KARLI. Cave Temple (1 century B.C.).



AJANTA. Cave Temple (VI century A.D.).

gates one so often meets with on the island of Ceylon. Apart from the big cave with its Stupa, columns and its reliefs in elephant motif, there are also a few other caves which apparently served as cells for the monks. Of images there are very few in them.

[1] The lower cave: Right in front of the entrance five doors. On the left four; on the right three; in the centre, passage to the upper floor.

[2] The upper cave: On the left five doors. Right in front of the entrance six; on the right three. On the right, images of Buddha and two of his disciples in relief. Right in front of the entrance similar images.

Besides these two caves there are others.

3. The upper cave: From the big room there are four doors; right ahead on the left and on the right, two each. Entrance to the right. Cave with verandah and three doors to the big room, from where four doors right ahead, three on the left, two on the right.

In the big room right in front—images of Buddha and his two disciples. On the verandah two columns. One broken. Apart from these caves there are yet two more caves at a distance. The caves of Karli are an excellent specimen of ancient Buddhist Monastery.

The Temple is surrounded by cells. The situation of the cells around the big central one reminds me of the arrangements of the Ceylon [cells] around the central open courtyard, for example, in Ridi Bihar, or in Malwat or Asgirl in Kandi<sup>71</sup>.

Reached Thana late in the evening.

**19th February: Bombay.** Arrived here last evening and putting up at the Esplanade Hotel.

The same old faces once again and the same old daily routine of life in hotel. What a bore!

I spent the 18th in Thana and examined the Kanheri caves<sup>72</sup>.

I arrived at Thana late in the evening. The traveller's bungalow proved to be beneath all criticism.

I could not get any food. On the 17th I remained without dinner and on the 18th without breakfast.

But the sight of the Kanheri caves fully compensated the discomfort. I could not find time to look at them all, but this was not necessary for my purpose. What I did see was more than enough for me to form an idea about what excellent evidence these were of the Buddhism of the past. A whole month is not enough for studying these caves. Compared to these the Ceylonese caves and all the ruins at Anuradhapur and Mihintale<sup>73</sup> are insignificant and negligible.

The road from Thana to the caves is fairly good. The first two miles are definitely good, thereafter it is necessary to turn to a side and go through a thin forest. This part of the road over stones is indeed somewhat difficult. And so it is up to the small village Tulsi. But the natural scenery is very beautiful; on the way you pass by the Bihar Lake<sup>74</sup>. In the thin forest there are palm and palmyra trees.

From Thana to Tulsi it is about two hours' journey by a bullock cart.

From Tulsi up to the site of the ruins it is about an hour's walk again through a sparse forest. This portion of the road reminded me of my wanderings in the vicinities of Anuradhapura, just as the Kanheri caves did remind me of the situation of the cells in Kandi, in Malwat or Asgiri. I began the inspection from the Temple.

(a) Portal

(b) Entrance hall. Two images of Buddha of huge dimensions.

(c) In front of the entrance hall, on the left, cave and rock.

In front of the Temple remains of columns: Dwaramandapa (?).

Inside the Temple, Chaitya, row of columns.

Image of Nagakanya on the pedestal of the column. To the right of the Temple two caves ; under one awning ; three Chaityas, one of them has disappeared, only the base remains. Behind the Stupas images of Bodisattwa. The middle one—perhaps of Manjushri or Maitrey<sup>75</sup>. The entire hill has been carved into caves ; some do not have any relief images, while others are full of them. In some of them there are reservoirs, in some, Stupas. There are more than one hundred caves, the majority of which were probably cells for the monks ; others, judging by the abundance of relief images, must have been shrines. On the summit of the hill there are two reservoirs. In one of them there is rain-water.

This morning I had been to the A[sianic] so[ciety]. Made the acquaintance of Mr. Wood<sup>76</sup> and met Dr. Kunte.

**20th February:** S. P. P.<sup>77</sup> was complaining that the natives knew little about Russia and whatever they knew they did only through the Britishers. He was telling me that Sir S. J. was very much displeased with the Britishers. Mir Kabir is his enemy !

**21st February:** Grant Duff<sup>78</sup> made use of the Maratha chronicles and family archives. He destroyed the papers given to him for his history. The papers destroyed by him included many local chronicles and important documents.

Yesterday in the native town I saw a marriage procession. The procession looked very queer. Driving around the town I noticed some other processions like this.

**22nd February:** This morning I had been to S. P. P. At first we talked about Mme. B<sup>79</sup>. I communicated to him the contents of the letter received by me. He was very much surprised about some of the propositions regarding the object of the society, which had been set out in the letter addressed to me. The Theosophical So [ciety] is doubtless seeking acquaintance with the Black-Book.

Discussed the condition of the agricultural class. It is terrible. Oppressed by taxes the cultivators are verily starving.

They have no idea about the Afghan War. But the educated classes sorrowfully apprehend increase in taxes. Dissatisfaction with their own condition but not with the Government is noticeable in the lower classes.

Ramasses<sup>80</sup> are dacoits, and cannot have any sympathy with the Indian community.

Thereafter I drove to a bookshop. Gopal Narayan, the proprietor, when he learnt that I was a Russian, declared that Russia and Britain were at daggers drawn.

Asked as to who was right and who was at fault, he replied that it was his duty to defend his own master. He said what he knew about Russia was through British sources and regarded Russia as a barbarous and despotic country.

**23rd February:** Last evening I reached Nasik. From Nasik Road Station to the bungalow it is about six miles. An excellent Tonga drawn by a pair of ponies took me to my lodging for the night in less than an hour. I found dreadful disorder prevailing at the bungalow. The best rooms were occupied by Mr. Chatfield<sup>81</sup>, and those somewhat inferior, by his servants.

This morning I was going round the city; saw Rameswar and Balaji temples.

Nasik has no originality; the same narrow, winding streets as in other native towns.

This evening, looking for Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indrajī, I visited a few dharamsalas. They are very comfortable here at Nasik. They are not very quiet, but they are cooler. There are of course no furniture in them, but on the other hand wherever I went I observed remarkable cleanliness. In cleanliness and comfort these houses, without doubt, outdid those dakhungalows which I happened to come across so far. Dharamsalas are built by private individuals with a charitable object. Nothing is charged for lodging at these places.



**24th February:** This morning at about 6 o'clock I went to see the caves in the Pandu-Lina<sup>82</sup> hills. These caves are much less interesting than the Karli and Kanheri caves. The caves are much less in number than those of Kanheri, and the temple is considerably smaller than that either at Karli or Kanheri.

The caves are located in a hill of conical shape and about 750 feet in height. The hill is five miles from Nasik, on the old Bombay-Agra road. It is cut across horizontally by a terrace onto which the caves open. The terrace stretches along the north-eastern slope of the hill and cuts it into two. All the mouths of the caves are towards Nasik. Many of the caves are now in semi-dilapidated condition. A vast majority of the carvings are disfigured partly by the efflux of time and partly by brahmans, who painted many of the images of Buddha in blue and red colours.

The number of caves here is twenty-eight. Not all of them are equally interesting; in some smaller ones there is no image of any kind. Others, obviously, are unfinished. A part of the terrace has been demolished and this has made the approach to the extreme eastern cave very difficult. However, it lies almost in ruins and is full of rain-water and the only objects of interest are its inscriptions. Beginning from the temple and farther on to the west, even beyond the extreme western cave, the terrace is even and wide. It stretches over 230 yards, and a few hundred feet beyond the farthest cave.

I started to survey from the west.

The first cave is worthy of note. There are no images in it. It looks as if it has not been completed. Carved work is visible only on top on the outer side of the verandah. The columns and the upper beams of the doorways are crude. The rooms on the left and right of the verandah are very small. In the next small room there is an image of Buddha.

Much more interesting is the third, No. 26 (West). Then, farther on, there are a few small caves up to No. 17 (W). Beyond

No. 17 again appear small cells, thereafter empty space. Two-storied cells : Nos. 12, 13, and No. 11 a spacious cell adjacent to the somewhat smaller No. 10 or the temple. Along the other side of the temple there was probably the Upasatha-ghar<sup>83</sup> (No. 8). Father to the east, again small cells ; in one cave, No. 5, there are images of Yoni, Hanumana and Ganesh. Much more interesting is No. 4. In this there is a representation of the death of Buddha. There are few images in No. 3.

This evening I went to see the Tapobana accompanied by Advocate Goley and one of his friends. The place is not at all remarkable. The banyan tree is not particularly old. The temple is too small ; mud plastering, there is in it an image of Lakshmana. Around it some vairagis of the Ramanuja and Ramanand sects live<sup>84</sup>. From there I started for the city where we went round Ramakund and Lakshmandakund, saw the temple built by Ahalya Bai<sup>85</sup> and another on the opposite side, Sundara Narayan.

Had a highly interesting discussion with my fellow traveller. Discontentment of the rural population. This dissatisfaction is stronger than that amongst the so-called educated. The law about the **mahajanans**<sup>86</sup> is unjust. The rural population suffers from the unbearable burden of taxes and not in the hands of the usurers. Higher rates are the consequence of the poverty of the country.

Indians believe that Nana Sahib is in Russia ; they think that General Skobelyeff is Nana Sahib<sup>87</sup>. Nana Sahib is alive. His wife who was seen until recently is not in mourning.

Near Ratnagiri villagers pay taxes which exceed their earnings. Dissatisfaction has been growing noticeably stronger during recent years. The natives do not share the hatred towards Russia. Rather, it is possible to assume the existence of their sympathy towards Russia. The soldiers starting for Europe, for Malta<sup>88</sup> island, are not at all pleased. On the other hand, some grumbling is noticeable among them. The Government have in recent years become visibly more suspicious ; but suspecting the

educated classes they fall into an error of exaggeration. Among the insignificant educated minority, no sedition—rumours apart—is observed, nor can there be any.

People think little about the Afghan War and are confident of British success, but they are afraid of new taxes.

**25th February:** This morning went to see Chamar-Lina<sup>89</sup>. These caves and those at Pandu-Lina are equidistant from the bungalow but the number of the former is much less, and they are much less interesting.

The conical hill is visible from a distance. The road to the caves is very good except for the last quarter of a mile, which it is necessary to cover on foot. From the foot of the hill leading up to the terrace there are steps built recently. Altogether there are about three hundred steps, maybe a few more. The terrace cuts the hill into two, just as in Pandu-Lina, but it is far from being as broad as the terrace at the latter place. It is in a state of complete preservation and is enclosed with stone fence.

I found two caves—both, temples, and very wide. They are fitted with doors with iron gratings; they were closed but it was possible to have an excellent view of the interior.

All the holy images here are very interesting. In the second temple, which is farther from the entrance, the figure of Buddha has an aureole of serpents. Generally speaking, representations of serpents are numerous here. In temple No. 1 the heads of the Dwarpalas are entwisted by serpents. One of the Dwarpalas, who is on the left, is a male, the one on the right a female. The generative organs of both the figures are very clearly defined. Judging by the images they contain, these caves are highly interesting.

On the left of the entrance, before one reaches the temple, a huge image (of Buddha?) with an aureole of snakes has been carved out in the rock.

**27th February: Aurangabad.** Left Nasik in the night of the 25th. At 3 o'clock reached Nandgaon. From there started in a tonga for Aurangabad. Travelled the whole night and a part of the day, and arrived here at 2 p.m. The road was

excellent but the country very gloomy. On the way drove by the fort of Daulatabad. In the villages, here and there, some small fortresses could be seen.

The journey under the scorching sun and in dust and wind was more than fatiguing. I arrived here completely jaded. Drove round the town in the evening but found nothing of interest there.

Saw a marriage procession and a few fine young cavalry soldiers from amongst the natives.

On the day of my departure from Nasik I was invited to the house of a native pleader on the occasion of **Panagar** ceremony. The ceremony was arranged in honour of an outgoing judge. We assembled in a big room of the new house of the pleader. When all had gathered and taken their seats at the appointed places, the host gave a speech in Marathi.

The judge gave a reply in English, but it cannot be said that he was particularly eloquent. Then two other speeches were delivered and thereafter the honoured guests were garlanded with flowers, and betel was distributed among them. Our hands were smeared with sandal paste and our handkerchiefs sprinkled with perfume.

An officer of the Nizam, someone like an Asst. Collector came to me today. The system of collection of revenue is just the same as in British India. The rural community is ruined also at this place. Except for Mhars, there are no Barabaluts here<sup>90</sup>. The State does not recognize their rights. Reports are published in Persian. The Code of Civil Procedure is copied from the British Code, though not in full.

**28th February:** This morning the same Assistant to the **Talukdar** came to me.

We went to see the **Bibi Makbara**<sup>91</sup>; the tomb is a sorry imitation of the Taj. Very much more interesting is Panchakki<sup>92</sup>. Thereafter we saw the Kutchery and the office quarters of Aurangabad.

The Muslims of this place are closely watching the Afghan War and are confident of the success of the Afghans. The

Hindus regard it comparatively indifferently. Salar Jung considers the yielding of Berar as a disgrace to his family name. It was promised to him in London that the matter would be gone into afresh as soon as the Nizam would attain majority. The people want the return of Berar. The Kunbis here pay less taxes than in British India. The soldiers are paid their salaries out of the treasury of the Nizam.

This morning after breakfast fruits were brought to me by way of present.

**1st March:** Rowza: Last evening I was driving round the town and I went to a temple. The old brahman in charge of the temple is engaged in imparting education to the youth. He has six pupils. I found them reading **Raghuvansham**. One of the boys read a Shloka very hurriedly and loudly and then began to interpret the same in Sanskrit, apparently with sentences learnt by rote. Synonyms were being picked up, etymological interpretations given, and so on.

After my drive I returned home. Notwithstanding the late hour the headmaster of an Anglo-Vernacular school called on me. He is a Madrassi Christian. Very handsome and very stupid. There are about sixty boys in the school. All the boys belong to lower caste families. Some of them are sons of soldiers. The headmaster of the school receives a salary of Rs. 60/- per mensem, other teachers—Rs. 25/- to Rs. 30/-. In the upper classes of the school all subjects are taught in English. Although the boys are not Christians, the Bible is read in the school.

This morning at 5 o'clock I drove out to the road to Rowza. In a little more than an hour I reached Daulatabad. The road to Daulatabad is much more beautiful than the road from Nandagaon to Aurangabad. A part of the road lies through a forest. Two assistants to the Talukdar were travelling with me. We were travelling in a very roomy and comfortable tonga.

At the city entrance of Daulatabad we were met by the Daroga or the Commandant of the fort with a guard of honour. He led us round the fort. The Daulatabad fort is certainly more interesting than the Golconda fort. A hill, huge in proportions

and standing alone, has been completely surrounded by walls. The ascent is very negligible and not at all felt at the beginning. This goes on up to the mosque which is built with the materials of an ancient temple. The columns are all of Indian origin and the general character of the structure reminds one of the mosque near Kutub in Delhi. In the fort, climbing higher, we come to the old palace of the last Indian Raja. Farther ahead we are shown the dungeon where Tanesha<sup>93</sup> was kept in captivity. The story goes that he was subjected to horrible torture in the dungeon. Tanesha said to his tormentors "Why do you torture me? I will die, if you will only bring near me an unclean woman; I will die from her smell". Such a woman was brought near him and in fact he did die.

On the way to Bala Hissar, i.e., the top of the fort, there is a kind of Pavilion which is called **Baradera**<sup>94</sup> or twelve doors. Here it is very cool and the view from here is excellent.

Somewhat lower down there is a subterranean passage to the cave of Janardana<sup>95</sup>. The passage, however, was so full of water that it was not possible for me to wade to that place. It is said that beyond this passage which is full of water, there is a small cave in which Janardana used to live. In this cave, it is said, there is a rock on which Janardana used to sit, and the impressions of his feet and seat on this rock are still preserved. This is called here the divan of Ram-Raja. In the fort we were shown the underground passage to Ellora. In Rowza too there is a subterranean way even up to Delhi.

To go to the top one has to walk down a dark corridor. This was lighted for us by torches.

We fell in love with the view from the top of **Bala Hissar**; looked at the gun made by some Gujrati of the name of Raghunath Singhaji; drank tea in the **Baradera** and then started to come down. On the way we saw (1) Kauriltank; and (2) Hathi tank<sup>96</sup>. A view of these caves, full of water, reminded me of the Buddhist caves.

From Daulatabad we took another tonga and drove through the hills towards Ellora. A few miles before we could reach

Ellora we were met by the Tehsildar, who came on horseback, and also by the head of the police. At the entrance of Rowza there was a formation of policemen (six in number). Rowza creates a peculiar impression. The town is in greater ruin than Aurangabad, and the abundance of tombs around lends to it the appearance of a deserted cemetery in ruins. Not far from the town, beyond its walls there is a tomb (or pavilion) where I was assigned my lodgings.

I was given a ceremonial reception here. All the officials had gathered in my lodging. Some of them sat on till late in the evening. Conversation was varied. Dissatisfaction with the British. Reasons for discontent the same. The country is becoming poorer. The condition of the agricultural classes is dreadful.

We talked about Afghan War. Sympathy for the British is not noticeable, but confidence in their success is complete. The British are concentrating a large number of troops in Afghanistan. Mir Kabir is conservative; now he has made peace with Salar Jung. He interferes little in the internal administration of the country and opposes appointment of foreigners<sup>97</sup> in the service of the Nizam.

**2nd March:** This morning for the first time I went down to look at the Ellora caves. The way thither is downwards and at present nothing better can possibly be desired. Altogether it is about ten minutes' walk downhill, the return journey is more difficult because the ascent at some places is quite considerable. I saw two caves: Kailas and Deva-Avatara. The first (temple) has in fact a surprising abundance of stucco moulding consistent with its plan. This is carved out of rock. The second is also remarkable, but much smaller in size.

In the first cave there is such a mass of images, that the cave can be read as a book of Indian mythology. Of course not all the interpretations given by the local brahmans can be regarded as faithful. The crowd accompanying me, and the appearance of the assistant to Mr. Burgess<sup>98</sup> later on, prevented me from examining the caves as it ought to be done. My first

visit to the Ellora caves was not successful ; I saw a lot but I was not able to describe the same on paper.

**3rd March :** Rowza—a town of tombs. Wherever you go you are bound to find them in large numbers. A city of ruins and pitiable huts. The market is poor and the environs wear the appearance of dreadful desolation.

The house where I am staying is at some distance from the city.

Mir Kabir—in the words of the Parsi, the second Talukdar—seriously interferes in business and constantly contradicts Sir S. J. Sir S. J. is actually very much in debt. Feelings of dissatisfaction between him and the British started from the time of the visit to India of the Prince of Wales. It was then that the question of the Nizam visiting Bombay arose. The Nizam was in Delhi. People in this State think this was a humiliation for him<sup>99</sup>.

The people are loyal to the present Government (the Nizam.). In British India everybody is displeased, but rebellion is a long way off. Indians are so thoroughly convinced about the might of the British, that they are not at present going to risk a revolt against them. They are quiet and submissive by nature ; besides they are unarmed at present. Their mood is bound to undergo a change as soon as they realize that Britannia is not so strong as they imagine her to be, and that her power has been dealt a mighty blow.

**5th March :** This morning I saw the Indrasabha once more and then walked up to the village Verul to have a look at the temple built by the Maratha queen Ahalya Bai. The Temple is not big and does not present anything of interest. The same architecture as is to be found in most of the structures built by the Maratha queen. Thereafter I set out to look at the Kund. Here I met a Talukdar of Hyderabad. We conversed in Sanskrit. He asked me about the object of my visit to India and did not by any means believe what I told him. According to him some more important reason brought me to India. Opposite the Kund there is a small half-broken oratory and on its walls facing the road there are a few specimens of carving work.



In Rowza there are the tombs of Aurangzeb as also of the founder of the present ruling dynasty of the Nizams. From the window of the house where I was stopping I had a fine view of the lake. I could not go there for want of time.

**10th March: Ajanta.** My stay at Ellora ended with a very unfortunate incident: Near Daulatabad I was thrown off the tonga and I received scratches on my leg and forehead. I had to stay at Aurangabad for two days.

On the eve of my departure I dined with Nassar Shah, head of the police at Aurangabad. This man is a typical representative of Young India and the Nizam's bureaucracy; he speaks English very well and tries to imitate Englishmen in his manners. He has furnished his house in the English fashion, and has even kept a bull-dog, God knows why! The dinner at his place was English; he called his servant "boy", and talked to him in English. He is quite proud of the fact that he had been to Europe, although he spent only three months there. My host is a Persian by birth.

Amir Kabir, whom Lady Mead calls "the dear old man", is apparently a representative of nationalist policy, i.e. he is obstructive and always becomes indignant when Sir S. J. appoints one of the foreigners. In the territory of the Nizam anyone who is not born within its limits is called a foreigner.

Lady Mead matters more than Sir R. M. She does not mind meddling in matters of politics.

**8th March:** At about 3-30 started from Aurangabad for Ajanta. I spent the first night at Phulmari, where no arrangements had been made for me and I slept on a bare cot. From there I set off at 6 o'clock in the morning and at about 11 I reached Sipuri. Here I had my breakfast, and excellent breakfast it was. From Sipuri I started at 1 o'clock and reached Fardapur only at 7-30. The road from Aurangabad to Ajanta is very bad, but of course the same cannot be said of the country through which it lies. It is very beautiful.

Ajanta is bounded by fort walls and looks a very beautiful town, particularly from a distance. On the way I saw many

villages surrounded by mud walls. These half-ruined walls enliven the landscape.

The Resident constantly interferes in the affairs of the Nizam; not only the Resident but even Colonel Dean<sup>100</sup> orders about the officers of His Highness as if he were the master. I was myself present when he sent out a Talukdar for a better tonga for me. The inhabitants of Ajanta are mostly muslims; this place is a jaghir of Salar Jung.

This evening for the first time I saw the Ajanta caves. From Fardapur they are at a distance of at least four miles, if not more. The road to the caves is very bad, as it is everywhere around this place. The caves are situated in a narrow valley, on a steep slope, but at a considerable height from the foot of the hill. They do not form an exact semicircle, and from a distance they have the appearance of a bee-hive. Nowadays one has to approach them by steps of earth built by the Government of the Nizam. In all there are 27 caves. I saw only two of them today: Nos. X and XVII.

I found here students of the Bombay School of Arts<sup>101</sup>. They were working i.e., they were making copies for the Government. From these copies photographs are taken; the very same copies are sent off to the Kensington Museum in London.

The Ajanta caves stretch along one curved line, and viewed from one end to the other, present, if not a grandiose, at least a striking appearance. Seen from near they are still more striking. The frescoes with which they are covered, surpassed my expectations. A staircase leads to cave No. X. The place resembles to some extent the Karli temple<sup>102</sup>.

**12th March: Ajanta.** Today saw a few bhandaris<sup>103</sup>. They are undoubtedly of Rajput origin and speak Hindi. They were relating to me that they had only one festival in a year; this was when they made sacrifices to their gods, mostly of goats, and at the time of our meeting they were making images of their gods.

**16th March: Indore.** Have not written my diary for a few days because I have been feeling quite seedy. Came here on the 14th evening. The journey from Khandwa to Indore was



**K. I. FINOGENOFF. Ajanta.**



**A. SALTIKOFF. Zumindar.**

very tiring, but it was nothing compared to the road from Ajanta to Panchora. Roads like the latter do not of course exist in Europe any more, but they still exist in Russia. These are roads which one should keep away from, roads with bridges which should be carefully avoided, roads with hillocks, stubs and bushes at unidentified places. In short, these roads are roads to perdition.

Jaded and wearied and with a headache, I got to Panchora. I left this place late in the evening and at 4 o'clock in the morning I reached Khandwa; here I waited for the train till 9-30.

Indore gives the impression of a very disorderly and ugly town.

**17th [March]:** Interesting talk with a brahman. General dissatisfaction is widespread, and everywhere the expectation is that there must soon be a new rule in India.

This morning drove round the city in the company of two judges. Saw the Chief Justice. All of them received me very kindly. The talk was not interesting, they were asking me about the Nihilists, about the cold in Russia. They made fun of the suspicion of the British.

**20th [March]:** Notwithstanding the seeming cordiality of the British, there is a strong feeling of annoyance here. The natives, whom I met here, are very reserved and vigorously boost British rule.

The studies of the princes are very badly conducted in the Raj Kumar College<sup>104</sup>. There are about 200 students in all. The Principal strikes me as being somewhat stupid. Yesterday at dinner at Carey's<sup>105</sup> he informed me that the secret police in India, the Chief of which happens to be his son-in-law, keep a very close watch over foreigners i.e., of course, over the Russians. Yesterday the dinner was excellent at Carey's: the guests were in evening dress. One lady contrived even to pull on gloves, while, on the other hand, another appeared with her spouse in a cart drawn by a very large pair of bulls.

Nilkant Janardan Kirtan came to me today. An ample physique and a man full of importance as befits a minister of a

petty prince. He is the Dewan of the Maharaja of Dewas<sup>106</sup>. In India discontent has already spread in the minority, but this discontent cannot become active, because the Indians are divided amongst themselves.

My reputation of being a spy has been conclusively established here.

**21st March:** The palace of the Raja is situated almost in the centre of the town on a muddy and unpaved square. Here a few narrow streets meet.

The shops of the town are very dirty, as are its streets. In the evenings a large crowd of people promenade the streets. On rare occasions a rider or some important official passes by in a tonga and on still more rare occasions one comes across an elephant or a camel on the streets, but on the other hand tongas drawn by oxen are very frequent.

The number of dogs on the streets of Indore is remarkably large.

The Raja of Indore gathers round him officers from different parts of India. Majority of these officers speak English. Even the Colonel<sup>107</sup> does.

**23rd March: Ujjain.** Two days in Avanti, the fairy city of the past, but now only a miserable township. Not even antiquities are to be found in this town save for ancient coins in the bazar. Everything new and everything trashy here. The streets are unpaved, tortuous and narrow. Huts instead of houses. Temples of Gopal and Mahakal are new. The bazar and the chowk are stereotyped.

The city was surrounded by walls remains of which can still be seen. The most beautiful spots in the city are its ghats, and perhaps the tank by the temple of Mahakal. I arrived here late in the evening and stopped at the railway station. It was late. The moon was shining and curious sounds of songs and music could be heard from a distance. I fell to dreaming and was full of expectation to see a really romantic city, Avanti, in the morning. But my disappointment was complete. Ujjain is not even a doleful city, it is a miserable one.

The Palace of the Scindia is situated at Ujjain, and in the neighbourhood is the Bhatrihari-Guha<sup>108</sup>. One of the gates also is considered to be very antiquated.

**24th:** I arrived at Ratlam yesterday. This town looks very beautiful from a distance. I had my dinner at the station and walked up to the bungalow.

This morning I wrote a letter to the Political Agent requesting him to send me [farther on—illegible].

The Raja of Ratlam is a tributary Chief of Gwalior and his relations with the Scindia are very strained. They do not meet because the Scindia does not consider [the Raja of] Ratlam to be his equal and does not wish to receive such people.

The Indore Prince is very popular; he looks after his own income. He personally watches over the improvement in his own income with great assiduity.

The Dewan is completely deprived of any authority in matters of revenue as also of crime, and, without the sanction of the Raja, cannot take decisions.

The Scindia pays salaries to his officers a year in advance, of course, on interest, and on condition that these moneys should be utilized in commercial ventures. He has no army<sup>109</sup>.

In 1872 he planned to start a foundry. And when the British asked him why he had started it, he is reported to have answered: "In order to be in a position to render you assistance in case of necessity." British Government stopped the working of this foundry which had cost the Holkar a lot of money.<sup>110</sup>

Petty princes, offended by the British, hope that they would restore their lost rights with the help of Russia.

**25th March:** Yesterday evening and this morning drove around Ratlam. It is a very clean town: streets are broad, without pavements but with lamps. I noticed an inscription in the Chowk: **God save the Empress of India**. The garden is not large but it has been kept in a very good order and is in fact not at all bad.

This morning I called on the Raja. He speaks English quite well. He is handsome in appearance and although only 19

years of age he wears an overgrown beard. The conversation with him was of little importance.

In the school, which I visited yesterday and today, I did not find any student because these were holidays. With the Head Master, since retired, I went to the temple of the Satnamis<sup>111</sup>. This is a very interesting sect which does not worship idols. They recognize a number of prophets, and among others, Jesus Christ and Muhammad. Their Scripture which they do not show carries the title "Kulatatwarupa" on "Taratama"<sup>112</sup>. The fakir whom I saw in the temple, was mentioned to me as the leading preceptor of his sect and was called Nijananda Swami and also Shri Dhanudevichandraji.

In Ratlam there are about 30 to 40 followers of the sect; their number is very much larger in Alwar, Amritsar, Lahore and also in Kashi. Their number is particularly large in Janna-Panna near Mirzapore and also in Jamnagar which is about 60 miles from Rajkot in Gujerat.

The head of this sect is someone by the name of Beharidas.

After my visit to the Raja I went to the British Agent. Mir Shahamet Ali is a muslim. He looks a venerable old man. He took part in the first Afghan campaign. Toured Europe and had been to Mecca.

**27th March:** Back to Indore. But this time in a different spirit and in a perfect state of health.

Dined at the palace with Shahamet Ali yesterday at Ratlam. He was however only present at the dinner and did not take anything. Discontent has spread everywhere in India. People of all classes are dissatisfied. The fact that discontentment in India is not active received further confirmation here. The Afghans are now the enemies of the British for all time to come, but they should have been the friends of the British. It is for this reason that the Afghan War has been a colossal political blunder<sup>113</sup>. Contemporary Britishers do not know India, do not strike their roots here and do not have any attachment. The people await Russian invasion. The British themselves have enlightened them in this regard.



My interlocutor was against the introduction of British system in the administration of independent states<sup>114</sup>; hence he considered the offer of service to foreigners to be harmful. After dinner drove round the city. Did not notice much animation on the streets where there were bonfires. Sound of song and laughter was reaching from the houses, and at some places it was generally noisy. At one place in the bazar I met a large crowd.

There was a banquet at the palace.

On the whole I expected a lot out of the 'Holi'.

A clerk in the service of British Government is transformed into a Talukdar in the territory of an independent Raja.

Quite unexpectedly "Ratanji" becomes "Ratanji Sahib". He even has a black 'Mem Sahib'.

He becomes a real Collector of the British variety. Travels with his lady just like some European Sahib. But this feeble or violent imitation, depending on circumstances, of the full-blooded Briton, does not obliterate from the mind of Ratanji Sahib the memory of how Sahiblog used to order him about in the past. All these he remembers very well. The higher his new position, the stronger is his hatred against his erstwhile masters.

**28th March: Indore.** The celebration of 'Holi' at Indore is noisy, if not flashy. Last evening I was driving round the city. In front of the palace and in the neighbouring streets there were large crowds of people; but there were considerably fewer bonfires than in Ratlam.

At some places the crowds were singing songs and at others improvisating farces with dialogues and songs. The singing was very melodious. Indore at night, in the sparkling moonlight, wore quite a different appearance. The city was even picturesque.

At one place I saw how a native was mimicking a Britisher.

**2nd April:** Spent three days in Allahabad. Met Griffiths and Harrison<sup>115</sup>.

Allahabad has not changed since the time I spent a whole week there on my way to Bombay and Europe.

In spite of the heat and all the discomforts of summer—

dust, and so on—Allahabad is undoubtedly a very beautiful and even luxurious city. The British have built a strong fortress and erected a large number of magnificent buildings.

Here, just as it is in Bombay, a large number of buildings are being constructed which are meant exclusively for the British.

**4th April: Agra.** In the night of the 3rd I left Allahabad for Agra.

Halfway from Allahabad at some station a telegram was received to the effect that the ministry had resigned.

I was sitting, or rather lying, in a compartment which was occupied also by three others, a Bengali Babu, a Catholic Bishop and an Englishman.

At midnight when I was half asleep I heard the Englishman bursting into the compartment and loudly announcing "**Bad news from home!**" Then he said that the ministry had resigned and that in all probability Lord Lytton would also retire<sup>116</sup>.

The next day at Tundla I had to change the compartment.

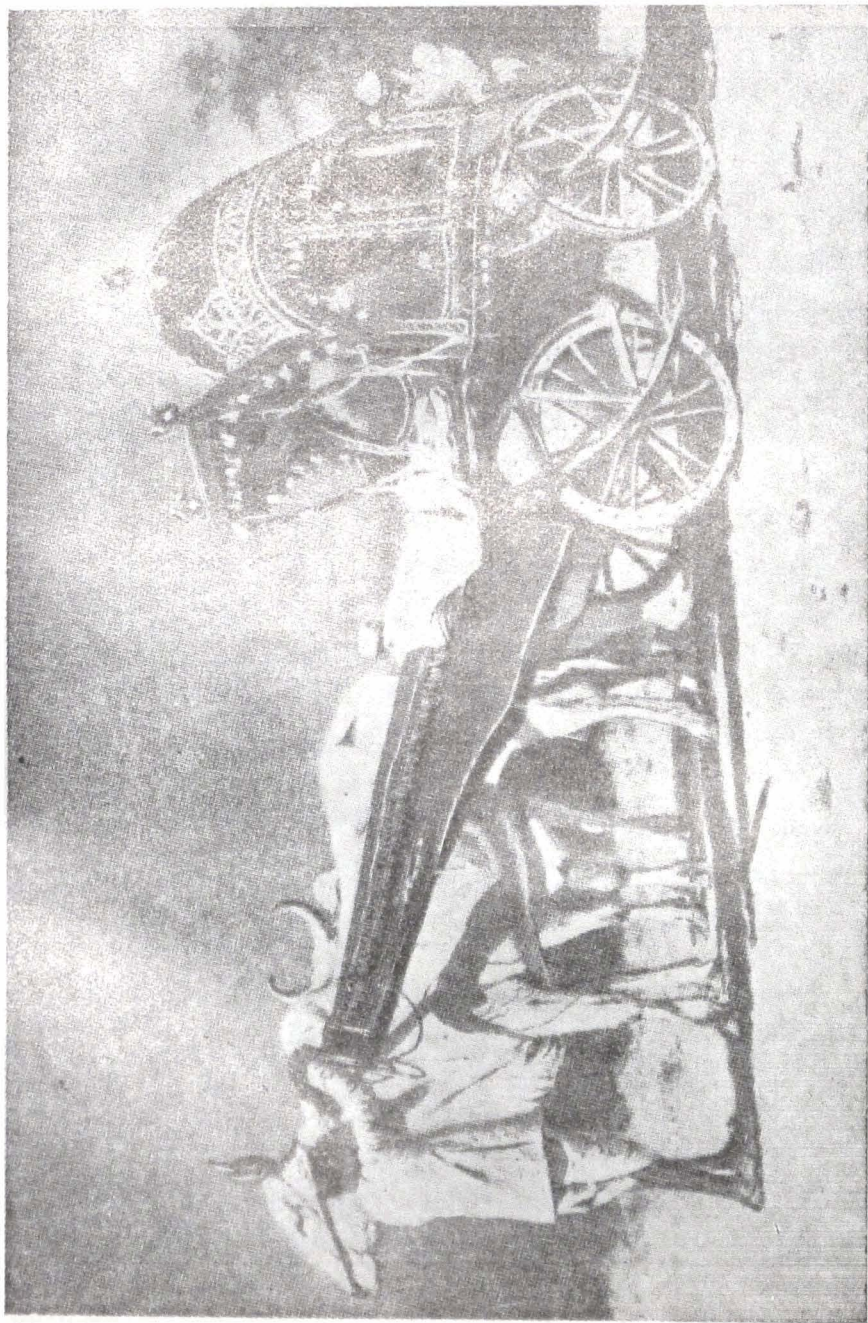
Hardly had I settled down in my new temporary abode, when the luggage of the Viceroy's aide-de-camp was dragged in there.

Soon the man appeared in person: "Have you heard the news?" he asked me. "What dreadful news! We should all get away from this place. Don't know what to do! Must go back home!"

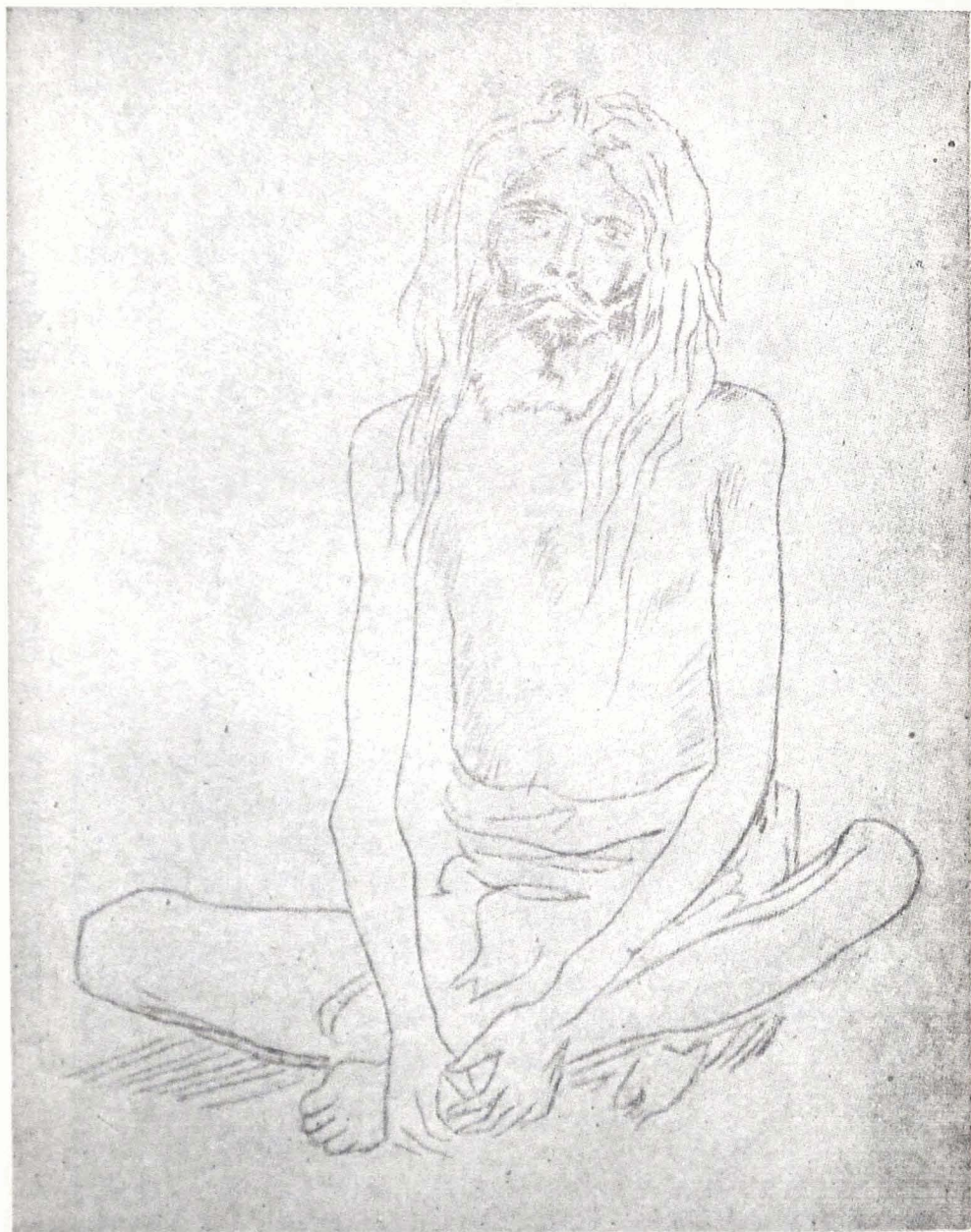
The young captain was visibly alarmed, and did not hide his feelings even from a complete stranger.

At Allahabad I dined with A. Harrison; at dinner we talked about the letters of All Baba<sup>117</sup>. The host spoke approvingly about them and incidentally observed that people of England bother very little about India and pass orders on Indian affairs from there. India met all the expenses of the reception of the Shah of Persia in London and all the expenses of sending troops to Malta. There was no sense in the expedition; it was a piece of pure bravado.

I hired a guide at Allahabad. Radharaman is a stupid boy, but even he talks about the general dissatisfaction against British



V. VERESHCHAGIN. A cart for rich people at Agra.



A. SALTIKOFF. Fakir.

rule; the so-called educated classes are discontented and the reason is well known, so is the rural population, which is treated harshly,—by the way—by the police.

Yesterday I learnt from him a few facts about the budget of the students of Allahabad: Rs. 5/- college fees for each month, Re. 1/- stationery and library charges per month, Rs. 2/- per month for lodging, Rs. 2/- for service, Rs. 4/- for cooking, Rs. 8/- for board. The total comes to Rs. 22/- per month. A student spends Rs. 10/- per year on clothes. He pays 4 annas to the washerman for 20 articles of clothing. Small pieces not counted. It is necessary for a student to spend about Rs. 30/- per month. It is understandable why they are dissatisfied: at the conclusion of his studies a student may reckon on securing a position with a salary of Rs. 30/-.

I went to see the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra today. The tomb is very imposing, though not as magnificent as the Taj: on the other hand, the gardens are much more spacious. The tomb is being renovated.

The road to Sikandra is splendid. Nearly all the time one drives in the shade, along a straight avenue. When I approached Agra, what first met my eyes was the top of the Taj with its maidenly purity amidst verdure.

Last evening I was driving round the city. I witnessed a marriage. Here a marriage procession consists of the bridegroom riding a horse, the bridegroom's party on camelback, and a deafening beat of drums.

Not far away from the magnificent mausoleum of Akbar is the modest tomb of his deceased Christian spouse, Mariam Bibi<sup>116</sup>.

The Protestant Church and the School are in the neighbourhood. A portion of the mausoleum has been turned into a printing house.

Went to see the Taj in the evening. The road to the Taj and even the Taj itself looked much better than they did on the previous occasion; the road had been considerably improved, when Prince of Wales visited this place in 1875; and all the cracks

in the Taj were mended. But glasses had been fitted to the doors. This, in my opinion, spoilt to a great extent the effect of transparent lattice-work.

I had to go through an interesting adventure today.

Having seen the Taj, I began to walk around the same and came across an Indian, who very politely requested me to wait a little for my inspection of the side mosques because the wives of Nawab Karwai happened to be present in one of them.

We started a talk. The Indian, the son-in-law of the Nawab, asked me where was I coming from. I told him I was a Russian.

The word "Russia" created a strong impression on him. At first he began to interrogate me to find out whether we were belligerents against the British and Turks, whether people were right in saying that Russians were helping the Afghans. Thereafter he called his servants and pointing to me asked them "Who it is? This is a Russian. Though he looks like a Saheblog he is a Russian!" Then he called the Nawab, who was extremely kind. We took leave of one another and I asked my fool of a boy why these people received me with such pleasure. He answered: "Everyone in India believes in the advent of the Russians, and hates the British for the burden of taxes."

The Russians are regarded as mighty.

**5th April:** In the morning went to see Rambag a garden in a somewhat desolate state.

On my way I stopped at Chinika Rowza<sup>119</sup>. The mausoleum was in a state of utter dilapidation. The walls had been covered with magnificent enamel. The mausoleum Itmad-ud-dowla is on the way to Rambag. It is not as splendid as the Taj; but it may possibly have been daringly set up there alongside Akbar's tomb and probably may not have cost as much.

The mausoleum is being renovated now.

I was told in the morning that there would be a **mela** in the city from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. I started for that place at about 6 p.m. It was a striking spectacle. Noise, bustle, a huge crowd, a bevy of girls, a sheikh preaching in one corner, songs and dances

having their sway in another ; noise and bustle, bustle and noise everywhere.

Today I saw the Dewan-i-khas, Dawan-i-aam, Moti Masjid and all the wonders of Mughal luxury once again. What a wonderful view of the river from the Dewan-i-khas ! In the distance the maiden Taj in the midst of luxuriant green ! Everything is being renovated. Just as if the British are going to make over the legacy of the Great Mughals to some other hands, and are preparing themselves for the surrender of the trusteeship.

I wonder what is going to happen here in a few years' time.

**Gwalior: 8th April.** From Agra you reach Gwalior partly by rail and partly on horseback. From Dholpur to Hetamper the journey on horseback in the scorching heat of the day is extremely fatiguing.

Laskar, were I met with a few adventures today, does not present anything of interest.

The palace of the Raja is surrounded by a very spacious garden into which I was not admitted. The Resident explained to me that this refusal was occasioned by the presence of the wives of the Raja there at that time.

Today I went to Phulbag. The gates were closed. The town, or the suburb inhabited by the British, i.e., Morar, is splendid, and amongst gardens are the magnificent barracks towering above houses big and small. I sent in my visiting-card (and it was printed in Russian at that) to the Sardar with a request to let me in to the gardens. I met with a refusal.

In independent states, where the Resident means everything, each and every Sahib is looked upon with timid hostility by the inhabitants.

The Scindia built his palace right in front of the fort which the British are not giving up to him. The situation of the fort is such that in half an hour its guns can pull down on all four sides the palace as well as the entire city.

Gwalior appeared to me to be a land of blossoms. Morar is full of flowers.

**11th April: Fatehpur Sikri.** The British say that the

Scindia is very much under the influence of Marathi brahmans.

They dissuaded him from cultivating opium on the ground that the cultivation of opium would destroy many living beings.

The British are convinced that the Scindia is very unpopular amongst his own people. But I heard in the city that the people of Gwalior prefer their own lot to that of British subjects. Taxes here, it is self-evident, are not as high as in British territory. But on the other hand Europeans do not get those comforts which await them at every step in British India.

The Gwalior fort is the most interesting spot in Gwalior. It is interesting not only because it forms the bone of contention, so to say, between the Scindia and the British Government, nor even because it is in fact very strong and can in a short time destroy the entire city from four sides.

In my view, the most interesting feature of the Gwalior fort is its ancient monuments, of which there is an abundance here. There are temples and palaces turned into provision stores and Ordnance depots by the British; there are also curious Jain caves.

All the temples are not Jain; but the biggest of them is very elegant and interesting compared to the temple of Mathura.

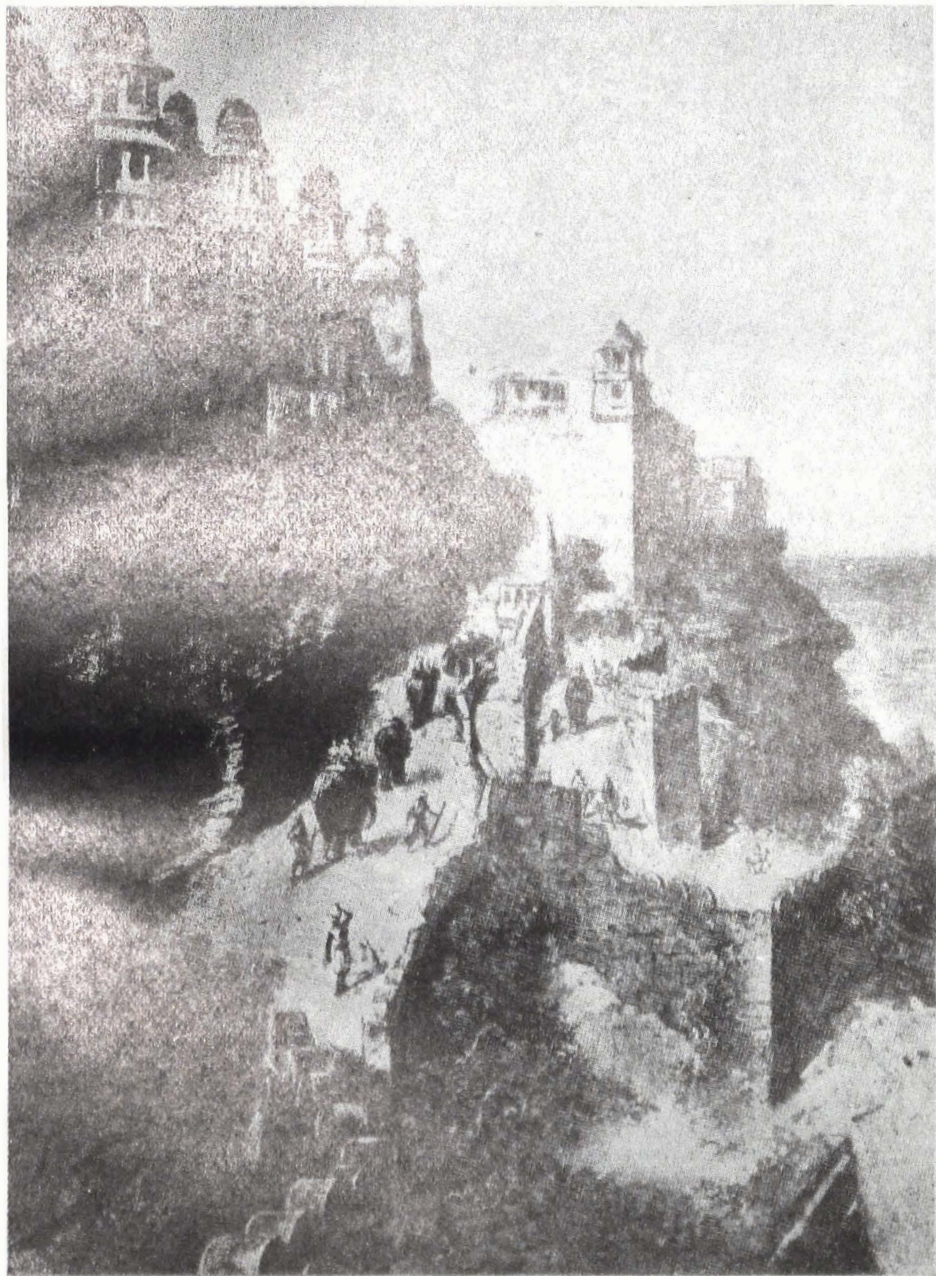
There are numerous caves: they are not wide and at least not wider than the temples in which Jain columns are laid. These caves, specially the south-eastern, are covered with beautiful carving. The cave temple close to the cave tank is very interesting. The caves in the so-called happy valley are not so elegant.

These caves, it seems, were never finished: in some of them can be seen statues with unfinished arms or external sculptural decorations incomplete; in some others you would find a half carved out staircase and so on. Leaving the outer gates behind, as you climb towards the top of the fortress, you come across a few caves and some works of sculpture.

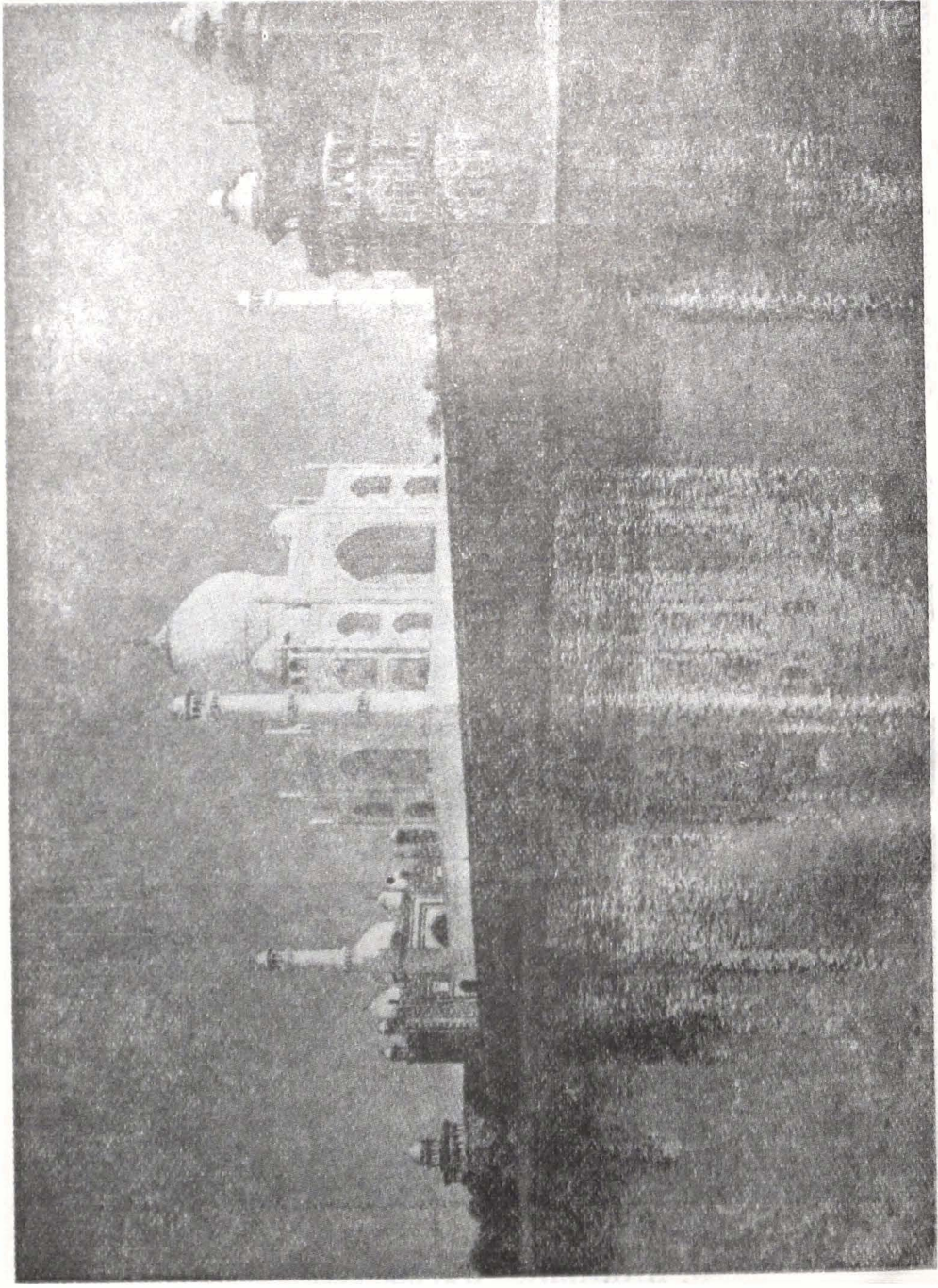
All these caves, generally speaking, belong to the middle ages and with their sculptural decorations deserve careful study.

This morning I went to Fatehpur Sikri from Agra. The road to that place is pleasantly cool. The greater part of the





**N. KARAZIN. Gwalior Fort.**



**V. V. VERESHCHAGIN. Mausoleum Taj Mahal in Agra. ( XVII century )**

road is traversed in the shade of trees. But the one-time capital of Akbar failed to charm me. I expected more; however the mosque, the so-called house of Mariam Bibi was once covered with gold and frescos and the Diwan-i-khas and Diwan-i-aam are excellent in their own way and are covered with very elegant sculptural work. Net-carving around the tomb of Selim does really resemble fine lace from a distance. The grape-vines in the house of the Turkish Lady are very beautiful<sup>120</sup>; but with all these it is not so luxurious as the fort at Agra, nor so graceful as the Taj.

Although the walls of Fatehpur Sikri enclose a vast area, once full of gardens perhaps, the ruins do not occupy a very large space now, and one can easily go round them in about three hours. I am not going to enumerate them all; they have been beautifully described in the book of Keene<sup>121</sup>.

I spent the day in the building where, it is said, the courtiers of Akbar used to be accommodated. Here it is very comfortable and cool during the day, but you cannot possibly do without a punkha.

**12th April:** In a majority of cases people come out of college with exaggerated expectations from life. A majority, having learnt some thing or other, expect that the Government would provide for them positions with good salary. Since this does not ordinarily happen and since educated natives are constrained to remain content with a modest pittance, their dissatisfaction against the Government is very strong. The main ground for dissatisfaction of the muslims is quite different. They, too, however grumble against their poor unenviable lot under a foreign government.

Besides, on account of their religious concepts they cannot reconcile themselves to their subjugation to a Government of alien faith. At heart every muslim in India is a rebel. I noticed this hostility towards the Government as being an infidel government even in M. Sh. A. at R<sup>122</sup>. And of course the Afghan war must be influencing this mood of the muslims to the great disadvantage of the British.

**12th April:** My **munshi** was telling me that in the evening just before our departure from Gwalior, he was riding to Morar from Laskar and was waylaid by three highwaymen. He, however, succeeded in galloping away.

**14th April: Delhi.** Arrived here yesterday. At the station I was met by the very same guide, who had showed me round Delhi five years ago. The city has not changed a bit; only the condition of Diwan-i-khas is better or perhaps it has been tidied up and has become yet more majestic.

I went to the fort today: saw Diwan-i-khas, Moti Musjid and Diwan-i-aam. In the last mentioned place wine is handed out to the British soldiers. Last evening I went round the city, wondered at the crowd at Chandni Chowk and enjoyed the cool air of the Queen's Garden.

This morning witnessed the procession of Paraswanatha guarded by the British police with the Deputy Commissioner at their head.

The Rathes [chariots] are magnificent. On the banner the words "Ahimsa Parama Dharma Tato Jatah<sup>123</sup>" are embroidered. It is the same Jhanda [banner] for which the Jains fought with the Vaishnavites. I did not notice any image in the procession.

There is a popular belief, a kind of prophecy, current amongst the Hindus that British rule must come to an end in one hundred and twenty five years.

People here are convinced that the Russians are helping the Afghans.

The British talked about the possibility of Russian invasion so much and so long, that the Indians came to believe them.

How many times had I to listen to the assurance that in the event of Russian invasion a vast number of people, who were discontented, would be on the side of the Russians!

Now the British have corrected themselves, and seeing what a fascination the natives have for the might of Russia they have started to assert something else. They are trying to convince the natives that Russia is weak and poor and that she is harassed by her internal trouble—nihilism.

The Raja of Gwalior is a great sensualist. About three years ago he was captivated by a dancer from Lucknow. The dancer was installed in the palace. But, alas! she got tired of the golden cage and flew away home and the Scindia ran after her to Lucknow. Notwithstanding the Raja's importunities the beautiful damsel would not appear before him. Thereupon the enamoured prince arranged to kidnap her by night.

The beautiful girl was brought to the palace and . . . whipped.

But the Scindia failed to take the dancing girl from Lucknow to Laskar all the same.

**16th [April]: Alwar.** a beautiful city, literally sunk in gardens and surrounded by hills. On one of these hills towers the fort built by the grandfather of the present Raja.

The Raja was brought up the English way, and there are signs of British influence in this city as there are in the city of Ratlam.

English education did not, however, stand in the way of His Highness of Alwar's marrying twice. He married the sister of the Raja of Ratlam and for the second time the princess of Kishangarh (near Ajmer). According to the custom of the **Thakurs**<sup>24</sup> His Highness should have four wives.

This morning the Raja returned to town with his two wives. Gun fire and sound of music "**God save the Queen**" etc. woke me up early in the morning.

Last evening I was taking a drive round the city. I saw two gardens. In one of them a menagerie is located and in another the stable of the Raja. The Raja for some reason or other owns many horses.

I am told that the Raja of Alwar dresses himself in European style and very seldom wears native costume.

**17th [April].** It is said that he dined with Europeans in Ceylon—this news troubles the orthodox section of his subjects very much.

I went to the palace today, saw the library which contains a few new and interesting writings, for example, history of the Jodhpur kings, two or three Jain manuscripts.

The palace does not excel in magnificence. The windows on one side of it open out on a huge tank.

The Raja of Alwar has troops three thousand strong<sup>125</sup>. It is rumoured that the Arm's Act<sup>126</sup> will be extended to Rajputana<sup>127</sup>. And here too foreigners occupy important positions while the local inhabitants are pushed to the background.

I then went to the High School. As chance would have it, the school was closed on account of a holiday.

The Raja is not averse to drinking, and hunting is a passion with him. He scandalizes his subjects by often appearing in the city without a big entourage and even quite alone.

He does not get on well with his wives. It is even whispered that the 'European gentleman' sometimes beats them<sup>128</sup>. The Raja of Alwar contributed 200 camels to the Afghan War. All of them perished.

**18th [April]: Delhi.** I went to him yesterday. He received me in his office, which was something like an ante-room. I waited for him for a few minutes. Then he entered without his attendants, which i.e., absence of suite, is an imitation of European customs.

He talked for a while, but when I complained of British suspicion the Raja broke into a thin smile.

It is interesting to note that our meeting took place only after the Resident had given permission. Sri Ram<sup>129</sup> wrote a letter to the Agent and on receipt of the permission sent me an invitation.

Yes, the Raja of Alwar, a ruler of the new generation, is an alumnus of the Ajmeer College. What do they teach the Rajas in these colleges? God alone knows. I suppose very little is taught, and in any event not statecraft. To cultivate the latter in the young wards is not at all in the interest of the British Government. Well, it is doubtful whether this might have happened under the influence of a few bosses of princely education.

I have seen a few of these trustees—their empty-headedness and want of education are astonishing. The position of the

Principal has fallen to the lot of a certain person simply because he has succeeded in working out for himself a literary name, carving out many new books from old ones. He did not write them, no! He cut out pages from old books and pasted them on.

Captains and Majors, Residents and Agents, people for the most part not blessed with brilliant education and not infrequently even completely indifferent to education, take upon themselves the task of educating the young rulers, and the higher authorities are to blame for this. India is indebted to them because they have grafted on the young rulers the kind of education which is, if not entirely stupid, at least of doubtful quality; the young Raja speaks English very badly, is not strong in science, and has a passion for brandy, polo, badminton, cricket, hunting and so on. The teachers brimming with love for their motherland and actuated by low pharisaical religiosity engraft unbelief on the minds of their wards, and corrupt them so that they look upon their own motherland with contempt. They take pride in their skill for training the young prince-apes.

At Alwar, as well as in other independent domains the most important positions are occupied by outsiders.

British policy in this regard is full of ingenuity: outsiders, feeling as if they were in a foreign land and being obliged for everything to the Britons, are undoubtedly attached to a considerable extent to the rulers and are faithful executors of the rulers' plans and schemes of self-aggrandisement.

Two brothers, Frondeurs of the Alwar Government, came to see me yesterday and presented a Jain manuscript to me and finally sopke out their minds without reserve; when my interview with the Raja was arranged, the brothers came to me again with a request that I should in course of my conversation with the Raja make a mention about their learning.

In Maharashtra the legend about the past glory is still fresh: many still remember Nana Shaib and a good many do not see him with unbiased eyes, do not regard him as a cruel-hearted bandit but look upon him as a national hero.

Here there are many who are discontented. Deshmukhs of old, at present impoverished and shorn of all importance, grumble and are indignant with the present Government, while spending their last days in Poona in mansions, which once sparkled with luxury but are now dirty and half in ruins.

The Brahmans, who used to receive rich presents at the time of the Peshwas, have now lost all importance even in the native society and look upon the activities of the present Government with repressed spite.

Local Maratha patriotism is given expression to even in literary enterprises—songs about the grandeur of the times of the Peshwas and different family chronicles etc. are collected and published here.

Whether any thing more serious in the political field is going to take shape here, it is difficult to say. The case against Phadke points to the fact that attempts at revolt are still premature here.

**19th April:** What a magnificent view from Juma Musjid in moonlight! The whole city with its flat roofs and covered balconies with twinkling light of native lamps lying at the feet of the spectator!

Delhi at night does not present a unique spectacle as a city: not much of a crowd, streets lighted only by the oil lamps lit in the shops, the more fashionable ones being however locked up.

**21st April: Lahore.** My last day at Delhi I spent at home. In the evening I went out to look around the city. The streets of Indian cities are lively at night only on holidays; ordinarily they are cheerless, desolate and badly lit. Only the moon brightens them up a little.

The Punjab is a land of blossoms. How green it is even in April, particularly near Meerut!

**24th April:** Here, as everywhere else in India, majority of the British population have strong conservative beliefs.

Indeed only the women wish the end of the war but from what they hear from their husbands they express their apprehension that troops may be withdrawn from Afghanistan by the liberal Ministry.



Hirat is being much talked about, they are planning to make an independent amirdom of this place<sup>130</sup>.

I was stopping here at the Punjab club.

L.<sup>131</sup> chattered a good deal about the mistrustfulness of the British Government here: he assures me that even letters are opened and the secret police has been reinforced.

**25th April: Amritsar.** At the Anjuman<sup>132</sup>. I met the Mullah from Badakhshan and Kuliab<sup>133</sup>.

Arrived here yesterday and put up at the same hotel where I stopped in 1875 and, it seems to me, in the very same room.

Drove round the city in the morning.

In the bazar I ran into a sepoy; he came near me while I was buying books in a shop. The sepoy asked me where I was coming from, and did not by any means want to believe that I was a Russian. Russians, according to him, do not come to India.

The natives hate the Government for their equivocal conduct.

**26th April:** There are a few Kuks [Namdharis] at Amritsar as well as at other places. They avow unquestioning obedience to Ram Singh<sup>134</sup>.

**Last evening** I saw the Golden Temple. It rises from the midst of an artificial lake.

All around, on the shores of the lake, there are the mansions of the Sardars and Rajas. The Palace of Patiala is built of Jaipur marble.

**27th April:** This morning I drove to the Golden Temple and saw morning prayers conducted there.

The Sikhs sat on a carpet in a ring and all sang in chorus. An old man distributed **prosad** [offerings] to the worshippers.

Amongst the worshippers I noticed not only Sikhs but also people of different castes, just as I found many people of different faiths in the temple itself.

The worshippers were going round the singers who were sitting on the carpet.

**29th April: Delhi.**

**Ludhiana.** Ludhiana is not at all a remarkable city and

not in any way different from other small towns of India. Sardar Atar Singh<sup>135</sup> lives here. This fact and the stay of the son of Shah Shuja<sup>136</sup> are practically the only two distinctions of this city.

The Missionary School and the missionary work which attracted my attention in Ludhiana did not prove to be up to my expectations.

In the Missionary press I found nothing which was new or interesting to me. I did not find the Sardar Sahib. He was on his estate and I was informed by the members of his household that he was suffering from gout.

I was received by his second son who can speak English a little.

I was shown the new house, not yet completed, and the Sardar's library rich particularly in Punjabi manuscripts. The library also contains Sanskrit manuscripts but they are neither interesting nor rare.

The Sardar is a staunch supporter of the British; he is in the good books of the Government and without doubt a man well-informed about the Punjab. About the Kuks, he was the first to bring it to the notice of the Government. What a pity, I could not see him!

At this house, from his servants I have heard that there are many Kuks near Ludhiana. They communicate secretly with Ram Singh who has been exiled to Rangoon. They believe in the prophecy about the advent of the Russians in India and at the moment do not admit the possibility of a defeat of the Afghans. According to their belief, Russia would not allow the Afghans to be beaten. The Sikhs are now loyal and submissive. As the Afghans are muslims the Sikhs do not sympathize with them.

On the day of my departure from Amritsar I went to have a look at Ram Bag for the last time. I climbed up to the flat roof of the palace of Ranjit Singh<sup>137</sup> and here ran into a Pathan from Dera Ghazi Khan. The Pathan was in the service of the British but that did not prevent him from treating the news about British victories with extreme scepticism. He said to me,

"Afghans are not a people to give in at once. The war is going to cost the Government a lot!"

The Hindus view the Afghan war entirely differently. They, just like the Sikhs, do not have any sympathy for the Afghans.

Atar Singh plans to effect improvements of Ludhiana: he wants to build a clock tower, a public library and a guest house for Europeans in his own garden.

**30th April:** The idea of running these institutions has undoubtedly a political significance.

I shall not here go into an examination of how well or how badly this plan is being executed. But what is really important is that there is a plan for establishing an institution in Lahore which would be the nursery of learning not only for India but for the whole of Central Asia.

In the Oriental College I found Kashmiris, natives of Gilgit, Afghans, a Badakshani and even a native of Kuliab.

This fact may in time become a source of much embarrassment for Russia. From here, under the guidance of the British may emanate propaganda inimical to us.

Oriental College is an institution quite original in its character. Here is noticeable not so much the desire for imparting knowledge of the European brand and dogmas of western science, but on the contrary everything is calculated in such a manner that even the most orthodox beliefs of the mullahs and pundits are not scandalized.

They are taught Islamic laws and national medicine. And even the most faithful muslims, who avoid missionary schools like plague and shun European civilization, go to the Oriental college without hesitation.

**2nd May: Lucknow.** 8 o'clock of the 30th: In the evening I started for Delhi from the Dak Bungalow. Perhaps I shall never again have the opportunity of coming to the blossoming plains of the Punjab.

I travelled the whole night and woke up in the morning at the border of the north-western provinces<sup>138</sup>. The picture, which met my eyes, was entirely different from what I had seen the

day before,—the soil, the vegetation and the types: all these were not the same, not so beautiful and brave, as they were in the Punjab.

At 5 P.M. I arrived at Lucknow. Late in the evening I went for a drive round the city. Lucknow late in the evening is dull and gloomy.

This morning I went to have a look at the monuments of past grandeur of the Nawabs of Oudh<sup>139</sup>. Somehow everything appears to be dusty and falling to pieces. I went to the Imambara and the fort, and drove through the bazar.

**2nd May:** When you read the history of the sepoy mutiny or the account of the trial of the last representative of the Great Moguls<sup>140</sup>, you are convinced involuntarily that little did the British know India in those days and that the British of modern times know the country still less.

Living apart from the natives, they did not foresee in spite of clear signs, that dark thunder clouds were gathering around them. And it was only when the thunder did in fact burst that they were reminded about the little things which had clearly pointed to the fact that it was a long time ago that Kalyanemi<sup>141</sup> was disgruntled. So, here are the fruits of this aloofness which exists at the present time to a much greater extent.

**3rd May: Allahabad.** Last evening I was driving round Lucknow. I was taken for seeing the sights of the one-time capital of the king of Oudh. I saw Kaiser Bag, Chattar Manjil, Fort, tomb of Gaziuddin etc. All these buildings, which are visibly in a bad state of repair, bear some special stamp.

It seemed to me that I was looking at a vast estate, the owner whereof, driven by sad necessity, had to abandon his ancestral abode.

The new owner, alien to the old traditions, and of different outlook and inclinations, has set up a new order in the estate.

And how surprised this old owner, given up to sensual pleasures and immoderate in matters of love, would have been, if he had the occasion to look at the present day Lucknow, at the official dinners at Chattar Manjil which has been turned into a



A. SALTIKOFF. A woman (Bombay).



A. SALTIKOFF. Temple (Konjibheram, near Madras).

club, at the Gothic churches, the Canning College<sup>142</sup> and so on.

Everything is different here—not what it used to be before. And it looks as if the witnesses of the old grandeur, these mansions and mausoleums are sickened by the sight of the new order of things.

The old owner was wasteful: he conducted his own affairs disgracefully. All this is granted. But what right a powerful neighbour had to drive the prodigal owner out of his own home? It is said that the people wanted this.

But in this same Lucknow there is an eloquent monument bearing testimony to the way in which Indians view the overthrow of their own Rajas.

Look at the Residency and look at the Topekhanah [magazine]. Look at the walls pierced by cannon balls. Well, do they really bear testimony to the people's consent to the annexation of Oudh to the British territory?

**3rd May: Allahabad.** Muslims are on the side of the Afghans. But they too, like the Hindus, believe in the inexhaustibility of British resources. This belief saves the British from their ultimate downfall.

The British themselves do not believe in the loyalty of the native population: in the land of the Marathas the entire population, and mainly the brahmans, are declared suspects<sup>143</sup>.

Once at the club in Lahore, after dinner, one of the interlocutors declared to me, "We are not afraid of Russian attack. Perhaps this is even impossible, but India is the **vulnerable place of England**". None of those present contradicted this.

**3rd May: Allahabad.** Yesterday at the same time that I was driving round the city of Lucknow some Nawab was also going around sight-seeing. I wish I knew what thoughts were stirred in him by these monuments now under the occupation of unbelievers!

**5th May: Bombay.** Back to Watson's Hotel. I spent a day at Allahabad and left the place on the 3rd at night. The journey from there to Bombay is very tiring.

It extends over two nights and a day. It is true, during the trip one can get ice, dinner and breakfast. But of what avail these things are!

There is general discontent amongst the natives. But I never had any occasion to come across amongst the educated classes any revolutionary in the fullest sense of the term.

It seems, slight concessions from the side of the Britishers would reconcile the natives with the British Empire, which is accepted by practically all the educated people as something necessary.

And the people are submissive as before.

The British in spite of all their mistrust are sending out troops to Afghanistan. They do not apprehend any mutiny.

Keeping in view the meekness of the people and their submission to the wishes of every white Sahib such a mutiny appears to be unthinkable<sup>144</sup>.

**6th May:** In the evening at Jieshtaram's<sup>145</sup>. I heard the Afghan war being desperately condemned. They were saying: "Men will be killed, money and even kingdom lost."

**7th May:** That the war was not popular was well-known to the British long ago. It is hardly likely that they suspect in which corners and on which back streets their failures are being talked about. People, far removed from politics, as for example, Jieshtaram, also talk about "**Rashtra hani**" [loss of kingdom.]

**10th Idem: Ahmedabad:** I spent two days in Baroda. I occupied the same historic room where an attempt was made to poison the British Resident<sup>146</sup>.

Drove round the city; saw everything in Baroda which merits special attention i.e. the palace, the famous hawat (?), where Ameena Aiya was going to have a meeting with Mulhar Rao<sup>147</sup>, saw the stalls for elephants, arena for gladiators, golden and silver guns of the Gaekwars and the buildings which were being constructed, for instance, the new palace of Gaekwad, and the High School.



But the most interesting thing in Baroda was the Dewan Sir Madhava Rao<sup>148</sup>.

I visited him and talked with him for a sufficiently long time; we discussed many subjects and incidentally the social position of the British in relation to the natives. He observed that the existing relationship of the British with the natives was extremely beneficial to India. The British are keeping themselves aloof from the natives and are not striking roots in India. The natives in consequence are preserving their originality. His words meant: thank God, the British are keeping aloof; thank God, the Indian climate is unbearable to Europeans, else they would have occupied the whole of India and would have turned India into Australia. But now it is not difficult to drive out the British. Indians send up their prayers to the sun not for nothing; the sun has done a great service to them.

One of the interlocutors observed in this connection that the British intended to occupy Kashmir. "Yes", said Sir M. R. "There is a saying that in a lesser State it is easy to find something not to one's liking and then to annex or to seize it".

Sir M. R. observed that British rule was nevertheless necessary for India; it was uniting India. Drive out the Britishers and Indians will scatter themselves in different directions and begin to antagonise one another. Internecine feuds will ruin India.

He considers the Afghan war to be unjustified. The sooner it is ended, the better. His sympathies are with the Liberal Ministry.

He does not apprehend evil influence on the natives; educated people understand very well why troops should be recalled, but the **badmashes**<sup>149</sup> of the bazar, notwithstanding their dissatisfaction against the British Government, do not have any political importance; they do not have leaders and are not dangerous for the British Government.

This morning I took a drive round Ahmedabad; saw Jumma Musjid and Rowza<sup>150</sup>.

In the opinion of Buler, Muslims do not have any political

importance in India, British Government have committed a great political blunder in introducing teaching of English language in schools.

**11th May:** This morning I attended a Jain sermon.

The Yati explained a chapter from Bhagavati Sutra<sup>151</sup>. He was reading the Prakrit text in a sing-song voice. Thereafter he translated it into Sanskrit and interpreted the same in Gujrati.

After the interpretation a **Stava** [hymn]<sup>152</sup> was sung. The worshippers were sitting on the floor. Everyone who entered bowed low before the Yati, touching the ground. Women were sitting separately.

The Yati was occupying a raised seat and at the time of reading was holding before his mouth a rolled up handkerchief.

The Yatis are generally chosen from amongst illegitimate children of brahmans, just as most of the Jain nuns come from amongst widows.

**12th May:** Last evening I went to a Yati. He has a romantic history. He was driven out from his caste and became a prophet and founder of a new religion.

He rejects the cult of image worship. His expulsion from the caste, however, came about not on grounds of religion but simply because the daughter of a **Sreshti**<sup>153</sup> fell in love with him.

The father, coming to know of this, decided to take stern measures, but the girl proved to be stronger than her father; she threatened to create a scandal i.e. to run away to the Yati. The Yati was left in peace as long as the daughter was alive, but on her death the monk was expelled from his caste.

From there I went to see the three-storied tank.

I visited a **Sreshti** today, saw his palace and a portion of his library.

**13th May:** Last evening I again went to look at the Ahmedabad ruins.

This morning I went to the Upasraya<sup>154</sup>. Met there a cousin of yesterday's Sreshti, this cousin was also present at that meeting.

The respect shown by the Jains to their Yati is indeed

surprising; they salute him by falling at his feet. Even the majestic **Sreshti** bedecked with diamonds prostrated himself before the Yati.

His cousin thought of entering into a philosophical discussion with me. He asked me about the meaning of the commandment in our religion, "Thou shalt not kill"; but then and there he himself remarked that the commandment was not observed in the case of animals and black people, for, the latter were killed, if not by any weapon, by hunger; heavy taxes were imposed on land and it was taken away from them.

**14th May: Ahmedabad.** Just now returned from Jain Temple which is located in the house of a **Seth**<sup>155</sup>.

The master of the house not only showed me his temple, and forced me to listen to the dissertation of this **Acharjya** [preceptor], but on top of that he embarked upon a political discussion with me. He assured me that discontents had grown very strong also in Gujerat; people were grumbling against land-laws, taxes and irresponsibility of British officials. He said that the appearance of Russians on the border of Afghanistan might have a decisive influence on the fate of British rule in India; he further said that a general treason by the native army was quite likely.

From his place I went to the prison, and then to Laldar-waza<sup>156</sup>, where I saw the famous windows.

**15th May:** Nagar Seth Prembhai arranged a literary gathering yesterday. He called the brahmans and invited other citizens. The party commenced before nightfall, at about 5 o'clock. We arrived there when everybody had already assembled there. The brahmans were sitting in a big room furnished in European style with highly uncomfortable armchairs.

Of discussion on general topics there was none: there was no discussion for that matter; what was going on was something entirely different and undoubtedly quite original; the brahmans who had gathered were reading verses of a special kind and those were not so much poetical as they were artistic. An old man was particularly remarkable; though toothless he possessed

a very pleasant voice. Everyone was reading in a singsong voice, but the old man read as a real actor and to hear him was really delightful. Philosophical disputes were attempted to be raised, but without success. The disputants became confused and the gathering turned again to the easier pastime i.e. reading of verses. In about an hour and a half when it was growing dark, the meeting terminated; the host gave money to the brahmans. He was not particularly open-handed; he gave a rupee to each of them. He distributed flowers to us, the members of the public, and sprinkled perfume. These latter fell also to the lot of the brahmans.

“You are honourable, you do not lie and can conduct your affairs better than we do. But what does this huge blunder in your budget mean? Either you lied or you are a bad economist? One of the two things necessarily follows from your budget.” So says the native.

This can be heard in every corner and in every back street and the native press repeats it in every tune.

The proud Briton does not pay any attention to this, but in his heart of hearts he feels that he is bound to take into account the opinion of the natives.

**17th May:** I spent a day in Surat and saw very little there.

Attended the service of Prarthana Samaj. Somehow everything was laboured and unnatural there.

The town of Surat is apparently half Europeanised; there are broad streets and tall houses there.

**The same day: Bombay.** Jieshtaram conveyed strange news to me today. He said that the police interrogated him as to why the Russian Sahib should be coming to him.

This recalled to my mind and explained to me the embarrassment of B[hagawan] L[all] I[ndraj], when on one of my visits there was a policeman standing at the gate of his house.

V. Spoke this day about the unfavourable impression created on the minds of the natives by the latest financial report.

Poona is considered to be the hotbed of treason<sup>157</sup>.

Rampa revolted as a result of imposition of tax on salt<sup>158</sup>.

In Assab<sup>159</sup> the British appointed their own consul and declared the bay and coast to be belonging to Egypt.

**7th June: Cairo.** Left India on the 20th of May by the Austrian Steam Ship Vorwarts.

## DIARY OF THE THIRD JOURNEY TO INDIA AND BURMA.

(December 1885—April 1886)

**4th December:** [1885]. Brindisi: Arrived here last evening from Ancona.

**5th December:** Read in the 'Daily Telegraph' today that the British have returned the Gwalior Fort<sup>160</sup>. This fact is of tremendous importance. Do they fear a revolt in India?

The war with Burma has ended<sup>161</sup>. I read about this in the same issue of the same newspaper.

About 5 o'clock. Right in front of my windows "Mongolia" is being unloaded. And at a distance stands "Assam" i.e. the ship by which I shall sail at 5 o'clock in the morning of the 7th.

**7th December: Monday.** This morning at 5 o'clock we sailed from the Italian shores.

At 2-30 on the 6th of December I boarded the ship. This was the first time that I spent in anxiety for a cabin.

**8th December:** It was a cold day yesterday. Today it is warm, and no breeze.

A traveller is obliged to get himself acquainted with India from the show-end—one of the large port towns where contemporary mercantile marine routes of the world cross. Ordinarily he finds himself either in Bombay, or in Calcutta or even

in Galle<sup>162</sup> in Ceylon, everywhere he endures an identical impression more or less strong—strong, but not correct.

The first impression is as if of the might of European influence on the East. Beginning from the European caravan-serail<sup>163</sup> and ending with shops where merchandise of the west is offered for sale to Europeans, signs of the inroad of European civilization meet the eye everywhere. Improved roads of communication stretch over tens and hundreds of miles. All around specimens of western architecture are raising their heads. You ride a horse-drawn tram car and buy either an English or Vernacular newspaper.

The natives around you talk in English. You meet students with English books in their hands. Start a conversation with them and to your surprise you will find that everyone of them is well acquainted with all the problems of the day in Europe. They are following the course of literature and politics. They read the 'Times' and yet more radical newspapers, not so much out of sympathy for radicalism as out of patriotism. Radical English [newspapers] treat India more sympathetically than even the liberal ones.

At every step outward manifestations of the civilized life of Europe meet your eyes. But all this has been superimposed and the essence of oriental life has not in the least been, and could not be, affected by this.

People here lead their lives as of old, and those tasks and problems which agitate the western society do not exist for them. An insignificant minority amuses itself with the thought of realizing western political ideals. For the masses these ideals and the problems connected with them are not easy to understand.

**9th December:** For the masses life is regulated by customs.

In the East a custom, according to common understanding, is of divine origin. Reason cannot explain it; and such explanation is not even necessary; for the masses the less understandable a custom is, the more enduring is its reputation of divine origin. It has struck its roots deep into life—and nobody would think of delving far down for them. Incomprehensibility and even

absurdity of a custom are as if in essence the special signs of a custom's divinity and its strength.

And if at the first glance outward manifestations of life in India seem to testify to the European influence, then please look beyond the visible aspect closer into this life, and you will begin to discern the full supremacy of the ancient custom. But customs and innovations live side by side without coming into collision with each other.

"Progress" is one of those words which are most frequently used without any clarification.

It appears that by "Progress" everyone understands a step which is in conformity with his political convictions, and would promote the success of those convictions.

In India there is actually a weak minority trained in British political ideas, who have learnt to repeat aphorisms taken from English books word for word but it is doubtful whether this same minority would support legislative measures calculated to change any religious or social customs. And this minority talks of progress!

Masses of the Indian population hate, and are frightened of, all kinds of changes.

**10th December:** Arrived at Alexandria just before daybreak and stood there the whole day. We left for Suez after dinner.

For whom are all these fancies of western civilization in the East necessary? Who is there that strives for, and cannot do without, the comforts of a cultured life? The answer is quite clear: all this is necessary for the ruling foreigner!

The masses governed by them only wonder and do not at all need these things. And has the condition of the masses shown any improvement since the time they came under the domination of the cultured foreigners?

Robbery and plunder have been eliminated. Life and property are safe. All this is certainly true. But these seizures, annexations and so on are not in pursuance of any moral tasks.

Such a task—coarse and easily comprehensible—makes



its appearance only when the seizure in pursuit of it is pleasant and beneficial.

It is well to remember in this connection what British politicians like MacGregor<sup>164</sup> said with regard to the conquest of Turkmen. Not particularly clever words, but characteristic at any rate.

I drove round the landing stage with Mr. Monch<sup>165</sup>. Saw the yacht of the Khedive<sup>166</sup>. Alexandria with all the ingenuities of cultured rulers and trustees of the west presents an excellent subject for the study of western influence.

One must admire the yacht. How much money has it cost? For whose benefit, pray? For the Khedive's? He sailed only once in this yacht. Egypt certainly does not need it at all. For someone it was necessary to build and decorate it—someone who needed Indian money<sup>167</sup>. In Egypt there is sufficient reason for the display of useless luxury.

This luxury—this demand for comfort—is inoculated like small-pox vaccine. By whom is it inoculated? By adventurers goaded by the greed for money.

Crossing over to Suez and tiresome hours of waiting there seemed to take an age. We waited there for the whole of Friday. Late in the evening we went to the ship in a barge. There was a whole crowd of passengers on board the ship. One cabin had been allotted to myself and three other passengers.

**12th December:** On the Red Sea. Had a talk in the morning with Sir R. Sandeman on the Afghan question<sup>168</sup>. In India the natives are convinced that Russia will soon take Hirat. Categorical statements matter much in politics. I was assured that in the spring troops were ready in India to be despatched to Hirat. The British naively expect that Russians will be defeated there and a catastrophe will follow.

**14th December:** According to Sir R.S., Russian troops have made their appearance in Khorasan.

He assures me that of late great changes have taken place in India. The mood of the natives is much more conciliatory.

Curiously enough he himself said to me, "We know what

Russia wants, not India but Bosphorus. And Bosphorus shall become Russia's. British Government is making strenuous efforts to gain time and put off the decision".

I asked him "How is it that you returned the Gwalior fort?"

The fort, according to him, has no strategic importance. The British can at any time occupy the fort again; they returned the fort as an act of grace to the Scindia.

The return of the fort is a curious fact, considering the time chosen for doing this.

It is necessary to collect information at Bombay about how many natives occupy higher posts in the British services. Yesterday Sir R. S. was asserting that higher judicial posts were open to the natives.

He informed me that rifles of an improved design had been introduced in the armies of a few native rulers earlier than they were in the army of British India.

He himself also saw a prince with such arms in Kathiawar<sup>169</sup>. On his question wherefrom these rifles had come the prince said something unintelligible.

The rifles however were smuggled across Karachi and are, without any doubt, of British make. By the same route and from the same source rifles of this very type could, and in fact did, find their way to Turkmenians.

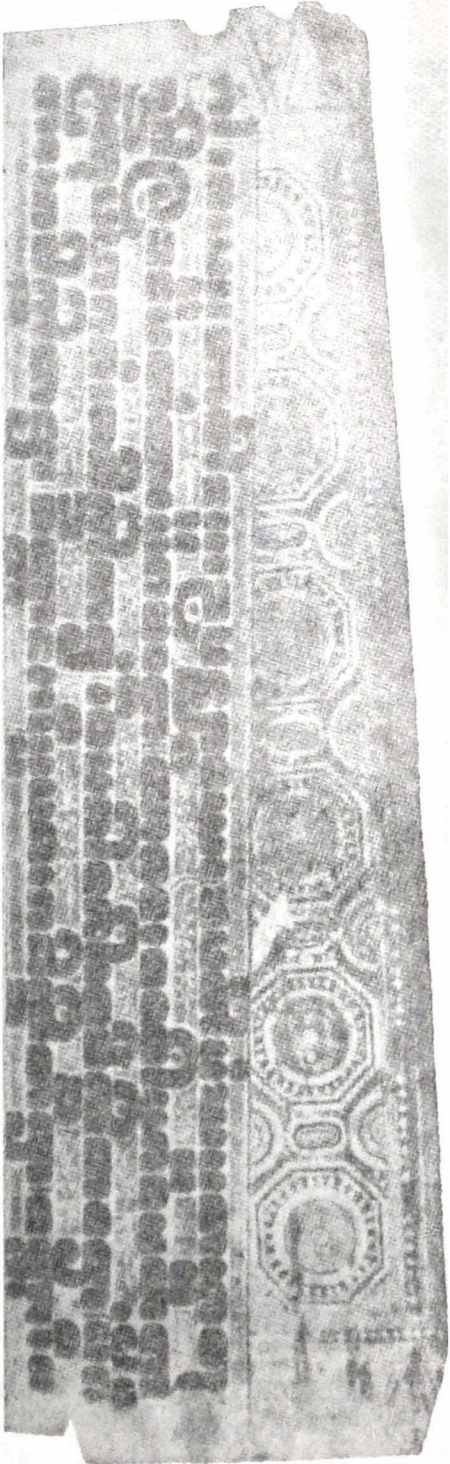
**15th December:** Not yet reached Aden. We shall be there tomorrow morning, I hear. Sojourn on board a ship is generally very tiresome. The days spent on the Red Sea should in all fairness be regarded as the most tiresome. It is stuffy throughout the day. Early in the morning, before the sun rises, and in the evening from 5 o'clock, the heat is less. But inside the cabin the nights are positively unbearable.

For Britishers of course the crossing is not so boring and tiresome. Their number is considerable and they contrive to amuse themselves in their own way. Yesterday they arranged a concert and a dance. They sang, played and danced and enjoyed it. All of them belong to one society, more or less



**V. VERESHCHAGIN. Banla.**

PALI MANUSCRIPT on Palm leaf (from the collection of I. P. Minayeff).



know one another, have common interests and hence topics of conversation. For an official who has set out to go back to his job, his stay on the ship is as if only a continuation of his vacation. Maybe, he too feels somewhat bored; nevertheless life on board a ship is easier than loneliness at a station at some out-of-the-way place. In the extreme eventuality he goes through the same sort of diversions which he would have at his station in India.

It always seemed to me that Britishers as a race were handsome. The specimens I came across on board the ship do not confirm this opinion, particularly the ladies. Ugly faces and unshapely figures!

My God! how do these ladies and gentlemen dress! When they appear together in these dresses in more or less considerable numbers the eye soon gets used to these bizarre attires; but what an impression would it have created if such a dandy or such a 'decorated' lady could be snatched away from their midst and taken over to the Italian boulevard in Paris? Here is one, for example, who is ostentatiously promenading in his striped flannel. Rolled up trousers, yellow shoes, and some kind of a curious covering in the shape of a skull-cap on the head. Here is another in a pink shirt and tobacco coloured jacket. . . . I say nothing about the ladies' dresses: the main defect of the ladies is their lack of beauty and affected manners. Poor they! You cannot by any means brighten them and of course cannot think of any attire which would become them. How they howled and yelped and behaved yesterday, dancing away waltzes and polkas!

Judging from certain data—for instance, the return of the Gwallor fort—a policy of concessions to, and conciliation of, the natives is being initiated in India. And all this is in apprehension of open hostilities with Russia. These are all in consequence of the affair of kushka. They are seeking an alliance with China and capturing Burma. The blow is calculated to defeat two opponents—France, and indirectly, Russia<sup>170</sup>.

They want to outrun France and reach the markets of southwestern China sooner. Besides, they think that the fact of

China being in the immediate neighbourhood will facilitate closer contact with her and this will surely be of very great advantage in their fight with Russia. It appears that in India nothing in the nature of a more or less big job is undertaken without its having something to do with Russia.

**16th December:** We are approaching Aden. A breeze blowing since the evening and the heat felt is considerably less. It is said that an appointment is made at Aden only for a period of two years. Today cargo was being picked out from the hold—a whole mass of barrels and cases with the inscription "Mesa, Aden"—and all these barrels and boxes contain either strong or soft drinks, mainly ale and soda water. It would be interesting to find out at what intervals of time such a cargo of drinks reaches Aden which enlivens the defenders of British interests languishing in heat.

Yesterday there were again concert, recitation of verses etc., on the deck, ending up with dances. They sang and danced badly; but the excellent manners of the British surprise me nevertheless.

Had we arranged something like this on board our own ship, there would have been noise and uproar and we could not have avoided biting criticism. Everyone would have wished to demonstrate that he had heard much better things than this and he was not going to marvel at this kind of song and declamation.

**17th December:** We came out of Aden yesterday at 7 p.m. Today the wind has grown stronger but there is no rolling yet. It was tolerable in the cabin at night. The window was open and the air fresh and cool.

Aden is an important marine halt. Here the ships refuel and replenish their stock of water. Fortifications are not of much importance. But without Aden the British would have been in a sad plight on their long journey to India in wartime. The climate of the place is dreadful: heat and drought. It is said people are sent here on assignments extending over only two years without any increase in the salary.

At Aden Indian newspapers were available on the ship.

There are a few interesting articles on the Burmese question. The native press is inimically disposed towards the British enterprise. The natives are against the annexation of Burma. The British, they say, fell upon the weak and crumpled them; for what purpose were they wasting Indian money? For securing new markets for their goods and new positions for their officials. But they did not dare fight with Russia. They are expanding the army in view of the coming clash with Russia—again, with whose money? With taxes levied from the Indian people.

If everything said by the natives about the Burmese war be taken into consideration, the faith of the British in the loyalty of the natives would seem to be not sufficiently well-grounded.

Read the speech of Ripon about the present situation in India. How is it that the British are not fed up with talking about the progress of the native! And in what way does this progress manifest itself? And what does this word "progress" signify?

A few dozens of natives, an insignificant minority, chatter in English and read English books. Is this progress? Or is it **necessary to read its achievement in the fact that the natives are beginning to demand for themselves representative Government, and wanting self-Government?** But all the old social injustices of the caste system and the unwholesome customs are as strong as ever in India and nobody makes any serious effort to eliminate all this. The rulers are afraid that they might set the conservative section of the people against themselves; young reformers of India believe, just as their comrades-at-arms in Europe do, that the salvation and success lie in the acquisition of political rights. Grant a man his rights and everything thereafter will go on excellently well. Must one read progress in it?

Read what the British write about the countries which they are preparing to seize.

This gives me the impression of a false and ugly pretence. This pretence deceives no one. It is needed for self-complacency, and for the native people who believe in words loudly spoken.

**18th December:** Greed for money is considered to be the basic principle, it is the permanent motive for moving forward. We go ahead and seize new countries because they are rich in resources or because we find in them new markets for the sale of our manufactured wares. If there are no such motives for moving forward then it is either condemned or some secret motive is ascribed to it. This is how the British look upon our movement in Central Asia. They can explain and understand this only as a threat to India. They do not wish to, or maybe, they cannot, understand that this overflow of Russian might into the sands and barren steppes is an evidence of sincere service to the cause of humanity<sup>171</sup>.

**19th December:** There are no railway lines from Sibi to Quetta<sup>172</sup>, and in some six hours it is possible to reach Quetta from the foot of the pass.

I asked Sir R. S. yesterday whether it was possible to get an account of the military road. The answer was—"no". Such an account, even if it existed, was not at any rate published and was being preserved in the archives of the Quarter-Master-General.

In Quetta the civil and military authorities are different. There does, however, exist in India the view that these two should be integrated and placed in the hands of one authority; this view is shared by MacGregor, the present commandant of the Punjabi troops. MacGregor is characterized by Sir R. S. exactly as he appeared to me about 10 years ago in Calcutta and as he appears on a few pages of his 'Journey to Khorasan'<sup>173</sup>. He has in him some elements of despotism and complete absence of sympathy towards the native people. He is a true Briton, who considers himself to be the salt of the earth.

Sir R. S. appears to me to be a completely different type. At least from what he professes (I do not know what he practises) it appears that he treats the natives as few in India do. His views on India are influenced by the Lord Lawrence school<sup>174</sup>.

The British, it always appeared to me, are strong in India because there are among them administrators, of this school: strong practical sense and knowledge of local conditions.



S. was telling me yesterday how he stood in need of 15 thousand camels for the construction of the railroad to Quetta. He summoned the leaders and elders and offered them his terms; they accepted the terms unquestioningly and fulfilled the contract in the best possible manner. The payment was of course good, but it was not on account of payment only that they took up the work. There was also the desire to be of service.

I asked S. to what extent the opinion of Gordon<sup>175</sup> about Indian troops was justified. Gordon was in India for a short time, did not see the country after the rebellion and did not also know the Indian sepoy after the reorganization of the army.

S.B. was the Magistrate in Bassein<sup>176</sup>. This is a post obtaining in the non-regulated provinces<sup>177</sup> and combines with it the duties of the Collector and the Judge.

I would have liked to know about the church administration in Burma. Upper Burma<sup>178</sup> during its independence was patriarchal.

**20th December:** Whether because we are sailing against the wind or because the ship's boilers are old—we are moving very slowly; yesterday we did 266 miles, today not more than that, and by all calculations we are not going to reach Bombay before Tuesday evening.

It is dreadfully dull on board the ship. I have read through the diary of Gordon. Cannot read Maine's<sup>179</sup>. Cannot read because the course of thoughts is different.

My head is full of plans about what should engage my attention in Burma. These dreams somewhat relieve the boredom. Had there not been these dreams in my head, I might have really fallen into despair out of the inertia in which I had found myself. For whole days I do without books. Talks with the fellow travellers are most uninteresting. Everybody is apparently languishing and everybody desires to set foot on **terra firma** as quickly as possible. Maybe, the young people are enjoying themselves—young people to whom flirtation is an amusement. And there are such people on the ship.

**21st December:** We are approaching Bombay. We are told that we will be there at 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. tomorrow. On the whole I should be pleased with the sailing. There was no rolling in the Mediterranean and the crossing was quite peaceful. Only during the latter days, particularly tonight, there has been some rolling. We are doing about 280 miles in 24 hours.

The British have been surprisingly lucky during the passage of the present century in Europe. They have not suffered any kind of defeat—either military or diplomatic, not an inch of their dominion has been taken away from them. Nothing like Jena, Sevastopol or Sedan figured in their history of the 19th century. Outside Europe, in their historical life there were of course critical moments: the first Afghan war, the sepoy rebellion and finally the troubles in Sudan<sup>180</sup>; but they came out of these victorious. These favourable conditions which are within the living memory of the present generation created self-confidence in them. They are afraid of a clash with Russia, but they dread, as it appears, only the cost exactly as a wealthy man would be afraid of the cost of a distribution of his funds on a huge scale, funds which were meant for some other purpose. But about their victory they are confident. They are entirely wrong in their calculations; they have a completely inaccurate picture about Russia and her relations with the Central Asiatic countries. They think that even one small reverse may shake and even totally impair the strength of a military power like Russia. This is thought about Russia, a country which has lived through **Plevna**, the fight with the biggest Muslim power!

The Burmese war has ended. The country will probably be annexed and the friends of humanity will of course be glad that this will open up a new and wide field of activities for the western civilizers. For these countries an epoch of progress will commence. They will break out into blossom: commerce, industry, railroads, telegraph, schools, courts, improved administration: all these will undoubtedly find their way into the newly acquired territory.

But these same friends of humanity, who think about the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people, should ask themselves: would this progress in which they are rejoicing really accomplish this object? Would the conquered be any better? Would they really? What exactly would constitute progress for them? The Burmese will build railroads which will help their further enslavement. They will be provided with schools which will inoculate them with some enlightenment, create in them discontent, and having shaken their faith will not give in its stead any kind of compact world conception.

Does progress lie in this? All this shall not make the conquered better and happier and shall not rouse in them intellectual productivity.

And ultimately all the innovations will prove to be of advantage to the minority of the incoming rulers. They need railroads for the transport of commodities, and in exceptional circumstances, [only] commodities. The foreigners need assistants from the native population, who have received some kind of training. Schools are set up for this, and even the administrative system, which has undoubtedly undergone improvement, costs such a great deal that the most benefit from this institution is derived not by the natives but by the foreigners again.

22nd December: We shall be at Bombay today. But when? Nobody seems to know; they say—before dinner. The sea is calm; nevertheless we are moving very slowly.

This morning I had a highly interesting talk with a Judge from Arra in the Presidency of Bengal. He definitely assures me that discontent does exist in India. In Bengal plots are being hatched constantly; these do not lead to serious outbursts only because the Government keeps a vigilant watch over the natives. The development of the native press exerts influence over the opinion of the native society. Vernacular papers preaching discontentment do not have any subscribers but they reach the villages. In the evenings cultivators gather under a tree, a newspaper is read out and they listen to it. From time immemorial Indians have loved to listen to recitation. But formerly they

used to listen to the Mahabharata and now they listen to a political paper.

All the lower rungs of the judiciary are occupied by the natives. Only Judges of High Courts are mainly Britishers. Half of them are recruited from lawyers (Barristers) and half from officials running the administration of the districts.

The aim of a legislator was to synthesise two kinds of experiences: (a) of local conditions and (b) of legal matters.

The civil administration is divided into two branches: Executive, to which belong Collectors etc. up to the Commissioner, and Judicial, beginning from the Munsif, the rural judge—usually a native—and so on, up to a District Judge. A Justice of the Peace is appointed by the Governor.

Man can attain full satisfaction and complete happiness only with well-defined unity of world conception. If this is disturbed, neither a people nor an individual can be happy. And the activities of the western civilizers must inevitably begin in the east by disintegrating the unity of world conception.

**23rd December: Bombay.** Arrived here yesterday at about 6 o'clock in the evening.

My God! What a to-do on the ship! I thought at one time that I should never get out of the ship and get to the Esplanade Hotel. The young hotel courier having come on board the ship recognized me and managed to bring me to the shore. I felt famous when I found myself once again within the walls of the familiar caravan [hotel]. I had a wonderful sleep at night. Read newspapers in the morning.

The trouble was on account of the bill of exchange. The bill of exchange was not accepted by the Agra Bank and it demanded identification of my person. Remembering old times I went to Remingtons. There I found myself in the midst of familiar faces. All the native clerks remembered me and recognized me at once. The bill of exchange was accepted.

My sojourn on board the ship terminated with a talk with

the Judge from Arra. He told me point-blank that the Government would keep watch on me.

**24th December:** The Pandit, who delivered a lecture in Sanskrit, hails from Sindh. He belongs to the class of free-thinking brahmans.

Talawia—Settlers in Broach from Rajpipla<sup>181</sup>: Their principal occupation is that of village **Chowkidars**. Out of 3 thousand Chowkidars of the district, half are Talawias and Koles<sup>182</sup>. Their number is estimated at 18 thousand.

**25th December:** It is Christmas day today. On the streets of Bombay, however, any particular commotion is not noticeable. In today's **Englishman**<sup>183</sup> (23rd December) there is a telegram about the uprising in Shwe-gyeng<sup>184</sup>. The uprising is being led by a monk.

I had been to B.L.I. [Bhagwan Lal Indrajī] today. The old man was glad to see me and greeted me in English. Thereafter our conversation went on in Sanskrit. He speaks English well. The conversation was interesting. At the beginning we talked about archaeology; after that, however, he switched on to the question of Talawias. He narrated to me an anecdote in Sanskrit about the stolen oxen and their retort to their master. Some thief unharnessed somebody's oxen and drove them away. The master, however, chased the thief and got back his cattle. After recovering the oxen he began to reprimand them for having gone away with a stranger. "Did I not feed you?" said he. "Yes, and the thief would have fed us, too," replied the oxen, "and you would—both of you—do the beating." Such is the relationship of the natives with the authorities. There is no love lost between them. There is fear that comes from helplessness. What can the army of an independent ruler do without artillery? They would take to their heels at the first sight of British troops. The Scindia is not strong and God knows why the fort was given up. The Nizam is also placed in similar circumstances. Only Nepal<sup>185</sup> is independent. But will it be able to do much?

In some parts of India, for example, in Gujerat, in the

Punjab etc., traders and cultivators are contented. Dissatisfaction prevails amongst the cultivators of the North-Western provinces, Bengal and Kumaon.

B.L.I. positively condemns western education in India. People in the high schools learn the English language only, but they do not acquire any kind of knowledge.

Drunkennes came to India from the west and is spreading to the villages, and so are falsehood, family quarrels and depravity.

In Nepal at the Swayambhu<sup>186</sup> Stupa he came across a Tibetan who had in his hands a dictionary in three languages —Tibetan, Sanskrit and even Pali (?).

B.L.I. is not at all a supporter of the old order.

**26th December:** At Wordsworth's. In military circles everywhere in India there is ill-feeling against Russia. In Burma banditry is on the increase. The condition of the country is terrible. My appearance there may look suspicious. As a liberal, Wordsworth does not sympathize with this feeling. He invited me to dinner tomorrow. There will be a Bengali guest with him.

At his place I met Jardin<sup>187</sup>. Talked about legislation in Burma.

**28th December:** Dined with Wordsworth yesterday. The Bengali gentleman was not there and owing to his absence all the interest in the dinner was lost. The following were the people who dined:

One Mr. Atkinson, who, I was told, was an advocate; Sir Wedderburn<sup>188</sup>; I do not remember his Christian name. Spoke about the Sanskrit lecture of the Swami. At the dinner, talk went on about British affairs and a Spaniard held the company with tales about the intolerance of the Spanish clergy. The dinner was dull enough. The Spaniard, Pedraza by name, is a fugitive and teacher of different Romanese languages. Wordsworth, it appears, patronises him because he is an emigrant and holds radical political views.

After dinner a few other persons arrived, one of them being

Sir V. Gregory, Ex-Governor of Ceylon. We were sitting in the verandah, smoking and chatting about political problems. We were talking about Indian affairs.

Early age [limit] for C.S. Ex. [Civil Service Examination] (19 years) was condemned. Raising of this age-limit was demanded.

Supported by Sir V.G. G[regory] Wordsworth spoke about the indispensability of the native army and uselessness of the British army. Social segregation of the natives from the Europeans and the arrogant and contemptuous attitude of the latter were decried.

Sir V.G. asserted that nothing like this existed in Ceylon. Well, of course, he was lying. I put forward my opinion about the attitude of Europeans towards the Burghers<sup>189</sup> and reminded the Baronet about how Sir R. Morgan was driven out from a hotel in Kandi. Sir V. was obliged to agree with me but explained that Kandi was the favourite haunt of planters and made a grimace when uttering the word "planter". In the end, I almost fainted owing to the foul smoke of cigar.

**29th December:** I went to Jardin in the morning and talked about Burma; he gave me a few letters of recommendation. From there to B.L.I's. The old man was half asleep and was very glad when I left him. I had chosen an inopportune moment.

Dinner at Jardin's in the evening. Empty gossip at the dinner. Must be, the British carry on such a conversation at dinner for the sake of their digestion. They were remembering England, Russia and so on.

After dinner the conversation took a different turn.

Unofficial India<sup>190</sup> has neither wealth nor importance. It does not command any respect in its native land, partly because it does not possess much wealth. Attention is paid to this section when the question concerns British trade. It influenced the fate of the Ilbert Bill<sup>191</sup>. But in Bombay agitation against the Ilbert Bill was not strong. The problem cannot be considered to have been solved.

Unofficial India, considering itself to be the offspring of

the conquerors, stands on its prerogatives like an aristocrat and does not want to lose them.

Jardin like Wordsworth looks upon the growth of political ideas amongst the natives not without satisfaction.

In course of the conversation about Burma my attention was drawn to the Brahmans in Mandalay.

**2nd January, 1886: Calcutta:** Sixty hours' journey from Bombay. The journey is extremely fatiguing. At first, four of us—two Britishers, myself and a Bengalee—were travelling together. The latter turned out to be Banerjee, i.e. the President of the Bombay Session<sup>192</sup>. I entered into a conversation with him on the second day. I asked him what practical results they expected from the conference.

"Growth of national feeling in India and unity of Indians." He pointed out that people from different corners of India gathered at the conference.

L.R. Churchill promised a real Parliamentary enquiry<sup>193</sup>. But the Hindus do not believe him. They do not like Dufferin<sup>194</sup>. He is much too occupied with foreign policy.

Two more natives came into the coupe the next day. One of them, a Muslim, and the other, a Hindu-Kshatri<sup>195</sup> by caste and pleader by occupation.

All the way they were talking amongst themselves in English but both spoke badly. The Muslim gentleman was a merchant trading with Jeddah. I entered into a conversation with him about travellers from Central Asia. He had seen a few from Bokhara. Samarkand was considered to be under the Chinese rule. Not the remotest idea about Russia. But the pleader had read about Russia. He knows that the country is a despotic one. The British say that Russia is unjust to its own subjects at home, can this Government be just to the people of a foreign land? He had heard that there were many Russian spies in India. Neither of them had heard anything about the Bombay Session. The pleader had read about it in the newspapers.

**2nd January:** Saw M.W.<sup>196</sup> Was received kindly. Conversation was held in Russian; it was not interesting.



It is doubtful whether I shall find myself in Mandalay. Bandits abound near Rangoon.

Went to Tawney<sup>197</sup>. He was glad to meet me. He wanted to send me to Hoernle<sup>198</sup>. Afraid of the heat, I declined the offer. I was given letters of recommendation to all places.

**3rd January:** Yesterday M. W. explained the appearance of bandits in Burma as being due to the demobilisation of the Burmese army. Things are coming to such a pass that soldiers are committing robbery.

Went to Ware Edgar today. The talk was about Buddhism. Not interesting. He was showing me his collection of Buddhist pictures.

**4th January:** Went to the Museum and from there to the Asiatic Society<sup>199</sup>. Saw Bharhut bas-reliefs and columns<sup>200</sup> in the Museum.

Could not get from the library of the Asiatic Society the books which were necessary for me. Generally speaking, there are not many books about Burma in the library.

From the Asiatic Society I started for the Sanskrit College<sup>201</sup>; wanted to see the Principal but failed to find him there.

Dined at the club with W. Edgar. The conversation was about religion. He knows little about Buddhism; but evidently he has done a lot of thinking about religion. According to me he made one correct observation. Religion at the early stage of its development must have a "teacher"—a person who by his own life would inspire regard, and influence the fantasies and beliefs of the people.

Perhaps, he did not want to say this: at any rate, the above words are not his, but that is how I understood him and this seems to be correct, particularly, in relation to India.

In the course of our conversation he observed that in his opinion a new world religion must be conceived either in India or in Russia.

I asked him why he supposed this should be in Russia. He stopped short. However, from further talks it became clear

why. We are less cultured. That is so, but our political ideas are beginning to grow stronger. And at those places where this crying evil of the day has taken possession of the minds of the people, there is no place any more for religious tendencies.

**5th January: Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna**<sup>202</sup> came to me just now. He sat for about an hour. The conversation was varied.

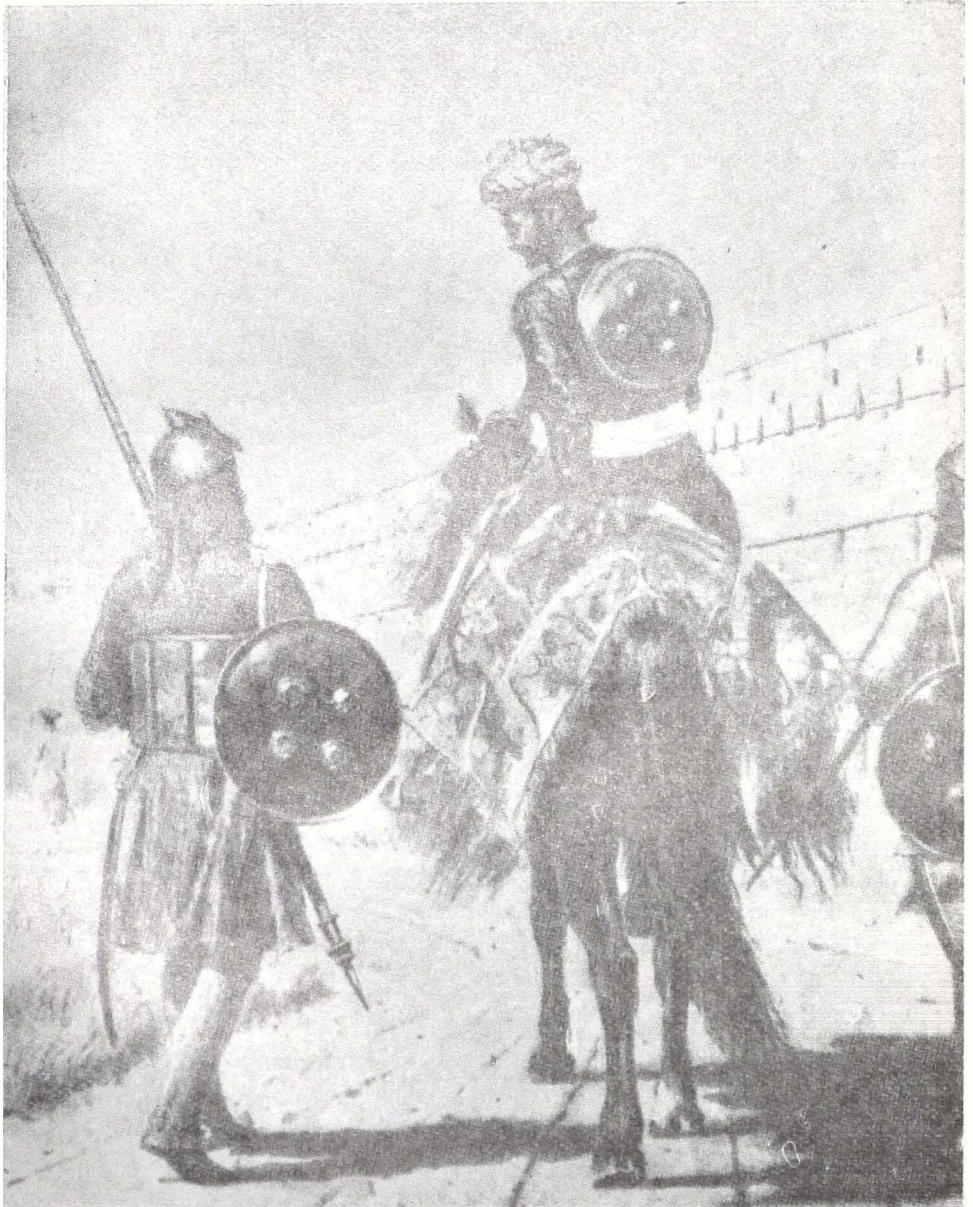
People are grumbling that the Afghan affair is swallowing a lot of money<sup>203</sup>. New income-tax is evoking strong dissatisfaction amongst all strata of the people, more so, because this money will serve only one purpose; it will go towards strengthening the frontier.

He looks upon the Bombay Conference<sup>204</sup> with indifference. About Banerjee he says that he speaks Bengali badly, has sent his wife and son to London for their education on the English pattern and that he himself has become a perfect Englishman.

Bengali influence has grown very strong in recent years. There are Bengalees everywhere in India, not only in the service of the British but occupying high positions in the States of independent princes. He cited Kashmir, Jaipur and Nizam [Hyderabad]. Nilkanta Chatterjee [?] is the Minister for Public Education under the Nizam. He complained of decadence in the knowledge of Sanskrit. Young people do not want to study Sanskrit; they prefer the English language. Study of Sanskrit is encouraged neither by Government nor by private individuals. Shalas<sup>205</sup> are becoming fewer. There are not more than ten such in India. Western education is denationalising the Bengalees.

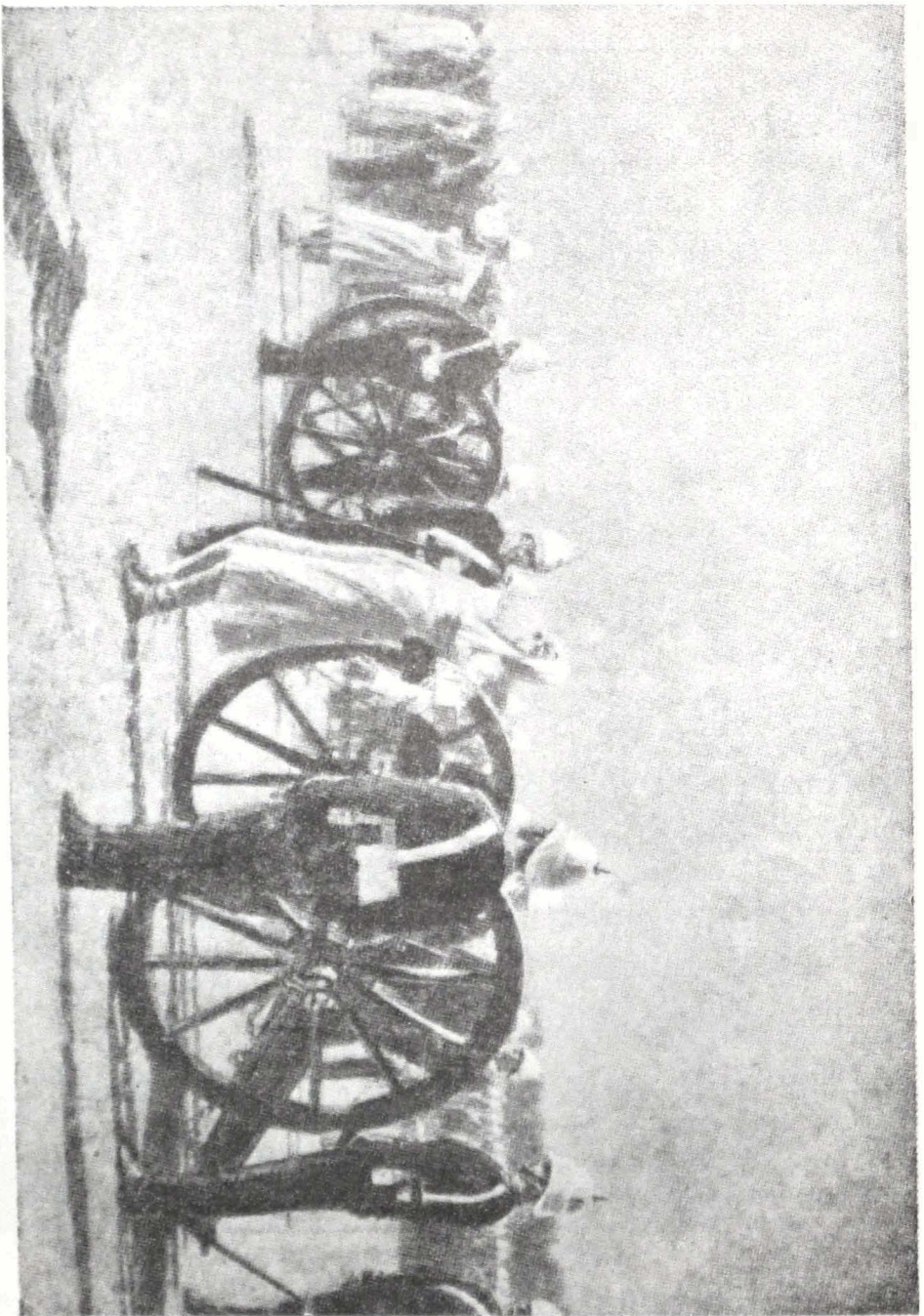
And just these people are the messengers of the new idea of nationalism. They talk about **Our dear old India**; they have forgotten their mother tongue and their ancient motherland, are dreaming of western forms of Government and representation therein. The Indian Mirror<sup>206</sup> is writing a lot of rubbish about the importance of the English language for India.

The vernacular newspapers of Bengal, according to Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, are hostile to the Government.



V. VERESHCHAGIN. Cavalry Soldier in Jaipur.

V. VERESHCHAGIN. Execution of Indians by the British.



Dined at the club with Ware Edgar; talked about the Congress. Hume<sup>207</sup> formed the Congress. This is his idea.

After dinner, Hensman, Editor of the Pioneer<sup>208</sup>, came and took his seat near us.

We talked about Burma. H. has just returned from Burma. Dacoities are a matter for the police and for the army.

The Madras army<sup>209</sup> is not suitable for the operation. Sir C. MacGregor and General Roberts<sup>210</sup> suppose that the Afghan difficulties can be solved by occupation, or to be more correct, by a division of Afghanistan between Russia and England. We should occupy the country from this side of Hindukush and Hirat, and the rest to go to England.

**6th January:** On board the ship Pemba. Stands at anchor at Diamond Harbour. The evening is cool and pleasant.

There is nobody else in my cabin yet. There was a very interesting talk at the club yesterday. It is a pity that it dragged on for a long time and I had no time to look through the collection of W. Edgar.

According to H. the Madras army has been hibernating in the barracks for such a long time. This army which has glorious fighting traditions is at present not at all war-like. It could not inspire fear even in the Burmese. The Burmese were somewhat afraid of facing white soldiers only. From them they fled.

The soldiers of the Madras army are growing up in the barracks. But this is not of any use to them. Often not being physically fit they succumb in large numbers. The soldier-father brings in his son as a recruit. Notwithstanding the fact that he is not physically developed he is taken in out of respect for the request and insistence of the father, and at times, of the grandfather. Either the one or the other had served in the same regiment. In the barracks the soldiers live with families i.e., not only wife and children, but at times distant and old relatives take refuge in the barracks.

The British soldier in India is much pampered. Servants do everything for him. A cavalry soldier has even grooms. In the Kabul Company<sup>211</sup> the number of Camp followers was almost

equal to the number of soldiers ; 9 thousand people of the former category and 10 thousand of the latter.

20 miles of railroad from Sibi have been destroyed under orders of the Liberal Ministry. This fact was denied in Parliament. H. assures me that he knows men who had built and travelled by this road.

This road and its fate was the subject of a public speech at Simla. But the evidence did not come out in print.

It appears that at Mandalay in Burma things have gone wrong between Sladen and General Prendergast<sup>212</sup>.

The native liberals, according to W. Edgar, do not like Sir A. Lyall<sup>213</sup>; he himself is more in sympathy with the Hindus of the old school, as is proved by his latest article.

I went on board the ship this morning before it was 11 o'clock. What a pandemonium created by the coolies!

The ship is considerably smaller than those of P. & O. and considerably less equipped with amenities. The food is bad.

At 12-30 we had started on our journey. The banks of the Hooghly are beautiful.

After luncheon I went into the cabin, began to read and fell asleep. I slept until 4 o'clock.

At about 6 o'clock Pemba cast anchor at Diamond Harbour. So far so good to-day. I wonder what is to happen tomorrow.

**7th January:** We spent the whole night at Diamond Harbour. At about 12-30 Pemba moved.

I was lucky: nobody else appeared in the cabin.

The society on board the ship is extremely vulgar: there are some Rangoon-bound roving actors.

There are also the civilizers! They have room for themselves in a country given over to plunder and loot!

**10th January: Rangoon:** At about 6 o'clock the banks of the Irawaddi were sighted and the tops of the Rangoon Pagoda and Siriam Pagoda came into view<sup>214</sup>. The banks are flat and wooded.

We arrived at Rangoon at about 10 o'clock.

I stopped at Jardon's Hotel. Went to Shwe Dagon with two of my fellow-travellers on board the ship.

At the Pagoda I noticed Hindus bringing in offerings. Today in the hotel at Minkhla<sup>215</sup> it was said that Madrasi soldiers did not wish to fight. This explains the heavy casualties in the officers' ranks. The same was said by Hensman in Calcutta. They apprehend starvation. Paddy has been reaped.

There has been a proclamation by the police by which natives are forbidden to stir out of their houses without light after 9 o'clock.

**11th January:** It is Monday today. I got up from bed at 5-30 but could not get a gharry.

Went on foot to post letters. Went to Symes and Bigandet<sup>216</sup>. We did not talk about politics and the conversation in general was not of any significance. Bigandet said the same thing about monks which he expressed in his published works.

Secured a gharry and returned home.

The city of Rangoon has been built on very correct lines; the streets or 'pahias' are lined with trees. But the heat is intolerable.

**12th January:** Went to Forchhammer and Mr. Gray<sup>217</sup> last evening. Both are local scholars. Specially, Forchhammer is well known amongst the British as an archaeologist and scholar of the Pali language. He was showing me the photographs taken by him of Arakan inscriptions<sup>218</sup>. He mentioned one inscription in **Asoka characters**<sup>216</sup>. The inscription by its tracing proved to be composed of *Kutīla*<sup>220</sup> alphabet and consisted of one formula "Ye dharma hetu" etc.<sup>221</sup>.

He said that it was easy to secure manuscripts here.

Before this I had been to Gray in the Rangoon College<sup>222</sup>. The talk was not of much account. He publishes "Our Monthly". Bigandet made one correct observation yesterday. Buddhism is preserved by the monks.

I went to Forchhammer's place and sent in my card. The wife came out with an excuse, "My husband is very busy, he cannot receive you."

This infuriated me, because I saw the husband standing a few steps away from me.

I confess I was rude to the lady. Then the husband ran up to me with the excuse, "I did not want to appear before you, be pleased to observe, dressed in the costume in which I was playing lawn tennis." Everything thereafter went off smoothly. At first I was trying to be reserved but he exercised effective persuasion.

The talk was not interesting. He is a fool.

I went to Dr. Marks at St. John's College today<sup>223</sup>. I am also dining with him today.

From there I went to Bernard's Library<sup>224</sup>. There are very few books about Burma; found nothing which could interest me.

In the Rangoon College I became acquainted with Gilbert, the Principal<sup>225</sup>. I was conducted to the classes. In a class I heard pupils reading English. The Chinese, the Talains and the Karens<sup>226</sup> read English very well, their pronunciation was very good. They had been studying for about three years under English teachers. In the Pali class the most notable was the teacher who, in all his splendour, gave demonstration of his Burmese pronunciation.

I did not see the Normal School, although I was most interested in it; teachers receive training there for monastic schools.

I asked G. [Gilbert], how the dacoits should be regarded: as brigands or patriots? "Neither this, nor that" he replied. Dacoits are those people who used to live on the bounties of Burmese kings. The source of their living has been cut off by the grace of the British and that is why they go out to secure their own means of livelihood.

At dinner with Marks there was a discussion about the dacoits. If one has to believe him, the dacoits were created by the British, by their mal-administration and by the absence of any kind of definite policy in relation to Burma.

Thi-baw<sup>227</sup> was arrested, brought to Rangoon, but where to keep him! He lived a whole week on board the ship. The army was disbanded and half of it was disarmed. This crowd had no



means of livelihood; bandits by nature, they took to looting, considering this to be the easiest trade.

The Burmese in their perplexity do not know whether their country has been annexed to the British Empire for good or it is going back to the hands of their Kings, and remembering the year '23<sup>228</sup>, they are afraid of openly siding with the British.

They do not take part in the looting because they do not know their fate and do not want to be yoked to the British Empire.

Monks? But they are not monks. These are bad characters, clothed in yellow robes. There is no patriotism in this movement.

A little more energy and determination, and the dacoits would have been eliminated!

A cousin of Thi-baw reads in Marks' School.

Marks taught Thi-baw and lived for a long time in the Court of his father<sup>228</sup>. Once the king sent for him and asked him whether he had heard the important news. Marks answered him in the negative; then the king declared that Russians had conquered India and in proof of that showed him one of those pamphlets like the **Darkling battle** circulating in Burma. The king became angry when his mind was disabused of the truthfulness of this literary work.

The Bible is read by all the pupils in all missionary schools; all the pupils attend the church and sing hymns. Marks is ingenuously convinced that he is striking at the root of Buddhism and preparing the ground for Christianity. "I am not a missionary," he said, "my work is underground".

**13th January:** The natives think about the dacoits differently. In their opinion, at the head of the movement stand pretenders to the throne, the Burmese princes, of whom there are many. All the dacoits are not bandits, there are also patriots among them. Further, not all want the annexation of Burma to the British Empire. People, who are religious-minded, do not want the annexation because they think that this would bring about the end of Buddhism. And of course they are right.

Natives of northern Burma do not at all envy the condition of the Indians. And they are threatened with the very same fate on annexation.

At 8 o'clock this morning I went to U Baya Toya monastery<sup>230</sup>. The head of the monastery is called U Kosalla Kyaung Daik. There are six monks in the monastery and twenty boys in the school. The curriculum consists of Pali texts with Burmese translation. No secular subject is studied. Very little attention is given to arithmetic, orthography and Burmese poetry. Boys are not taught religious geography and that is why they do not know where Buddha Gaya is<sup>231</sup>, where Ceylon is and so on. The head of the monastery himself had been to Bihar and there is a sapling of the sacred tree in this monastery. There is a good library and the catalogue of books has been drawn up with great accuracy. I saw only *Rūpasiddhi* with Burmese translation and tika<sup>232</sup>. The discussion mainly centred round the school. Students attend the school at different hours. Lessons begin with the alphabet, and then *Sandhikappa*<sup>233</sup>, *Mahāmaṅgala*, *Dhammapada* and *Lokaṇīti* are read. Ten days are devoted to the study of *Mahāmaṅgala*, that is to say, boys learn the text by heart, and generally have a sound knowledge of it. I myself was a witness of how smartly and fluently they could quote the text, and then begin to explain it; and the Burmese translation is learnt by heart exactly in the same way and in the course of exactly the same number of days. The remaining texts are studied over a longer period. I suspect they are not read at all. They acquaint themselves with the life of Buddha through the book translated by Bishop Bigandet.

I asked whether the monks took part in the funeral, and so far I could have only the following made clear to me: at the time of a funeral they read *Pañcasīla*<sup>234</sup> and *Tisaraṇāgamana*.

After seven days they are invited to the house of the deceased and also read *Abhiṅga*<sup>235</sup> (?) from *Khuddaka*, and *Anamatagga* from *Samyuttanikāya*, *Tirokuḍḍa* from *Khuddaka* and passages from *Petavatthu*.

Gilbert came to invite me to dinner. He is a veritable

chatterbox and is vulgar in his manners. He prattled about his system of education: all the tasks are chiefly directed to this end that the boys may not be conceited, may not resemble the Bengali Babu and may not expect that the Government, having given them education, are obliged to provide situations for them.

Thereafter Symes came to me. The talk with him was idle. But what a fascination has this song of praise to the gifts of victory of the British troops! A song which is sung probably by the Burmese boys in Marks' school. And isn't this idolatry? Marks is as much a chatterbox as Gilbert is.

All the Britishers of the conservative school of thought are not pleased with the activities of the Government and administration<sup>236</sup> of Bernard. Marks was complaining yesterday that the absence of news from the Government source gave rise to a spate of rumours in the city.

It was being talked about at the hotel today that two Europeans had been killed at Mandalay, probably outside the city. One of them they wanted to crucify. Rumours again! A compassionate Britisher tried to persuade me not to go to Mandalay. To be in Rome and not to see the Pope!

Dined at Forchhammer's. We talked about manuscripts and Burmese antiquities. He had not made important discoveries, but a few of the details are interesting and of course not without their significance for the history of Buddhism in these countries.

Here too Buddhism is in agony. It is struggling desperately but is losing ground under its feet. It could still have got on peacefully with Christianity, but western culture and unbelief are striking it death-blows.

What do the people know of their own faith? In the monastic schools they read only excerpts, and in life see crude superstition. But once superstition is destroyed by western culture, the credit of moral teachings is also undermined.

In Burma too there will soon grow an intelligentsia like that in India. And is this for the better in this best of worlds?

**U-Kosolla**, [Head] of the monastery which I was visiting, had made a trip to India and offered his prayers at Buddha Gaya. He was showing me a photograph of Gandhola in the new i.e. renovated form. Very little was left of the old Gandhola.

**14th January:** I went to the Normal School today. There are in all sixty pupils. Here teachers are trained for monastic schools. It is that laboratory which produces the means of analysing Buddhism and ancient Asiatic culture. The pupils do not study the English language but read the following subjects: Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry etc. History of India, Geography, History of England and Burma.

The monks do not want to have in their monasteries teachers from the Karens. They think that by not admitting Christians<sup>237</sup> into their midst, they were ensuring their immunity against harmful influence.

Had breakfast with Dr. Marks.

Alarming rumours reaching from Mandalay.

Went to the treasury and changed the bill of exchange into a thousand rupees.

Saw Mg. Hpo Hmyin<sup>238</sup> just now. Panic reigns over Mandalay. The country is completely ravaged. The Burmese do not at all want annexation. They are afraid of the British; they are afraid of violence and annihilation of their faith. The monks dread particularly the fate of Buddhism.

Dacoits are of course brigands. These are mainly ex-soldiers of Thi-baw. When the king was imprisoned, many of these soldiers came and surrendered their arms. Others did not give up their arms and it is they who are making themselves known.

In the eyes of an enlightened Burmese, Buddhism is not on the decline, but the study of Pali is.

Thi-baw is not by any means as black as he is painted by the British.

**14th January:** Dined at Gilbert's. The dinner was good but the talk empty. Before dinner he showed me Burmese handiworks of gold. They were very elegant. After dinner,

with cigars and claret F. went on bragging about his Prussians until I cut him short. I am sorry for him and how kind he has been to me! What a nasty disposition I have!

Marks says that people in London know more about upper Burma than the people of Rangoon. G. [Gilbert] does not agree with him. He is somewhat vulgar, but it seems, a good soul. Invited me to stay with him on my return journey from Mandalay.

**15th January:** Went to Bigandet. Buddhism is not on the decline nor is the study of Pali. The Burmese read little and know only what is necessary for performing the customary rites. But this they are not giving up.

Spoke about Moungh Hpo Hmyin with indifference. About Marks with visible uncharitableness. Thi-baw had been to the school of Marks not more than 20 times. He is not a bad man: Su-Pailat<sup>239</sup> was the cause of all the horrors and outrageous cruelties. He let her do these things and that is why he is guilty.

Only the officials do not want annexation, but not so the people who hate the officials. The monks are glad of annexation. The British Government and their vacillating policy are responsible for the rise of dacoits.

Bernard is a good administrator.

**16th January: Prome.** The train arrived here at about 6 in the morning. The perspective of the town is very beautiful. It is surrounded by hills covered with tropical vegetation. The environs are so nice, but on the other hand everything in the dak bungalow is filthy, full of dust and dirt!

I am now writing a letter to Major Alexander. He is the Deputy Commissioner<sup>240</sup> here.

A 3 o'clock I set off for Shwe-Zan-daw<sup>241</sup>, i.e. for the Stupa of the Golden Hair. The stupa, which had been built on the hill, is surrounded by a large number of different kinds of structures. At some places there are pillars with inscription, i.e. a day, and an animal—the symbol of that particular day—painted on them in alphabet, as if indicating to the person who was born

on that day to go there and offer his prayers and bring sacrifices or flowers and so on.

Around the stupa there are a few monasteries and each monastery has a school. I visited two of them. I met with a cold reception at both, and in the second it was worse than cold.

These schools create a strange impression: the monk sitting in the middle sewing a yellow robe, and around him are boys seated on mats with black boards before them, on which are written a few sentences from *Maṅgalasūtra*<sup>242</sup>. The boys are reading aloud in a singsong voice without understanding the contents.

In Mo-Sa-kiaung I was shown a catalogue but no books and I was more kindly received here than in the next monastery where the senior monk definitely did not want to speak.

Maung Nu<sup>243</sup> says that old monks positively hate the British and do not brook interference of Government in the affairs of the school.

In the first school there are more than six pupils and they are reading the very same sutras as those read in Rangoon monastery. These sutras are learnt by heart and recited in front of stupas.

Maung Nu lives in the Rangoon College. He was complaining about the food. And Gilbert was boasting so much of his management!

Somebody sent some gifts to the monk in the second monastery. The monk is verily an incarnation of Gautama! Outwardly the same respect is shown to him as is shown to Gautama. People bow to him and prostrate themselves before him and he does not even acknowledge the bow. The gift sent to the angry monk consisted of fruits and flowers.

From there I went to the bazar, but it was closed. The Public Garden has been kept very clean but it is not very large. Here there is a big lime-plastered brick statue of the Buddha. Prome is a very beautiful town, full of stupas and monasteries.

At the dak bungalow in Prome a certain planter came to me and talked on politics: the discourse was of course about

Russia and her intentions in relation to India. "We in India", he was bragging, "want the arrival of the Russians in India; not one of them shall go back and in this way the question will resolve itself".

This of course is the distorted expression of the opinion of unofficial India, that India which is in direct opposition to radical India. But, undoubtedly, an approaching skirmish with Russia is felt in the air. And Dufferin hinted at this in his speech.

But the Buddhist schools—those that I have seen—are a sorry sight, and where would they stand in the face of even bad European schools? Moreover, the demand for English language is there. What an amount of faith is needed to withstand this temptation! With the Burmese there cannot, of course, be any question about scientific study of literature.

**17th January:** Shwe-Doun<sup>244</sup>, it is said, is within ten miles of Prome. I went there in less than two hours by the road which runs beside the Irawaddi. The country around is very picturesque and on that day even at 9 o'clock it was cool. Generally it is much cooler in Prome than in Rangoon and moonlit nights are delightfully charming.

My first visit was to Muninda of U-Giang. The monk is famous for his learning. He is the author of nine different works<sup>245</sup>: *Jinathapakāsini.*, *Bhajjaṃvilāsini.*, *Manorathapūraṇi.*, *Pañcavyākaraṇa.*, *Vimaticchedani Niroddhamaggadesani.*, *Kavisāraṭi-kānissaya* and *Gandhavaṃsa.*

His opinion about king Thi-baw is curious. He is sorry for the fate of the king but does not know where he is. Praises the erudition of the king. Assures me that the acts of cruelty were perpetrated by the ministers in his name and that the king is not to blame for that.

This monk has two schools. One school has ten pupils who read the very things read in other schools. In the other there are 12 monks (*Upasampanna*)<sup>246</sup>. They study *Abhidhammatthavibhavanī*<sup>247</sup>. Before this they were reading *Prātimokṣa.*, *Khuddasikkha.*, *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇi*<sup>248</sup>. It takes them five months to read these books.

In a house where there has been a death, *Petawaithu* is read: that is, selected passages from this book are read: for example, the beginning *Khettupamā arahanto . . . . .*<sup>249</sup>.

Transportation of Thi-baw from Mandalay to Rangoon proved to be extraordinarily expensive to Government, for example, on board the ship one meal cost five thousand rupees. So much money must have been wasted on the trip from Rangoon to Madras.

**17th January:** Today is Monday and the week has commenced unprofitably. I set out for Sarikheta<sup>250</sup> in the morning but could not find out Old Prome.

Maung Nu proved himself to be beneath all criticism. Led me into some forest. We roamed about for more than an hour and came back without noticing any signs of the ruins.

Thereafter I went to the market and here too met with failure. Everything we came across was of European and even British make. Native productions—lacquered boxes and **wooden blocks** (for darning socks)—were not locally made but were from Pagan<sup>251</sup>.

Muninda's monastery carries the name Say-Hlot Troya daw Kyoung. Muninda is the oldest monk. In all there are not more than twelve monks.

Prome is on the bank of the Irawaddi. There is a club here. The British need these institutions: they remind them of their home.

In the mornings it is very cool here. There is nothing here resembling the Rangoon heat and the Rangoon mosquitoes.

At 7 this evening I went over to the steamer Du-Bhun. The first class cabins are very comfortable and spacious.

These dak bungalows are a positive punishment; terribly dirty and horribly costly. Bed linen for a night costs Re. 1/- and it consists of only one sheet; they do not even supply a rug. The food is nasty and dear; dinner costs Rs. 1/8/-, breakfast Re. 1/-. It would have been possible to put up with all this, had the lodging been a little more clean.

In the evening before my departure I went to **Thum that**



monastery. The monk U-nhe stretched out his hand and received me very kindly.

I asked him how many monks there were in the monastery. At that time there were not more than thirteen people in 11 Kvuns<sup>252</sup>. All of them had been dispersed.

While I was sitting in front of the revered father I noticed that he was all the time murmuring something and counting his beads with his fingers. I asked him what he was reading. He was good enough to satisfy my curiosity, and to repeat the words. These were—" *Sakhyadhamma* <sup>253</sup> . . . . . ". He scribbled them in my notebook.

Only the beginning was fairly correct. Evidently, the monk did not understand anything of what he was reciting. Pronunciation gave rise to a discussion about Ceylon. In his monastery there was a monk from Ceylon. I asked the monk whether he had heard about *Subhūti* and *Sumaṅgala*<sup>254</sup>. He had heard these names and he said in this connection that an Indian prince of Simla had sent many Buddhist books to *Subhūti*. The monk's knowledge of geography was limited. But don't they really teach these people geography, even religious geography? Such a monk sits by himself and his mind does not travel beyond the words he repeats without understanding their meaning. He has nothing else to do.

**19th January:** On board the ship Du-Bhun. We are sailing along the Irawaddi. What a charming shore, now flat, now hilly, groves of palm trees and in the midst of them white stupas. Heavy traffic along the river both upstream and downstream.

We were facing such a strong wind that I considered it necessary to change my tropical costume.

When there is such beauty around, who can write? The higher you go, the more picturesque it is,—the day is clear and so cool: you can just forget that you are standing right in the tropics.

All the time it seems to me that I am on the Volga, that these small hamlets are Russian settlements, and Htis<sup>255</sup>, the golden domes of the Orthodox churches. . . . . And the river is majestic, softly rolling its waves.

It strikes me that that I am writing silly things under the influence of the magic beauty of nature, of cool air and of personal well-being.

**20th January:** The steamer cast anchor at Thayet-mo<sup>256</sup> and stood there for half an hour. It was very hot ashore: right in front of the steamer on a raft Burmese ladies were bathing without taking off their skirts but completely uncovering the upper portions of their bodies. There and then, alongside, almost completely bare-bodied coolies were dragging wooden logs to the steamer. The sun was scorching. . . . But there, the steamer weighs anchor and starts again on its upstream journey; it becomes cool again, and once more on both banks in the charming groves of palm and in the thick foliage of bananas can be seen small villages with the never-failing stupas, now white with golden cupolas, now unplastered brick-red. And what a mass of stupas and monasteries along both the banks. . . .

And so it went for the whole day, towards evening the steamer lowered anchor at Minhla, where it stopped for the night.

The captain had the Commander of the Second Bengali Regiment as his guest at dinner. The conversation naturally turned on the dacoits, but here less is known about them and their movements than in Rangoon. At Minhla there are not more than 150 men, the rest of the troops are distributed in small echelons along the bank towards the north. The boldness of the dacoits, according to the Colonel, is explained by the want of foresight of the British.

The discussion was about the Minhla affair<sup>257</sup>, about the solitary affair in the last war when the Madras regiments behaved so disgracefully. The latter was not of course mentioned.

At 6 o'clock in the morning the steamer weighed anchor and we sailed off. It was as cold as yesterday. Here the river had become considerably shallow. And once again the same picture passed before our eyes from both the banks of the river as they did yesterday: again the golden cupolas of the stupas, small houses on piles and an abundance of tropical vegetation . . . . how wonderful is God's earth! Look around, and you will

begin to see why man of the West has made his way into this place. Why, there must be gold mines around!

**21st January:** Yesterday at dawn, i.e. at about 6 in the morning we left Minhla and at 11 o'clock lowered anchor at Ye-nang-gyoung<sup>258</sup>. This place, compared to the places we had seen before, was not particularly beautiful.

We stopped there for about ten minutes.

Thereafter at 2 o'clock we stopped at Sin Pyoogoon for about five minutes.

We were plying all the time through low banks and numerous shallows. But towards the evening at about 5 o'clock, hills were sighted on the left bank. And yesterday along the entire route, on either banks could be seen stupas and villages, hamlets and luxuriant vegetation.

Within an hour the old Pagan came into sight on the low eastern bank; in the distance tower the hills.

A brilliant panorama of stupas and temples, glittering in full moon, unfolded itself. Truly a sublime picture!

It was quite dark when we cast anchor at Nyang-goo, where the steamer stopped for the night.

In the morning again at daylight we weighed anchor and steamed off. Stopped for a short while at Pakokko<sup>259</sup>. On the way saw the cross for execution.

Low banks and a lot of shallows once more.

**21st January: Mandalay.** Today we arrived here before 9 o'clock and cast anchor. The town is not visible. The unpaved road creates a miserable impression. The heat is intense and the slightest breath of wind raises clouds of dust mixed with sand.

The town is about two to three miles away from here. But as yet it is not possible for me to get there. I have sent my servants for a bullock cart. To go on foot in this scorching heat is altogether impossible.

The left bank directly opposite to the town is picturesque. It is completely verdurous and from the midst of the green can be seen the tops of white stupas.

Subrahmana<sup>260</sup> came just now and declared that there was no gharry of any kind. But I found a gharry after some time and started for the capital of the dethroned king.

The road to the palace, even according to the most tolerant of men, is impossible of description.

My vocabulary fails to describe and recount all the jolts that I had to endure on the road. But at one place I noticed the beginning of the construction of tramway. Notwithstanding the dacoits western culture is already reigning at this place.

Sladen very quickly disposed of me at the hotel when for Rs. 4/- per day I found lodging which was disgusting; dust and squalor indescribable. But there is at least a shelter. At the hotel I heard a number of tales about the dacoits. It is said that to go out in the evening is not safe. Who are these dacoits? There is only one answer: soldiers of the dethroned king who did not pay them and feed them. But they are now systematically slaughtering Europeans. It is said that only the well-to-do classes want annexation. But people do not want annexation and do not understand what it is. The rural population suppose that they will be turned into slaves. They, as well as a majority of the people of Mandalay, do not believe that Thi-baw has been despatched to Madras. On the contrary they are confident that the king is in the palace as before. But they are afraid of going there; they fear British soldiers. The soldiers at first behaved abominably; they were getting drunk and running after Burmese girls in the bazars. A few of them were lounging for hours on the streets. This created a strong and disgusting impression on the minds of the native population.

The authorities catch and shoot a few dacoits each day. The bodies of the dacoits shot down are carried through the streets in order to terrorise the inhabitants. But the inhabitants look at this exhibition with indifference and the dacoits smoking their cigars go to the gallows with a smile on their lips.

Amongst the dacoits there are also Shans<sup>261</sup>, but not many. But the ravaged and disorganised state of the country prevents the movement of the Shan caravans and this causes complete

stagnation in trade. But the country is rich and bountiful; here a pound of beef costs a penny and a pony can be had for Rs. 10/-.

Burmese wheat is better in quality than Indian wheat. Here there is coal and there are forests; well, about forests, they need no mention; the regions east and west of the Irawaddi are rich with them. All these and many other things drew the British to this place. But they did not know how to get down to business and led the country to complete devastation. About 6 months ago the Europeans here were living in considerable safety. With the arrival of the British a large number of sucking pigs, or in other words, city scavengers<sup>262</sup>, were slaughtered.

In the month of September the river near Mandalay becomes 4 miles wide and the water level rises by 28 feet.

The surrounding country is very beautiful, particularly near Sagain<sup>263</sup>. We were there this morning. This place is on the opposite side of Ava<sup>264</sup>. Colonel Simpson<sup>265</sup> was killed by the dacoits here. This happened about 10 days ago.

**21st January:** We were stopping at many places, nevertheless could not reach Sagain.

Stopped at the places where British troops were stationed.

Stood for a few minutes at Myin Gyan where there is a mass of stupas: there were a lot of people on the the landing-stage. We stopped there for a few minutes.

Further up, the banks of the river are flat and low and the landscape quite monotonous. At about 5 o'clock, near the village Cho-ti-lon a new passenger, a certain Burman, brought the news that a hundred dacoits had attacked the village and all the people fled from there. We spent the night at Sagain and did not go near the landing-stage.

In the morning we noticed a few sunken steamers and vessels. The Burmese king wanted to barricade the way to his capital. The entire western bank, where Sagain is situated, is exceedingly picturesque and, it seems, thickly populated. Here, on the hills one finds stupas in abundance.

We approached Mandalay before 9 o'clock.

At this place the eastern bank presents a picture just the

reverse of that presented by the western bank: It is low and denuded of verdure, at least at the place where steamers lie at anchor. A few steamers were standing there.

**23rd January:** The first night at Mandalay passed peacefully. The dacoits did not attack our house.

Before dinner the manager of the hotel asked me whether I had a revolver, and added that these times arms were a necessity and that he himself used to lock all the doors and windows at 9 in the evening.

We had a very poor dinner. There were some sales representatives of different mercantile firms at the table; one of them was a German.

They were swearing at Bernard. Nothing was said about the dacoits. Sound of music was reaching us throughout the night from an adjacent house.

The manager went there, forgetting, of course, about the doors and windows. I myself called the barefooted servant and ordered him to close the windows of my room. My room is only a partitioned space which does not even have a door and is separated from the verandah or the sitting room by a screen. Dust and squalor everywhere . . . . .

At this place too Thi-baw is not blamed directly for the cruelties perpetrated in his name. All the blame is laid at the door of the ministers and of the wife in collusion with the mother-in-law<sup>266</sup>.

He was living all the time behind closed doors, never stirring out of the palace, and presumably had an entirely erroneous idea about his strength.

Ookah, the agent of Maung Po Hmin, came to me just now. He obtained from me a list of books which are necessary for me and which he promised to secure. This is of course nothing more than a promise and as such cannot be depended on. But Ookah was extremely kind. He informed me that many of the monks had fled from the dacoits.

Met the correspondent of the Statesman of Calcutta just now. About eight days ago the Shan Pretender<sup>267</sup> was shot

down here. He had in his gang about seven hundred men. He was captured by a Vun<sup>268</sup> who had gone over to the side of the British. The Shan Pretender was caught and shot down. He had with him his two daughters who were, however, set free.

And this gentleman says that a majority of the dacoits are soldiers. There are very few Shans amongst them.

Here it was all quiet last week. Generally speaking, the town is safe.

According to Ookah the denizens of the city of Mandalay number ten thousand and during the reign of the king there were about six thousand monks. The king used to spend on them about 20 thousand rupees per month. All scholar-monks could reckon on maintenance by the king.

Not only the Mandalay monks used to benefit by the generosity of the king, but also many others outside the capital, the reputation of whose learning would be reaching the ears of the king. Now, of course, for the monks life is different and a large number of them fled from Mandalay. Burmans say that the monks have run away because they have nothing to live on.

At about 3.30 I went to the fret workers, could find very little which was worthy of note, however, and of finished things even less.

From there I went to Myothit Atwinwoon Minkyong monastery. The monastery was built by the former Burmese minister in Paris, and possibly cost him not a little. A huge two-storied construction. Large rooms or dormitories for the monks. But I found few monks there. The monk with whom I had a conversation in Sanskrit informed me that he had a few pupils under him then. It is said (that is, Ookah says) that during the reign of the king some monks had as many as five hundred pupils; the significance of this is appreciated by the Buddhists and they are apprehensive about the fate of their faith. This monastery is guarded by two hundred sepoys.

The monastery is really magnificent. The image of Buddha is made of marble. It is installed in the central chamber directly opposite the entrance. The huge statue is surrounded by various

kinds of offerings. In the dark I could not examine everything. The monk showed me a publication of **Lalitavistara** and *Kātantra*<sup>269</sup>. He assured me that **Lalitavistara** was the same thing as *Buddhavaṃsa*<sup>270</sup>. Proudly asserted that apart from him nobody in Mandalay could talk in Sanskrit. But ever his knowledge was not extensive.

Do not know whether the authorities are sufficiently conscious about the mood of the Burmese people regarding the question of annexation. But this mood is quite plain to an outsider. How much spite and indignation gleamed in the eyes of Ookah when the Sepoy stopped us at the entrance of the monastery! And this monk regretfully mentioned the king and that in his time people lived more happily, the monastery was full of pupils and monks, but under the rule of the **Ingrez** [British] everything was changed and the scholars and monks ran away. In this apprehension about the fate of Buddhism—expressed to me more than once—is betrayed deep regret for the old order of life which has been destroyed or is about to disappear. But the new order? Is it better? People who would be in a position to say 'yes', are not yet on the scene. And who these people would be?

At dinner today I was told that coolie here lives on Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per month.

**24th January:** Went with Ookah to see **Tha tha bline Sayadaw Gyl Kyong** again today.

Here lives *Mātālanikāra-saddhammavaṃsa-atulapavaradham-masenāpati-mahādhammarājādhirājaguru*<sup>271</sup>.

The monastery is situated near the palace. The old man was sitting on a platform on the verandah. In front of him was a pillow leaning on which he was reading some printed book.

Among the monks sitting around him there was one who spoke Pali, and by the way, very badly.

The conversation was not interesting. They were sorry for the king, praised the French and the Russians, and while doing so, abused the British.

The monastery is located in a palm grove in a garden. We



came across a large number of monks in the courtyard. There are many of them here, it appears. This place is something like an episcopal monastery.

A Burman is generally servile in his manners before his superiors. He has been trained up that way by the monks. But this servility reaches the extreme limit in the presence of monks; a man of the world does not walk up to a monk, he crawls up to him and falls at his feet, but the monk sits on like a statue, immobile in his majesty. All of them chew betel<sup>272</sup> all the time.

So is U-ketu, to whom I went just now. He was also chewing betel. Out of fear of the dacoits he moved over from his own monastery into a small one.

He was complaining about the ravaged condition of the country and about the existing state of disorder. About ten monks were sitting on the verandah. They were trying to talk in Pali but nothing came of it, for I could not understand their pronunciation. They were putting silly questions about Buddhists in Russia. These people are **apres tout** [after all] very ignorant and unsociable.

The state in which the town is, is simply appalling: Stink and squalor! But it is true that there is a lot of green all around. What a mass of lean, starving dogs, sluggishly getting up at the shouts of carters! And these gharries drawn by oxen!

**25th January:** Houses are surrounded by tamarind, palm and banana trees. But my God! what squalor and what a stench in this town even from the morning!

Life in the town begins early i.e. at 6 o'clock in the morning and with it begins traffic on the streets with squeak and squeal of the ungreased wheels. Many perform their morning ablutions right on the streets in a seminude condition.

The hotel which is located in one of the streets leading to the palace is full of dust and dirt; in this respect, not much behind the native houses!

From 8 o'clock this morning a gong is tolling, notifying an auction. The auction of palace articles belonging to the king and his queens.

Yesterday at dinner the German was boasting that he had made an acquisition of the prayer-book of the queens and a portrait of the episcopo [high priest] enclosed in a frame set with diamonds.

Would have liked to know what the natives think about this auction.

With the leave of Colonel Sladen I began to examine the king's library today. It consists of manuscripts contained in eight large chests.

I looked into one chest today and found about 100 manuscripts lying in it in disorder.

As was to be expected, His Majesty had all the three *biṭakas*<sup>273</sup> complete with commentaries. The manuscripts are all gilt-edged and a few of them are encased in golden boards. The manuscripts are at present in a state of terrible disorder with many odd sheets in them.

In this chest I noticed the following titles :

A volume including the following works<sup>274</sup> :— *Sambandha-cintāṭikā*, *Bhedacintādīpanī*, *Kārikāṭikā*, *Ekakkharaṭikā*, *Gandhābharaṇaṭikā*, *Vaccavācakaṭikā*, *Saddavuttiṭikā*.

Big volume<sup>275</sup> of *Vicittālamkāra*, work of *Saddhammakittithera*.

Burmese manuscripts titled<sup>276</sup>— *Yogagandhasaccasaṃkhepa*, work of *Bhaddanta Dhammapāla*. The name of the author at the beginning of this philosophical treatise is given as *Anandatth era*

*Dasavatthukathā* or *Dasavatthupakaraṇa*<sup>277</sup> is of a narrative character.

A few chapters of *Rudrayāmalatantra*<sup>278</sup> written in Sanskrit in Burmese characters. The manuscript bears the title *Dhātu-prasaṃsa Nettī-atthakathāyaṭikā*.

The first day did not grant me a rich harvest; but I spent not more than two hours in the library. The chest was half full of papers of the palace, accounts and some documents.

Thereafter I began to wander about the palace. A vast space bounded by palisades in the centre of the town is called the palace.

All the buildings are at present occupied by new dwellers. Sladen lives near the Council building where the ministers still have their sitting. Lots of soldiers everywhere. They have been billeted even in one of the monasteries. Went to the building where the auction was being held. But I could find nothing suitable for myself.

Went to Mowian, the Times' correspondent. He is going to Rangoon tomorrow to meet the Viceroy. The Viceroy is expected here on the 10th of February. In our conversation we hardly touched upon political topics. Burma has been annexed according to the pleasure of the Queen-Empress. There is still a very large number of dacoits around. The power is divided between Sladen and Prendergast. Some of the Burmese ministers have been removed, and some of them arrested.

Thereafter went to see the two bazars, Ze-jyo-daw and Tha-Zu-Ze-daw. One complements the other. The second is empty. At some places provisions are being sold.

In the first, the shops are closed although it is only 5 o'clock. Most of the commodities are of European make and there is an abundance of drinks, that is, lemonade and soda water.

And the road thither? My God, what a road! Those ditches and those bridges! And dust? Like storm-clouds hanging over the whole town. Towards evening suffocation is not impossible in Mandalay! It stinks everywhere.

The native houses stand on logs with walls of beautiful wicker. A majority of them are surrounded by green. And the landscape, if drawn on paper, would undoubtedly be very beautiful.

Wherever you go you find Kiauns<sup>279</sup>. On the streets you constantly come across monks. So many of them here!

Just now heard that seven hundred dacoits surrendered on the condition of full pardon. They were demanding work.

Marks is perhaps right. He said that in order to put down the dacoits Government should undertake some kind of a gigantic measure. Roadways are a necessity here.

**26th January:** Went to the palace after breakfast. Became acquainted with General Prendergast. He was kind but not communicative. We talked about trifles. Another library has been opened in the palace under the management of Colonel Budgin R.A.<sup>280</sup>. Looked through two chests and a half today. But the hunt was not entirely satisfactory. A large number of works incorporated in a few lists; I noted the following titles<sup>281</sup>: *Maññaiṭṭikā*, *Visuddhimaggatṭhakathā*, *Dhātumālā*, *Vajirasāra* and *Apadānatṭhakathā*. Very many commentaries and tikas. But at the same time there is a lot of ballast. A few copies of *Prātimokṣa* and books of similar nature in large numbers. In one chest some of the books of the *piṭakas* were in duplicate and even in triplicate. Sorting out of these books made by me had an effect. The Britishers became fussy. It was a shame to them that they had no scholar with them who could decipher Pali.

What rooms the General has to live in, and with what comfort! Sits on golden armchairs and such a legion of servants.

While going to him today, I noticed at one place carpenters making boats. For whom? Or is it in preparation for the arrival of the Viceroy?

**Morning of the 27th January:** No, my hotel is an unimaginable and indescribable slum: Yesterday two Germans went on boozing the whole night. Dogs did not let me sleep tonight. The villain of a landlord went out for the whole night. The whole house is empty. It is for the first time in my life that I have to sleep not in a room but in a corner. My room is decidedly the thing called a corner in a night's lodging. There is a partition and there is a screen; got up thrice in order to drive away two hungry dogs who had strayed into the house from somewhere.

**27th January:** Sladen was telling me today that the library which I was looking through did not belong to the king, but was attached to the court. The king's library was under the management of the Prize Com[mittee]. Today's inspection of the library did not produce much result. Noted down two titles<sup>282</sup>:

*Maṇisārādīpanī* and the very curious title, namely, *Rājādhirāja-dhammacārādīpanī* of a book not understood by me. It is written in Pali language but with a Burmese translation.

Dacoits are still strong at Ava and Segain. The news about the dacoits at Ava, it seems, is an invention of the idle brain of the drunken German.

My trip to the monastery to join the breakfast given by Ookah to the monks ended in a row. Without waiting for the monks to take their meal I came out of the monastery in an angry mood. This Ookah is a king of cheats. Promised a lot but has done nothing so far and already requests me to write to his patron in Rangoon about him.

In the evening drove to the palace and walked round it from outside.

**28th January:** Finished today the examination of manuscripts once belonging to Hlot daw<sup>283</sup>. As I have been told, amongst these there are some which belonged to previous ministers.

*Vicittālaṃkāra*, which is the work of *Saddhammakitti*, is as to its contents different from *Sucittālaṃkāra*<sup>284</sup> (work of *Kalyāṇasāra*). The first book deals with metres and *alaṃkāra*. The second is a review of Buddhistic teaching.

*Chagatīdīpanī*<sup>285</sup>: The title clearly indicates the contents of the book. The introduction<sup>286</sup> is interesting:

*saddhammasatipaṭṭhānaṃ  
suttato jīnavuttato |  
paṇḍitena smughosena  
dīpitā gatīdīpanī ||  
sā hi sakatabhāsāhi  
dīpitattā durannayā |  
saddasatthūnabhīṇṇāya  
dīpantarānivasīnaṃ ||  
itī taṃ parivattetvā  
māgadhānaṃ niruttīyā |  
hitāya mandapaññānaṃ  
bhāsītānaṃ mayādhunā ||*

Today I saw *Vacisāra*<sup>287</sup> and *Vacisāratthasaṃgahavaṇṇana* and also *Visuddhimaggakatṭhakathā*.

A small treatise about the moon and the sun<sup>288</sup>, interesting as far as its origin is concerned: *iti paramasaddhācārabuddhi-viriyapaṭimandītena uttamaigo 'ti guruhi kata (phā) daharanā-mātidheyena attani ca vuttinā m'pparanāmaḍesamhi atikittinā-mānaṃ dvinnaṃ aggarājūnaṃ ācareyabhūtena tisu bedesu kovidenā sattahitesinā tipīṭakamahātherena viracitaṃ candasūriyagativinicchayaṃ nāma pakaraṇaṃ suniṭṭhitaṃ.*

The library is located in the premises occupied by Sladen and is contained in eight chests of large but not identical sizes.

I cannot recount the number of titles nor even the number of volumes. But then, I had not the opportunity of seeing such a quantity of Pali manuscripts collected at one place at any one of the European libraries. And it is doubtful whether any one of the many monasteries of upper Burma could have a collection of so many manuscripts. Not all the manuscripts are in Pali language. One [chest] is almost exclusively filled with Burmese translations. Nearly all the manuscripts are in excellent shape, gilded and gilt-edged but at the same time many of the manuscripts contain odd leaves; to set these manuscripts in order would take a long time. Although the library belonged to Hlot daw, I did not find any book with juristic contents with the exception of *Manu-Kyay*<sup>289</sup>. This work appeared on a few of the lists. There were also a few books with historical contents. I saw in the list<sup>290</sup> *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Daladādhātuvaṃsa*. *Rājavaṃsa*<sup>291</sup> was found in the Burmese language, as also the lists of kings. The library is rich with works on grammar. It is self-evident that these notes were made at a very fleeting review of the library. I spent four days in it and on the whole examined the manuscripts for not more than twenty hours. To people who are familiar with Burmese manuscripts, with the native way of preserving them in pieces of cloth and with the difficulties which confront them in unfolding the manuscripts, this length of time must appear to be negligible and I am not giving any description of the library at all. I hasten to declare

that I do not know the wealth of this library. Can only say one thing: all the three *piṭakas* in full and all the 13 commentaries ascribed to Buddhaghosa find their places here. But, besides these, I came across a large number of various *ṭikās* and *anuṭikās* <sup>29</sup>.

The most important collection of Buddhist literature is here. I shall not be in the least surprised, if a closer scrutiny of this collection reveals works completely unknown to European scholars even by name. Dixi. [I declare].

**29th January:** The views held by the dethroned Thi-baw on acts of propitiation of God were, it seems, very original. He believed that to build monasteries, to erect golden stupas would in consequence expiate his sins and that the cruel tricks of the oriental despot, whose distorted fantasies knew no restraints, would be blotted out of his future existence. My visit to Kusolo Tou<sup>293</sup> monastery led me on to these reflections. A curious place, and such lavishness!

Now of course everything is in a state of decline. There are soldiers all around; they are probably bossing here. But the gilding on the doors and on the stupas remains, and so do remain at their places the marble tablets with the three *piṭakas*. A gilded teak door leads to the first courtyard and the marble tablets stand there in four rows.

Each tablet is placed in a small shrine with four open *Makaratarāṇa* <sup>294</sup> gates.

In the first courtyard I went round only the first row.

In the next courtyard there are two such rows of tablets. In that first courtyard where a gilded stupa has been erected, the tablets contain *Vinayapiṭaka*. <sup>295</sup> On eight tablets are inscribed<sup>296</sup> *Bhikkhuniṭṭhāyā*, on thirteen—*Bhikkhupācittiya*. On one tablet<sup>297</sup>—*Bhikkhuniṭṭhāyā* and on another *Bhikkhupācittiya*. On nineteen tablets—*Pārājika (Pāli)* <sup>298</sup>.

The monastery is called Ku-tho-day-paya<sup>299</sup>.

The outer row in the first courtyard contains *Majjhimanikāya* <sup>300</sup>. On a separate sheet of paper I noted down the number of tablets and their contents. In the centre of the third

courtyard stands a gilded stupa. It is in the shape of a bell erected on three terraces.

And this is all that I noticed on my flying visit. But I intend to visit the place more than once.

Returned home from there and to my surprise the scoundrel of a broker appeared with the news that he had found the books I wanted. But he did not bring the manuscripts. All this was a lie, I thought.

Had a horrid breakfast and set off for the palace to meet Sladen. In connection with the king's library he at first gave me to understand that they did not like to show me round the library, that they had some plan with regard to it, and that Dr. Forchhammer should give an account of it. However, he gave me a letter to Col. Eyre<sup>301</sup>, and with this letter I went into the library. At the time of the king this was located in a gilded room and how many gilded book cases there were I do not know; now there are only seven but they are marked with the letters beginning from *Ka* and the seventh [book case] bears the inscription *Kha*. This indicates that there were at least thirteen of them<sup>302</sup>. They stand in the very same room but in the midst of terrible disorder; all the things which will be sold at the auction are thrown in here. Sundry trifles of European manufacture are piled in heaps. I noticed only one interesting object; this was a sofa made of ivory. The carving is extremely delicate and the sofa is extraordinarily heavy. There were a few interesting images of Buddha. But a vast majority of the things are of European make.

The first book case which I opened mainly contained Burmese manuscripts. Amongst these there were a few volumes of *Rājvaṃsa*, wrapped in silk covers. Generally speaking, the number of Burmese books was very large, very much more than in the Hlot daw library. In one of the bookcases I came across a catalogue and on it I noticed the following titles<sup>303</sup>: *Kesadhātu-pakāsini*, *Catuthasamgāyana*, *Sūriyasiddhantaṭīkā*, *Sakkaṭabhāsādantī-pāli*, *Lilāvati*, *Sakkaṭābhīdhānapāda*, *Sāsanālamkāra Yogayātrakalāpa Mahāvamsa* and a *ṭīkā* to *Sāsanadīpaka*.



I did not try to find these books in the bookcases. It is difficult to turn in this place.

The knave of a clergyman, Colbeck, invaded me while I was working. Not knowing one word of Pali he is going to make an inventory of these books.

After having talked for a little while we set off together. On our way we met with a totally tipsy guard. I noticed the same thing the day before and both of them were British. Here the soldiers drink dreadfully heavily.

On the way I saw the old bedroom of the ex-king. That is going to be the drawing-room for Lady Dufferin. I saw the bedroom from outside. It is completely covered with crystals and has two exits.

The room in which the library is located is entirely gilded.

**30th January:** I found myself in the bazar quite accidentally today. I had gone to buy some manuscripts but not finding the seller at home and having nothing else to do, I went to the bazar. The market for textiles and fabrics is nearly completely empty. The shops are closed; most of the goods here are of European manufacture.

Of native manufacture I saw silk material. I liked neither the design nor the texture.

It has been a fruitless day today. At 3 o'clock started for *Dakkhināśrama* <sup>304</sup> but could not find the monastery.

The gilded house which is right in front of Hlot daw is the monastery where the king's tutor used to live.

Went to see the Catholic Bishop. Monseigneur received me very kindly. Offered me white wine of an excellent quality. The monks are undoubtedly at the head of the activities of dacoits; however, it is chiefly to their own people that the dacoits bring ruin. The dacoits killed not more than twenty Europeans. It is easy to suppress them and the British by their weakness brought about these activities and allowed them to grow.

Thi-baw was a man of weak character: a weak ruler. Everything used to be done by the wife.

The cause of the present war is the fear of France. There were not more than ten Frenchmen in the service of the king here. The king hated the British. The Burmese ambassador in Paris is an ex-catholic, a pupil of Monseigneur Bodo(?). He appealed to Bismarck for assistance.

The administration here was rotten to the core. Courts were corrupt, realization of taxes was poor and so on—in short, all that ordinarily happens in countries governed by autocratic rulers. But the British intervened not on account of this, nor was Bombay Burma T.C.<sup>305</sup> [Trading Corporation] the reason for their interference; but the so-called French intrigue<sup>306</sup> was the cause of it. And they achieved their object; they slowed down the movement of troops; the state of affairs might have changed to their disadvantage: Thi-baw might have succeeded in concluding treaties with France, Italy and Germany. His attitude towards England would have undergone a complete change thereby. But thanks to their improved ways of communication, the British in some three weeks succeeded in occupying the whole country without a fight: the dacoits are the creation of their mistakes. They are not now a danger to them; and a very few of them are taking part in the depredations. New roads and development of trade will completely pacify the country and the Burmans will reconcile themselves completely to their fate. There are about five hundred Catholics in Mandalay. The Burmese did not want to be taught in English. Thi-baw was not a wicked king, but he never came out of his palace. He did not know not only the world at large but even his own capital on which he sometimes cast his glance from a distance, from the height of his tower.

**31st January:** Many of the inhabitants of the town have arms; nevertheless uptill now not one of the Europeans has been subjected to any insult or danger. Generally speaking, the people of Mandalay accepted the British very peacefully.

Today for the first time I have seen the capital after 6 o'clock in the evening. As was only to be expected, there was no lighting of any kind. At some places near the houses

beside the streets small bonfires have been made. Supper is being prepared. And in a few shops small lamps are glimmering. There is still a lot of dust in the air, but the heat has abated and it is easier to breathe. Cannot say that Mandalay in the darkness of the evening is more beautiful. It is not hot, but decidedly more of dust and stench in the evening than in the day-time.

Today I saw Atumashi,<sup>307</sup> or as it is described in the inscription at the entrance, *Mahātulaveyyaṅ*. This building is a luxurious Buddhist temple. From outside it presents an appearance of a seven-storeyed building with a flat roof. Each upper storey is smaller than the next lower. This is in the nature of the Sat Mahal in Pallanarua<sup>308</sup>, but much more spacious. Inside there is a huge statue of Buddha. All the doors are gilded and there are similar pillars inside.

In the next courtyard stands a temple entirely golden, and farther on, there is the mirror monastery Mhan-Kyoung. British officers live in the mirror monastery; soldiers live in tents and cells around this. Today, which is a Sunday, many of them are drunk. I also came across drunken soldiers on my way.

The mirror monastery—what magnificence and beauty! The big temple is imposing, but there are many curious details in it, for example, there are mirrors behind the sacred statues, vases of European make, glass chandeliers and candelabras. Oriental people have a passion for glass.

During the time of the king there were about two hundred monks in the monastery, and now not more than twenty. The rest have left Mandalay for want of the means of livelihood.

The twenty monks who are left behind, including their chief Sedaji, live in small wooden cells. I went to Pakhon-Sedaji in one of the cells and to my utter surprise found there the Rajguru to whom I went this morning with a letter from Sladen and tried for a long time to see his books. He assured me that there was no library in the monastery and hence no catalogue. I became angry and disgusted and left without bidding farewell. In the evening we met as friends. He even

promised me his patronage with Sladen. I thanked him but declined this patronage.

This is the same monk, who on my first visit, was swearing at the British and eulogising the French for their gentleness, not knowing what these gentle people were doing in Tongking. My Burman tells me that British soldiers behave abominably in the bazar—they do not pay for the things taken by them, run after girls and so on. That there are many drunkards among them I myself could see. The sentries on duty are tipsy! I myself have seen it.

**1st February:** Heavy expenses from the morning. Bought manuscripts, paid hotel charges for ten days.

Today there are rumours about dacoits, about successful encounters with them at two places; cannot recall the name of one of these places, the name of the other is Segain. It is a stronghold of the dacoits. That is why we spent the night here without going near Segain.

Thi-baw knew only a few English words, but he was and is considered to be a scholar of Pali and sacred literature. That is what I was told by Reverend Colbeck whom I met at the king's library. Apart from the bookcases, there were yet six huge chests with books. But it is certainly not possible to examine the manuscripts at this place. I did, however, find *Catutthasamgīyana*. The book turned out to be in Burmese. I saw a complete copy of *Mahāvamsa*.

A complete copy of the three *piṭakas* are here but not in the library of Hlot daw. I did not at all open six boxes; they are filled with various crockery. Today I became acquainted with the ex-librarian of the king. I will call on him at his house on Wednesday. He informed me that *Catutthasamgīyana* <sup>309</sup> is a chapter of *Mahāvamsa*. During the conversation he referred to *Daludādhātuvamsaṭīkā* <sup>310</sup>. He has a copy of this work in the library. The gentleman is 70 years old, full of energy and without a single gray hair.

The civil administration is in the hands of Bhuns but under the supervision of Sladen. No, it is quite impossible to describe

the palace; it is spread over a vast area and consists of separate buildings connected by covered galleries, with the shade of trees in the intervening courtyards. Coolness and semi-darkness reign over all these buildings. All the buildings look like pavilions; they are either gilded or covered with mirrors. But the gilding has become trashed at many places and the mirrors have grown dim. Of splendour there is much, but it has grown wild and everything is now in a state of terrible decay. Many alterations have been effected in view of the arrival of the Viceroy. Six thousand soldiers have been stationed in the palace and around Mandalay. British soldiers have been posted at the palace.

But in view of the probable events on the northwestern border of India what will be the role of Burma in future? This role could have a decisive or at least very significant influence over the fate of the British Empire, international relations getting complicated both in Europe as well as in Asia: the British did very well foresee this, and quickly did away with the independence of Burma.

It looks as if the problem has been solved. In Mandalay there is no room for non-British plots and feuds. To beat the dacoits is easy; having peaceably accepted the conquerors, the people will within a short time completely forget that a different order of things ever prevailed in upper Burma. And what can be reckoned on then?

And meanwhile a conflagration could be kindled in Burma the end and result of which it is difficult even to predict. A rivalry<sup>311</sup> for dominating authority over the peninsula could arise here, the like of which was only witnessed in India towards the end of the 18th century. And now with the dethronement of Thi-baw the problem has not quite been solved. Of course in Burma a revolt by the Burmans is almost unthinkable; it is enough to remember how they behaved on the occasion of the occupation of Mandalay and how they are behaving now in the face of the occupation of their capital by the British and in the face of the lawlessness of British troops. Everything is quiet

and peaceful in the capital. Dacoits are carrying on their depredations in the villages, and the Burmans themselves and their monks are running away from them. Within a few years these people will become completely loyal. And what then?

But the Burmans are not the only settlers on the island; Burma, moreover, borders on China, Shan states are contiguous to Tongking and the other side of them is bounded by Siam.

Could new links be forged here, at these places, for the disentanglement from or severance of international diplomacy?

The surname of the Bishop is Burdon<sup>312</sup>. People say that Sladen has had a dream that soldiers were standing around a stupa and were watering themselves with cocoanut juice. What does it signify? Cannot make out.

**2nd February**: Went just now to the house of Mullah Ismail and heard there that dacoits raided the house of a Chinaman in the Chinese quarter; the Burmese police fired about a hundred rounds. But what daring! This locality is not more than a quarter of a mile away from my hotel. I went there this evening on my way to the temporary monastery of U-Sudakhan, i.e. to the monastery where he is temporarily staying and where I failed to find him.

Went to **Ku-tho-daw**<sup>313</sup> in the morning and did not succeed in making a round of all the tablets. The three *piṭakas* are spread over three courtyards: in the outer—*Suttapiṭaka*, in the middle—*Abhidharma*<sup>314</sup> and in the inner—*Vinayapiṭaka*. But the text is not confined to one courtyard but passes on to the next; thus, in the front courtyard there are tablets with the text of *Vinayapiṭaka* and in the outer courtyard, tablets with the text of *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. My survey today rendered the following results: just now at dinner I have heard that the dacoits are recklessly committing outrages at Segain. The Madras Army is again subjected to a censure. Generally speaking, the conduct of British soldiers, their drunkenness and their impudent treatment of the natives are stirring up strong dissatisfaction.

I suppose these rumours are justified; there is no doubt that

nowhere else you find so many drunken soldiers as you would here.

It is strange that the British conquered upper Burma and let loose on lower Burma a mass of plundering hordes. Where are the dacoits mainly found? At Pegu, at Moulmein and so on; in short, in lower or British Burma.

However, I should come back to the tablets with the inscriptions. I examined the second courtyard today: here there are tablets of *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, but there are also tablets of *Vinaya-piṭaka*: one with *Bhikkhunīpācittiya*—9th., *Vinayamahāvagga*—26th., *Cullavagga*<sup>315</sup>—25th., *Parivāra*—19th. Then there are tablets of *Abhidharmpiṭaka*. The latter portions of the piṭaka are found in the first (courtyard), thus in the first courtyard there are ten tablets of *Indriyajātaka* and the entire treatise *Paṭṭhāna*<sup>316</sup>.

This morning I had been to the ex-librarian of the dethroned king. He lives near the southern entrance of a by-lane. In the courtyard covered with short grass there are a few small houses: in one of them which stands on a pile of logs, Bidagat-ok received me. The house was not big and we were sitting on the terrace. A cushion was brought for me. We were talking about books. The old man gave me a list of historical works; but he had written the list from memory and there were of course some omissions in it. He could not give me any information about *Dhātukesapakāsini*<sup>317</sup>. He assured me that the king's library had been pillaged. The library in Hlot daw is a completely separate library; it was being used by private individuals and in it there are manuscripts belonging to ministers and other private individuals. Thi-baw knew Pali very well and read a lot, but I could not get from the old man what books the king used to read.

The premises are more than modest; a wicker house on piles; no furniture of any kind on the verandah. We were sitting on the floor, my companions were chewing betel and spitting into the chinks of the floor. A few were blowing their noses at the same place (i.e. the floor), without using handkerchiefs.

From this it is possible to come to the conclusion as to what kind of cleanliness is observed at the house. Although the house stands in a courtyard covered with grass, there is a lot of dust here.

The old man is 71, but his hair is black without a single grey hair. He has two wives and a number of sons and daughters; the youngest son is not more than ten years old.

When I was going out, the eldest son of the old man expressed his desire to learn Pali from me. Here I have the reputation of a great scholar. Monks talk about me; the villain of a Rev[erend] informed me 'about this yesterday. I went to Payah Gyu<sup>318</sup>. This is a holy place for the Buddhists, not far from the monastery of Ukaina. Here in the shrine, to which four covered galleries from four sides lead, there is a statue of Buddha of huge proportions and immensely ugly. The place is called *Mahāmunipaya* <sup>319</sup>. In my view the place is very modest. But I saw a large number of nuns and a crowd of devotees here. Near this place there are three springs to which are ascribed various miracles. The devotees falling on their knees were saying aloud and in a singsong *iti pi so bhagavān* etc.<sup>320</sup> . . . . . In front of some of them there were lighted candles on bricks. But generally speaking, the place did not have an imposing appearance and the whole place appeared to me to be very desolate. In one corner I noticed many marble tablets with inscriptions. They were stored in a building which reminded me of an open shed.

**4th February:** This morning I went to Ku-tho-daw and finished my examination of the tablets. It is interesting to note that along with the three pitakas in the outer courtyard are placed *Milindapañha*, *Peṭakopadesa* and *Netti*.<sup>321</sup> By these very works the three books find their places, so to say, in the canonistic category.

There was a gentle breeze this morning and the bells at Htee were ringing very harmoniously, as if summoning the absentees to their prayers. This place is wonderful and all the places near about are equally wonderful and on the south is the



Mandalay hill on which legions of stupas and monasteries have been built. The tamarind, palm and Jek<sup>322</sup> and other trees in the surroundings give such a charming appearance to the place! When you look at them you are lost in admiration of the surroundings the heat notwithstanding.

A servant of the hotel brought me a manuscript just now. Tika on *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*<sup>323</sup>. The servant, a Burman, explained in broken Hindusthani that his friend wanted to sell the manuscript and was asking Rs. 15/- for it. The deal was closed at Rs. 11/-. A fair acquisition.

From Kuo-tho-daw we set off for Linga-yamah. Search for this monastery took us a fairly long time and in course of this search we came upon Yamah-oh-Kyoung<sup>324</sup>. I stopped in front of the imposing two-storied building. It was desolate all around. It seemed to me that I had come upon some deserted palace. But the ministers of Thi-baw did not live in palaces. Maung Nu walked round the palace and at some place heard the voices of boys doing their lessons. We climbed up to the first floor and found ourselves in a school. As usual, a few boys half-prostrate on mats were emitting loud wailing notes at the top of their voices. We went into the next room and found there another class, going on under the supervision of the old monk Sandhi-kappa. The monk, who was dozing before our arrival, ran his eyes over my figure for a long time in silence. At last he invited us to take our seats. The monk happened to be a very kind old man. I say "kind" because he made a present of two books to me; it is true these were printed books but they had been printed in Mandalay. In return he requested me to send him a Bengali grammar from Rangoon; on my enquiry why he needed a Bengali grammar he explained that it was to learn **English** more quickly.

There was again interruption. More manuscripts of *Sutta-paṭheyyaṅkī*<sup>325</sup> were brought to me. I bought them for Rs. 12/2/-.

Maung Nu demanded Re. 1/- for the box which he had ordered.

Generally speaking, monks are very good-natured here and

do not at all avoid Europeans. I caught this good-natured monk napping today. He had even covered his head with a Chiwara<sup>326</sup>; around him there were a few boys, sitting. A book was lying in front of each of them and each of them was reading in a singsong. Books were lying also around the dozing teacher; one of those he was ostensibly reading and the book happened to be a comm[entary] on *Pācittiya*<sup>327</sup> with Burmese translation.

But what mansions the religious-minded Burmans build for their monks! So much of comfort! Big rooms which are cool even at midday and surrounded by luxuriant shadygreen . . . . . At the centre of every such monastery is located the prayer hall. A horde of lean but extremely noisy dogs guard the sanctum. These mongrels roam about everywhere unchallenged and even stray into the prayer hall.

Scarcely had I written this eulogy on the tolerance and kindness of monks, when I had to repent it.

Just now went to Khinmakhan Syadaw. Maung Po Hmin had given me a letter to him. The monastery is not very far from the city walls and is situated at a very beautiful place; needless to mention that it is surrounded by thick verdure! Numerous palm, tamarind and other trees, the names of which are not known to me, are growing on the courtyard where there are also many buildings with cells.

We entered into the cell of Syadaw. He was standing at the end of the verandah and looking at me menacingly. I gave him the letter. The holy father took the letter, squatted and began to examine the letter. He became fairly busy with the letter. Finally he invited me to take my seat on the bare floor. I fulfilled his desire. Then he sent for the other monks and gave orders to bring mats. Mats were brought. I was just trying to sit on one of them, but the holy father drove me away from it, declaring that they were not meant for me. A shabbier mat was offered to me. I swallowed even this and sat down. Then the monk took it into his head that I should sit cross-legged. It was too much for me and my visit to Khinmakhan ended with this. It is a pity that I did not administer

adequate reprimand to him. He was trying to convert me but I happened to be inexorable.

From there I went to Rev[erend] Colbeck. He was at the palace. Burdon, to whom I went thereafter, had gone out for a walk.

The former Residency is a very beautiful place, although very much neglected inasmuch as there has been no British Resident here since the year 1879. It is said that the house was built for ambassadors. It stands in something like a garden.

On my way back I saw the house of a French Engineer<sup>328</sup>. Here you would at once see where Europeans built their nests.

I had been to Burdon just now. This is what the French started doing here: they wanted to open the road from Mandalay to Sinkan<sup>329</sup>, and accordingly a treaty was drawn up in the ministry of Ferri<sup>330</sup>. Freisine<sup>331</sup> renounced this policy and notified to the British that the French did not have any interest in Burma. But the presence of the Burmese minister in Paris alone pointed to what was brewing there and the French were beating a shameful retreat, possibly losing their supremacy in the Peninsula for ever.

Went to the Rev[erend]. He lives in the Clergy-house. The Residency is located in the adjoining house. The church and the house were built by the Burmese Government.

Burdon was telling me that the Burmese Government adopted measures for the protection of Europeans during the war with England.

News about the dacoits reached me again; they had raided some house in one of the suburbs the night before. I do not know the details.

**6th February:** Came to know about the fall of the Conservative Ministry<sup>332</sup> today and about a skirmish with the dacoits near Ava. The former item of news surprised me; remarkable changes may happen in the destiny of Burma; instead of being annexed the country may be declared a protectorate.

The news about the dacoits goes to demonstrate something, which, however, does not require any proof, namely, that the British have not gone one step forward in bringing peace to the country. Burdon said yesterday that in recent years up to the time of the arrival of the British, banditry had been as frequent in Burma as fires were. At Lankarama<sup>333</sup> today I was convinced about how a fire could rage in Burma. The monastery has disappeared completely. Only a small stone building remains where the library is preserved.

From Lankarama we i.e. myself and the rascal of a Rev[erend], started for Kiauk tow gyi payah<sup>334</sup>: there is no monastery here. A half-finished shrine in which a huge image of Buddha (26 feet high) has been installed. The statue has been carved out of a single slab of marble. The appearance of the statue is quite ugly; particularly the head and the arms. Round the courtyard a row of small shrines has been erected; in each of these stands a marble image of Rahana<sup>335</sup>. The whole place wears the appearance of an unfinished or half-ruined monastery. But there are no cells here; only shrines stand and await devotees. Of devotees there are none, but on the other hand there is a large number of British soldiers here; in the neighbourhood there is a hospital.

Thereafter we visited Chanda Muni Payah. All these holy places are within a short distance from Kutho-daw Atumashi.

The most interesting of these happened to be the temple shwe-ki-min<sup>336</sup>; scenes of Kammatthana<sup>337</sup> are frescoed on the walls here. All this is crude, but very clearly depicts the frailties of our body.

One of the Brahmans of the ex-king came to me yesterday. I talked with him in Sanskrit. I could not get any sense out of him. But, it seems, he is pig-headed and without any experience. He has an extremely vague notion about books on codes<sup>338</sup>.

The Brahman came to me again and brought with him some sort of manuscript in Hindi and announced that it was a very old Sanskrit book. I disabused his mind quickly. It transpired that he did not know Nagri<sup>339</sup>.

Sladen has sent me copies of two manuscripts just now. The price is high, but the work has been done in haste and not with distinction.

Went to Kyoung-dow-gyi. The monastery was built by the spouse of Thi-baw, the famous Su-pailat. How luxuriant is this monastery! It is situated not far from the Irawaddi, although the river is not visible from here. There is green all around, as it is the case with all monasteries and there is such wealth here! Gilded buildings with the most luxurious fretwork have been erected in the midst of palm-trees. Some of this fretwork have been painted in red with golden borders. I like these buildings more than the central one which is entirely gilded. In the midst of green this gilding, fretwork, and bright colour produce great effect.

The Brahman brought me here assuring me that Sya-daw<sup>340</sup> had a copy of *Sāsanavamsa*<sup>341</sup>. The head of the monastery happened to have *Sāsanavamsadīpa*<sup>342</sup>, a book printed in Ceylon and holding for me no interest of any sort.

The high priest was kind. He spoke to me in Pali and to my great surprise we understood each other. There was no end of enquiries about Russia.

But his questions were of a kind different from those of Bidagat-ok<sup>343</sup>. The old man was interested in material things but the monk was putting questions which related to purely spiritual things. The grand old official was highly surprised to learn that rice is not sown in Russia. "And what are you fed on there?" He could not imagine any country wherein conditions were different from what he from his childhood had been accustomed to in his own country beyond which he had never travelled. He had no idea about lands outside Burma. He was asking whether the British and Russians spoke the same language and whether they belonged to the same faith. But at the same time he confessed that he had heard about last year's clash between Russia and England. I said to him smiling: "You could then have plotted a war with the British." He shook his head and bit his lips in silence. He did not wish to express

his opinion and it was understandable why: the old man imagined that I was closely associated with Sladen. He assured me that he loved me like his kin and made a pressing request to speak to the Russian Czar about him.

The monk began to put another kind of questions. He started by asking me whether I was a Buddhist. I answered in the affirmative: "Adopted the three vows but not **pabbajito**<sup>344</sup>." "Sadhu" he said smiling. And around me could be heard the sound of laughter in approval. Then there were these questions "Are there many Buddhists in Russia? Do they dress in the same way as the monks here? What do they read?" My answers surprised him; like all Buddhists of the south he has no idea whatsoever about the Buddhists of the north, about their literature and so on. He bade me farewell. All the monks came out to see me off.

From there I went to *Māhāmuni* paya. My inspection convinced me that the description of Scott<sup>345</sup> was not at all correct. The place does not strike one as magnificent. Four covered galleries lead to the oratory. Everything around is as if in a state of desolation and decay. The tanks on the east have become mouldy. There is clean water only in one of them and it is here that I saw swimming tortoises.

On our way back home Maung Nu showed me a house which was raided by the dacoits on Thursday night. The residents abandoned this house. This place is very near to my hotel. I do not think that the distance up to this house would be more than half a verst.

**7th February:** I went to those very places which I was examining yesterday, and almost at the very foot of the Mandalay hill I came upon Bidagat-tal or the king's library; in this stone building the manuscripts of Thi-baw, his father and his ancestors were preserved. The library was looted by the dacoits about two months ago. Here there were the chests in which the manuscripts were preserved and hence a mass of sheets made of palm leaves is strewn all around the building. One would come across amongst these sheets writings in Singhalese characters.

I picked up a few of those sheets as souvenir, and also some sheets containing archaic alphabet written in ink. These manuscripts probably belonged to the library long since i.e. even before Mandalay was built. Although I met with two monks here, I could not gather from them the details about the library. They assured me that the works of the king's ancestors were preserved in the outer portion, those of the father of Thi-baw in the next and those of Thi-baw himself in the central portion. There remained more than twenty chests here. On each of the chests an inscription about the *Piṭaka* or the section of the *piṭaka* was preserved. Slightly better chests, that is, decorated or gilt ones were carried away by the dacoits. That is what the monks said. From the one still remaining it is possible to satisfy oneself about what kind of chests were there at this place. This one was at one time gilded, but the gilt has almost completely fallen off from it.

And what a magnificent view can be had from here! How unique is this mass of multi-storied roofs with golden cupolas, these walls mounted with small squares of mirror.

Mandalay has grown surprisingly quickly. The city is hardly thirty years old; building of this city began not earlier than 1858. Fantasies and caprices of the oriental ruler decorated this low-lying swampy plain from the Irawadi up to the flat hills on the east with an entire row of quaint buildings; true, unlike in the western cities, there are no magnificent private houses or buildings here for general use. For the tourists to see, there are the palace and a series of monasteries. But it was always so in south-east Asia. Ancient ruins of India testify to the fact that Indians have preserved either the traces of structures of religious importance, temples and monasteries or the remains of fortresses i.e. forts with royal palaces. Remains of private buildings have not been traced uptill now.

The Singhalese, Saramedha, came to me just now. During the king's regime he was some kind of a book-binder and translator. He used to copy and translate Ceylonese books into Burmese. The name of the monk, whom I visited yesterday, is

Panduvamso. The Singhalese named another monk Nanavamso and said he was very learned.

About Thi-baw he said that he was not cruel but the wife was all the time creating trouble. All the natives say the same thing in one voice. Thi-baw read Pali grammatical works and, among other works, **Nasa**: he studied *Abhidhammasaṅgaha*<sup>346</sup>.

**Thathanabain-thera** is actually the Sangha-thera<sup>347</sup> but he is not a scholar and was promoted by the king in memory of the fact that the king had in his childhood learned the alphabet from him.

Just now at dinner the German rascals were saying that the Viceroy would be staying on board the ship. His arrival has been postponed till the 12th.

**8th February**: Again on board Du-Vun which is being loaded. Once more on that dusty and nasty route. What an entry into the capital! Min-Dun wanted to run away from the man of the west, but the man of the west came and destroyed his nest.

**9th February**: We stood at Segain, within sight of Ava. The bell rang and the passengers assembled for breakfast. All were military people with the exception of myself: One had on his shoulder-straps "R.E."<sup>348</sup> another was an army man, opposite me a man of the navy was sitting. The conversation was the same as it was yesterday evening: about the finds in Mandalay, about the looting on the first night when everybody at Mandalay was snatching at everything better and more precious, when the ladies of the palace, trying to save their property, were being sought out, and on their putting up any resistance, whipped. But this was too little for all these people. They were looking for treasures, money, diamonds and more than anything else the rubies of the dethroned king. But no treasures were found.

"A young accomplice", said the army man, "came to Sladen and promised to show him the spot of a buried treasure. But why? Well, he demanded 20 per cent. Sladen offered 5 per cent; the Burman did not agree to the proposal and left."

"I would have flogged him and put him behind the bars for



a few months, and he would have shown it for nothing", laughingly observed the naval officer.

"And the newspapers at home? They would have made a fuss."

"Do they know everything and would they find this out also?"

Yes, a lot of things can be done here on the quiet. Women are whipped, drunken soldiers are behaving outrageously in the bazars, sentries at the ware-houses, containing the spoils of the king's property, are stealing it—all these details of the campaign narrated by British officers yesterday at a late dinner, give a picture of the means through which western culture is striking roots here. And what an inglorious campaign! The country occupied without a fight. It is impossible to call the affair at Minhla a battle. And then predatoriness. What is this Prize Committee?

These auctions are a shame. And look! what they are selling. Lumber and trash of European make, all kinds of glittering, jingling trumpery, and for all these the rogues from amongst the British, French, Italian and German looted the Burmese treasury thrice as valuable. These moneys are reward! Reward for what? For bravery? But there was no occasion or cause for displaying it. Burma capitulated without fight. For privations after the campaign? Privations in a life lived in golden monasteries? Well, where are those privations? How do they manifest themselves? Whisky, Mr. Voz<sup>349</sup> has in plenty; he has champagne too! Everything can be had at his place. Everything except quiet at night. This I know from my personal experience. Howling dogs in the dining room and love trysts of cats in the sitting room!

Let us repair to the palace and have a look at these privations endured by the brave soldiers. Here behind high walls in the midst of palm and banana trees in the gilded mansions of the oriental potentate, who was dethroned because he believed much and loved too much his obdurate wife, live the officers; luxury: carpets, gilt armchairs, spaciousness and coolness everywhere.

Look only at the mess room or that chamber which is proposed to be fitted up as a drawing room for the spouse of the Viceroy.

Those, who are smaller fry, live in tents. And so what? Is there much privation there?

But let us go on—here is the Atumashi temple of which there is no parallel, and farther on, the golden monastery with fretwork all over, and another laid out with mirrors. Do not look for monks here, they have left—and those rooms where the beggars in yellow robes<sup>350</sup> used to read their books and contemplate the path which leads beyond the bounds of sorrow—these luxurious rooms, luxurious because they are gilded and cool, are now occupied by British troops. Climb up the Mandalay hill and cast your eyes down and Mandalay will present itself to you in all its original beauty. Temples and monasteries around the far-flung mansions of the king, and all this glitters and sparkles with variegated beams of light, as if all these cupolas, roofs and walls are of pure gold and not merely gilded, strewn with diamonds and not with bits of mirror—and amidst the thickly leafy groups of trees are soldiers' tents shining white, on the verandahs of the monasteries are hung out and exposed various accoutrements of officers' uniforms.

“There is an end of teaching”, the yellow robes whisper privately. And they are right! They do not have to fight with the soldiers; the soldiers have occupied the country the destiny of which has been determined. All the same, will it be finally annexed or declared a protectorate? It will cease to be Burma as it is now and the change will begin from Mandalay. The capital of devout Buddhists will become the new centre of propagation of unbelief amongst the natives. To shake and even to destroy their faith is so easy! There will be very little to be shaken and destroyed. And the monks, these pillars of learning, will run away. For them there is nothing to live their idle lives on—to live as they used to do under Burmese kings with their support, and amongst sincerely devout people. They are already deprived of the king's alms and in a few years' time the new unbelieving generation will replace the generous

donators of today. West has scored a triumph here as well. But is it for the better?

I know from my own experience that whenever I come into a wild country and am at once deprived of all the amenities of civilized life, then for the reason that I have slept badly, eaten poorly and that the road has ground my sides and caused sores on them—for all these reasons taken together it occurs to me that it would be excellent if this wild country would be taken in hand by the western master. But excellent for whom? For the man of the west of course, for him who needs good roads, comfortable places of residence, healthy food and so on, in short, for that person who wishes to live under conditions created by western culture. But is it necessary for a person who has never lived under these conditions and has not known them? And when these conditions are established in the country, who is going to make use of them? And are they not being established at the cost of the persons who will not utilise them?

**10th February:** There has been an addition of a new passenger at Shwegin. He gave us news about the dacoits there. According to the information gathered there, there are about 50 thousand dacoits. Their leader is a Shan prince. The figures are probably exaggerated. This passenger is one of these brave fellows of the B[ombay] B[urma] T[rading] C[orporation], who were faced with such grave danger in November last year. An account of this was published in the newspapers at that time.

The soldiers who are travelling with me are a highly interesting people. Yesterday at dinner one of them was saying in a very calm voice how when practising shooting he accidentally sent to the other world a completely innocent Burman and by way of compensation for this sad incident paid Rs. 50/- to the relatives of the victims. "They were very pleased" said the brave fellow laughingly, "they asked for Rs. 30/- only and for the extra Rs. 20/- would probably have allowed me to shoot yet another." "And we", another was saying, "paid Rs. 300/- for such an incident". And with what nonchalance they talk about it, as if it is about a mosquito crushed or a dog hunted down.

In Mandalay the officers hunt down hungry, emaciated, miserable dogs of the town with the help of European dogs. Imagine what an excellent escape from the boredom of camp life.

There was a fine Brussels carpet at Atumashi; it was stolen by a camp servant and even out into pieces.

Today a little later than 1 o'clock near the village Simin-ju we came across the flotilla of the Viceroy. Three steamers were carrying the Viceroy, his wife and his guard. On one of the steamers I noticed the stout figure of the 'Times' correspondent. Three steamers for the Viceroy! And is it not much!

**11th February:** At about 10 o'clock the forts and barracks of Thayet-mo came in sight. The town is stretched out on the bank and has a beautiful view from a distance. Perhaps from a distance only.

Yesterday the brave fellow from Chindwin<sup>351</sup> was narrating the story of the clash between B[ombay] B[urma] T[rading] C[orporation] and Thi-baw. The Burmese Government, according to him demanded 10 lacs of rupees from the Company. The company refused to make the present but were prepared to pay money for a lease. Then the Burmese Government tried to find fault and found that the Company were not observing all the terms of the contract. British Government interposed and proposed from their side mixed adjudication. To this Thi-baw (or Su-pallat) did not agree and the claim of the Burmans grew to 23 lacs. In the mean time F. Hass<sup>352</sup>, stealing up to the ruby mines provoked Thi-baw assuring him that the British would not fight. But England entered the war and occupied the border without fight. The Hampshire soldier looted treasures, bought a pony for himself, has a capital in the savings Bank, goes about on his own horse and becomes indignant when a Burman shoots at him from behind a bush. He may loot and fire at a Burman from his Snider<sup>353</sup>, but the Burman must be submissive and must not be obstinate. He should not dare defend his freedom and plot against the Briton a series of unpleasant skirmishes in the coming hot days.

The story about the progress of humanity reveals a strange, incomprehensible picture of its fate. Look, how Britain has grown and crept forward in all directions, what she has seized in one single year, the year in which we distinguished ourselves at Kushka. Yes, a gigantic act has been achieved and a step taken towards the solution of the problem about the destiny of the whole of the Peninsula; irrevocable changes have been brought about in the destiny of Burma: it is now impossible to go back to the old. Henceforward everything will go on in a different manner and the intensification of the activities of the so-called dacoits which is apprehended in the next few months, is of no import.

It is surprising and intolerable that these people should shoot at them from behind the bush and they use the kind of guns against them which it is not possible even to use in civilized war. This is what a soldier said yesterday, little suspecting that a civilized war was an absurdity.

Prome where we arrived at 1-30 appeared to be very beautiful from the steamer. But how it is very hot here!

Maung Nu asked for money as soon as we reached here.

Do you know who the Italian Consul Andrecino was? He was the agent of Irawaddi Flotilla<sup>354</sup> and B[ombay] B[urma] T[rading] C[orporation]; he knew all the egresses and ingresses of the palace. In short he was a very valuable man for the British in Mandalay at the time of Thi-baw. It was not for nothing that he received twenty thousand pounds sterling from the Secret Service Fund.

When Hass prepared the drafts of the trade agreement, Andrecino succeeded in purloining them, of course, not for his own edification; he knew to whom these interesting documents should be conveyed. And there! Andrecino, friend of the British.

**12th February:** This morning at 7 I went to Muninda at Shwedaung. The result of this trip was not so sad as I had apprehended. The road thither, particularly at the beginning was very pleasant; it ran along side the river and it was quite

cool in the morning. On the other hand away from there the heat was oppressive.

I am stopping on board the steamer. Much more comfortable here than at the dak bungalow.

Arrived at Rangoon this evening. Here is a city beyond the limits of the Aryan world and on the borderline of two worlds and two ancient world cultures, Chinese and Indian. From here starts the far east over which the man of the west is beginning also to dominate. To come to Rangoon is now just as easy as it is to go to any port town of Europe; the difference lies in the time taken. But it is possible to calculate with accuracy in how many days and hours you can reach these gates of the far east, through which you can easily pass. One can make the journey from Brindisi to Rangoon in 22-23 days with all the comforts and no tiring. At Bombay from the ship you get into a compartment of a mail train which takes you to Calcutta in 60 hours. From Calcutta to Rangoon 3½ days' voyage. The skill of the British in building roads of communication between the metropolis and the distant parts of the British domain may indeed be envied.

**13th February:** Came here from Prome today. Dined with Mr. Alexander<sup>355</sup> yesterday. Dacoits were also seen in this district. On the day on which the Viceroy was passing through Prome they showed themselves in all their splendour somewhere about 50 miles away on the road to Pegu. A pair of my trousers was stolen at Prome,—of course not by the dacoits. Jordan<sup>356</sup> was telling me today that the whole country was full of dacoits. They were everywhere.

Went round the lakes in the evening. They are near the Shwe-da-gon. They are surrounded by gardens something in the nature of a park. The more you peer into Rangoon, the more you are surprised with its European complexities. Received letters today from Europe and India. The news from home is all very disquieting: my sister is ill and apparently seriously so.

Went to Maung Po Hmin. I took him to be a learned man, but it turns out that he knows very little about Pali literature.

Monks, according to him, mourn over the sad future—their own, and that of religion—and they are right. M. P. Hmin assures me that amongst the dacoits there are many Shans or they are led by pretenders<sup>357</sup>.

Buddhism is on the decline, worldly people do not wish to know about Buddhism and do not wish to learn Pali but they are learning English. How to remove this deplorable state of affairs! And there! M. P. Hmin planned to acquaint his compatriots with the views (of course, favourable) of Europeans on Buddhism.

**14th February:** The newspapers are full of news about the dacoits. Nevertheless the British do hope to bring peace to the country soon.

Sasanabain<sup>358</sup> has been elevated by them to the position of a Bishop! A Bishop amongst Buddhists! And the monk commands respect neither of monks nor of men of the world. His proclamation is regarded as a betrayal of the cause<sup>359</sup>. And he himself told me about the British something quite different. A recipient of bounties from the king, he is now befriending the British, but in secret he is not pleased even with them and understands very well that there has come an end to the faith to which he belongs.

But what an idea—to take photographs of people who are being executed! No, there is a lot of barbarism in the British. Others blame the officer-photographer but the local press is in his favour.

Moved over to the steamer “Rangoon”, which is sailing for Moulmein tomorrow.

Went to the buffoons. Saw Gilbert and the fool Forchhammer—a fool the like of whom there are not many! And he has such a stupid mug!

I was sitting on the deck, and at a distance on Bacchante<sup>360</sup> an orchestra was playing and it reminded me of the night that I spent at Bombay in 1875 on the eve of my departure. How sad I was and it never appeared to me that thereafter I would have to be in India yet twice more.

Went to Maung Po Hmin today. Kind but not well informed.

About Prendergast a local newspaper in a gush of anger declared that he was like Caesar—*Veni Vidi Vici*. But Thi-baw also did not think of resisting him. He boasted of his strength and bravadoed danger, but his calculations were otherwise: he hoped to gain time to conclude trade pacts with France and Germany and then, he was counting on diplomatic interference to save his independence. But the British did not allow him to delay the answer to the ultimatum, and all the minute calculations of the king and his hangers-on came to nought.

No, Forchhammer is doddering fool and an unadulterated ignoramus. How stupidly he declined to show me a manuscript, the name of which he had completely forgotten at the beginning of the discussion, and then went on to assure me that he was making it ready for publication, and he was saying this about *Kesadhātuvaṃsa* <sup>361</sup>. Oh, the queer fool! You are stealing the fruits of my labour. And in the beginning he did not know which manuscript I meant but thereafter it transpired that he was making it ready for publication.

Gilbert was chattering nonsense.

**16th February:** On board the ship a discussion ensued at breakfast today about the B[ombay] B[urma] T[rading] C[orporation]. The captain was relating a famous story about the Swindles of the Company. In Rangoon, the city of patriots, the merchants are shouting that it is necessary to conceal the lease.

“**We had a poor case against Thi-baw**” observed a lady of independent thinking! Everyone smiled. Well, but Thi-baw has been dethroned and Burma has become a British possession.

It is not long that Mandalay became British, but already so many tourists! Britons from India and Europe, have swarmed at Mandalay.

**17th February: Moulmein.** Arrived here yesterday, put up at the Boarding house of Madam Sacomdomine. One of the teachers in the school of Gilbert could not be too effusive in his praise for this place. In fact the asylum of Madam S. turned



out to be beneath all criticism. The bedrooms are separated by partitions and all that is taking place in one room can be heard from all the rooms. I could not go to sleep for a long time yesterday. All around the house there is not a single tree. Maung Nu hid himself somewhere on the ship yesterday and did not appear in the evening. I found him out only this morning. At about 8 in the morning I set out to meet Oo-too. Searched for him for a long time. The old man was not at home. He had gone to some monastery. A boy, his grandson, could speak English a little, while the grand-daughter, a girl of about ten, was very smartly answering all the questions in English.

Moulmein, through which I drove a little, is a very beautiful town. The banana and palm trees lining the streets lend a picturesque and novel view to the town.

But one should look at the city from the height of the ridge which cuts across the town from north to south and then one really understands the enthusiastic references to the city. When the city was lit up by the rays of the setting sun, I saw it from a monastery where there is a stupa *Sando-payah* or *U-Ṭima payah*<sup>362</sup>, and the hill itself is called Nagadatta. That is what monk Talain told me. The view from here is indeed picturesque but I cannot undertake to describe it. Here I sat about half an hour and received as a present *Matika*<sup>363</sup> with Talain translation. The old monk did not of course accept any money and did not want any kind of present. He persuaded me to read and think over the book thoroughly and this, as he said, would be the best present which could be made to him. It was here that a Talain was sitting by me talking in English. He was unshaven and had a tuft of hair. He was dressed as a monk, although his robe was somewhat pinkish. I asked him who he was. "I am [a] hermite", he replied. I asked him to translate the word "hermite" into Burmese. "Jatila"<sup>364</sup>, he said without pausing. "But Jatilas are not Buddhists", I asserted. The hermit did not believe it and insisted that 'Jatila' and 'Hpungi'<sup>365</sup>, were one and the same thing. A strange country! a monk talking in English; and here again another kind of meeting awaited me—

some Madrassi with the Political Economy of Fawcett<sup>366</sup> appeared there to take a walk in the monastery. A little higher up, a stupa was being erected and a crowd of women labourers were carrying bricks on their heads. Each one of a few amongst them was carrying as many as six large bricks on her head. All were beautifully dressed and all were in silk. When descending we were met by a new group of women with water vessels on their heads. They too created a pleasant impression.

From there set off for Kiaik-San-Lan<sup>367</sup> but did not reach the top.

Drove round the city, came back home and found there Adams<sup>368</sup>. He turned out to be a veritable ignoramus. One of the pupils of Gilbert also came to me.

They say that the dacoits have destroyed telegraph lines in Rangoon. There are no British troops here but there are Sepoys.

**18th February:** Drove to the Crow Island today. Gilbert had advised me to see the island without fail. This, as everything else said by Gilbert, turned out to be stuff and nonsense. I crossed over to the island in a muddy boat and found myself at a place which was not remarkable in any way. Of course there were banana and palm trees and stupas and Kiauns. Even there were no crows but with our appearance the dogs started barking furiously. I went there in the company of two Burmans. It is full moon today and so we found at the guest house a few Burmese families which were observing a fast and taking a stroll on the island in a holiday mood. Apart from two wells from which water used to be drawn for the coronation of Burmese kings, the island does not have anything interesting.

Having taken a stroll over the island I returned to the city.

Again in Rangoon. Went out in the evening in search of fretworkers, and after a long search found two. The specimens of their work are really magnificent, but the price too is unusually high. A hollowed-out tusk turned into filligree costs

Rs. 100/-; there are smaller ones each of which costs Rs. 50/-. Did not find anything ready and hence did not buy anything. From there started for Kyai-shon-lan where Sangharaja lives in retirement. Although the old man has become feeble-minded from age yet he is cunning in his own way. He declined to express his opinion on the war with Thi-baw. He admitted that Thi-baw was learned and well-read in Pali literature. Did not answer the question whether everything said and written about Thi-baw by the British is true. He had travelled a lot. Had been to India and visited Gaya and Benares. One of his followers, a young monk, speaks English a little. The old man asserted that "Salam" is a degenerated form of **anjali**<sup>369</sup>. People distorted the word itself after they had forgotten the correct form of showing respect. They raise to their forehead only two fingers instead of ten.

**19th February: Rangoon.** Again in the slimy house of Jordan. On the ship it was said that the heads of two dacoits were delivered at Moulmein yesterday. Both the heads were those of monks. A price of ten thousand rupees is fixed on the head of a dacoit.

Spent yesterday night on the same ship. By Jove! how beautiful are these tropical nights in moonlight! How pleasant is the breeze after the heat of the day! And this cloudless transparent sky and the outlines of banana and palm trees. Somewhere in the distance could be heard voice, laughter and song. Everything was quiet on the ship. Only the splash of oars of a hurrying boat could be heard now and then.

Come, let us go to the holy place!<sup>370</sup> Let us have a look at these strange, pious people. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the cultured man, these people still believe and pray with devotion and childish simplicity and sing hymns before the holy of holies in words not understood by them. And so let us go. A train takes us to the very threshold of the holy place. Its golden cupola shines high, high over the city and from wherever and whichever side you may approach Rangoon you cannot fail to notice the golden stupa. The high, stone staircase under the

carved, ornamental roof leads you to the upper square. Here on the road you will find everything with which a Buddhist shows his respect for the holy place. Small traders have spread out their wares there. Buddha did not say "My temple would be called the temple of prayers". And the whole of this high staircase leading to the upper square as much resembles a bazar as it does the threshold of a temple. A crowd of people are ascending hurriedly. There! in the wake of a long plaited Chinese is coming a Punjabi Sepoy. Behind British sailors is stretched a row of yellow robes, and there again, in snow-white hoods nuns with downcast eyes are advancing softly. There and then you hear a shout "Lemonade! Lemonade!" On both sides of the floor are spread out wax candles, multi-coloured flags of paper, nets of paper, flowers etc. . . . . in short everything that is taken to the temple as an offering. Beggars with ulcers, blindmen, singers and musicians complete the picture. But these things do not confuse you, these are the characteristics of a bazar. You are all the same at a place of prayer and in the midst of people whose faith has not evaporated. You climb up to the very top, to that square where around the stupa are towering various shrines, and look around—who are more numerous? Holidaying people, idly looking to this side and that, or kneeling devotees? And they assemble here from all sorts of places. Today I found here three monks from Ceylon. One of them was speaking English and Pali. I was expressing myself in both the languages.

When you go along the stairs, if you look at the pillars worn by the passage of Time, at the room with half-ruined fretwork and at the worn and broken steps, it appears to you that the place is neglected and the faith has dried up here. But on the upper square there are so many new shrines, so much of absolutely fresh gilding on the statues! And even this is too little for the devotees. New shrines are being built and new statues of vast dimensions erected. This upper square with its shrines, statues, small stupas! In the midst of all this there is the Shwedagon in the shape of a golden bell. This upper square, humming

with a crowd of people who have hastened to this place from all corners, is as if a museum of curios and an ethnological exhibition, of course, for the non-Buddhists. For the Buddhists this place is the "holy of holies".

And round this Shwe-dagon, in close proximity, West is marching by its right forcibly acquired. On behalf of the West are fortifications and guns sticking out on the slopes of the hills, a winding road running round the Cantonment gardens up to the royal lakes<sup>371</sup>.

No, Rangoon is not what was described by travellers at the beginning of the present century. There are no bamboo huts nor mud houses here. You will admire when you see what sort of mansions and private houses there are at this place. Here there are not the same pack of mongrels whose barking and yelping the vanguard pioneers of British culture complain of, and here the cleanliness of the streets is not in charge of pigs, as it used to be in the beginning of the present century.

**22nd February:** Here is a day disgracefully spent! Driving about the whole day, meeting many people but collecting no profitable information. Went to Government House, to Maung Po Hmin and to the rascal Forchhammer and so on and so forth.

**23rd February:** Just now read about the death of St. Barbe in the newspapers. He was killed by the dacoits: How they are still storming: Buddhists, say the same newspapers, wish to have their Archbishop; they need a guard and defender of their faith. Formerly Thi-baw played this role.

A monk from Ceylon, from the Virananda monastery, came to me today. His name was Dharmapala. He spoke Pali. He toured India for three years. Visited Gaya, Benares etc. A type of anglicized or Europeanised monk. Such monks one rarely comes across in Burma.

Various kinds of sports were played at Dalhousie Park<sup>372</sup> in honour of Lord Dufferin. On the royal lake a race was held of Burmese boats. There were of course Europeans, Burmans and the inevitable Parsis. But most of all, there were

people who are called East Indians; these are unhappy people whose involuntary sin of their descent from parents of diverse races the British cannot forgive; they are despised by the fair-haired Briton because they are too black and the negroes do not like them because, although not the real masters, the cross-breed all the same resembles a Sahib. Lord and Lady Dufferin arrived. The orchestra struck up "God save the Queen". Those who could bare their heads did. There was no liveliness either amongst the Europeans or amongst the crowd. They assembled here not to make merry, and God knows for what.

Dined at Bernard's. Met Dufferin. "Every Russian speaks English", he said, at the time of presentation. At dinner sat by the side of Lord Beresford and Goodrich<sup>373</sup>. The conversation was not interesting. M.W. was very kind.

Bernard is the Chief Comm[issioner] and master of Burma with such wide powers as none of our halffaihted Generals could dream and those were Generals who did not object to calling Gladstone a fool, and to inventing their own system of economic administration which would apply equally to the school of cantonists and to the university.

It is said that the Anglo-Indian system of administration is a specimen of despotic rule. This is said by the British themselves.

There were about thirty people at dinner. Bernard and his wife were somehow not much noticed. Yesterday I was twice told about the return of the image of Gautama by Lord D[ufferin] to the Buddhists and also about the fact that Sasana-bain behaved very foolishly at that time i.e. probably he was at a loss to speak out. I believe that. Besides, the so-called Archbishop has a very foolish appearance.

**24th February:** Mg-Shwe-Kyu<sup>374</sup> came to me this morning at 8 o'clock and took me to have a look at the Primary schools. He told me that 160 monastic schools <sup>375</sup> are under his inspection.

The teachers were warned about our arrival beforehand, and of course they tried to show us the bright side of these

schools. However I went only to the best schools mentioned in the last annual report. I was interested in the system as a whole and not in the details and particulars with which I had no time to acquaint myself.

We went first to Pa-Zun-daung<sup>376</sup>, to the U-Thilawentha school. It was about 8 o'clock; the boys had assembled in smart dresses, as if they were actually expecting an august visitor. I put a few questions on geography and made them read out Pali. The latter is left in the background; it is not a compulsory subject. Three subjects are compulsory: Burmese language, arithmetic and geography. Of optional subjects there are two: Pali and Sanitations. Most of the boys choose the latter. And those who select Pali do not study with particular care even the little that is prescribed for them. Better answers were being given to the questions on geography. A little Samanera knows thoroughly all the principal cities of Europe including Petersburg. For education in Monastic schools the parents do not pay anything, on the other hand, the monk gives the children breakfast and dinner. Nevertheless nowadays parents prefer to send their children to secular schools and to pay Re. 1/- per capita per mensem, more is taught in these schools and also because the monks though they teach without remuneration look upon the pupils as their servants and employ them for a lot of their own work. The children remain at the school from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. do not know whether they study all this time or go on frolicking also. The appearance of this school is singular: the boys are all on mats on the floor, squatting or lying in a half-prostrate attitude; in a few of these schools a table and a chair are placed for the use of the teacher. It is doubtful, however, whether the Burman normally sits on this chair or just writes at this table.

**Results grants:** different amounts for different schools. In the school in Cresp Street this encouraging sum amounts to Rs. 800/-. Teachers receive salaries beginning from Rs. 30/- up to Rs. 60/- per month. In this very school a pupil pays Re. 1/- per month for his education but out of this nothing remains for

the upkeep of the school inasmuch as all this money is eaten up by the rent of the place.

I was very much interested in the text book on hygiene to which parents and boys prefer the language of the scriptures. In many of the schools children had Pali books in their hands; but I did not hear a single satisfactory answer to any of the questions put by me on this subject. They did not know the meaning of the most common works.

Monk U-Thilawhenththa has a knavish appearance; he strongly desired that I should write his praises in the Visitors' books, and did not wish in any way to understand that being an unofficial person and on top of that, being a non-Britisher, I had no right whatsoever to express my opinion officially.

What a tremendously revolutionary effect the schools must produce on the people and it is not at all surprising that the Burmese monks dread the fate of their religion—and what do they wish? That Government might appoint a Sasanabain for them. They wish to be the guardians of their faith.

Drove about in vain today; today is the Durbar and I could not find anybody. Everyone had left for that place. I could not find even Bigandet nor either of the rascals, Gilbert and Forchhammer, as they had all left for the Durbar. There is a ball in the evening.

Today the Rangoon Times<sup>377</sup> addressing the Viceroy in their editorial said: "In cantonments you would find ease, luxury, comfort, convenience and good sanitation; in town you would find overcrowding, inconvenience, squalor and disease, and all at once easily and readily preventible." In that article it is said "You would find hundreds of poor people compelled to live in barracks wherein decency of life is unattainable and where the maintenance of sound health is impossible."

The Chamber of Commerce<sup>378</sup> expressed the hope and wish that Rice duties<sup>379</sup> should be abolished. It complains about the heavy land tax<sup>380</sup> and points out to the increase in export to Saigon—225577 tons in 1870, 508380 tons in 1885. "The bulk of this grain goes 'in' [should be] 'to' China, practically shutting



Burma out of that important market altogether, and as the productions in Saigon increases the competition will certainly be more keenly felt in the markets of Europe also."

The people say, faith is weakening . . . . but look! the Govt. recently published the statement of works of public utility for 1885, noting the constructions built by private individuals.

What have private individuals built in Burma? They have constructed bridges, excavated tanks and wells, erected guest houses, in short, everything that is prescribed by Buddhistic charity. Look, at Rangoon where the system is that schools are run by the state, missionaries with their schools are undermining the basis of native religion and on this work of charity more than fifty three thousand rupees have been spent and twelve new **Klauns** i.e. monasteries have been built. What more do you want? And is this not an act of faith?

**25th February:** Either in honour of the Viceroy's departure or as an after-effect of the Ball the newspapers have not come out today. From the morning I am having annoying or boring visitors. The first was the monk from Ceylon, Dharmapala. I showed him three manuscripts of *Anagatavamsa*<sup>381</sup>. D[harma]p[ala] informed me that there were two opinions in Ceylon about this work. Some accept this as a true prophecy, others consider this as false. The same monk was telling me about a certain Gooneratne Governor's Gate Mudaliar<sup>382</sup> in Galle. He has a big library and he himself is a rare scholar of Pali. The monk was followed by Doctor Ramanesh. Then the first and second parts of the manuscript **Sumagalavilasini** were brought. Rs. 49-8 annas were paid for these. Mg. Shwe-Kyu informed me yesterday that there were 160 schools under his inspection. About the number of schools outside the scope of inspection he could not furnish any definite and reliable data.

The third part of **Sumangalavilasini** was bought for Rs. 27-14 annas. Almost two months of life spent in the most novel situation and under circumstances unprecedented for me. About Russia, about home, practically no news and no rumours; newspapers I do not read. The local newspapers

speaking little about Europe. Everything goes on differently in Calcutta.

Guns are being fired. Lord Dufferin is leaving for Madras. The curtain has fallen on the last act of the Burmese tragedy—that tragedy, the first scene of which was played in Rangoon when the wild cry of "Burma must be pocketed" issued from the breasts of the British merchants here. And what only was not said then was that they remembered Queen Bess<sup>383</sup>, and the Huguenots.

Went to Marks and luckily did not find him at home. Went to Gilbert. Just then he returned after seeing off the Viceroy. "I am glad. I saw him safe on the Clive!" he said and what is Hecuba to him?

So, this is who Andrecino is! An ordinary salesman of a British firm at the start of his career; but the man is smart and resourceful; he began by learning the Burmese language thoroughly. He succeeded in winning the confidence of the younger members of the King's household by making available to them amusing playthings. This happened in the days of king Min-dun. Andrecino speaks a simple language but speaks well. When the Italian embassy was established he made himself indispensable as an interpreter. Min-dun grew fond of him for his skill in reproducing an European speech in the Burmese garb. The Burmese Embassy was installed in Europe and this was to the advantage of Andrecino; the embassy was very well received in Italy; the king, who was flattered by this, made a present of a house to the Italian Consulate. Andrecino, who in the meantime had become the Vice-Consul, considered and uptill now does consider this as a present made to him personally. Subsequent history is well known—he stole the draft treaty from the king and made it over to the British.

Tongda Mengda<sup>384</sup> was hated by the people; the dacoits received his support and he shared with them the spoils. The people are convinced that he gave bribe to Sladen; Sladen is despised by the people. "He is now under a cloud" Gilbert said to me today, gathering the information from the lobby: Bernard

is very much liked in Burma. "He was against annexation." And this stands him in good stead.

And this B[ombay] B[urma] T[rading] C[orporation] is simply tempting. Having secured data from the British authorities Burmese Government started an enquiry. The merchants were cheating in the most obvious manner.

Maung Po Hmin is opposed to the appointment of Sasanabain by the British Government; he did not even form part of the deputation which handed over a memorial to the Viceroy.

The monk, who was yesterday bragging about the geographical map in the school, does not suspect what kind of poison he has brought into his monastery: the boys looking at this map will learn to lose faith in the truth of the words of the Great Teacher<sup>385</sup>: in vain they will search for Sumeru and Jambudwipa<sup>386</sup> on this map. And no kind of resourcefulness and no manner of jesuitism can reconcile the inconsistency between the truth and the geographical testimony of the three *pitakas*. And no Sasanabain can save the Buddhist society from unbelief. The naive memorialists thought that their memorial was a protest. They were protesting and appealing to the Government to intervene in the affairs of their religion. Oh, the simple souls!

Andrecino assured the Burmese king that salvation lay in big guns, and at his initiative and through his mediation orders were placed for those huge guns which stand in front of the palace and which have never been fired.

India is ruled by despots, big and small. Hear, what power and authority the Chief Commissioner, this Burrah Sahib by preference, wields! Well, such liberty to display to the World his divine disposition could not be dreamt of by any of the Russian Generals who were temperamentally martial but officially civilians. First of all, the Chief Commissioner, receives a huge salary, and this Burrah Sahib in fact lives like a big landowner in a vast mansion. He gives fetes and dinner in which a legion of barefooted but red-liveried servants serve to the guests European delicacies spoilt by the manipulation of the black-

skinned native cook. He gives the guests bad champagne to drink, but in plenty. His lady has her own reception days. All that the representative of Her Britannic Majesty does in Calcutta is, on a smaller scale, repeated by his delegates in the provinces. These Burrah Sahibs are in excellent positions, but it must be said that they have multifarious duties.

**26th February:** Influence is exercised not only by the schools, by the system of administration and British angle of vision penetrating into life in the shape of legislation, but tremendous influence is wielded by the relationship with the Europeans and the mutual dealings between them. See how Maung Po Hmin lives in Rangoon and compare his house with the condition in which I found Bidagat-ok in Mandalaya. M.P.H. has an excellent house surrounded by beautiful gardens with comfort and cleanliness inside. He himself does not chew betel and cannot do without a handkerchief, while the other was taking his bath on the verandah in the presence of his guests and had never heard what a handkerchief was.

At supper at the Ball after a fair amount of drinking, one of those masters voicing dinner table banalities said: "To His Excellency has been left the proud distinction of making England what has been termed a New Year's gift of the country of Upper Burma; but we look upon His Excellency's action in a far higher light—in the light of having saved a people from oppression and wrong (cheers) . . . . . he will . . . . . be blest in the knowledge that he saved a country and redeemed its people (loud cheers) . . . ." How nice all this is! The people accepted the conquerors passively. The king surrendered. But a silent struggle goes on all around. The so-called dacoits shoot at British officials from behind bushes. Is it time to say that the country has been saved?

But all this is of course as a prediction of future welfare and advantages . . . . . But the Shans? And China?

**26th February:** On board the ship 'Africa'. Came here at 11 o'clock and occupied a separate cabin. Thereafter went out for a drive; returned to the hotel and to my surprise found Gilbert

at my place. The rascal sent me in the morning such poor stuff instead of highly praised pictures, but in the evening he brought really beautiful specimens of Burmese art to be shown. We talked about the price of these pictures for a long time and from the discussion a suspicion grew upon me that the rascal had brought to me his own property and wished to dispose of them at a higher price. Hence we did not come to any final and definite agreement. Dined at the hotel, settled the account and set off for the ship. To my great and very unpleasant surprise I found that my cabin was occupied by another. There was an exchange of hot words between myself and the captain. He categorically refused me a separate cabin. The talk turned on Mr. Mackenzie<sup>387</sup>: "Has he a separate cabin?" "Yes, a separate cabin. The Agent applied for this and in the interests of the company I had to do this service. Mr. M. is a big official." "In the interests of the Company", I observed laughingly, "you must do the service to me. I am writing a book of travel, but Mr. M. will never say a word of thanks." But these really silly words had a sudden and unexpected effect. A cabin was allotted to me exclusively. The Captain practised deceit and taught me to do the same in the event of a storm breaking out tomorrow. British truthfulness! Sauvez les apparences [save appearances]. Went to Bernard in the morning. A thorough cross-examination! And he was noting down every word that I was saying. What would he do with that? Do not know; does he not wish to print this? I was giving him my impressions of the journey to Mandalay; I named those monks with whom I talked in Pali, and honestly speaking, I could not recall the name of even one single monk of learning. I do not find any here. I advised him to send the books to London at least in duplicate. Bernard is a wonder! Here I have the reputation of a celebrity.

The French, it is said, were stealing up to Upper Burma. Had we not taken Burma, the ordinary Englishman reasons, the French would have captured the country. They would have stretched out their hands to the monopolies, would have seized them, would have constructed railroads and on a fine morning

would have found themselves the complete masters of Burma.

**28th February:** Mackenzie assured me yesterday that the palace was looted by the Burmans. Where have the soldiers got the money from?

Buddhists had been talking about the episcopo [high priest] for a long time before the arrival of the Viceroy. Representatives of the society were sent on a deputation to the Commissioner<sup>388</sup>. Buddhists undoubtedly wanted that the episcopo [high priest] should be appointed by the British Government. They asserted that every change of Government must necessarily be followed by a new appointment of episcopo [high priest]. The authorities suggested that they should request the Chinese Emperor to appoint an episcopo [high priest] in Burma. The Burmans did not agree to this. What kind of a Buddhist is the Chinese Emperor?' They argued in their own mind. This affair showed complete lack of appreciation, by the British, of the essentials of the problem, as was ordinarily the case in India, and their ignorance about the better type of people in the native society. M[ackenzie] does not even suspect that in Rangoon not all the Buddhists want an episcopo appointed by the British Government and that the memorialists by presenting an address wanted to express a sort of protest against annexation of the country.

**2nd March: Calcutta:** The ship arrived here at 3 o'clock. After some trouble on board the ship I hired a boat with the help of a guide whom I got hold of by chance and set off for the hospitable shelter of Mrs. Walter. For Rs. 6/- a day I got two rooms in the same house where I had lived in January. The rooms are small and it must be hot here during the daytime.

Majority of the passengers on the ship were military men. Talks which I happened to have with them were of no interest.

One of them was telling me that in Rangoon recently a certain Burman, a carter, raised his stick threateningly at an English woman who was driving towards him from the opposite direction. "He should have been hanged", opined the

moustacheless Mars. "We are too soft with these cattle. We should act like the Russians". As if, in Russia people are hanged for such an act, or even such reasoning is conceivable! A Gujerati merchant and his son were travelling with us. Judging from their luxurious clothes and also the fact that they were occupying a first class cabin, they must have been well-to-do people. They never showed themselves in the saloon; even on the deck they appeared very scarcely and every time they did, they excited wonder in the Britishers. Appearance either of the father or of the son in their variegated and gold-embroidered dresses created an impression which it is possible to expect at the sudden apparition of a wild beast in the midst of a cultured gathering. They were stared at and searching glances were cast on them. **The father** endured these intrusive looks with complete calm, but **the boy** was evidently confused by these and particularly when somebody would be enquiring aloud "What does this want here?", this fellow, who had paid just as much money as each one of us had, would quietly retire to a corner.

I asked myself 'Is something like this conceivable in Russia?' With what a pompous carriage would a Tartar prince have moved about amongst Russian passengers?

Oh! this civilization without charity and without tenderness is worse than despotism. How can the Burmese fight it?

An officer, who had received severe injuries at the hands of the dacoits at Pagan, was travelling with us. He was telling me that General Prendergast was very much dissatisfied with the harshness of his officers and the large number of the killed and wounded amongst officers was attributed solely to this. "They are too rash. They must not run ahead of their soldiers." Is it not more correct to think that the soldiers do not follow them? With regard to the Madras regiments it is possible to assert this almost with certainty.

**2nd March:** The forward movement of civilization has in itself something fatal . . . . It leads to inexorable destruction of the old order. And this order is helpless in the presence of this force. Well, what preventive measures can a Buddhist monk

think about against the activities of the western school? The most that he can do, and that he has done and has been doing, is to declare geography and English language mortal sins, heresy, and so on. But what after all has come, and would come of it? Has this held anybody back from the study of the English language, Arithmetic, Geography etc.? Do we not find on the other hand that the number of people studying holy scriptures is decreasing.

All the strength of Buddhism lies in those people who think that building of Bihars and erection of statues would save them. But even this will not last long. This class of people is growing weak.

**3rd March:** Calcutta is hot; I had no idea about this in Rangoon: and here my various acts of frivolity commence. Yesterday I hired three **Pankhawalas** for the day and the night to cool my sinful body! Between the three of them they will be getting Rs. 15/- per month i.e. nearly half a rouble in 24 hours, and they are obliged to work day and night continuously. How soon you get used to all these vulgarities of oriental life and look upon the infamy of the lordly caprices with indifference! A whole class of people make a living by cooling the delicate bodies of wealthier people by day and by night. Notwithstanding the punkha I could not sleep that night. Mosquitoes were troubling me and throughout the night I was dreaming about the red-faced officer who was regretting that the British were not sufficiently cruel to the Burmans.

In today's newspapers there were rumours about the Kashmir Government. It does not forebode well. The days of Kashmir's independence are numbered, it seems<sup>389</sup>.

Spent the whole morning today in aimless rides; at first I went to the Bengal Bank and to my great surprise encashed the bill of exchange without any difficulty. The Director of the bank had travelled with me on board 'Assam'<sup>390</sup>. The conversation naturally turned on our fellow travellers. We were sorry for S. Barb.

**4th March:** Yesterday at 9 o'clock in the evening I went



to the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society. The attendance at the meeting was poor. Tawney was dining with the Governor and could not attend the meeting. There were no important talks.

At the conclusion of the meeting there was a prolonged monologue of Mr. Atkinson<sup>391</sup>, the President of the Society. The subject of the monologue or lecture was highly interesting. He was trying to show that Europeans could not colonise either India or tropical countries in general. Here everything northern—man, animal and vegetation—would degenerate and die out; unfortunately, this subject could not be exhaustively dealt with in some 10-15 minutes. I was, however, very glad of making his acquaintance. The meeting welcomed me. After the meeting a Bengalee gentleman, one of the ex-pupils of Mahesh Chandra [Nyayaratna] who, I was told, was very ill, came to me. The kindness of the Bengalees towards me always surprised me. This kindness is extended to the Russians and not to me personally. Yesterday Haraprasad Shastri<sup>392</sup> frankly declared that he was very glad to see a Russian with his own eyes. He, however, remembers me and my visits to the Sanskrit College ten years ago.

Slept very badly at night. In spite of the **Punkha** the mosquitoes tormented me a great deal.

Atkinson sent me his book this morning. I went to thank him and caught him leaving for the office. He occupies a very big house. All the rooms are of imposing dimensions, but without **Punkha**; the heat in them is intolerable. From there I set off for the fort; unfortunately could not find the General; his head clerk was chattering away some kind of nonsense in connection with my letter. When you need something it is better to go to the biggest boss instead of to his subordinates. They would definitely start complicating matters. Went to the Secretariat and bought some books.

**5th March:** Sarat Chandra Das<sup>393</sup>, who had toured Tibet, came this morning. He lived in Lhasa for eighteen months and is not eloquent about the kindness of the monks. He brought from there many Tibetan books including a few Sanskrit ones.

Sarat Chandra Das saw Sanskrit manuscripts in the Tibetan monasteries but they were sealed by the seal of the Dalai Lama. According to him, in Tibet, too, there are monks who know Sanskrit; there are Sanskrit manuscripts in palm leaves. He had also been to Ceylon and does not hold a high opinion about the learning of the monks there. He does not exclude even Suman-gala from the list of uneducated monks. Of course, the monks of that place do not know anything about the Buddhism which they study.

Haridas Shastri<sup>394</sup> came to me yesterday. Yet with what amount of curiosity the Bengalees regard the Russians! It is necessary also to observe that they are very kind to me. I suppose they will be as kind to every Russian. Really, the British hold them back a lot for their dark skin. We talked about literature and about Burma. Bengalees are of course opposed to the annexation of Burma and to war. With them war stands for new taxes. The conversations of H[aridas] [Shastri], and earlier, of Ch. D. [Sarat Chandra Das], with me revealed a lack of confidence in the European scholars: a good sign!

**Amrita Bazar Patrika** is the most popular newspaper amongst the local natives; **Bangabasi** has about 20 thousand subscribers. **Indian Mirror** is not a widely circulated organ<sup>395</sup>.

In the words of H. [Haridas Shastri], Rajani Kanta Gupta<sup>396</sup> should be considered a good belletrist.

**7th March**: Sarat Ch[andra] D[as] came to me yesterday. We talked about Tibet. He complained that he did not receive any kind of encouragement and that the Government wished to entangle him in the political affairs of Tibet. Could not make out what he implied by saying 'political affairs'.

'Darjeeling' means a holy place. This name primarily stood for the monastery which is two days' journey to the north west of the Sanitarium<sup>397</sup>. This monastery is the oldest one in Sikkim. The same name has been given to the monastery or the temple which stands right by the Sanitarium now. The Bhutaneese are Buddhists; their language is different from that of the Tibetans.

Dined with Hoernle<sup>398</sup>. Twaney talked a lot about the necessity of technical education in India.

Haridas Shastri had come to me in the morning. He took me to some literati. Met some ten of them and do not remember the name of any one. The substance of the discourse was of no account. We talked about Burma. As to annexation, the same opinion as I had heard before. Some one observed that the natives did not know anything about the state of affairs in Burma and they did not dare speak out the whole truth about whatever they knew.

From there went to the Museum<sup>399</sup> and saw the archaeological gallery. Met Wood-Mason<sup>400</sup>, with whom I had dined at Hoernle's yesterday. We talked about Buddhistic emblems.

Calcutta has undergone a sudden transformation: today, on the 7th of March, there is a shower and it has suddenly become as cool as it is in St. Petersburg at the end of April or in the beginning of May. Discontinued the **Punkha** today.

Yesterday at dinner at H[oernle's] we talked about Australia. Here is a country which can capture India. And how probable this is! Indians would not even perceive the change of rulers. This idea, given expression to by the British, deserves full consideration.

**8th March:** Went to the Asiatic Society this morning. The Assistant Secretary, a Bengalee gentleman, is a madcap. He greeted me as a Russian and called the Russians the future rulers of India. "Where from did you learn this?" I asked him. "From the newspapers", he replied without hesitation. He persistently wanted that I should buy his works. I told him point-blank that the books were small but costly. "Yes, they are dear", he admitted, "but in the first place they are written in Sanskrit and in the second I want encouragement, because I receive only Rs. 40/- per month. Do you not really wish to encourage a contemporary writer and a writer in Sanskrit at that?"

From there I went to the Survey-General's Office<sup>401</sup> in Wood Street. I received the report on the journey to Tibet.

Native research scholars are rewarded with very good leases

worth Rs. 1,500/- per year (i.e. rent-free land). For this journey A.K.<sup>402</sup> was given Rs. 500/- and a small monthly allowance. Large amounts are not given on journeys.

**9th March:** There was pouring rain this morning and after that it became as cool as in our country in midsummer.

Yesterday at dinner opinion was expressed that the Burma affair would not be settled soon, not in another two or three years.

Went now to M.W. Did not stay with him for long. He was sorting out some letters. I asked him to get for me the report of the journey of Sarat Chandra Das<sup>403</sup>. He did not make a definite promise, but said that he would inform me about the result of his negotiations with Durand<sup>404</sup> or the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I shall wait till tomorrow!

Sarat Chandra Das . . . . . he thinks he is ill-favoured by Government, but God knows what he wants. Money? Honours? Fame?

He was telling me that he spent 5 thousand rupees of his own; but thereafter it transpired that it was Government money.

The Government paid the Lama, who was with him, 8 annas for each mile traversed. According to S.C.D. it is not more than 250 miles from Darjeeling to Lhasa.

Murshas<sup>405</sup> are Buddhists. Two tribes are called Kiratas: Khumbu and Limbu<sup>406</sup>. The Lepchas<sup>407</sup> call the latter 'Nung'. The Limbus, according to S.C.D., are of Tibetan descent.

**10th March:** Spent the morning at the Museum. Examined the Gandhar bas-reliefs<sup>408</sup>.

**11th March:** In the evening dined with Lyall at the I.C.S. Club. The dinner was excellent but the conversation boring; nothing remarkable was said.

Before that the son of Mahesh C[handra] N[yayaratna] came to me. The young man is not more than 23. He serves in the Financial D[epartment] and gets a salary of Rs. 380/- but in this post he can go up to a salary of Rs. 1,000/-. I expressed my satisfaction over the fact that he had secured such a nice berth and asked him how he spent his money, living, as he did, with

the family with everything found. "Well, I do not spend it at all. I give the entire amount to my father". There it is, the joint family system!

We were discussing the letter of Hume<sup>409</sup>. It created an impression amongst the native population. But the newspapers have not yet said anything about it. The **Statesman** has announced today that the picture of poverty in India drawn by the 'old man'<sup>410</sup> is not in the least exaggerated and is confirmed by facts and official data.

Had been to Pandit Jibananda<sup>411</sup> just now. Got from him Vachaspatyam<sup>412</sup>. He remembered my subscription and at once gave me the missing parts. There was a talk about the National Congress and about Bonnerjee and his influence. He is considered to be a rich man: has a few houses in Calcutta and land at Burdwan. I found him lying in the verandah, busy reading the commentary on Dasakumarcharita<sup>413</sup>. His house is being rebuilt. A new storey is being added, or rather six new rooms.

The new Rent Law will be most oppressive for the ryots but not for the Zemindars<sup>414</sup>.

In the Congress there are no representatives of the people at all. None regards Bonnerjee as a representative of the people of Bengal. He is not even considered to be a brahman. B[onnerjee] gets about ten thousand rupees per month. His father was a poor man. The National Congress is a fancy which is not understood by the people.

It has been for a long time well known that dinner parties are one of the most boring affairs, but very much loved by the British. In India these dinner parties happen to be unendurable.

What do the Britishers talk about at dinner? Most often they discuss the events and affairs at home. When this topic is exhausted they turn to local subjects and the discussion is soon reduced to spiteful but unwitty remarks about the natives. Especially the ladies excel in such idle talks.

The Black Hole and the Kanpur brutalities<sup>415</sup> bear testimony to the amount of hatred the British are capable of inspiring against themselves.

The newspapers say that Dr. Marks will be the episcopo [high priest] in Upper Burma—that would be the last straw!

**13th March:** Received a letter from M.W. today. I was refused the book of Sarat Chandra Das. I went to M.W. yesterday. He gave me an evasive reply and today he has sent Durand's letter. The motive of the refusal is very stupid.

**14th March:** Darjeeling. Reached here at 4 o'clock today.

Hilly beauty starts unfolding itself within a few miles from Siliguri, when the train begins its serpentine journey up into the mountain with the first rhododendrons appearing before the eye.

It is not even 50 miles from Siliguri to Darjeeling but to cover this distance we have been travelling from 8-25 to 4 o'clock, true, with frequent stops.

As you journey, only look on and a picturesque landscape will open out before your eyes. There's no need to mention it. I am not putting down a description of this beauty in the diary, in the first place because I cannot describe it, and in the second place because on my arrival here I met with a muddle-up, to be more precise, had a reeling of the head while I was walking along the road towards the hotel.

Woodland's Hotel is but a few steps from the railway station. Halfway towards it I felt sick. My head and heart are out of gear.

Yesterday at dinner a gentleman was relating how while hunting he accidentally planted a whole cartridge of large shots on a native<sup>416</sup>. He aimed at a monkey but hit the native. "How he was shrieking and screaming," observed his wife "but he was not hurt as much as all that." Tales and jokes went round on the theme of simulation by the natives. The same gentleman narrated how his friend once during a hunt wounded an old woman through carelessness and paid Rs. 10/- as compensation for the bodily injuries. On the next day he went out hunting again—and lol under the same tree another old woman was sitting, awaiting her turn and her ten rupees. Everyone laughed. It did not enter the heads of either the gentleman or the ladies to ask how these people content themselves with contemptible

sops for mutilation of the body and how, if the story of the witty gentleman is to be believed, they themselves even ask for such mutilation in the expectation of the master's favours.

**15th March:** My first stroll in Darjeeling ended with a visit to the Tibetan School. This Tibetan School is a Government institution. All the boys speak, read and write in, English. The Headmaster, a Bengalee gentleman, explained to me that the school had the task of turning out interpreters, guides and others.

A boy of this school, very intelligent in appearance, gave me a surprise. He was speaking English glibly and had even heard about Max Muller<sup>417</sup>.

The bazar is very interesting as far as types of nationality are concerned. The Mongolian type predominates; you are sure to find all sorts there: Indians from Marwar, from Bengal, Punjabis with Kashmiri wares, Lepchas, Nepalese and finally the Tibetans with their curios, dogs etc. Today is not a bazar day and not much movement of people is noticeable.

Walking on the hills tires me terribly; I become short of breath and my head reels.

Here, at Darjeeling, you meet with beauty wherever you go. The Deodars alone are worth a lot. You are lost in admiration of each one of these trees. And the rhododendrons in bloom! But the rhododendrons here are much smaller than those in the Nepal valley.

Gurungs and Magars<sup>418</sup> call themselves Nepalese. Today a Magar (from the school, by the way) said that he had Magarese books. Never heard that the Magars had a written language.

**17th March:** Darjeeling is a wonderful place. But I still cannot walk about the hills, because I go out of breath and my head reels. On the whole it becomes awful and I feel wretched.

At about 9 o'clock this morning a magnificent panorama of snow-clad mountain ranges came into view. After breakfast walked along the road to the Bhutia bustee<sup>419</sup>, and saw the monastery and stupa from a distance. I did not climb down because it was hot and had a reeling of the head earlier.

Saw Gurungs and Magars today. They cannot be told from

Gurkhas, and they call themselves Nepalese. One Gurung told me today that he did not know the Gurung language.

Amongst the photographs which I bought today there was a picture of a wandering Tibetan monk. Here they abound. Here is a type of Buddhist apostle amongst a savage people. His features, costume and all the accessories of his attire inspire in the spectator some sort of mysterious trepidation and these skulls, strings of beads, mass of diverse things and objects, precious stones, amulets, talismans etc. in a bag tucked in his bosom! His floating dance and wild tune—all these must necessarily produce a strong impression on the minds of young people.

Ancient preachers of countries beyond the Himalayas were always painted to me in this light. They were first of all sorcerers possessed of supernatural powers.

Do not expect a description of the beauty of Darjeeling, its rhododendrons, magnolias, deodars, different kinds of creeping plants nor will you hear from me enthusiastic exclamations as though they would be able to discharge the obligation of painting the panorama of snow-clad mountain-ranges; but I saw all these and was enthralled by these wonders of this world of God and in desperation cursed the immobility of my tongue which stood in the way of my describing vividly this beautiful corner of British India. I would tramp and tramp for hours, my legs getting tired and my breath getting short, but nevertheless I never wanted to go back home and dragged myself farther along the pathway or the highway. I would be thinking 'let me take this last turn, look at what is there and then return home'. But that place would turn out to be so nice and cool in the shade and down below in the gorge serpentine pathways with white houses would be winding their way, tea plantations could be seen, groups of people belonging to tribes never seen by me before would be climbing up from the opposite direction and I would be walking farther on. And it would be like this almost throughout the day.

Today at noon the thermometer reads 60°. It was not warm under the sun. It is understandable how after Calcutta and its



**Punkha** and mosquitoes, even Darjeeling fog appears to be sufferable. But after 6 this pierces the bones; but this fog is not the kind of fog with which the inhabitants of St. Petersburg or even of Pavlovsk are so familiar. Here it is not very perceptible, although in the evenings I make a fire. Ethnography of this region, if not the greatest charm of Darjeeling, is the most interesting thing for me here. All these tribes which one comes across at every step have so far been very perfunctorily studied and most unsatisfactorily described; whereas it seemed as if it would be easy to do that. From Calcutta to here one has only to stretch out one's arm.

A cool moonlit night at Darjeeling,—have you seen anything more fascinating than this? Cool, bright, and down below in the gorge clouds of mist—overhead a bright clear sky! Wherever you look slender pyramids of deodars—lights in the distance, looking like little stars along the slopes of the hills. 10 o'clock—somewhere in the distance notes of songs and sounds of the Indian drum. It is Holi today. On the roads I met with such crowd of people, all smeared with red powder.

**17th March:** Darjeeling. Spent a lot of money this morning. Firstly, bought five pictures or rather five banners for Rs. 15/-, secondly, a skull, a flute, one banner, strings of beads and a charm for Rs. 12/-. My extravagance did not stop here. I paid yet another sum of Rs. 15/- for sacrificial things. In all I paid the sum of Rs. 42/- today.

I continue my diary in a new book. I will finish it probably in Russia. Motherland! Return to my native land does not at all cheer me. Of late my thoughts have very frequently been dwelling on my return to Russia and on the work at the university. No, it is necessary to go home. Here idleness is growing. It is said that for the Anglo-Indians these hill stations enjoy the position of Kapua<sup>420</sup>. And I believe it. This climate, these fascinating natural surroundings incline one towards laziness.

Yesterday while I was taking a walk I came across a villa with the inscription "Nirvana". The selection of the name has

been well calculated. If I lived here one month I would become a complete parasite.

I am now already beginning to feel the fascination of loafing and idling in contemplation and imagination.

Today I went to the Bhutia bustee and the temple. The temple is neither big nor interesting. Upstairs the Lama has many pictures. I bought two from him for Rs. 20/-. The arrangement inside the temple is not in any way different from that of an inner chamber in Southern-Buddhist temples. The images are different and this row of "wheels of prayer"<sup>421</sup> [Dharma Chakra] is quite unknown to the south.

I did not enter into a discussion with the Lama. We had to explain ourselves in Hindusthani i.e. in a language little known to either participant in the conversation. But when the talk turned to books, it very soon became comprehensible.

I came up from there after a very long time, and all the while constantly halting and labouring in Hindusthani and in ethnological observations: met a Gurung who, it transpired, did not know the Gurung language. I had Limbus, Lepchas, Bhutaneses and Tibetans as interlocutors. I also came across a lama; some lamas wear caftans or cassocks of a white colour, others of a red or rather of the colour of Bordeaux.

Tibetans have a clever look. It appears as if all of them know on which side their bread is buttered. Their treatment towards Europeans is marked with complete absence of servility. I have no faith in their Buddhism. It is doubtful whether any of them obeys the ten commandments.

Today at the Bhutia bustee I was twice offered Tibetan women: the first time without any price being quoted and the second time the price quoted was Rs. 5/-. Tibetan beauty is not dear after all.

You do not see much Buddhism here, but what little you see is full of interest: these wandering monks with their skulls and strings of beads, their mudras<sup>422</sup>, bells and images. The mitres worn by the lamas, the halo round the idols, in short, all the external appearances must excite wonder in everybody's mind;

where do they come from—these **Mudras** or placement of the fingers which reminds one of the very same thing in the Christian images?

**19th March:** Returned to Calcutta today. Heat and dust on the way, so also in the city. Took my leave of Tawney and went to M.W. The journey from Siliguri is wearisome: hot and dusty. But yesterday—what a charming road from Darjeeling to Siliguri: this vegetation on the precipice, this excellence of engineering skill i.e. spiral movement of the train!

**Allahabad, March 22:** Had been to Sir A. Lyall today. The conversation with him was interesting. He says in passing that England has reached her natural limits in the east as well as in the west: on one side, the rock of the Chinese empire and on the other, Russian: the days of Afghanistan are numbered, it must collapse. I like this expression about native domains: they are crushed . . . . . in fact they will crumble by the impact of western civilization. The same thing happened to Burma.

L. has always insisted on laying of railroad across Afghanistan as quickly as possible.

About Hume he holds the same opinion as is held by the majority: a disgraced official. The great question is the absence of religion and along with it of all elements of morals. I am glad of this acquaintance. L. is undoubtedly a very intelligent person.

Bengalees do not have much influence outside their country. But L. however admits that this influence does exist.

A rich country has been acquired. And there! the acquisition has stimulated greediness. So many of them poke about in Burma in expectation of profit, sniffing everything which might bring them a little money. I had seen so many of them in Rangoon and Mandalay!

I drove through the bazar but did not find anything worthy of note. The heat here is more unbearable than in Calcutta. There are no **punkhas** in the hotel—neither in the dining room nor in the bed-rooms. It is stuffy.

How did Sir A.L. appear to me today? A simple old man. But even Hume finds that he is an able man, although a cynic. Cynic in what? In the expression of his opinions about the natives.

He invited me to stay at his house. I declined this honour.

S[ir] A.L. confirms that Bengali newspapers have a wide circulation, but only in Bengal.

North-western provinces lag behind Bengal in the matter of education. People of the class corresponding to the Bengali intelligentsia are not so numerous here.

But what heat! In about a minute the ice melted in my glass. I do enjoy a peg.

Here in this infernal climate it is possible to turn a habitual drunkard, because thirst grows stronger on account of the heat and to me it becomes extremely agonising.

I am reading the Blue Book about the Burmese affairs<sup>423</sup> and I cannot form a clear idea about who is right.

Had the French replaced the British in Upper Burma, would it have been better for the Burmans? The French would have been more condescending and gentle to the Burmans and at the same time would have led a more depraved life. This is true! A certain German said in Mandalay, "We keep women but we do not show them to our visitors." But the French would have bragged about their own mistresses.

Sasanabain either through naivety or foolishness said that the French were better than the English. He said the same thing about Russians. All western people are the same—they are covetous and ruthless.

Dined with Sir A.L. There was an incident before dinner which bore testimony to my adroitness; it was suggested that I should lead one of the daughters to the dining room, I smartly offered my arm to her, mind you, the wrong one; there was confusion and even laughter. A bear, what a bear!

Apart from myself and the Bishop of Calcutta there were no outsiders at dinner. Topics of conversation at dinner were

varied but not very interesting. At the end of the dinner the Bishop retired and the ladies followed suit; there were three of them—the mother and her two daughters.

We three remained behind: we were drinking bad coffee, smoking cigarettes and chatting about Russian literature.

At the end of the party we moved over to the ladies in the garden; the Secretary left, the ladies fell silent and the two of us—Sir A. and myself—went on talking.

Social intercourse? Well, it is not possible not only because caste with all its concomitants prevents close contact, but the British ladies themselves are a serious obstacle to the establishment of such intercourse.

In Bengal the natives are annoyed with the British and they are more so with the British non-officials.

Old Asia is falling to pieces. The days of Buddhism are numbered—it is dying out.

Officials scarcely know India well. They cannot establish close contact with the natives unreservedly. A native invariably wishes to exploit in some way or other this close contact for his own benefit.

Lyall observed yesterday that the British in India were friendly. The French in their own colonies are as a rule quarrelsome.

Yes, they act in a friendly manner but with what plenary powers!

Went to see the Akshayabat<sup>424</sup> now. Extremely interesting place, and the look round cost me Re. 1/-.

Not a leaf, nor a new branch, nor a single sprout on the tree. About ten years ago, I remember, there were green leaves on it. They were not many, but leaves there were.

I saw all the images: there are a few statues, undoubtedly of Buddhist, but maybe of Jain, origin. The two begging Yogis who led me underground had a name from the Brahmanic mythology for each one of such statues.

I saw the entrance to the subterranean passage to Benares.

Today at the Book Depot a clerk reminded me of my visit there five years ago. "You have grown thinner and older", he said to me.

I am continuing to read the Blue Book about Burma. What strange impressions these negotiations in Paris create in one's mind!

Somewhere, at one end of the world, people knowing nothing about Burma assemble, seriously argue and try to come to an agreement. About what? About something which, it would seem, by all standards of human conception, should be beyond the pale of all arguments and doubts. They are arguing about whether Burma can deal with its own property according to its own discretion.

Treaties, allow me to observe, are in the way. So much of fiction the resourceful, civilized man of the west has created for himself!

Things go on in old Asia in a different way: if something is lying about neglected, just pocket it! It is only an act of cleaning!

**24th March:** Went to see the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. A view of the rivers can be had from one of the bastions of the fort. Both the rivers have become very shallow at this time of the year. The opposite bank is picturesque.

Sir A. sent me a very kind note; I was at a loss to answer this and I sent him my salaams.

**26th March:** Bombay. I arrived here at 9 o'clock this morning: travelled for two nights and a day.

Lyall receives a salary of £10,000. The salary is very handsome. Was there ever any empire like the British empire in India?

. Compared to it what was the ancient Roman empire and what is the contemporary Russian empire?

The empire of the great Moguls could not also stand any comparison with it. The Moguls conquered India, lived in it but did not shatter the structure of the old life as the British are doing. This handful of homeless strangers are stronger here



V. VERESHCHAGIN. A Parsee Priest.





than the Moguls and exert more influence on Indian life than any foreigner had done at any time.

**27th March:** This morning at breakfast I met Comte de Gubernatis<sup>425</sup>. He talked a lot about his successes. But he does not appear to have acquired any importance.

Went to Bh[agwan] L[al] I[ndrajee]. He showed me his collection of coins, went to Lord Reay<sup>426</sup> with de G. in the morning. Did not find Lady R. at home. At 4 o'clock received an invitation to a Ball.

**28th March:** Attended the reception at Lord Reay's yesterday: The Governor and his lady were very kind. Lord Reay and his wife spoke French, but it must be said, very badly and with strong English accents. The wife said that she knew my occupation, and Lord Reay put questions to me about Burma.

Saw K. Telang. His was a very familiar face. I went up to him and reminded him of our earlier acquaintance. We talked about the National Congress. I asked him whether he had any hope of success. "Yes, of partial success", he replied "but this does not discourage us". I also saw J[ardine]. Talked with him for a while. He invited me to dinner. Waited for my gharry for more than an hour and a half.

British police is still worse than the native police. Having waited for my turn so long and having noticed that many, who had asked for their equipage later than I did, were departing, I became quite angry. The matter reached a stage when I exchanged hot words with the Inspector. I asked his name and threatened him with a complaint.

**28th March:** Dined at Jardine's. There were Wordsworth, Sir W. Wedderburn and two other gentlemen and an ugly lady.

Surprisingly, how boring are these dinner parties and how empty are these conversations! J[ardine] seems to be a stupid fellow.

Dacoits . . . . . A good land policy may pacify them and their appearance is explained by the contemporary economic conditions of the country, by the state of disorder consequent upon the annexation of Burma. But this is what the British

cannot realize—the profundity of the hatred inspired by them in the minds of the natives. Listen to what the soldiers and merchants say about the natives and what they wish for and you will understand why the Burmans shoot at them from behind the bush. The administration is not bad here, but a Britisher is arrogant; he does not know what amiability and compassion are. He finds falsehood in others but shuts his eyes to his own falseness.

It is not necessary to look for any underlying idea in my notes and I do not wish to suggest to the reader that we, the Russians, are better than the Britons. I am simply stating a bare fact.

**29th March:** The British are civil but very rarely kind to foreigners. Britishers who are unenlightened and inadequately educated are insufferable in the matter of relationship with foreigners. And of such Britishers there are many in India: young military people, le betail de l'administration, mercantile people<sup>427</sup> and so on—all these people with little education are filled to the brim with highly exaggerated opinion not only about the strength but also about the valour of the British people; they are chauvinists par excellence; wherever it strikes its roots, it is that numerous class of almighty people which, by its behaviour, inspires, with inimitable mastery, irreconcilable hatred towards itself in the minds of the native people. These people who build roads, establish courts of law, banks and quickly create conditions of civilized life, are naively persuaded to believe that their obligations to the conquered races are discharged by doing these very things; they think that they have done all for the dark-skinned man and are not obliged to be polite to him and not obliged even to look upon him as their equal. Many of them in their naivety suppose that the blackman cannot have different views on his treatment by the 'Sahablok' and that he ought to be grateful for the blessing of western civilization and ought not to dare be sorely conscious of social inequity. What do you want, you nigger? We have given you what you could not hope for even in your dream? You have roads, excellent roads; look around,—how nice are the houses which the Sahabs have built

in your slums; you have schools in which you are taught the tongue of your master, and most important of all, you should hold the Western civilization precious. We have acquainted you with it. You want to be our equal? You think you can get along without our trusteeship and more than that, you want your old, native rulers! Oh nigger! drop this idle fancy. You are black. On Sundays you do not read the Bible—and therefore you can never be equal to a blueblooded Briton and a good Christian. You chew betel and spit from time to time; is it conceivable that our ladies will sit side by side with you? You are not grown up, nigger! You are as though a baby and without our guardianship and our handsomely paid leaders you cannot do for a long, long time yet. Idle are your fancies, oh nigger!

Went with de G. to the Parsis, that is to say, to their so-called High Priest. He does not speak a word of English and does not know that language, but this did not prevent him from publishing Zend-English-Dictionary. His son gibbers, though badly, in English. He was our interpreter. Nothing of interest was said during our short visit.

Dined at Lord Reay's yesterday. Lord R. himself was sick and did not appear at the dinner. About thirty people were dining and, just as it usually happens at these dinners, not one sensible word could be heard.

Dr. Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji<sup>428</sup> etc., etc. came to see me now.

Strangely enough, even these Parsis are against the annexation of Burma. In their opinion it would have been better to retain the native ruler. Voice of the people!

Bought tickets for the ship.

**30th March:** De Gubernatis introduced me to the Parsis and certainly wanted that I should dine with them at the Parsi club. I accepted the invitation and repented it at dinner yesterday. At about 9 o'clock in the evening I set off with Dawuna<sup>429</sup> in his carriage. The Parsi club is somewhere on the Malabar hill in a very modest building. A small house with very simple and even poor furniture. The dinner from the European point

of view was beneath all criticism. We ate or rather made a pretence of eating. Speeches in bad English were delivered at dinner. Everything was seemingly European, but in point of fact, it was an artless mimicry of European ways.

These speeches, toasts, vile sherry-sherab<sup>430</sup>, some filthy (European) courses on small dishes, the heat in the low dining room, were enough to drive me to despair. I was glad when in the end we were garlanded and left in peace.

Today Dastur brought me the fourth volume of his dictionary. It is just out of the press and although it is bound I suspect it is without the last portion.

**2nd April:** My last day in Bombay! Dined at Lowell's<sup>431</sup> yesterday. These Lowells, it seems, are not much liked by the society here. The number of guests was not particularly large. Of the bigwigs there was only Sir Charles Sarjent<sup>432</sup>, and he was lionized.

**3rd April:** On board the ship "Australia".

We should have sailed from Bombay at 4-30 yesterday but we did sail much later. As is my wont, I reached the ship very early i.e. at 2 o'clock after a quick tiffin.

About eighty people are travelling by the ship in the first class, and a lot of people came to see us off yesterday: the Lowells, Dipperton<sup>433</sup> and so on had come; all wore happy faces: obviously, no one was sorry for the departing and travellers home were of course glad to leave India. Hardly anybody misses India.

But I am sorry to leave India. Of course not so sorry as I was on the first occasion about ten years ago. I am waking up as if from a very pleasant dream.

**5th April:** Discontent in India! Yes, it is there! The discontented quite clearly formulated their wishes<sup>434</sup> recently. And this happened publicly before the eyes of the British authorities. How is it that there are no rebellions and insurrections in spite of this?

The first inroad of civilization into a culturally underdeveloped country can be compared to a ceaseless, relentless working of a terrible natural phenomenon—to an inundating

downpour or a stormy gust of a tornado. This inroad of the civilizers sweeps and destroys the entire structure of life. The order of the old life goes to pieces in the presence of a triumphant invasion of something new, something seemingly better, but in point of fact the new thing does not strike its roots into the conquered soil either quickly or suddenly: it destroys the old and for a more or less long time leaves a **tabula rasa** [blank space or vacuum].

**9th April:** Yesterday, on the 8th, we were at Aden from the morning till 12 noon. We stood there for four hours.

Yesterday I began to read Zola's *Germinal*. I am very glad that I came across this book here on my way to Europe. Reading this graphic presentation of all the present-day evils of the famous western civilization one is set to thinking deeply. So, is it exactly this that the western civilizer carries to the east? It is domination by capital and all the evils are the necessary consequences of that domination.

**11th April:** Today is Sunday. Service was conducted on the deck. We have done more than 900 miles and are nearing Suez. The sea is calm and sailing excellent. I finished reading *Germinal*. The basic idea has been elaborated in an excellent manner and it deserves closest attention. I have had occasion to read and hear a lot about the deprived and miserable, but even after all that when I began to read this description of the life of the miners, it seemed to open up for me a new world, and horrid world—and man presented himself to me in a new light.

Yesterday the doctor from Madras, a very clever man, was telling me about the natives. Is it true that the natives are not capable of making efficient study of the natural sciences? This question interested me very much. Such an opinion is very widespread amongst the British in India. The Madrassi doctor on the basis of his personal experience disputed the justifiableness of this opinion. He gave very weighty reasons: he pointed out that Indians always distinguished themselves for remarkable aptitude for mathematics and philosophy and undoubtedly their keenness of observation was highly developed. As a matter of

fact they have not so far shown any great success in the field of natural sciences, but the people in India began to study this branch of our sciences not more than twenty years ago.

**14th April:** This morning I met Sir V. Gregory<sup>435</sup> on the ship. He is coming from Ceylon. He says that forests of Anuradhapur have been cleared, and the roads of the ancient city as also a few very old inscriptions have been found.

The son of Grant Duff<sup>436</sup>, who boarded at Bombay, is also travelling with us. The boy is bursting with importance. He feels and is conscious that he is a Governor's son. The Madrassi officials, even the senior ones, fuss over him and let him take all kinds of liberties.

An official is more or less the same everywhere.

Today it is windy on the sea. The window is closed. In the cabin it is hot; on the deck it is dull, windy and cold.

Among the passengers there are two bishops: a Catholic bishop from Calcutta and a Protestant from Melbourne. Both of them smoke. The Protestant bishop smokes a pipe. Such boredom and depression have taken possession of me today . . . .

I even fell to thinking about the charm of my study in St. Petersburg. Only one thing is troubling me: I do not know how much unpleasantness and of what sort is awaiting me in my native land. And I cannot avoid this.

My God! what a horrible sailing: for two days I have not taken any food.

Yesterday the Madrassi doctor informed me that near Minhla a regiment of the Madras army had refused to fight.

Sladen does not believe the soldiers; he recommends a civilian interpreter with every detachment. The soldiers cannot, so he says, distinguish dacoits from ordinary villagers.

I am assured (by the same Madrassi doctor) that all the weaknesses of the Madras army are explained by the shortcomings of European officers. In the last Burmese campaign more officers were routed (by dacoits) than in the Afghan campaign. The percentage of killed was considerably larger.

**18th April:** This morning at 6 o'clock we arrived at Rome.

There was not a single vacant room in the Hotel de Quirinal. I was packed off to Hotel d'Italie. Here for 18 francs per day I was given two little rooms with a table: rooms very neatly furnished.

The train carrying Indian travellers is highly interesting. This caravan of motley people is moving on. The British pay more for everything, and protest, loudly and without shame, that they are being robbed.

At Fojio<sup>437</sup> the caravan paid 6 francs per head for dinner, I dined later and paid 5 francs. Even that is costly. For the same dinner the Italians probably pay 3 francs per head.

But how they fuss over the Britishers on the journey, and with what amount of contempt the Britishers treat the native population!

At Brindisi the sight of a colonel shouting at the station-master, calling him "Babu", or of another person, in reply to every question put to him in Italian, saying "Sacramento", [damnation]—was simply amusing. The latter asserted that one can go round the whole of Italy with the word "Sacramento". "It takes you a long way off, all over Italy".

**19th April:** Went to read newspapers and in the 12th April issue of the Times, found, in the main, news about the Russian dynamiters<sup>438</sup> and about the bandits in Burma. The bandits there are not losing their morale.

**21st April:** Went to Pialet's<sup>439</sup> to read newspapers and came across in the Morning Post very unpleasant news from Russia. There is unrest in the universities, and maybe even agitation. The news is somewhat vague: speaks only about the circular of the Minister of Home Affairs<sup>440</sup> to the heads of the U[niversities] (i.e. to the Rectors?) and about the earlier disturbances created by young students. There it is,—our classicism. The fools! They think that science can afford the means of turning out submissive servants. They had better find out something more suitable.

These few lines upset me. I forgot even the charm of Italy. Did not go to the basilica of St. Peter and aimlessly roamed

about Corso. I must have had worn a confused and wild look. I felt this and noticed that people were staring at me.

**30th April:** London. Arrived here yesterday evening. Put up at the hotel Charing Cross.

Went to the British Museum. Saw Rieu and Bendall<sup>441</sup>. The latter is a great enthusiast. He talked to me about his journey to Nepal.

Rieu was telling me that when Vambéry<sup>442</sup> had come there Rawlinson asked him, "Tell me, what makes you bustle about so much? Love for Britain or hatred against Russia?" Malicious people say that Vambéry had replied "self-love". "It is the books which feed me", he said. Talked politics with Rieu. A clever and lively old man.

**1st May:** Today is the first of May, but London is cold, though bright.

Went to Rost<sup>443</sup> today. Met there Fergusson, son of the editor of the Ceylon Observer. He recalled my visit and even reminded me about one of my stupid jokes.

From there to the Asiatic Society<sup>444</sup>. Could not find Goldsmith<sup>445</sup> there. He has the same private secretary as his predecessor had, that is to say, the same old lady. She remembered me and immediately gave me the manuscripts I was looking for.

I sat with Rost for about an hour but he did not say anything sensible.

**3rd May:** Ran about London the whole day today: Saw Yule and S[ir] A. Eden<sup>446</sup>. R. Cust<sup>447</sup> was dragging me along. Yule is a venerable old man. I had not the time to have a long talk with him. I shall be very glad to meet him again. A. E[den] has the look of a bureaucrat.

Went to the Geographical Society and found many books about Burma. R. C[ust] showed me his club—Travellers' Club.

Attended the meeting of the Church Missionary Society today. I was taken there by R. Cust.

The missionaries were holding a discussion and saying a lot of nonsense. Rev[erend] S. S. Fenn, the Secretary of the Society, prophesied that by the end of the present century India



would become Christian. A certain Rev[erend] was boasting that he had converted a brahman. "And here is W. Jones" he said "who asserts that none of the missionaries has been lucky enough to convert a brahman to Christianity." A third assured us with all seriousness that we were living in an era of gigantic successes of Christian propaganda.

A ring of cant and lie could be heard in all the speeches. All that I saw and heard created an impression on me of great humbug. Thank God, everything came to an end at 9-30. Cust introduced me to Lord Northbrook<sup>448</sup>.

We talked about Burma. L[ord] N[orthbrook] is of the opinion that Burma should not have been annexed. Bernard did not want this. Lord N. asked me whether there was any such person who could be installed in place of Thi-baw. Whom to select now?

However, the Burmese affairs have caused a lot of trouble to them.

Saw Rhys-Davids<sup>449</sup> and Bendall. The talks were idle. But Bendall is an enthusiast. Good will come out of him. He is a future celebrity.

**6th May:** Went to the Asiatic Society today and saw Sir G[oldsmit] there. A kind old man! We talked about India and the natives. Clever natives do not assimilate English education. The British do not know how to go about their business. The system of education is fit for weak brains; it is calculated to suit mediocre intelligence devoid of originality. In fact strong brains keep away from this educational movement; it has not touched them.

**9th May:** Yesterday I came home at 1 o'clock at night and went out at 1 o'clock in the day. I dined with Bendall in Surbiton. There was also Rhys-Davids. Endless discussions went on after dinner about manuscripts, Buddhism and so on. The talks continued in the carriage. One of our fellow-travellers intervened in my discussion with R.D. about Buddhist Sects. It transpired that this gentleman, a pupil and admirer of Sinnét<sup>450</sup>, had been to Japan, and took an interest in Buddhism although

he knew little about it. These talks about Buddhism in the suburbs of London and what talks by fanatics and followers of nihilistic teaching! Extremely curious!

Yesterday I met Major General Duncan. He was at one time the Resident at Mandalaya. An interesting old man. He talked about Min-Dun-Min. D[uncan], just as Sladen, holds a very high opinion of M-D. Min. Relations between the Resident and the king were excellent. D[uncan] said that Thi-baw was misrepresented. He was young and inexperienced. In this lay all his faults. He was not a wicked individual. The rumour about his origin was a lie. An invention of the British.

D[uncan] does not expect much profit in Upper Burma. In past years these returns came up to £18,00,000. But it is necessary to include in it the income from customs duty—duty on import and export which the British shall of course be abolishing.

The population is sparse. High cost of labour stands in the way of development of agriculture in the first years. Rice is imported to Upper Burma. Cotton, wheat and petroleum do not face competition; cost of their production is high. The British must stop deforestation. They will be receiving an income of about five hundred thousand pounds Sterling but they will be spending 1½ millions on the administration. Opening of new markets is a chimera. Markets are not in Eunan but in China, and to reach there it is quicker and nearer by sea than by land route.

Dacoits made their appearance in large numbers after the second proclamation when the people found that there was no hope of preserving their native rule.

**9th May:** I was walking along Regent Street today, and whom did I meet? General Duncan. Started talking to him and stood with him for a quarter of an hour.

Everybody in Burma knows that the scandal about the illegitimate origin of Thi-baw is all nonsense, and the invention of his present mother-in-law. This falsehood was let out for circulation at the time when D[uncan] was the Resident in

Mandalaya. Those familiar with the Burmese affairs did not believe it then, nor do they believe it now. The mother of Thi-baw renounced the world at her own sweet will and not under compulsion. Min-Dun-Min did not believe this lie: The author of the lie i.e. the present mother-in-law of Thi-baw gave her daughter in marriage to him and she was earnestly soliciting this marriage.

Indian newspapers talk about the patriotism of the dacoits.

**10th May:** Went to Lord Kimberley today. There are fires in Burma, fires in Mandalaya. Not much importance is attached to all these fires. Rangoon was burnt a few times.

The whole difficulty in governing Burma lies in the fact that there is no authoritative class amongst the natives: there is no upper class. The Burmese police is not fit for anything.

Relations with China, construction of railways there and from Burma to China—all this is bound to have tremendous international significance. Relations with Tibet have now assumed great political importance for Britain. Be pleased to note that she has so many of her subjects professing Buddhist faith.

Kimberley in his conversation sometimes gave himself up to some flippancy: he was speaking about the fire in Mandalaya, as if it was not a calamity. The people here, please note, do not regard these fires as important events at all. Why, Rangoon had been built anew so many times after fires. All the houses in Burma are wooden; how can they help catching fire?

British Government have such a large number of Buddhist subjects and hence relations with Tibet have political significance. Towards the end of last year the Viceroy of India received a very kind letter from Tibet (from whom? From Dalai Lama?). The letter was not made public. Construction of a road to Mandalaya through Taunga has been decided upon in principle. The question is where to find 2 million pounds.

**14th May:** The last evening and night in London: Going home tomorrow at 8-5 p.m. My wanderings have come to an end.

**St. Petersburg:** Arrived here at 6-15 p.m.



## NOTES

1. (Page 43) : **Perim**—Small island in the Straits Babel-Mandeb, belonging to England.

2. (Page 43) : **Italian Company Rubattino**—The big shipping company referred to here by I. P. Minayeff.

3. (Page 43) : **Saba**—ancient kingdom and city in southwest Arabia. I. P. Minayeff mistook Saba as being located on the African coast.

4. (Page 43) : **Salar Jung**—(Commander of the army)—Mir Torab Ali Khan Bahadur (1829-1883), a great feudal lord in the State of Hyderabad in the Deccan plateau, the great Vizier (Prime Minister) of the State from 1853 to 1883 and a Co-regent ruling over the State during the minority of the Nizam (Ruler) of Hyderabad, Mir Mahaboob Ali Khan from 1869-1883. Salar Jung actively supported the British in all the fundamental problems of their colonial policy in India. In particular he organized the suppression of the revolt in the State of Hyderabad in 1857, which started in connection with the Indian National Mutiny of 1857-59. At the same time taking advantage of the internal troubles and external political difficulties of the British in India in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, he, on several occasions, played the role of an apparent oppositionist of the Government of British India, adopted a series of measures with the object of getting from the latter concessions for the benefit of the Nizam and the upper feudal aristocracy around him.

British Armed Forces in Hyderabad in Minayeff's time consisted of "subsidiary force" and "contingent". "Subsidiary force" represented a part of the British Indian Army posted at Hyderabad; "Contingent"—Detachments of Hyderbadi troops (In 1881—7428 men and 4 artillery batteries), placed under the command of British officers and being under the control and management of British Indian Government.

Under the Treaty of 1853 the northern portion of the State, Berar, was surrendered to the administration of the British as though by way of payment of expenses for the upkeep of the Contingent. Salar Jung tried to have Berar restored to the Nizam. With this object he tried to create a new army of the Nizam trained on European lines (under the Treaty of 1853 only the Personal Palace guards were left to the Nizam)—reformed troops, who could have replaced the 'Contingent'. In 1881 these troops, badly trained and armed, numbered 36890 infantry men and 8202 cavalry soldiers with 725 old guns. Replacement of the Contingent by his own troops, Salar Jung thought, would have created juridical basis for the return of Berar to the Nizam. In 1874 and 1877 he sent to the Government of British India special memoranda in which he called in question the terms of the Treaty of 1853. In 1876 he undertook a trip to Europe where he endeavoured to enlist the support, particularly, of the Liberal opposition in England, in his bargaining with the British Government for Berar. However, all these measures adopted by

Salar Jung did not achieve their object. The British refused to review the Treaty of 1853 and consequently Berar remained not only factually but also juridically a part of British India, forming a part of the Central Provinces. It is necessary to observe that I. P. Minayeff exaggerated the role and importance of Salar Jung in the political life of India in those days.

In his later account I. P. Minayeff often refers to Salar Jung briefly by his initials S. J.

5. (Page 43) "**.....to send them away from Nizam**", 'Nizam'—the title of the Head of the State of Hyderabad in the Deccan. I. P. Minayeff frequently uses this word to mean the domain of the Nizam i.e., the State of Hyderabad.

6. (Page 43): **Deshmukhs**—(Marathi word—the chiefs of the country)—Marathi hereditary, feudal rulers of the districts in Maharashtra (the land of the Marathas) in 17th—18th centuries. In Minayeff's time Deshmukhs in Hyderabad entered into the feudal upper stratum of the State mainly in the regions inhabited by Marathas. I. P. Minayeff in the present case uses this term for denoting the feudal upper ranks of Hyderabad generally.

7. (Page 44): "**.....going to Hyderabad**". A considerable part of the army of the Nizam of Hyderabad created by Salar Jung consisted of mercenaries, muslim by religion, and immigrants from different countries of the Near and the Middle East. The nucleus of this army was formed by the Arab personal guards of the Nizam, whose officers incorporated themselves into the upper stratum of the feudal aristocracy of the State of Hyderabad.

During the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880) which was looked upon by the masses of the Muslim population of the Near and the Middle East as the "holy war" with "the infidels" (i.e., the British), at Hyderabad influx of armed Arabs migrating from Hadramaut intensified. At the same time there began unrest amongst the Afghans (Rohillas) who were in the service of the Nizam. Salar Jung offered military aid to the Government of British India in the Anglo-Afghan war and at the same time exploited these circumstances for putting pressure on the British in the matter of his bargaining for Berar. Authorities in British India as a countermeasure prohibited the entry of Arabs into Hyderabad.

8. (Page 44): "**Forbidden by British Government**".—In 1876, at the time of his journey to Europe, Salar Jung carried on preliminary negotiations at Bombay about the possibility of receiving through a company of Hyderabad Shroffs (big usurers) a loan of one million pounds sterling in London. The loan was apparently earmarked for financing the construction of railway in the State. The Government of British India opposed this and offered to build the railway in Hyderabad with the resources of the colonial Government. Consequently under the control of the British a Company for the construction of the railway in Hyderabad was started with the leave of the Secretary of State for India, which obtained a loan from London bankers.

Nicol & Co. (W. Nicol & Co.): big British mercantile firm having a branch at Bombay.

9. (Page 44): "**.....about the possibility of a war between**

**England and Russia**”—Towards the end of the seventies, after the Berlin Congress of 1878, with the British expansion in Central Asia through Afghanistan (Anglo-Afghan War 1878-1880), and also with the advance of Russia into Central Asia, Anglo-Russian relations considerably deteriorated.

10. (Page 44) : **Asiatic Society**—More correct to say the Bombay Branch of the London Asiatic Society (Royal Asiatic Society), founded in 1804 with the object of studying the history and culture of India and the countries of the east. At first it was called 'the Bombay Literary Society'. Became a branch of the London Asiatic Society in 1829.

11. (Page 45) : **R. Temple (1826-1902)**—One of the zealous defenders of British colonial policy in India and a high official of the Indian Civil Service from 1847 to 1880. Was Governor of several provinces of India. At the time of Minayeff's second trip to India in 1880 Temple was occupying the post of Governor of the province of Bombay which was at that time known as the Bombay Presidency. Temple was the author of a few memoirs and books of a descriptive nature dealing with contemporary India.

Later, I. P. Minayeff refers to R. Temple by his initials like —R.T. Sir R.T., S.R.T.

12. (Page 45) : . . . **“public opinion”**: speaking about the opinion of the British official and military circles.

13. (Page 45) : **“Fitzgerald”**—G. Fitzgerald—an officer of the British armed forces; at the time of the second journey of I. P. Minayeff to India in 1880 he was a Deputy Commissioner in the State of Hyderabad. He was in charge of granting passes to foreigners for travelling through Hyderabad.

**“Jacob”**—H. P. Jacob—Director of the Elphinstone English School in Bombay.

14. (Page 46) : **“Professor Bhandarkar”**—Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925)—Marathi by nationality, a noted Indian scholar: a philologist and historian. From 1864 to 1894 he was in the Department of Education in the province of Bombay being a professor of Sanskrit and Oriental languages in the Elphinstone College in Bombay and the Deccan College in Poona, both of the Bombay University. He gathered at Bombay a few thousand Sanskrit manuscripts. Bhandarkar was an author of numerous works on ancient and medieval history of India, archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics, Sanskrit philology and text books on Sanskrit language. He was the author of a few Sanskrit literary works. In Minayeff's time Bhandarkar was also the leader of the Prarthana Samaj in Western India.

15. (Page 46) : . . . . **“About Brahma Samaj”**—Brahmo Samaj (Society of the Brahmos) is a Hindu sect founded in 1828 by the Bengali Social reformer Rammohan Roy (1772-1883), who was the forerunner of the Indian bourgeois-landowner nationalists. Brahma Samaj emerged as a reformative trend in Hinduism, questioning the infallibility of the Vedas and also coming up against some of the institutions of Hinduism, as, child-marriage, prohibition of widow-remarriage, caste restrictions and so on. Brahmaism (religio-philosophical teachings of the sect) permeated by the idea of monotheism bears an eclectic

character and betrays the influence of European bourgeois culture and Christian religion. A tendency of the bourgeois-landowner nationalists to adapt the religion of Hinduism and ancient Indian feudal culture to the requirements of bourgeois development was reflected in the Brahma Samaj movement later on. In 1880 there were 149 local branches of the sect in India, half of which were to be found in Bengal. The main section of Brahmors (members of this sect) was composed of Bengali intelligentsia with European education.

16. (Page 46): “. . . . . parted ways with Keshub Chandra Sen”—Keshub Chandra Sen (1838-1884)—One of the leaders of the Brahma Samaj. In the beginning of the sixties he parted ways with the other leader of the sect—Debendra Nath Tagore (1818-1905) and in 1866, founded a new branch of the sect under the name ‘Nababidhan Samaj’ to which the more radical elements of the Brahmors owed their allegiance. The teachings of Keshub Chandra Sen found favour particularly with Indian students.

17. (Page 46: . . . . . “according to Hindu rites”—that is, not according to the rites of the Brahma Samaj:

Keshub Chandra Sen was one of the initiators of the promulgation in 1872 by the Government of British India of the Act about civil marriage, by which civil marriage was brought into existence for the first time in India and the lowest age limit of such marriages was fixed at 18 years for men and at 14 for girls. Nevertheless in 1878 his daughter, who had not completed 14 years then, married the Raja of Cooch Behar. The bridegroom was not even 16 years old. This event precipitated the long-apprehended split in the sect inasmuch as some of the Brahmors were dissatisfied with the inconsistencies of the leadership of the sect, including that of Keshub Chandra Sen, in its attitude towards orthodox Hinduism. The most radical members of the sect broke away from the Nababidhan Samaj and formed a new branch of the sect under the name of Sadharan Brahma Samaj (General Society of Brahmors). Of all the Brahmors the members of this branch most perseveringly fought against caste system, child marriage, purdah for women etc.

18. (Page 46): “Infallible books”—Speaking about the Vedas.

19. (Page 46): “Arya Samaj is different from the Prarthana Samaj”—Arya Samaj (Society of the Aryans)—a Hindu sect founded in 1875 by the Gujerati brahman, Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883). Received the greatest response in the Punjab and also in the United Provinces. Arya Samajists preached return to the religion of the ancient Aryans as depicted in the sacred books of Hinduism—the Vedas. They repudiated worship of the idols of gods and the severity of caste restrictions. Among their teachings elements of monotheism are strong. Arya Samaj was also engaged in acts of beneficence: school education etc.

In its religious forms the Arya Samaj movement primarily reflected the political urges of a certain section of national-minded Indian intelligentsia.

Prarthana Samaj (Society for prayer)—reformatory Hindu



sect founded in 1849. Found followers mainly in the country of Marathas—Maharashtra. The members of this sect looked upon it not as a new religious teaching, but only a movement within the folds of Hinduism to continue the traditions of Vishnuism (one of the two basic trends of Hinduism) in Maharashtra. The sect was fighting against child marriage, caste restrictions and so on.

The movement amongst the bourgeois—landowner intelligentsia for the adaptation of Hinduism and Indian feudal culture to the requirements of the bourgeois development in the country found reflection in the Prarthana Samaj as well as in the Brahmo Samaj.

20. (Page 46): **“Indra Lalji”** (i.e. Bhagwan Lal Indraji 1839-1888)—a great Indian archaeologist and historian. His principal works are on ancient and medieval Indian epigraphy and numismatics.

21. (Page 46): **“The Inscriptions published by Cunningham”**—Cunningham (A. Cunningham, 1814-1893), a well-known British archaeologist and historian of Indian architecture. From 1831-1861 Cunningham was in military service in India and rose up to the rank of a major-general. In 1861-1865 and 1870-1885 he was in charge of the systematic inspection and description of the archaeological and architectural monuments of India. From 1871 to 1887 published **“Archaeological Survey of India, Reports.”** (23 vols.). An author of numerous works on Indian archaeology, architecture and historical geography of India.

Kalsi inscriptions—Stone inscription of the edict of Emperor ASHOKA (273-232 B.C.) dated the middle of the 3rd century B.C. This is located on the western bank of the river Jamuna, upstream, near its emergence at the foot of the Himalayas (in the district of Dehra Dun).

22. (Page 46): **“In Mathura . . . . . Huvishka inscriptions”**. Huvishka—One of the emperors of Kushan dynasty, who reigned in northern India supposedly in the second half of the 2nd century A.D.

23. (Page 46): **“. . . . . Collection of Kshatrap Coins”**—The Kshatrapa dynasty ruled over western India supposedly from 119 A.D. to 388 A.D.

24. (Page 46): **“. . . . . Riaya do not know, and quietly suffer Ingrizi Raj”**: Riaya—this term is of Arabic origin coming into the language of the people of India where it is used with the meaning “peasantry”, “simple people”. Ingrizi Raj—(‘Raj’ Hindi word)—British rule.

I. P. Minayeff apparently wanted to say that according to him the masses of the rural population of India did not directly come into conflict with the Britishers—the representatives of the Government of British India—and did not participate in the course of affairs of the political life of the country. However, later on, having acquainted himself with the political situation of the country Minayeff repeatedly noted in the diary the presence of widespread dissatisfaction with the British colonial regime.

25. (Page 46): **“. . . . . the temple near Mamba Debi**

**tank**”—a Hindu temple in Bombay. The goddess Mamba Debi (Mambai) was regarded as the patron saint of the Maratha caste, ‘**Koles**’ (Fishermen), inhabiting the island on which present-day Bombay is situated. The ancient temple of Mamba Debi was destroyed by the British at the time of the construction of the city of Bombay in 1737. The temple spoken of by Minayeff was completed in 1757; this is located in the centre of Bombay on the bank of the artificial reservoir (tank), carrying the same name Mamba Debi.

26. (Page 47): “**Strange**”—T. A. L. Strange (1756-1841) an official in the Indian Civil Service, occupying the post of Member of the Supreme Councils in Calcutta and in Madras. T. L. Strange (1808-1884)—his son, an officer in the Indian Civil Service, a Judge at Madras. To the credit of both Stranges there are a series of books on Hindu religious and customary laws.

27. (Page 48): “**Elphinstone’s College**”—higher educational institution of the European type in Bombay, founded in 1835 with the help of well-to-do Indian inhabitants of the city. In 1860 the college was affiliated to the University. It was so named in honour of M. Elphinstone (1779-1859)—a distinguished British Indian administrator and historian of India and one of the principal organisers of the usurpation of Maratha Kingdom by the British colonisers. From 1819 to 1827 he was Governor of Bombay. He contributed some works on the contemporary history of central and southern India and of Afghanistan and on the history of India in general which to this day retains its cognitive value.

In 1880 W. Wordsworth, Professor of History and Political Economics, was the Director (Principal) of the college. He was a liberal who considered that in the interest of British supremacy in India it was necessary to render assistance to the urge of the Indian intelligentsia for education. In 1884 he took part in the guidance of the affairs of the Deccan Education Society, one of the organisers of which was young Tilak, the future leader of the radical wing of the national movement in India.

28. (Page 48): “**Blavatskaya**”. Elena Petrovna, nee, Gan (1831-1891), was born in Russia, left that country in her youth and lived for a long time in East Asia and America. In 1875, while in the United States, Blavatskaya became one of the organisers of the Theosophical Society which preached reactionary teachings which were closely linked to medieval magic. In 1879 Blavatskaya arrived in India where she tried unsuccessfully to win popularity amongst the religious reformers.

29. (Page 48): “**Indian newspapers**”: speaking about the English newspapers published in India.

30. (Page 49): . . . . “**Prof. Kunte came accompanied by his son, Shastri**”. Mahadeo Moreswar Kunte—a Marathi by nationality, well-known Indian scholar—historian and scholar of Sanskrit. At the time of Minayeff’s second trip to India M. M. Kunte was a teacher of the Elphinstone School and the Elphinstone college of Bombay.

31. (Page 49): “**Lalitavistara**”—one of the ancient fully preserved works of Northern-Buddhistic Mahayan tradition.

Written in Sanskrit but it contains a series of Prakrit Grammatical forms. A detailed biography of Buddha, beautified by many legends, is given in it.

32. (Page 49) : . . . . "**Shankar P. Pandit**" : Rao Bahadur Shankar Pandurang Pandit—Indian scholar philologist; at the time of Minayeff's second trip to India was the senior translator of eastern languages, working under the Government of the Bombay Presidency.

33. (Page 49) : "**Kashinath Telang**"—Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-1893), a Marathi by nationality, lawyer, prominent worker of the moderate wing of the Indian national movement in western India. One of the organisers of the Indian National Congress party in 1885. From 1867-1872 was a teacher of the Elphinstone College and then a Professor of the Bombay University. Was appointed in 1884 a member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay and in 1889 was appointed a Judge of the Bombay High Court. In 1892 Telang was elected the President of the Bombay branch of the London Asiatic Society. Telang was the author of a few historical and historico-philological works and also of translations from Sanskrit.

34. (Page 50) : "**Licence Act**"—Acts of 1867 and 1878 imposing tax (licence tax) on the right to carry on business, industry and different kinds of professional activities. The tax was particularly severe for the petty merchants and artisans.

35. (Page 50) : "**Press Laws**". Speaking about the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 promulgated by Viceroy Lytton (1876-1880). The Act gave power to the Government in British India to resort to repressions in an administrative capacity against the newspapers in which opposition to the colonial regime found expression, and also introduced preliminary censor of the Indian Vernacular Press.

36. (Page 50) : "**Salt is taxed**"—one of the severest forms of indirect taxation of the poor people of British India, levied both on salt produced in India and on that imported from outside. In 1882 the rate of indirect taxation on salt was raised by 25 per cent.

37. (Page 51) : "**Deccan College**" : founded in 1860 at Poona by the British Indian administration on the basis of the old Sanskrit School and its annexe, the English section of it. The Deccan College [of Poona] and the Elphinstone College of Bombay were both under the management of the Bombay University.

38. (Page 51) : "**Mr. Oxenham**"—R. J. Oxenham, Director [Principal] of the Deccan College of Poona and Professor of English literature.

39. (Page 51) : . . . . "**Dr. Bühler**"—J. G. Bühler (1837-1898)—Austrian Sanskrit scholar, being in the service of the British he lived in India for a long time—in Bombay and Poona where he was a Professor of Oriental languages from 1863 to 1880. From 1880 Bühler was a Professor of the Vienna University. Famous for his publications and translations of Sanskrit texts and also for his works in the field of Indian epigraphy and palaeography.

40. (Page 51) : "**Dastoor** . . . . did not like this observation at all"—Hussanji Jamsedji Dastoor—Assistant Professor in

the Faculty of Oriental languages in the Deccan College at Poona.

41. (Page 52): “**about Phadke**”—Vasudev Balawant Phadke (1845-1883)—leader of the peasant movement started in 1879 in a number of districts of the Bombay Province (Presidency). A brahman by caste, and by social status and education, belonging to petit-bourgeois intelligentsia, Phadke worked as a clerk in a Government department in Poona. Being well informed about the poor condition and deep dissatisfaction of the Maratha peasants, and acknowledging colonial oppression as the chief reason for this, Phadke, decided to organise an armed revolt against British rule in India. With this object he and his closest associates recruited a detachment of Marathi peasants in order to expropriate with their help the landlords and the usurers of their valuables, and with the means thus acquired, to hire, according to the very ancient Indian customs, a detachment of mercenary soldiers, who could according to the plan of Phadke, serve as the nucleus of the future anti-British militia of the people. Phadke hoped to hire later on such soldiers from amongst Rohillas who were at that time seized with discontent. In the preliminary stages Phadke actually succeeded in bringing about a series of daring expropriations, and relying on the active sympathy of the peasantry of Maharashtra (national region of the Marathas), in the course of six or seven months succeeded in repulsing or slipping out with his men of the hands of, strong police and military forces (not less than 1500 men of the infantry and cavalry) detailed in his pursuit. The Bombay authorities put the price of Rs. 3,000/- on his head. Phadke issued a leaflet wherein he threatened with death the Governor of Bombay and with the repetition of the people's revolt of 1857-1859.

The strength of Phadke began to wane in the unequal fight and at that time he succeeded in entering into negotiations with Ismail Khan, the leader of the Hyderabad Rohillas, for hiring a few hundred horsemen. Phadke was obliged to pay to each of them Rs. 10/- per month and supply provisions for them and fodder for their horses. However, he could not bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion. Pressed by his enemy, and for the most part deserted by his undisciplined and floating peasant detachments he hid himself in seclusion in a temple for a short while. Here a traitor gave him away and he was caught by the police of British India while he was unconscious and seriously ill.

The trial of Phadke was held at Poona from the 3rd to the 7th of November 1879, i.e. a few weeks before the arrival of I. P. Minayeff at Bombay. V. B. Phadke was sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman Islands. At the time of the pronouncement of the verdict, a huge crowd assembled in front of the Court premises and greeted Phadke, who passed before them in a prison-van, with shouts of “Long live Vasudev”.

The heroic struggle started by Phadke was one of the most important events in the course of the peoples' movement which at diverse places of India created very serious complications for the British Government for a period of ten years (1870-1880).

The movement headed by Phadke, however, ran its course isolated from the series of other uprisings of the people during this period, and, just like other movements, failed to overcome the incredible disunity, national and caste barriers which disintegrated the Indian masses not yet disposed towards advanced proletarian leadership.

As far as Phadke himself was concerned, the patriot, wholly devoted to the people, was imbued with typically mutineering ideas and did not visualize the decisive importance of organised activity of the masses of the people or the real strength of his numerous enemy of the English regime and of the reactionary feudal landowner class of India. Confident that the idea of a revolt against the British would receive immediate response from the entire population, Phadke, on top of that, hoped to fan the flame of rebellion not only by appealing to the urge for freedom but also to the naive idea of monarchism of the Maratha peasantry, although he himself was dreaming of a republic.

At the same time in the rural areas Phadke appeared as a representative of the democratic sections of the city and as the organiser of the anti-British struggle which, in practice, was linked up with the suppression of landowners and usurers. In the Maratha movement of 1879 the agrarian agitation was merged with national-liberation struggle. And in this consists the outstanding significance of the activities of Vasudeva Balawanta Phadke.

The personality of Phadke and the tragic outcome of his affair created a deep impression on I. P. Minayeff who in his diary referred to the "honourable and noble intention" of this remarkable man. In the library of I. P. Minayeff are preserved, up to this day, the autobiography, diary and account of the trial of Phadke, collected and published at Poona in 1879 under the title: "Report on the trial of Vasudev Bulwant Phadke, the notorious rebel leader, before W. H. Newnham Esq., Sessions Judge of Poona and a Jury. Together with his diary and autobiography". Poona, 1879.

42. (Page 53): ". . . . **Walls of the Palace of the Peshwas**" Peshwa—the title of the first minister of the kingdom of Marathas. From the twenties of the 18th century the Peshwas became in fact the heads of this State and continued in authority till 1818. The palace of Peshwas in Poona (Shanwar), being their principal residence from 1730 to 1818, was burnt down in 1827.

43. (Page 53): ". . . . **Baji Rao watched the battle of Kirki**". Baji Rao—the 8th and last Peshwa in the kingdom of Marathas, was in power from 1796 to 1818. Kirki—a fort in the country of Marathas where the army of Baji Rao suffered a defeat in the battle of the 5th November, 1817. Baji Rao surrendered to the British.

44. (Page 53): ". . . . **the last widow who became a Suttee**". **Suttee** (courting of death by widows by consigning themselves to the flames on the funeral pyre of their husbands) was banned in India in 1828.

45. (Page 53): ". . . . **Nobada being played and Sanskrit shlokas sung**". Nobada—apparently from the Hindi word 'naubat'

—large drum. In British India, titled feudal Muslim lords had the right to set up at the entrance of their palaces a naubat which used to be beaten at regular intervals.

Shloka (Sanskrit)—poetical measure which is most widely used in ancient Indian epic poems.

46. (Page 54) : “. . . . looking for the editor of **Deccan Star, I went to a house where the New English School is located**”. Deccan Star—the name of the progressive newspaper, published at Poona and associated with the radical wing of the national movement.

New English School—Secondary School in the city of Poona, established on the initiative and direct participation as a teacher of B. G. Tilak (1856-1920), still young at that time, and the future leader of the democratic wing of the national movement in India in the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. Teaching in the school which was opened on the 2nd January, 1880, was carried on by radically inclined Maratha nationalists.

47. (Page 54) : **Nana Farnavis** (Balaji Janardan Bhanu; 1741-1800)—minister in the Court of the Marathi Peshwas, a big political intriguer, who played the role of a traitor in the prolonged fight of the Maratha princes with the British.

48. (Page 54) : “**Famine Funds**”—The fund ‘Famine Insurance Grant’ was created by the authorities in British India after the terrible famines of 1876-1878. This fund contribution to which did not exceed 15 million rupees a year, was meant for financing social work in the famine-stricken areas of the country. The fund was being collected by enhancement of the rates of taxes. When the famines occurred in India in 1897 and 1898-1900 in particular this fund served primarily to create an appearance of help to the starving from the side of the British colonial regime which was chiefly to blame for famine in India.

49. (Page 54) : “**Kunbi**”—an agriculturist caste among the Marathas to which a considerable portion of the peasantry—small landowners in Maharashtra—belonged.

50. (Page 54) : “**Kalkarni**”—clerks in Maratha villages as also in the medieval Maratha community. The post of Kalkarni was retained by the British authorities even after the conquest of India.

51. (Page 54) : “**Removal of import duty told not only upon the millowners.**” In 1874-1879 Government of British India, in the interest of British manufacturers, considerably reduced and partly abolished the import duty on a number of goods. In 1879, in particular, import duty on a number of manufactured cotton articles was abolished. I. P. Minayeff here speaks about Indian owners of textile mills.

52. (Page 55) : “**Char Minar**”—gate on the central street of Hyderabad looking like a big square building with four minarets in the four corners. Once upon a time in the upper storey of the building which was built in 1591 a Muslim School (Madrassa) was located but in Minayeff’s time this was a mercantile warehouse.

53. (Page 55) : **Captain Wilson (F. A. Wilson)**—first Secretary to the Resident in the State of Hyderabad.

54. (Page 55) : **Balaram**—a small town near Secunderabad where the barracks of the contingent troops were located.

55. (Page 56) : **Sardar**—a term of Persian origin. In I. P. Minayeff's time high officials in the Indian native states were called Sardars.

56. (Page 56) : **Dastoor Rustomji**—evidently Rustomji Noshervanji, a Parsi by nationality, one of the officials of the administrative machinery of the State of Hyderabad. Towards the end of the seventies of the 19th century he occupied the position of a talukdar of Aurangabad.

57. (Page 57) : **Ferishta**—Mohammed Kasim Hindu Shah Ferishta (1552-1623)—Indian historian, born in Astrabad, who belonged first to the Court of the Muslim princes of Ahmednagar and then of Bijapur (territories in Central India—in the Deccan). Wrote a number of works in Persian, the most notable of which was a voluminous compilation of the history of the Muslim dynasties in India.

58. (Page 57) : **Sir R. Mead**—R. J. Mead (1821-1894)—An important official of the British Indian service, one of the persons who actively guided the British colonial policy in the States of India. R. Mead was the Resident at Hyderabad from 1875-1881. In his later references Minayeff mentions Mead by his initials "R.M".

59. (Page 57) : . . . . . "**Nawab's palace**". Nawab Bhikar—Ul-Umra, head of a family of Hyderabad feudal chiefs, "Shams-ul-Umra", who were kinsmen of the Nizam: the commander of the personal guards of the Nizam and the second co-regent administering the State along with Salar Jung.

60. (Page 58) : **Maulvi Syed Hussain**—an officer of the British Indian Colonial machine, in service at Hyderabad from 1875 and before that serving in the North-western Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

61. (Page 59) : **Major Campbell** (J. M. Campbell)—an officer of the Department of Justice of the Government of the Province of Bombay, occupying the position of a Judge at Poona. Here, as well as at other places of his diaries, Minayeff records the views or narration of his interlocutors without making his own comments.

62. (Page 60) : **Patil**—(Marathi)—headman of the rural community of the Marathas. In the 17th-18th centuries many Patils in Maharastra became petty feudal chiefs. From the top of the feudalised community of Marathas came many big Maratha feudal chiefs of the 18th century including a number of ruling princes. The Holkars, princes of Indore, descended from the Patils. Kamerkher near Satara is in the province of Bombay.

The office of Patil together with all its concomitant rights and privileges was still a thing to be bought and sold in the Maratha feudal community of the 17th and 18th centuries.

63. (Page 60) : **Mir Kabir** (Amir-e-Kabir)—Co-Regent in the State of Hyderabad in I. P. Minayeff's time. His full title: Nawab Shams-ul-Umra Amir-e-Kabir.

64. (Page 61) : **Major Rowlandson**—M. A. Rowlandson—an officer of the British Armed Forces working in the

Commissariat at Poona. Later on Minayeff names him by his initial 'R'.

65. (Page 61) : **Ganesh Kind**—the palace of the Governor of the province of Bombay in the suburbs of Poona to which place the Governor used to shift his residence during monsoon. Built in 1870.

66. (Page 61) : **Chhatarji Temple**—The Hindu temple of Chatar Singhji Debi, built towards the end of the 18th century.

67. (Page 62) : **Doctor Kielhorn**—L. F. Kielhorn (1840-1908)—famous German Indologist expert in the field of Sanskrit Philology and epigraphy. From 1866-1881 occupied the position of a professor of Sanskrit in the Deccan college at Poona. From 1882—professor of Sanskrit, Gettingen University. From 1898 published the well-known series "Grundriss-der indo-arischen philologie".

68. (Page 62) : **Thana**—very old town. In the past one of the early Portuguese settlements in India, headquarters of the district of the same name in the province of Bombay. Situated at a distance of about 35 kilometres from Bombay.

69. (Page 62) : . . . . . "**Caves of Karli**"—Buddhist cave monastery which is close to the village Karli, near Lanauli in the Bombay Province, and dates back to the beginning of our era (more precisely 1st century B.C.—2nd century B.C.).

70. (Page 62) : **Dwara-mandapa** (Sanskrit)—open hall in front of the entrance to the cave temple, hollowed out of rock in the shape of a gigantic niche.

71. (Page 63) : . . . . . "**In Ridi Bihar, or in Malawat or Asgiri**"—monasteries in Ceylon, famous for for Buddhistic antiquities. Ridi Bihar was founded in the 3rd century B.C. The buildings date from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. Asgiri and Malawat—monasteries in the town of Kandi, "situated on the hills at opposite ends of the city. In both there are cells and temples scattered over the slopes of the hill. Many buildings were constructed during the time of the Kandi kings" (I. P. Minayeff. Sketches of Ceylon and India, Part I, page 152).

72. (Page 63) : "**Kanheri Caves**"—Buddhist cave temple and monastery founded in II-X centuries. Located on the hill in the centre of the Island Salsetti, near the shore of the bay of the Arabian sea, opposite the town of Thana.

73. (Page 64) : . . . . . "**all the ruins at Anuradhapur and Mihintale**—places in Ceylon, famous for the monuments of the history and culture of Ceylon. From the IV century B.C. to the VIII century A.D. Anuradhapur was the capital of the ancient Ceylonese Kingdom. The oldest building so far preserved dated 500 B.C., Mihintale—situated at a distance of approximately 12 kilometres from Anuradhapur and the oldest centre of Buddhist pilgrimage in Ceylon. Represents a group of Buddhist shrines and monasteries built at different times.

74. (Page 64) : "**Bihar-Lake**"—artificial lake on the Island Salsetti situated at a distance of 24 kilometres from Bombay, constructed in 1853-1860 for Bombay's water supply.

75. (Page 65) : **Manjushri or Maltrey**—two of the bodhi-sattvas.



76. (Page 65): **Made the acquaintance of Mr. Wood.** Wood (W. Martin Wood)—Honorary Secretary of the Bombay branch of the London Asiatic Society.

77. (Page 65): **S.P.P.** The initials could not be deciphered.

78. (Page 65): **Grant Duff** (J. Grant Duff 1789-1858) British historian serving in India from 1805 to 1822. Well-known for his History of Marathas published by him in 1826.

79. (Page 65): **Mme. B.**—Blavatskaya.

80. (Page 66): **Ramasses**—a caste of the Marathas. The traditional occupation of this caste of Ramasses was that of professional thieves. However, at the time of I. P. Minayeff, majority of them had already become landless farmhands reduced to slaves and village guards in Marathi villages. Amongst the participants of the revolt of 1879 in Maharashtra under the leadership of Vasudeva Balwanta Phadke not a few were Ramasses.

81. (Page 66): **Mr. Chatfield**—(K. M. Chatfield)—officer of the British Indian services, head of the Department of Education of the province of Bombay.

82. (Page 67): . . . . . **Pandu-Lina hills.** Pandu-Lina caves—Buddhist monastery and temple near the town of Nasik; dates back to 1st century B.C.—2nd century A.D.

83. (Page 68): "**Upasatha-Ghar**" (Pali, literally 'house of fasting')—the portion of a building in a Buddhist monastery where monks used to assemble on the days of fasting—days of rest and fast of the Buddhists are the 8th and 14 (15th) days of each half of the Buddhist calendar month.

84. (Page 68): . . . . . "**Some Vairagis of the Ramanuja and Ramanand Sects**"—Vairagi (Sanskrit)—an anchorite. Ramanuji—a Hindu sect of the followers of Ramanuja, who lived in south India in the 11th century and was a philosopher and religious reformer. Ramanandi—a Hindu sect of the followers of Ramanand, who lived in Benares in the 15th century and was a philosopher and religious reformer.

85. (Page 68): **Ahalya Bai** (1735-1795)—a Maratha princess of the dynasty of Holkars, the ruling princes of Indore; she ruled in Indore from 1765 to 1795. Ahalya Bai built numerous temples in different centres of pilgrimage in India.

86. (Page 68): "**Law about the Mahajanas**"—law about usurers ('Mahajana' in a number of Indian languages particularly in Hindi and Marathi means 'money-lender'). Here the reference is to the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879 after the peasant uprising in the seventies in a part of Deccan inhabited by Marathas. The anti-feudal struggle of the Maratha peasantry during this period was chiefly directed against usurers, who relying on the laws introduced by the British authorities, expropriated on a mass scale the lands of the peasants mortgaged to them for loan, and themselves became landowners. The Act of 1879 formally restricted to a certain extent the possibility of expropriation of lands of the peasants through court in Deccan districts of the province of Bombay.

The interlocutor of I. P. Minayeff, who expressed his dissatisfaction about the Act of 1879, was obviously connected with the usurer elements of the province of Bombay.

87. (Page 68) : . . . . .“they . . . . . **Nana Shaib**” Nana Sahib—the adopted son and heir of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao. At the time of Indian National Mutiny of 1857-1859 Nana Sahib went over to the side of the rebels and became one of their leaders. After the suppression of the mutiny Nana Sahib fled and from that time remained untraceable.

Skobelyeff, Mikhail Dmitrievich (1843-1882)—Russian General, famous for his victories at the time of Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878. In 1880-1881 Skobelyeff commanded the troops in Turkmenia (Akhali-Tekinski expedition).

88. (Page 68) : In 1877 British Government alarmed by the successes of the Russian army on the Balkan Theatre of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, carried out military demonstrations directed against Russia. The British Garrison at Malta was considerably strengthened by reinforcements from India. And the British Mediterranean squadron was directed to Dardanelles.

89. (Page 69) : **Chamar-Lina** (Chambhar-Lina)—Jain cave temples situated at about 7 kilometres to the south of Nasik, built in the 11th-12th century A.D.

90. (Page 70) : **Mhar** (Marathi)—the name of the most numerous caste of ‘untouchables’ amongst the Marathas. In the medieval Maratha community ‘mhars’ were the community of servants performing numerous and multifarious duties (of guard, scavenger, messenger, porter, hewer of wood and preparer of fodder, etc.) mainly for the upper classes of the community and high-standing feudal chiefs. At the time of British rule in India the mhars were turned into landless semi-serf peasants employed by Maratha landowners and rural upper classes. However, a few of their functions as community servants were even legally perpetuated by the British authorities up to very recent times.

Barabaluts (Marathi)—literally “twelve balutas” (balutedars). In the medieval Maratha community the term “baluta” (balutya, balutedar) meant classes of servants and artisans, twelve in number, which included—**Sutar** (carpenter), **Chamar** (cobblers), **Mahar** (see above), **Lohar** (blacksmith), **Purit** (washerman), **Kumbhar** (potter), **Nowhi** (barber), **Mung** (wove cords and baskets and did other petty jobs), **Koli** (water carrier), **Joshi** (priest-astrologer), **Guru** (priest at the temple), **Sonar** (goldsmith).

91. (Page 70) : **Bibi Makbara** (Bibika Makbara)—tomb of Rabia Durrani, wife of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707).

92. (Page 70) : **Panchakki** (Hindi)—watermill forming part of the ensemble of the buildings built in 1695 around the tomb at Aurangabad where Baba Shah Muzaffar, the spiritual guide of the Emperor AURANGZEB, who died in 1867, was buried. Sometimes the name Panchakki denotes Shah Muzaffar’s tomb itself.

93. (Page 72) : **Tanasha** (more correctly, Tana Shah)—the last prince of Golconda. Aurangzeb, after the conquest of the kingdom, put Tana Shah in Fort Daulatabad in 1687 where Tana Shah died in 1700. Many a legend have been woven around him in central India.

94. (Page 72) : **Baradera**—beautiful summer residence of the Mughal Emperors, Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb.

95. (Page 72) : . . . . .“**the cave of Janardana**”: Janardana (Janardana Swami)—semi-legendry Hindu ascetic who, according to legends, lived in Daulatabad Fort.

96. (Page 72) : . . . . .“**(1) Kawri-tank, and (2) Hathi-tank**”. Names of two reservoirs carved out of rock for the water-supply of Fort Daulatabad.

97. (Page 73) : . . . . .“**opposes appointment of foreigners**”. “Foreigners” here means natives not of Hyderabad but of other parts of India.

98. (Page 73) : **Mr. Burgess** (J. Burgess)—British archaeologist and historian of Indian architecture. From 1855 to 1889 was in service in India, being the head of the work of inspection of architectural and archaeological monuments: from 1874 to 1881—in the Bombay province—from 1881 to 1886—in South India—and from 1886 to 1889—all over India. Author of a number of works on the history of Indian architecture. Published the journal “Indian Antiquary” from 1872 to 1884.

99. (Page 74) : “**People in this State think this was a humiliation for him**”. Minayeff referring to the joint-trip of the Nizam and Salar Jung to Delhi at the end of 1876 and beginning of 1877. At Delhi on 1st January, 1877, in the presence of the ruling princes of India, the Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton (1876-1880), solemnly proclaimed the British Queen Victoria as the Empress of India.

100. (Page 76) : **Colonel Dean** (T. Dean)—an officer of the British armed forces, occupying responsible posts in the British Indian army. At the time of Minayeff’s second trip to India Dean was serving in the Military Secretariat of the Government of India.

101. (Page 76) : “**I found here students of the Bombay School of Arts**”: Europeans became acquainted with the Frescoes of Ajanta for the first time in 1819. The first copies of the Frescoes were taken in the forties and fifties of the 19th century but in 1866 they were almost completely destroyed by the fire at “Crystal Palace” of London. During the years 1872 to 1885 the students of the Bombay School of Arts, established in 1857, made a series of new copies which were published in 1896. The original copies were preserved in the Kensington Museum of London; a considerable portion of them was destroyed by the fire at the Museum.

102. (Page 76) : **Karli temple**—the chief cave temple in Karli built on the verge of our era; one of the outstanding monuments of Buddhist architecture in India.

103. (Page 76) : **Bhandari**—name of a caste, people belonging to which are found in Western and Central India. Traditional occupation of the members of this caste—preparation and sale of the toddy.

104. (Page 77) : **Rajkumar College**—a college in Indore under the administration of the British Resident of the State of Indore and affiliated to the ‘Calcutta University’. Children of the ruling princes and feudal upper classes of Central India received education here in the spirit desired by the authorities

in British India. In I. P. Minayeff's time, C. Macnaghten was the Director (or Principal) of the College.

105. (Page 77): **Carey** (A. D. Carey)—an important official of the British Indian services, serving from 1865 to 1893, mainly, in the Bombay Province.

106. (Page 78): "**He is the Dewan of the Maharaja of Diwas**". Dewan (Persian)—Chief Minister of an Indian State. A small State in Central India consisting of two parts, each of which used to be administered separately by the representatives of the senior and junior branches of the royal family, both, however, having one and the same capital.

107. (Page 78): **Colonel**—i.e. Commander of the troops of the Prince of Indore (Holkar)—Bakshi Honan Singh.

108. (Page 79): **Bhartri-Hari Guha**—cave monastery in the suburbs of Ujjain so named after the poet Bhartrihari, the semi-legendary brother of King Avantika Vikramaditya (1st century B.C.). In the caves there are Jain inscriptions and images which are supposed to be dated not later than 7th century A.D.

109. (Page 79): "**He has no army.**": Not correct. In 1879-80 there were 6 thousand cavalry soldiers, 5 thousand infantry men and 48 old guns in Gwalior.

110. (Page 79): . . . . "**Cost the Holkar a lot of money**": Not correct. Should be the **Scindia** and not Holkar.

111. (Page 80): **Satnami**—name of a Hindu Sect, scattered in northern and central India. The teachings of this sect are strongly influenced by monotheism.

112. (Page 80): "**Their scripture . . . . Taratama . . . . Kulatatwarupa**"—reference is apparently to "**Kulatatanirupana**" one of the works of the Vedanta, which is a system of Indian Philosophy developing the teachings of the Vedas.

"**Taratama**" obviously **Taratama**, one of the works of Vedanta (Madhava School).

113. (Page 80): "**Colossal political blunter**". Here as well as at many other places in his diaries I. P. Minayeff quotes the words of his interlocutor without making any comments. The purport of the expression of Mir Shahamat Ali was that it was not politically advantageous to the British to set Afghanistan against themselves.

114. (Page 81): . . . . "**administration of independent States**". Speaking about the Indian States and not the Provinces of British India.

115. (Page 81): **Griffiths** (R. T. H. Griffiths)—Head of the Department of Education of the Provincial Government of the north-western provinces. **A. S. Harrison**—Director of the College at Allahabad.

116. (Page 82): . . . . "**Lytton would also retire**". There was the fall of the Conservative Party Cabinet of Beaconsfield in April 1880, and it was replaced by Gladstone's Liberal Party Government. British officials in India apprehended that the change of cabinet would lead to changes in the personnel of the British Indian administration and also to a policy of concessions to the growing national-liberation movement in the country. However, their fears proved to be baseless. Replacing Lord

Lytton (1876-1880) as Viceroy of India in June 1880, Lord Ripon (1880-1884) continued the policy of oppression of Indians.

117. (Page 82) : . . . . "**about the letters of Ali Baba**" : Speaking about the articles presented in the form of letters in the London Journal, "Vanity Fair", in '1878-79, under the pseudonym "Sir Ali Baba". The articles give an ironical portrayal of the British Bureaucracy in India and furnish malicious and satirical paintings of the Indian Society. In 1880 these came out as a separate book : "Twenty one days in India, being the tour of Sir Ali Baba, K.C.B., by George Aberigh-Mackay". The author of the book, Aberigh-Mackay (1848-1881), was a British journalist and author of a number of works on Indian States and Princes.

118. (Page 83) : **Mariam Bibi** (more correct, Mariam Zamani)—the beloved wife of Emperor Akbar, mother of Emperor Jehangir. According to legends, Mariam was a Portuguese woman and always remained a Christian. A few scholars consider her to be a Hindu.

119. (Page 84) : "**Chinika Rowza**" (Chinese tomb)—ruins of the mausoleum, evidently, of Afzal Khan, a high-ranking officer serving Emperor Jehangir and thereafter the great Vizier (Prime Minister) of Emperor Shah Jehan (1627-1658).

120. (Page 87) : . . . . "**in the house of the Turkish lady**". Speaking about the small but elegant pavilion at Fatehpur Sikri, famous for its ornate sculptural works and frescoes.

121. (Page 87) : . . . . "**in the book of Keene**"—Speaking about the book, "Handbook for visitors to Agra by H. C. Keene, Calcutta 1874."

122. (Page 87) : . . . . "**Even in M. Sh. A. At R.**"—It can be deciphered to read :—At Ratlam in Mir Shahamet Ali, British political agent in the Court of the Raja of Ratlam.

123. (Page 88) : . . . . "**Ahimsa Parama Dharma Tato Jatah**" (Sanskrit)—not to cause harm by violence is a great principle, and in token of that hair is tied in braids [as by the ascetics].

124. (Page 89) : **Thakur**—a title of honour for the feudal chiefs in northern and central India who belonged to Rajput caste. This honour was often received by the feudal chiefs of the caste of Brahmans, particularly, in Rajputana.

125. (Page 90) : "**The Raja of Alwar has troops, three thousand strong**"—Not correct. In 1879-80 the army of Alwar consisted of 2,000 cavalry men and 5,500 infantry men with 300 old guns.

126. (Page 90) : "**Arms' Act**"—an Act of 1879 promulgated by Viceroy Lytton, by which Indians were prohibited from carrying firearms without special permits. This Act was one of the measures to suppress the national liberation movement of the Indian people which was gaining ground in the seventies of the 19th century.

127. (Page 90) : **Rajputana**—the region, northwest of India, with an area of 343000 sq. kilometres including in it 20 States the most important of which are Mewar (Udaipur), Marwar (Jodhpur), Bikaner, Kota, Alwar and Ambar (Jaipur). The inhabitants of Rajputana belonging mainly to Rajasthani nationality numbered 107 millions in 1881. At the present time the

native States of Rajputana have merged into the State of Rajasthan.

128. (Page 90) : . . . . . "**European gentleman sometimes beats them**"—I. P. Minayeff ironically calls the anglicized Raja of Alwar, "European".

129. (Page 90) : **Sri Ram**—Raja of the State of Alwar.

130. (Page 93) : . . . . . "**Planning to make an independent amirdom of this place**"—Hirat, the city and the territory in north-western Afghanistan. The great importance of Hirat as a strategic point in the middle East turned it into a target of predatory plans of the British as early as the first third of the 19th century. The anxiety of the British to penetrate into Hirat at once met with resistance from Russia. In the Perso-Afghan wars which took place in 1837-38 and 1856-57 on account of Hirat, England and Russia stood behind the warring parties. At the time of the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880) England unsuccessfully tried to turn Hirat and its contiguous regions into a separate dominion, a British Protectorate.

131. (Page 93) : **L.**—Could not be deciphered.

132. (Page 93) : **Anjuman** (Arabo-Persian)—literally, 'meeting'. Speaking about 'Anjuman-i-Punjab', a society formed in the middle of the 19th century at Lahore by the representatives of the Muslim Feudal aristocrats of the Punjab. The object of the society was to encourage study of the regional languages and literatures.

133. (Page 93) : . . . . . "**From Badakhshan and Kuliab**". **Badakhshan** (Badakhshan), a hilly country north-east of Afghanistan, inhabited mainly by Tadjiks. **Kuliab**—At the time of Minayeff, town and a Beg's domain (?) in the southern part of Bokhara Khandom on the right bank of Amu Darya.

134. (Page 93) : "**They avow unquestioning obedience to Ram Singh**"—Kuks (bawlers)—a sect (the original name of which was **Namdhari** i.e. 'inspired by the name [of god]') coming into existence in the first half of the 19th century amongst the religious community of the Sikhs in the Punjab. Formally, the primary object of this sect was the "reorientation" of the Sikh religion and a restoration of the primary teachings of Nanaka (1469-1533), the founder of the Sikh religion. In reality, however, this was a political movement amongst the most democratic sections of the Sikhs (poor peasants, artisans and small traders), directed towards the strengthening of the shaken foundations of the Sikh State and the fight with the British invaders. After the seizure of the Punjab by the British, as early as in the beginning of the sixties, the sect of **Namdharis** (Kuks) made further progress. In the sixties and seventies of the 19th century, the movement of the **Namdharis** appeared as an organized and ideological form of the anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal movement of the Sikh peasantry of the Punjab. From 1863, after the death of its founder, Balak Rama, the new head of the sect, Ram Singh (1815-1888), who in his youth had served in the British Indian army, turned the sect into a centralized organization having its representatives all over the Punjab. Under his leadership the movement of the **Namdharis** acquired a wide range. In the beginning of the seventies, according to diverse data, the members of the sect numbered 50,000 to 1,00,000. The influence of

the sect was quite considerable upon the Sikhs in the different units of the British Indian Army, detailed to the Punjab, and in the Punjab Police force. In the middle of January of 1872 a few hundred **Namdharis**, taking advantage of the fact that a substantial portion of the forces of British Indian army in the Punjab had been sent to Delhi for manouvres, started a revolt against British domination and attacked two forfeited feudal castles in the Punjab, Malodh and Maleyr Kotla, in order to seize the arms which were there. The rebels were however, defeated.

The uprising of 1870 reflected deep discontent which seized the vast masses of the Punjab peasantry. Hence the British dealt with the rebels with particular severity, shooting down 65 men with guns (this monstrous execution was painted by V. V. Vereshchagin in his famous picture "British Execution in India"). The leaders of the sect headed by Ram Singh were arrested and exiled to Rangoon, Burma; the rank and file of the sect were also subjected to torture. Later on, the movement of **Namdharis**, cruelly crushed by the British colonizers, gradually died out, giving place to new forms of anti-feudal and anti-imperialistic struggle of the masses of the peasantry.

135. (Page 94) : **Sardar Atar Singh**—head of a family of eminent Sikh feudal chiefs.

136. (Page 94) : . . . . . "**stay of the son of Shah Shuja**" —i.e. son of the ruler of Afghanistan (1803-1809) of the Sadozai dynasty. Dethroned and driven out of Afghanistan by his brother Mahmud (1809-1815), Shuja found refuge with the British authorities in India, who settled him in Ludhiana and made him one of their pensioners, safeguarding the chances of various adventures in Afghanistan. More than once Shah Shuja unavailingly tried to restore to himself the throne of Afghanistan with the help of the British. Ultimately, in 1839, the British occupied Kabul in course of the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-1842) and placed him in the throne of Afghanistan as their marionette. After the revolt of 1841 and extermination of the British occupational army, Shuja was killed in 1842 by the rebels.

137. (Page 94) : . . . . . "**of the palace of Ranjit Singh and here ran into a Pathan**"—Ranjit Singh (1780-1839)—a Maharaja of the Sikhs, ruler of the last independent State in the territories of India. In the course of internecine fights amongst the Sikh feudal chiefs Ranjit Singh seized Lahore in 1799, capital of the Punjab and in 1802, Amritsar, the religious centre of the Sikhs. By 1824 he unified under his authority a large portion of the Punjab to the west of river Sutlej. Later he wrested from the Afghans a number of territories to the west of river Indus, and he also took Kashmere. Soon after the death of Ranjit Singh, the Punjab, as a result of the first (1845-46) and second (1848-49) Anglo-Sikh wars, was occupied by the British and annexed to their domains in India.

138. (Page 95) : . . . . . "**the border of the North-Western Provinces**"—In the time of I. P. Minayeff the city of Delhi was within the province of the Punjab. After the transfer of the Capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, the latter together with a few small adjoining districts was made a separate independent province in 1912, which was for purposes of administration directly under the Central Government of India.

139. (Page 96) : . . . . . "**monuments of past grandeur of the Nawabs of Oudh**": Speaking about the dynasty of rulers (Nawabs) of Oudh, a principedom in northern India which came into existence in course of the fall of the Mughal empire. The Nawabs ruled Oudh from 1724 to 1856. Towards the end of the sixties of the 18th century Oudh was turned into a vassal of the East India Company, but in 1856 it was formally annexed to the British territories in India.

140. (Page 96) : . . . . . "**account of the trial of the last representative of the Great Moguls**". In the beginning of the sixties of the 18th century the Mughal Emperor at Delhi was turned into a pensioner and in point of fact made a prisoner of the East India Company, which, however, preserved for him the title of the supreme ruler of the former Mughal empire. Although acting in his name, the East India Company tried to give some kind of an appearance of legality to their rule by usurpation in India and by the same process to weaken the resistance of the people of the country against British aggression. In the position of marionettes of the British, the last representatives of the dynasty of the Great Mughals stayed in their palace at Delhi throughout the stretch of a whole century till 1857. In the beginning of the Mutiny of 1857-1859, the aged Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah was proclaimed ruler of Delhi by the rebels. After long hesitation he gave his consent to this but he did not take an active part in the events. On the 21st of September 1857, after Delhi had been taken by the British troops, he was arrested and in the beginning of 1858, after a two months' long trial he was convicted and banished. He was exiled first to Calcutta and then to Rangoon where he died in 1862 at the age of 87. Both of his sons were arrested after the fall of Delhi and were shot down by British officers who escorted them.

141. (Page 96) : **Kalyanemi** (Kalnemi)—the name of a demon of the Indian mythology. I. P. Minayeff jokingly alludes to this with reference to India, wanting thereby to emphasize the animosity of India towards her supercilious colonizers.

142. (Page 97) : **Canning College**—English college in Lucknow, so named in honour of the Governor-General, first Viceroy of India, Canning (1856-1862).

143. (Page 97) : . . . . . "**mainly the Brahmans are declared suspects**". In the seventies and eighties of the 19th century Maharashtra (country of the Marathas) was one of the centres of the most highly developed anti-British movement. In the seventies there were a few peasant uprisings in Maharashtra; in 1879 under the leadership of Vasudeva Balwanta Phadke attempts were made there to overthrow British domination. Besides, amongst the Maratha intelligentsia (mainly amongst Brahmans), representatives of the radical wing of Indian nationalism—petit-bourgeois nationalists—fighting against the British colonial regime, commenced their activities during these years.

144. (Page 98) : . . . . . "**such a mutiny appears to be unthinkable**." : In the note book of I. P. Minayeff, which he kept during the time of his journey to India in 1880, on the margin of Pages 62 and 63 on top over the notes of expenses incurred on 3rd and 5th of May there is the following (draft) of the notes of the diary for the 5th of May.



"Discontentment is general. But I never had any occasion to come across amongst the educated classes any revolutionary in the fullest sense of the term. They wish to find a **modus vivendi** with the British. But this discontentment is not frightening so far, and in spite of all their mistrust the British admit this: Troops are being sent out of the country. Educated [classes] have no definite political plan, and the people are submissive as before."

145. (Page 98): **Jieshtaram**—Indian scholar and philologist.

146. (Page 98): "**An attempt was made to poison the British Resident**: the Ruler (Gaekwad) of the State of Baroda, Malhar Rao (1870-1875), resisted the constant, rude and petty-fogging interference of the British Resident Colonel Phayre in the internal affairs of the State. In the beginning of 1875, Malhar Rao was accused of an attempt to poison the British Resident at Baroda, was arrested and tried under orders of the British Governor-General of India, Northbrook (1872-76). The trial of Malhar Rao evoked a series of anti-British meetings and demonstration in different parts of India and his dethronement created severe unrest in Baroda which was quelled only by the force of arms.

147. (Page 98): . . . . "**the famous 'hawat' where Ameena Aiya was going to have a meeting with Malhar Rao**"—Hawat (?) may be Haveli—one of the palaces of the rulers of Baroda, built during the first half of the 19th century.

Ameena Aiya, apparently Lakshmi Bai, wife of one of the feudal chiefs in the State of Baroda. She fell in love with Malhar Rao and subsequently, in 1874, became his wife.

148. (Page 99): **Madhava Rao** (T. Madhava Rao)—a Maratha by nationality and a Brahman by caste. Was born in 1828 in Tanjore in the province of Madras. In the seventies and eighties he was the Dewan (Chief Minister) successively of the States of Travancore, Indore and Baroda, where he followed the policy of the British Indian colonial authorities. In his later references I. P. Minayeff calls him Sir M. R.

149. (Page 99): **Badmashes** (Persian)—Hooligans and tramps. That is how a feudal official hatefully characterises the people who actively protested against the British Colonial regime in India.

150. (Page 99): . . . . "**saw Jumma Musjid and Rowza**": **Jumma Musjid**—the principal mosque of Ahmedabad built in 1424. **Rowza**—tomb of Rani Sipari, one of the wives of Mahmud Bigad, the ruler of the kingdom of Gujerat 1459-1511.

151. (Page 100): "**Yati explained a chapter from Bhagavati Sutra**"—**Yati** (yati-Sanskrit)—a hermit, a Jain monk. **Bhagavati Sutra**—one of the principal works on Jain canon, contains exposition of the dogmas of the religion of the Jains.

152. (Page 100): **Stava** (Sanskrit)—Song of praise, hymn.

153. (Page 100): **Sreshti** (Shrestthi)—head merchant. Speaking about the **Nagar Seth** of Ahmedabad, the foreman of the guild of money lenders, who headed the medieval autonomy of the societies and guilds of merchants of Ahmedabad—an autonomy which was preserved by the British. The **Nagar Seth**

was at the same time the head of the religious community of Jains in Gujerat.

154. (Page 100) : **Upasraya**—name of the temples of the Jain Sects.

155. (Page 101) : **Seth**—Nagar Seth (see note 153).

156. (Page 101) : **Laldarwaza** (Red Gate)—name of one of the gates of the ancient fort Badur of Ahmedabad, situated in its north-eastern corner. Referring to the "famous windows" I. P. Minayeff had in view two windows of the half-ruined mosque, Sidi Sayed (15th century), located inside Bhadar Fort. Both the windows have on them delicate marble fretwork of exquisite craftsmanship.

157. (Page 102) : "**Poona is considered to be the hot bed of treason.**" In the time of Minayeff Poona was the centre of the activities of radical-minded petit-bourgeois nationalists in western India.

158. (Page 102) : "**Imposition of tax on salt**". Speaking about the uprising of the peasants of Andhra (Telegu) in 1879-1880 lasting for about a year and a half and affecting the district of Godavari and partially the district of Vizagapattam of the province of Madras. The revolt directed against British colonizers, tax collectors and local money-lenders, assumed the character of a stubborn partisan war against the military and police forces of the British which were concentrated there from the whole of southern India. Thanks to the **generous** support of the peasant population of the localities seized by the revolt, a large number of partisan detachments could for a long time successfully carry on their operations against the British military and police forces. The British were able to suppress the rebellion only by securing the support of the local feudal landowners (Zemindars) and also by sowing through their agents seeds of discord amongst the leaders of the principal partisan detachments. After the outstanding leader of the mutiny Chendria had been treacherously killed in February, 1880, the mutiny was abruptly on the decline. However, individual partisan detachments acted up to October, 1880.

The assertion of I. P. Minayeff that the salt tax was the cause of the revolt is not correct. Imposition of taxes and oppression of the local authorities served as direct causes of the uprising.

159. (Page 103) : **Assab**—bay and port on the African coast of the Red Sea, 96 kilometres to the north of the Straits Bab-el-Mandeb. In 1869 the Italian Shipping Company 'Rubatino' bought the territory of Assab from the local Sultans as though for creating a mercantile landing stage and coal base of the Company. In 1882 Assab was bought from the Company by the Italian Government and was declared an Italian dominion.

160. (Page 104) : . . . . "**the British have returned the Gwallor Fort**"—this fort was occupied by the British Garrison from 1858 to 1886. In December, 1885, the Government of British India with a view to consolidating their political position amongst the Indian Princes, made a declaration about the return of the fort to the Prince of Gwallor—the Scindia. On the 10th of March, 1886 the keys of the fort were made over to the Scindia. However, the Government of British India in exchange

received the Jhansi Fort for billeting their garrison. Military fortifications of the Gwalior Fort had been destroyed, so that it was definitely reduced to a fort having no strategic importance.

It is necessary to observe that I. P. Minayeff attached a highly exaggerated importance to the fact of the return of the fort to the Prince of Gwalior.

161. (Page 104): "**The war with Burma has ended**"—The third Anglo-Burmese war, as a result of which the last remaining independent part of Burma (Kingdom of Ava) was seized began on the 14th of November, 1885. On the 28th of November of the same year the capital of the State, city of Mandalay, was seized and king Thi-Baw was taken prisoner. The incorporation into the British empire in India of the part of Burma, annexed in 1885, was formally proclaimed on the 1st of January, 1886. The actual conquest of Burma, however, was completed only in 1897.

162. (Page 105): **Galle in Ceylon**—city and port on the south-western coast of Ceylon. From the beginning of the seventies, after the construction of the artificial harbour at Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, the importance of Galle began to decline.

163. (Page 105): **Caravan-Serai** (Arabo-Persian)—hotel, inn. I. P. Minayeff jokingly calls the European hotels in India and Ceylon by that name.

164. (Page 107): **MacGregor** (C. M. MacGregor) 1840-1887—A major-general of the British Army, he served for a long time in India, where he occupied a number of responsible posts, mainly in the north-west. Eminent British Intelligence officer, who compiled from 1868 to 1875 the reference book (gazetteer) on Central Asia under the instructions of the Government of British India.

165. (Page 107): **Mr. Monch, M.P.** (Monsieur Monk)—an old Frenchman and a fellow traveller of I. P. Minayeff on his journey from Europe to India.

166. (Page 107): **Khedive**—the title of the Ruler of Egypt who was nominally subject to the supremacy of the Sultan of Turkey. In point of fact, at the time of I. P. Minayeff, Egypt had already been converted into a semi-colony of England.

167. (Page 107): . . . . . "**Who needed Indian money**"—i.e. the British.

168. (Page 107): . . . . . "**with Sir R. Sandeman on the Afghan question**"—R. Sandeman (R. G. Sandeman), a high official of the British Indian Services, who played an important role in the matter of subjugation of the north-western territories of British India. Later on I. P. Minayeff refers to him by his initials R.C. or C.

Speaking about the clash in March, 1885, between Russian and Afghan troops at **Tash Kopri** near Kushka. Under direct instigations of England Afghan troops were sent deep into Turkmenian territory with the object of occupying the same. The events at Kushka, in particular, showed that British Imperialists aspired to subjugate, either directly or indirectly, not only Afghanistan but Central Asia too.

A small Russian detachment defeated the invading Afghan units and forced them to withdraw.

169. (Page 108) : **Kathiawar**—Peninsula in north-western India. For political reasons Kathiawar was disintegrated into 187 small and very small states which were in 1822 united into a special "Political Agency" administered by the British Resident, directly under the Governor of the province of Bombay.

170. (Page 109) : "**The blow is calculated to defeat . . . . Russia**"—Towards the end of 1870, during the period of transition to the epoch of imperialism, colonial expansion of big capitalistic powers was intensified and a bitter struggle for the division of the world started.

In middle eighties there was a particularly sharp clash of interests between England and France in the near east and south-east Asia. At the same time after the successful advance of Russian troops into Turkmenia and occupation of Merva in 1884, which put an end to the British expansion in Central Asia, there was a keen embitterment of Anglo-Russian relations. In March-April of 1885, things came to such a pass that there was very nearly an open armed clash between England and Russia (see also note 168).

171. (Page 112) : . . . . "**sincere service to the cause of humanity**".

Here I. P. Minayeff does not differentiate between the influence of the advanced culture of Russia in the countries of the east and of the policy of Czarism in Asia.

172. (Page 112) : **Quetta**—city and fort of Baluchistan north west of India, headquarters of the district of the same name occupied by the British in 1876. During the second Anglo-Afghan war Quetta served as one of the main bases of the operating British army. In Minayeff's time the Residency of the British political Agency was located at Quetta in Baluchistan and a brigade of British troops was also stationed there. Quetta was a strong base of British aggression against southern Afghanistan and also Iran.

173. (Page 112) : . . . . "**Journey to Khorasan**"—Speaking about the book of MacGregor (see note 164), "Narrative of a journey through the Province of Khorasan and the north-western Frontier of Afghanistan in 1875" vols. 1-2, London 1879.

174. (Page 112) : . . . . "**are influenced by the Lord Lawrence School**"—Lord Lawrence (J. L. M. Lawrence; 1811-1879)—Eminent British Indian administrator, serving in India from 1830 to 1869. Took an active part in the annexation of the Punjab (1846-1849); in 1853-54 occupied the post of British Governor of the Punjab in which position he proved himself to be a keen and clever guide of the policy of the British colonizers in the newly occupied regions of the country. From 1864 to 1869—Viceroy of India.

175. (Page 113) : **Gordon** (C. G. Gordon, 1833-1885)—British General and cruel hangman of the national revolt of Taiping in China (1850-1864), a suppressor of the anti-imperialist movement of the Mahdists of Sudan (1881-1899). Gordon was in India only for a very short time in 1880, escorting Ripon, the new Viceroy of India as his personal secretary. Killed by the Mahdists in Khartoum (Sudan).

176. (Page 113) : "**S. B. was the magistrate in Bassein**" : **S. B.**—St. Barba (H. L. St. Barba)—an official of the British

Indian services, occupying in the eighties of the 19th century high administrative posts in British-occupied Burma. Contributed a series of **research** in the sphere of Pali and Burmese languages. Magistrate—judicial officer; head of the civil administration of districts in some of the provinces of India (see note 177) **Bassein**—a district in southern Burma.

177. (Page 113): **Non-Regulated Provinces**: The first provinces (Bengal, Bombay, Madras) created by the British in the conquered Indian territories were administered on the basis of laws called Regulations. New administrative units created afterwards—including Burma—which formed part of India till 1937, were governed on the basis of different rules and hence called Non-Regulated provinces.

178. (Page 113): **“Upper Burma”**: Burma is divided into two historically accomplished parts—Upper (northern) Burma and Lower (southern) Burma. Lower Burma was occupied by the British as a result of the first (1824-1826) and second (1852) Anglo-Burman wars; Upper Burma, as a result of the third Anglo-Burman War (1885).

179. (Page 113): **“I have read through the diary of Gordon. Cannot read Maine's: Diary of Gordon**: “The journals of the Major-Gen. C. G. Gordon at Khartoum. Printed from the original manuscripts. Introduction and notes by A. Egmont Hake”. London 1885. The book of the British historian Maine (H. S. Maine: 1818-1908), apparently either “Village communities” (1871). Russian translation: “Village communities in the East and West. St. Petersburg 1874, or “Early history of Institutions” (1875).

180. (Page 114): **“the first Afghan War, the sepoy rebellion and finally the troubles in Sudan”**: The first Afghan war (1838-1842) was marked by a military catastrophe for the British in 1841 (extermination of the entire army occupying the Afghan capital, Kabul).

**Mutiny of the Sepoys**—Indian national revolt of 1857-1859, peoples' revolt against the British colonizers, threatening their domination over India. **Troubles in Sudan**—“The revolt of Mahdis” in Sudan—people's national liberation movement of 1881-1889, directed towards the liquidation of British colonial rule in Sudan, which in fact commenced from the year 1877. The revolt resulted in the formation of an independent ‘Mahdi State’ in Sudan which remained in existence till 1889; after the routing of the Mahdis the British finally turned Sudan into their own colony.

181. (Page 117): **“Talawia settlers in Broach from Rajpipla.”** Talawia—a subdivision of the tribe ‘Dubla’ living in jungle tracts of Gujerat and in regions bordering Central India.

**Broach**—city and district in the province of Bombay.

**Rajpipla**—a small State in Gujerat.

182. (Page 117): **Koles**—groups of tribes in Central India who inhabited mainly northern Gujerat, northern Maharashtra and the Chota Nagpur area (Behar).

183. (Page 117): **“Englishman”**—a newspaper, one of the organs of the British bureaucracy in India. Published first in 1830 in Calcutta.

184. (Page 117): **Shwe-gyeng**—city and district in Tenasserim in Lower Burma.

185. (Page 117): **“Only Nepal is independent”**: from the beginning of the 19th century Nepal was gradually coming under British protectorate. After Anglo-Nepalese War (1813-1816), there was installed at Kathmandu, the capital of Nepal, a British Resident who controlled the policy of the Government of Nepal.

186. (Page 118): **Swayambhu**—one of the names of **Bodhisatwa. Manjushri**—the most revered Buddhist divinity in Nepal. Swayambhu Stupa stands at a distance of about 1 kilometre from the city of Kathmandu.

187. (Page 109): **Jardin** (J. Jardine, 1844-1919)—a high official of the British Indian services which he served from 1864 to 1897. From 1878 to 1885 he occupied the position of Chief Justice in Burma. At the time of Minayeff's third trip to India (1885-1886) Jardine was a Secretary of the Provincial Government of Bombay and a Judge of the Bombay High Court. He was also the President of the Bombay branch of the London Asiatic Society (see note 10). Author of some works on Burmese religions and customary laws.

Later Minayeff refers to him as 'J'.

188. (Page 118): **Sir Wedderburn** (William Wedderburn; 1838-1918)—a high official of the British Indian services which he served in the Province of Bombay from 1860 to 1887; aspiring to appease the general dissatisfaction with the colonial regime he supported the organized formation of the Indian National Congress Party in 1885. On retiring from service Wedderburn took an active part in the political life of England, maintaining close contact with Indian moderate nationalists. In 1889 he was elected President of the following session of the Indian National Congress.

189. (Page 119): **“about the attitude of Europeans towards the Burghers”**: Here “Burghers” means descendants of Dutch and Portuguese settlers of Ceylon and the original inhabitants of the island. In Minayeff's time the burghers formed a small but influential stratum of the growing Ceylonese bourgeoisie.

190. (Page 119): **Unofficial India**: Speaking about British businessmen and planters, living in India but not in Government service.

191. (Page 119): . . . . **“the fate of the Ilbert Bill.”** According to the Ilbert Bill, which was brought before the British Parliament in 1883, Judges, irrespective of the races they belonged to, were given the right to try not only Indians but also Europeans. The bill could not be passed owing to the insistent opposition of the British Indian bureaucracy and “unofficial India.”

192. (Page 120): . . . . **“turned out to be Banerjee i.e. the President of the Bombay Session”**: Banerjee (Surendra Nath Banerjee; 1848-1925)—one of the founders of the Indian National Congress Party. In 1895 and 1912 was elected President of the next annual sessions, respectively, of the party. At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century Banerjee was the leader of the moderate trend in national movement of Bengal.

Bombay session—referring to the first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885 as a result of which a Party was formed on an All-India basis for offering lawful opposition to the colonial regime.

193. (Page 120): . . . . . "**L. R. Churchill promised a real Parliamentary enquiry**": L. R. Churchill—Lord Ramdolph Churchill (R. H. S. Churchill, 1849-1894)—an eminent British politician of the last third of the 19th century, belonging to the Conservative Party. Churchill occupied the position of the Secretary of the State for India from the 24th of June, 1885 to the 5th February, 1886. While referring to the 'Parliamentary enquiry' promised by Churchill, I. P. Minayeff had in view the declaration which Churchill made in Parliament on the 25th January of 1886, expressing the desire to appoint at the earliest opportunity a Parliamentary Committee which would go into the question of the system of colonial administration in India. Such a Committee was actually appointed by the House of Commons on the 11th of March 1886, even after the resignation of Churchill from the post of the Secretary of State for India. However, on the 21st of July of the same year, the Committee which had not begun its work till then, was dissolved by a special resolution of the House of Commons.

194. (Page 120): **Dufferin**—(F. Dufferin 1826-1902)—Viceroy of India from 1884 to 1888. After the occupation of Upper Burma, of which Dufferin was an organizer, he got the title 'Marquis of Ava'.

195. (Page 120): **Kshatri**—one of the trading and money-lending castes in northern and central India.

196. (Page 120): "**M.W.**"; It has not been possible to ascertain to whom these initials refer.

197. (Page 121): **Tawney, C. H.**—Principal, Presidency College in Calcutta. Scholar, and Secretary of the Calcutta University.

198. (Page 121): **Hoernle, R.** (1841-1919)—British Indologist-linguist; a **German** by nationality, born in India. He taught in various institutions for higher education; from 1871 to 1899 he was the Principal of the Muslim College in Calcutta. Professor at Oxford from 1900 to 1918. Published some texts. Well-known for his researches on Indo-Aryan languages. There are to his credit also works in the field of Indian archaeology and numismatics.

199. (Page 121): "**Went to the museum and from there to the Asiatic Society.**" **Museum**—National Museum in Calcutta founded in 1866 on the basis of the Museum of the Asiatic Society started in 1814. The house for the museum was built in 1875. **Asiatic Society**—more precisely, Asiatic Society of Bengal started in Calcutta in 1784 by the first British Sanskrit Scholar William Jones (1746-1794). In Minayeff's time the Society brought together workers in the field of humanitarian and natural sciences. It had its own library, museum, journal and other publications (publications of texts, catalogues of manuscripts, coins and other things).

200. (Page 121): . . . . . "**Saw Bharhut bas-reliefs and columns**": Speaking about fragments of the stone wall of Bharhut Stupa (monument of Buddhist architecture of the 3rd-2nd century

B.C.) situated in Central India at 193 kilometres to the south east of Allahabad. A considerable portion of the most important work of I. P. Minayeff—"Buddhism, Investigations and Materials", Vol. 1. St. Petersburg 1887 deals with the meaning and significance of the preserved bas-reliefs of the Bharhut Stupa in the history of Buddhism.

201. (Page 121) : **Sanskrit College** : Sanskrit College in Calcutta, founded in 1824 by the British Indian authorities for the study of Sanskrit and branches of Indian classical sciences.

202. (Page 122) : **Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna** : Indian scholar—philologist specialist in the sphere of ancient Indian literature; well-known also for his History of Bengali Literature. At the time of I. P. Minayeff's journey to India Nyayaratna was a professor of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. Later on, Minayeff mentions him by his initials M. Ch. N.

203. (Page 122) : . . . . . "**Afghan affair is swallowing a lot of money**" : Taking advantage of the dependent condition of Afghanistan, in which it was placed as a result of the Anglo-Afghan War of 1878-1880, the British strenuously prepared Afghanistan in the eighties for war with Russia. The Afghan army received British arms and equipment, and with the help of the British an arsenal was built in Kabul. At the same time the British Govt. paid large subsidies to the Afghan Amir Abdur Rahaman (1880-1901). All this came down upon the shoulders of the Indian people as an additional heavy burden. By making use of Indian resources and Afghan territory and army the British Imperialists were trying to expand their domain in Central Asia (See also notes 168 and 170).

204. (Page 122) : "**the Bombay Conference**" : Speaking about the first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885. (See note 192).

205. (Page 122) : **Shala** (Sanskrit) : School of the old type where teaching is conducted by Brahmans in the spirit of the traditions of India of the middle ages.

206. (Page 122) : **Indian Mirror** :—Name of the Indian newspaper, one of the organs of Indian nationalism. Its publication commenced in Calcutta from the beginning of the sixties of the 19th century.

207. (Page 123) : **Hume** (A. O. Hume 1829-1912) : a high official of the British Indian services, which he served from 1849 to 1882, Hume actively supported the idea of the creation of a party on an all-India basis i.e. Indian National Congress advanced by moderate Indian nationalists, and took direct part in its organization and further activities. Hume (like Wedderburn—See note 188) represented those political circles in England which thought that in the interests of British rule in India it was necessary to grant concessions to moderate Indian nationalists.

208. (Page 123) : "**Hensman, Editor of the Pioneer**" : Pioneer—a newspaper published at Allahabad, one of the organs of British bureaucracy in India started in 1865. Later (in diary) Minayeff names Hensman as 'H'.

209. (Page 123) : "**The Madras army**". During I. P. Minayeff's time the armed forces of British India were still divided into three armies (Bengal, Bombay and Madras) and a separate formation was detailed in the Punjab. The denouncing



appraisalment of the Madras army by the Britisher Hensman, giving expression to the opinion of the bureaucracy of British India, is explained by the fact that during the third Anglo-Burmese War (1885) the soldiers of the Madras army who were recruited from the "lower class" Hindus, mainly of the artisan castes of South India, definitely expressed their unwillingness to die in the interest of the British masters of India.

210. (Page 123) : **General Robertis** (F. S. R. Roberts, 1832-1914)—British General, a zealous defender of British colonial interests, was on military service in India from 1851 to 1893. Was one of the suppressors of the Indian national mutiny of 1857-1859. In the second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880) commanded a group of British troops which took Kabul and thereafter liberated the British garrison besieged in Kandahar. From 1881 to 1885 commanded the Madras Army, and was the commander-in-chief of the British armed forces in India from 1885 to 1893. Got the rank of Field Marshal in 1895 and during the last years of his life occupied important positions in the army in England.

211. (Page 123) : "**the Kabul Campaign**" i.e. in the second phase of the Anglo-Afghan war of 1878-1880 (autumn of 1879-spring of 1880), in which the chief events of the war were the attack on Kabul by British troops and thereafter capture of Kabul by the rebels and siege of the British garrison of Kabul in the fortified camp Sherpur.

212. (Page 124) : ". . . . ."**Sladen and General Prendergast**": **Sladen** (E. B. Sladen; 1829-1890)—a colonel of the British armed forces; was in the British Indian Services from 1849 to 1887, occupied a number of responsible posts in Burma, in particular, from 1866 to 1868 was in Mandalay and Upper Burma with the special commissions of the British Govt. From 1885 to 1886 occupied the post of the Chief Commissioner of Upper Burma. **Prendergast** (H. N. O. Prendergast, 1834-1913)—British General on military service in India from 1854 to 1886. In 1885-1886 commanded the British occupational army in Upper Burma.

213. (Page 124) : ". . . . ."**Sir A. Lyall** (A. C. Lyall; 1835-1911)—a high official of the British Indian services (1855-1887) a reactionary publicist and historian of India. At the time of the third trip of I. P. Minayeff to India Lyall occupied the position of the Governor of the north-western provinces of Agra and Oudh.

214. (Page 124) : **Irawaddi**—the principal river in Burma forming at its confluence with the Bay of Bengal a wide delta, on one of the tributaries of which Rangoon is situated.

**Rangoon Pagoda**—Pagoda (temple) Shwe-Dagon, the principal holy place for Buddhists in South East Asia. According to Buddhist traditions the Pagoda Shwe Dagon was built in 588 B.C. Later on, it did undergo frequent rebuilding, specially in the 15th and 18th centuries A.D.

**Sriam Pagoda**—Pagoda Kiyalk-Kawok in the town of Sriam (Than-Lieng) located at the mouth of the river of Pegu, opposite Rangoon. According to legends the Pagoda Kiyalk-Kawok was founded in the 6th century B.C. and renovated and re-decorated towards the end of the 18th century.

215. (Page 125) : **Minhla**—a small town by the river Irawaddi in Upper Burma in the district of Khenzad. Speaking about the defeat of a regiment of the Madras army near Minhla (Nov. 1885), during the third Anglo-Burmese war.

216. (Page 125) : "**Symes and Bigandet**" : **Symes** (E. S. Symes; 1852-1901)—an important official of the British Indian services which he served from 1875-1901. Served in Lower Burma from 1876. At the time of the arrival of Minayeff in Burma Symes was occupying the post of Secretary to the British Chief Commissioner of Burma.

**Bigandet** (P. A. Bigandet; 1813-1894)—a Frenchman, Catholic missionary in Burma. From 1856 to 1894 was the Catholic Bishop of Lower Burma. One of the active guides of the policy of the Vatican in the East. Bigandet contributed a number of works on the history of Buddhism and geography of Burma.

217. (Page 125) : "**Forchhammer and Mr. Gray**" : **Forchhammer** (E. Forchhammer, 1851-1890) a Swiss by nationality. Lived in Rangoon from 1879. There he occupied the post of professor of Pali in the Rangoon College (see note 222). Well-known for his works in the field of Burmese history, geography and philology. Forchhammer also compiled a catalogue of Pali manuscripts collected in Burma and carried out investigation of a few archaeological monuments in Arakan (region in Lower Burma).

**J. Gray**—Professor of Rangoon College and author of a series of works on Burmese philology.

218. (Page 125) : "**Arakan Inscriptions**" : Inscriptions found in Arakan in south-west Burma. In ancient times and middle ages Arakan remained an independent State until 1782 when it was annexed to Burma itself (kingdom of Ava). As a result of the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-1826) Arakan was occupied by the British and annexed to their territories in India.

219. (Page 125) : "**Asoka Characters**" : one of the alphabets of the inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Asoka (273-232 B.C.). These alphabets were different local variants of 'Brahmi' script.

220. (Page 125) : "**Kutlila alphabet**"—An alphabet in circulation in northern India in the 7th century A.D. Represents one of the various forms of the script, "Siddhamatrika", which was composed in the 6th-10th centuries A.D. in northern India—the intermediate stage in the development of Nagari alphabet (see note 339). I. P. Minayeff brought to light the mistake committed by Forchhammer in dating the inscription.

221. (Page 125) : "**Ye Dharma Hetu . . . . .**" (Sanskrit) Yes, this law will be introduced.

222. (Page 125) : **Rangoon College**—Rangoon College founded in 1881 on the basis of an English Secondary School. In Minayeff's time the college was affiliated to the Calcutta University.

223. (Page 126) : . . . . . **to Dr. Marks at St. John's College** : St. John's College—Established in Rangoon by the mission of the "English society for the propagation of the Gospel." Marks, who was a missionary of the society for the propagation of the Gospel, was the Principal of the St. John's College from 1863; came to Burma in 1859 and conducted missionary propaganda in Thaetmo,

Maulmin, Mandalay and other centres of Burma. Later on I. P. Minayeff refers to him by his initial 'M'.

224. (Page 126): **Bernard's Library**: Library in the name of Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of British Burma (see note 236).

225. (Page 126): **"Gilbert, the Principal"**: J. H. Gilbert, Principal of the Rangoon College. Later on Minayeff calls him Jilbert or 'J' on most occasions.

226. (Page 126): **Talains and the Karens: Talains**—the name given by the Burmese to the nationality of Mons of the Mon-Khmer group. The Mons are settled mainly in the south-western part of the country in the provinces of Tenassarim and Pegu. **Karens**—a group of tribes and nationalities inhabiting mainly the southern and south-western parts of the country, in the delta of the river Irawaddi, and also in the provinces of Tenassarim and Pegu.

227. (Page 126): **Thi-baw**—the last ruler (king) of Burma (1878-1885), dethroned by the British after the occupation of Upper Burma in 1885.

228. (Page 127): **". . . remembering the year '23'**: The first Anglo-Burmese war began in September 1823 (formal declaration of war followed on the 5th of March 1824). In course of military operations the British seized Rangoon and its neighbouring places but thereafter were compelled under the Peace Treaty of Yandabo (1826) to return the same to Burma.

229. (Page 127): **"Marks . . . lived for a long time in the court of his father"**: Speaking about the Burmese king Min-Dun (1853-1878).

230. (Page 128): **"U Baya Toya"**: Monastery in the district of Rangoon. Kyaung Daik (Burmese language)—head of the monastery.

231. (Page 128): **Buddha Gaya**—one of the principal centres of pilgrimage of Buddhists in India. The monuments of Buddha Gaya are by Buddhist traditions linked up with the legendary life of Gautama Buddha. The main temple of Buddha Gaya dates back to the 3rd century B.C. It was repeatedly subjected to demolition and restoration—the last time before the arrival of Minayeff in India in 1876.

Buddha Gaya is located close to the town of Gaya about which I. P. Minayeff wrote, "Gaya—a new town built on an old site; it existed here even at the time of Buddha i.e. in 6th century B.C. Now, all the temples and buildings are new but in the midst of these new buildings one comes across at every step fragments of antiquity. Brahmanic cult nestled here long since. As much in ancient times as at present there are numerous temples, shrines and sacred tanks and very old trees etc. Architecturally, there is not a single temple which is remarkable. . . . At every step you find on the one hand blind ignorance and naive faith on the part of the devotees, and on the other, crude, impudent fraud on the part of **pujaris** [Priest] and various kinds of mendicants." ("Sketches of Ceylon and India" Part 1, St. Petersburg, 1878. Pages 221-222).

232. (Page 128): **"Rupasiddhi with Burmese translation and tika"**: Rupasiddhi—Pali grammar, closely allied to the Pali grammar of the Kaccayana School. Its author was Dipamkara

Buddhappiya, who lived in the second half of the 13th century. On the materials of this grammar was written I. P. Minayeff's book "Essays on the phonetics and morphology of the Pali Language", St. Petersburg, 1872.

Tika (Pali)—commentary.

233. (Page 128) : ". . . . . **Sandhikappa**" : Sandhikappa—a section of the most ancient of the Pali grammars which have been handed down to us, written also in the same language. Its author was Kaccayana. In this section there is an account of the euphonical rules of **Sandhi** (conjunction of sounds).

**Mahamangala** (more correctly, Mahamangala Sutta) : Sermon on the great well-being—16th text of the 5th collection of texts in the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Buddhist Canon in Pali. Contains a list of different aspects of well-being.

**Dhammapada**—2nd text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of Buddhist Canon in Pali. Dhammapada represents the collection of 423 aphorisms having a poetical form.

**Lokaniti**—a composition about the rules of conduct and worldly wisdom in the Pali language, written on the basis of Sanskrit treatises with analogous contents. The author of this work was Chakkindabhisiri.

234. (Page 128) : ". . . . . **Pancasila** : a list of five precepts or codes of moral conduct. It is composed in the Pali language and cited at different places of Buddhist Canon in Pali. Its precepts are as follows : to abstain (1) from murder (2) from theft (3) from dishonesty (4) from falsehood (5) from using intoxicating drinks and narcotics.

**Tisaranagamana**—first text of the 1st collection of texts in the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains Buddhist symbol of faith.

235. (Page 128) : ". . . . . **Abhinda**" : apparently Nidhikanadasutta, 8th text of the 1st collection of texts in the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains nine glorification of **virtuous** services.

**Khuddaka**—Khuddaka (patha)—first collection of the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains nine short texts, whereupon its name is based : "study (patha) of short (Khuddaka) texts."

**Anamatagga**—Anamatagga (Samyutta)—15th text of the 3rd part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains 20 sermons of Buddha beginning with the words anamataggo . . . . "without beginning and end (cycle of existence)" and explaining this position by comparisons and descriptions.

**Samyuttanikaya**—3rd part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains 2889 suttas (speeches and dialogues of Buddha and his disciples) put together in 56 groups. From this fact the name "Samyuttanikaya" is derived, which means "collection (nikaya) of groups (samyutta)".

**Tirokudda** (sutta)—7th text of the 1st collection of texts in the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains a short description of the behaviour of spirits which have departed from this world.

**Khuddaka** (Khuddakanikaya)—5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Consists of 15 different kinds of texts, each of which in its turn breaks up into smaller works.

And this is reflected in the name "Khuddakanikaya" which means "collection (nikaya) of short (khuddaka) works."

**Petavatthu**—7th text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains 51 tales of ghosts about those sins which they committed in life as human beings and as retribution for which they became ghosts. Hence the name "Petavatthu" which in Pali means "Tales of Ghosts." The text of Petavatthu was published by I. P. Minayeff in the publications of "Pali Text Society", London, 1889.

236. (Page 129): **Bernard** (C. E. Bernard; 1837-1901)—a high official of the British Indian Services which he served from 1880-1888. Occupied the post of Chief Commissioner of British Burma from 1880-1888.

237. (Page 130): ". . . . **not admitting Christians**"—i.e. Karens converted to Christianity (see note 226), amongst whom the activities of the Christian missionaries were attended with comparatively great success than amongst other nationalities of Burma.

238. (Page 130): **Mg. Hpo Hmyin**—Burmese scholar—philologist, specialist in Pali and Buddhism.

239. (Page 131): **Su-Pailat (Supayalat)**—wife of the Burmese king Thi-baw; principal organiser of the Court revolution which placed Thi-baw in power and ended in the extermination of members of the royal family and a few high dignitaries of the State, in the beginning of 1879.

240. (Page 131): "**Deputy Commissioner**"—Major G. Alexander, an officer of the British armed forces, was the Deputy Commissioner (Commissioner—chief of the colonial administration of a district) in 1886. He was in service from 1879 in the system of civil administration of Burma in the district of Prome.

241. (Page 131): **Shwe-Zan-Daw**: Pagoda in Prome; according to Buddhist tradition erected in honour of the hair relics of Buddha.

242. (Page 132): **Mangalasutra (Sanskrit)**—meaning Mangalasutta—5th text of the 1st collection of texts in the 5th part of the second section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains a list of acts which lead to well-being.

243. (Page 132): **Maung Nu**: Burmese scholar—philologist, professor of Rangoon College.

244. (Page 133): **Shwe-Doun**—a town in the district of Prome on the bank of the river Irawaddi. Contains numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries.

245. (Page 133): ". . . . **nine different works**". (Jinatthapakasini—Pali)—interpreting the achievements of Buddha.

**Bhajjamvilasini**—apparently, Bhaggamvilasini (Pali) "brightening destiny".

**Monorathapurani**—"fulfilling the desire". A composition of the same name is the Pali commentary on the 4th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Pali Buddhist tradition regards Buddhaghosa as the author of this commentary. He lived in Ceylon in the 5th Century A.D.

**Pancavyakarana** (Pali) "five explanations."

**Vimaticchedani** (Pali)—"removing contradictions."

**Niroddhamaggadesani** (Pali) "Showing the path to absolute peace" (i.e. Nirvana).

**Veyyakarana** (Pali)—Grammatical composition.

**Kavisaratikanissaya** (Pali)—a commentary on the theory of poetics.

**Gandhavamsa**—"History of Books", i.e. of later works in Pali. I. P. Minayeff published the text of a composition of the same name, having the same contents, in the "Journal of the Pali Text Society", 1886, Pages 54-80. In the colophon of the composition, Nandapanna is described as the author. In the preface to the publication of the text, I. P. Minayeff points out that at U Giang's disposal there was a manuscript of Gandhavamsa and he made a translation of it in Burmese language.

246. (Page 133) : **Upasampanna** (Pali)—a man who has taken the vows of a Buddhist monk.

247. (Page 133) : **Abhidhammatthavibhavani**—a Pali commentary on the Pali composition Abhidhammatthasamgaha, written in Burma by Anuruddha in 12th century A.D., and containing a general exposition of Buddhist philosophy and dogmatics. The author of the commentary was Sumangala.

248. (Page 133) : **Pratimoksa**—name of the Buddhist text in Sanskrit, containing a list of sins and often being read at the time of confessions of Buddhist monks and nuns. Here the analogous text in Pali, Patimokkha, is contemplated.

**Khuddasikkha** (brief instruction)—Pali composition on the rules of conduct of Buddhist monks. Its author, Mahasami, lived in Ceylon in 10th century A.D.

**Kankhavitarni** (removing doubts)—Pali commentary on Mahavagga (1st text in the 2nd part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon). Mahavagga contains a series of rules of life of the community of Buddhist monks and also of its individual members.

249. (Page 134) : "**Khettupama arahanto . . .**"—"Sacred, resembling (fertile) field . . ." Words of the first sentence of Petavatthu (Tales of Ghosts) 7th text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of Pali Buddhist Canon.

250. (Page 134) : **Sarikheta**—name of the ancient town of Prome (Tha-re-khetra), destroyed as early as in the beginning of our era. The ruins of Sarikheta (Tha-re-khetra) are located at a distance of a few kilometres from the present town of Prome.

251. (Page 134) : **Pagan**—a town in Burma on the river Irawadi. Capital of the Burmese kingdom from 847 to 1298.

252. (Page 135) : **Kvun** (Burmese)—cell.

253. (Page 135) : **Sakhyadhamma** (Pali)—"Precept of benevolence . . ."

254. (Page 135) : **Subhuti and Sumangala**.

Subhuti—name of one of the first ten disciples of Buddha, and also the name of a number of later Buddhist religious workers including one Singalese commentator of Buddhist Pali texts.

Sumangala—name of the Buddhist monk who lived in Ceylon. He was the author of the commentary Abhidhammatthavibhavani (see note 247).

255. (Page 135) : **Htis** (Htee-Burmese)—domes of Buddhist temples.

256. (Page 136) : **Thayet Mo**—town, headquarters of the

region bearing the same name. On the eve of the third Anglo-Burmese War (1885) it appeared to be the frontier fortress on the north of British territories in Burma.

257. (Page 136) : See note 215.

258. (Page 137) : **Ye-nang-gyoung** : a town on the river Irawaddi; an old oil-extraction centre.

259. (Page 137) : **Pakokko**—a town, headquarters of a district in Upper Burma. It has numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries in it.

260. (Page 138) : **Subrahmana** : servant of I. P. Minayeff.

261. (Page 138) : **Shans** :—a group of tribes in eastern Burma.

262. (Page 139) : . . . . **City Scavengers** :

In Mandalay, during the reign of the Burmese kings, there was no cleaning of the sewage and garbage of the streets and yards of the city; the city's refuse used to be eaten up mainly by pigs of which there was a large number in the city.

263. (Page 139) : **Sagain**—a town, headquarters of the district of the same name in Upper Burma; contains numerous Buddhist temples.

264. (Page 139) : **Ava**—ancient capital of Burma founded in 1364. Even in Minayeff's time, King's palace, temples and monasteries were in tact in the city.

265. (Page 139) : **Colonel Simpson** (W. S. Simpson)—Officer of the 12th Infantry Regiment of the Madras Army, who took part in the occupation of Upper Burma. In 1886 Simpson commanded a punitive detachment sent for the suppression of partisan movement in Burma.

266. (Page 140) : **Mother-in-law** :—Speaking about queen Alenandau, mother of Supayalat (see note 239).

267. (Page 140) : "**Shan Pretender**" : Speaking about the Pretender to the Burmese throne, one of the Shan princes who participated in the confederacy of Shan Princes created in the middle of 1885. The confederacy kept up liaison with the Burmese partisans who were carrying on the fight with the British who had annexed Upper Burma.

268. (Page 141) : **Vun** (Burmese) :—Courtiers and persons holding high positions were called Vuns in Burma. Four of the high officials were called 'Vungi' and four Chief courtiers, 'a-twin-Vun'.

269. (Page 142) : . . . . "**Lalitavistara and Katantra**" : **Lalitavistara** : (see note 31).

**Katantara**—treatise in Sanskrit on Sanskrit grammar written in the first half of 10th century A.D. The author was Sarva-varman. Katantra earned wide fame in ancient and medieval India and even beyond her borders. It was made use of by many authors of Sanskrit, Pali and other grammars.

270. (Page 142) : **Buddhavamsa** : 14th text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of Pali Buddhist Canon. **Buddhavamsa** is an exposition in poetical form of the legends about the twenty four Buddhas of twelve epochs of the past.

271. (Page 142) : I. P. Minayeff gives in Pali the full title of the spiritual mentor of the Burmese king, the Rajaguru, as he calls him later on. The title means "Teacher of the Supreme king of kings of the great religion; Teacher of the General of the

shining religion; Teacher incomparable in the tradition of the true religion, adorned with garlands of flowers."

272. (Page 143): ". . . , **chew betel all the time**": In India and in South-East Asian countries there has been long since a custom of using for the purpose of chewing a substance made up of betel leaves, dry arachis nuts and powdered lime made from shells and a few other components.

273. (Page 144): ". . . . **all the three Pitakas**": Pitaka—a section of Pali Buddhist Canon, Tripitaka. Pali Canon is composed of three such sections and this fact is reflected in the name itself. ("ti" is the Pali form of 'Tri': three). The word "Pitaka" primarily meant "basket". In this connection there are a number of hypotheses about the evolution of the semantics of this word but there is no accurate explanation.

274. (Page 144): ". . . . **the following works**": **Sambandhacintatika**—Pali commentary by the Burmese author Abhaya on the Pali treatise Sambandhacinta (Reflection on connections which deals with the Syntax of the Pali language, and the author of which was Sangharakkhita, who lived in Ceylon in or about the 12th century A.D.

**Bhedacintadipani**—Pali commentary on the Pali composition Bhedacinta (Reflection on Separation) dealing with the Syntax of the Pali language.

**Karikatika**—Pali commentary on the Pali poetical treatises on the grammar of the Pali language entitled Karika. Its author was Dhammasenapati who lived in Burma in the beginning of the 2nd millenium of the new era.

**Ekakkharatika**—Pali commentary on the lexicon Ekakkhara-kosa compiled in the 16th century A.D. by the Burmese monk Saddhammakitti.

**Gandhabharanatika**—Pali commentary on the Pali treatise Gandhabharana which deals with the grammar of the Pali language. This treatise was written by the Burman Aryavamsa who lived in the 15th century A.D. (According to other data—Vaci-rassathera). Compiler of the commentary Jagaracariya.

**Vaccavacakatika**—Pali commentary on the Pali treatise Vaccavaca about the grammar of the Pali language.

This treatise was written in the first half of the 2nd millenium of the new era by the Burmese Dhammadassi (according to other data—Saddhammaguru). The author of the commentary was apparently Saddhammanandi.

**Saddavuttitika**—Pali commentary on the Pali treatise Saddavutti, also called Saddavuttipakasaka. This treatise is an exposition of Pali Grammar. Usually, the Burman Saddhammapala is regarded as its author who lived in or about the 14th century A.D. However, in the composition Sasanavamsa (see note 341) the author of this treatise is called Saddhammaguru. There were a number of commentaries written on this treatise. The author of one of these was Sariputta, also called Sariputtara.

275. (Page 144): "**Big Volume**": **Vicittalamkara** (Various adornments)—Pali treatise on the theory of poetics (fuller title—Sirivittitlamakara). Its author was Saddhammakitti (see the preceding note). It is possible that the name of Saddhammakitti was borne by two different persons one of whom was the author of Vicittalamkara, and the other, author of



**Ekakkharakosa** ('thera': Pali Buddhist title given to the senior-most or most highly educated monks).

276. (Page 144): Burmese manuscript entitled **Yogagan-dhasaccasamkhepa** (book about the contemplation of the foundation of truth): Buddhist philosophical work in Pali. This was written by Bhuddanta Dharmmapala better known as Culla-Dhammapala i.e. 'younger Dhammapala', who lived, apparently in the second half of the first millenium of the new era in Ceylon.

Ananda—Buddhist monk and teacher of Dhammapala. The word—(t) **thera** attached to his name denotes the title of a Buddhist monk.

277. (Page 144): "**Dasavatthukatha** or **Dasavatthupakarana**"—Pali Commentary on the historico-epical composition **Mahabodhivamsa** written in the 10th century A.D. by the Buddhist monk **Upatatissa**. The commentary **Dasavatihukatha** was composed in Burma apparently in the 12th century A.D.

278. (Page 144): **Rudrayamalatantra**: extensive work in Sanskrit contributed by the sects of Shakta. It contains rules for various rituals and also invocations and all kinds of discussions of mystical and magical character.

**Dhatuprasamsa**—('Glorification of the elements'—a part of this work.

**Netti-Atthakathayatika**—Pali commentary on the interpretation of the work **Netti** (see note 321).

279. (Page 145): **Kiaun** (Burmese)—monastery.

280. (Page 146): **Colonel Budgin R. A.**: Staff officer of the British occupation army in Burma.

281. (Page 146): ". . . . **noted the following titles**":

**Manidipatika**—Pali commentary on **Manidipa** (lamp of gems) compiled by the Burman **Aryavamsa** (see note 274). **Manidipa** in its turn is a commentary on **Atthasalini**—interpretation of the 3rd part of the 3rd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon, containing a list of mental and moral conditions of man.

**Visuddhimagatthakatha**—Pali commentary on the Pali work **Visuddhimagga** written by **Buddhaghosha** in the 5th century A.D. (see also note 245). This latter work is an original encyclopaedia of Buddhist teachings.

**Dhatumala** (Garland or string of roots): 2nd part of the grammatical work **Saddaniti**. In it there is an exposition of the rules of Pali Grammar in the shape of aphorisms, and it contains Sanskrit parallels of the Pali forms. This work was composed on the materials of the language of Pali canon and was considered highly authoritative in Burma. It was written by the Burmese monk **Aggavamsa** who lived in the 12th century A.D.

**Vajirasara**—probably one of the commentaries, compiled by Ceylonese commentator **Vajirabuddhi**.

**Apadanatthakatha**—Pali commentary on the 13th text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of Pali Buddhist Canon. The text commented upon here gives an account in verse of the **doings** of Buddhist saints.

282. (Page 146): "**Noted down two titles**":

**Manisaradipani** (throwing light on the essence of gems)—title of a Pali composition.

**Rajadhiraadhammacaradipani** (**illuminating** the religious

activities of the king of kings—historico-epical work in Pali. Written in Burma during a comparatively later period.

283. (Page 147) : **Hlot daw**—name of the State Council at the time of Burmese kings, fulfilling the functions of the Government of Burma and also the supreme legislative and judicial body under the king.

284. (Page 147) : **Sucittalamakara** (Lustrous adorning)—Pali title of a work.

285. (Page 147) : **Chagatidipani** (Illuminating the six paths of existence)—Pali work of which the author was Saddhammaghosa. It describes the six worlds in which souls are as though reborn, their rebirth being dependent upon the good or evil deeds done by them; for example:—world of gods, world of human beings, world of spirits etc.

286. (Page 147) : **"Lighting up the paths**: Composed by the scholar Smughosa (the name is apparently distorted) on the basis of the sayings of Buddha contained in the teachings of the followers of the tradition of true religion. Written in Sanskrit it was difficult of access for the inhabitants of the island (Ceylon?) owing to their ignorance of the (Sanskrit) words and their meanings. Hence I have altered it for the benefit of people with little experience and speaking the language of Magadhans."

The language of Magadhans is often called Pali in Ceylon and Burma. It is, however, necessary to note that in Magadha another Central Indian language was being used, which was different from the dialect, and which formed the basis of literary Pali.

287. (Page 148) : **Vacisara**—Pali composition on Pali grammar.

Vacisarathasamgahavannana—commentary on the above work.

288. (Page 148) : A small treatise about the moon and the sun: "Thus concludes the treatise entitled 'Definition of the sun and the moon'; written by Tipitakamahathera (a great scholar of Pali Buddhist Canon), well-wisher of creatures, scholar of the three Vedas, having earlier been the teacher of two excellent kings whose names were famous in the country named Mappara, possessed of self-control by the name of Dahara (or Phahara) called by the teachers as their head, endowed with highly honourable conduct, intelligence and courage."

289. (Page 148) : **Manu-Kyay**—Burmese code compiled in 1758-60. Written in Burmese but based on a series of texts of the Pali Canon, on the commentaries on them and on a few non-canonistic Pali works, for example, Milindapatha (see note 321) and Visuddhimagga (see note 281).

290. (Page 148) : **"I saw in the list"** :

**Dipavamsa**—Historico-epical work of Buddhist Pali tradition. In it there is an account of individual events of the history of Buddhism in India and more reliable account of the history of Buddhism and of the royal dynasties in Ceylon. This work was written either towards the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. Its author remains unknown.

**Daladadhatuvamsa** ("history of the tooth-relic").

Singhalese historico-epical work, written in Ceylon in 310

A. D. It contains an exposition of the history of the so-called incisor-tooth of Buddha, which was at first preserved at the capital of the country called Kalinga and then at Anuradhapura in Ceylon. Approximately in 1200 A.D. this work was translated into Pali. What is under consideration here is the Pali translation which is usually called *Dathadhatuvamsa*.

291. (Page 148) : **Rajavamsa** (history of kings)—historical work. A number of works carrying this name were written in Burma at different times. One of the later works so entitled was written in Pagan in 1830.

292. (Page 149) : **Anutika** (Pali)—Sub-commentary (in Pali) i.e. commentary on commentary.

293. (Page 149) : **Kusolo-Tou**—distorted name of the monastery *Ku-tho-daw-paya* (see note 299).

294. (Page 149) : “. . . . **Makaratarana gates**” (Pali) : Gates ornamented with the image of the sea-monster **Makara**.

295. (Page 149) : “. . . . **Vinayapitaka**”—the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. This section contains an exposition of the rules of conduct (*Vinaya*) of Buddhist monks and nuns.

296. (Page 149) : **Bhikkhunipacittiya**—part of the second text of the 1st part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist canon. Contains a list of sins with commentary—sins for which ecclesiastical punishments are imposed on Buddhist nuns.

**Bhikkhupacittiya**—part of the 2nd text in the 1st part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains a list of sins with commentary—sins for which ecclesiastical punishments are prescribed for Buddhist monks.

297. (Page 149) : **Bhikkhunipatimokkha**—text in Pali.

**Bhikkhupatimokkha**—text in Pali. Contains a list of sins for which confession by Buddhist monks is prescribed.

Contains a list of sins, for which confession by Buddhist nuns is prescribed.

298. (Page 149) : **Parajika** (Pali)—1st text in the 1st part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains a list of sins with commentary—sins for which Buddhist monks and nuns are expelled from the community.

299. (Page 149) : **Kuo-tho-daw-payah**—a group of 730 pagodas built by king Min Dun and his ministers in 1857-64 A.D.

300. (Page 149) : **Majjhimanikaya**—2nd part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains 152 sermons and utterances of Buddha, the text of which is by convention regarded to be of medium size, wherefrom the name “*Majjhimanikaya*” is derived. In Pali it means “collection of (instructions) of medium length.”

301. (Page 150) : **Col. Eyre E. H.**—Officer of the British occupation army in Burma, working in the department of the Quarter-master-General.

302. (Page 151) : “. . . . **there were at least thirteen of them**”: In Sanskrit and Pali there was a system of representing ordinal numbers with the help of voiced consonants. I. P. Minayeff counted the minimum number of cases with books in existence in the king's library in Mandalay till its destruction by the British troops, on the basis that between **Ka** (the number of the first book case) and **Kha** (the number of the last book case)

there were eleven more volced 'K's (*Kā, Kī, Kī, Ku, Kū, Ke, Kai, Ko, Kau, Kam, Kāh.*)

303. (Page 150): “. . . the **Kesadhatupakasini**”—Pali title of the work containing a narration about the hair relics of Buddha.

**Catuthasamgayana**—Pali title of the work in Burmese, touching upon Pali Buddhist tradition.

**Suriyasiddhantatika**—Pali commentary on the most ancient Sanskrit astronomical treatise *Suriyasiddhanta* (Teachings of the (god) Sun) which has come up to our age. Strong influence of ancient Greek astronomy can be discerned in this treatise. It was composed not later than in the 6th century A.D.

**Sakkatabhasadantipali** (text dealing with the language of Sanskrit)—Pali title of the work dealing with the grammar of the Sanskrit language.

**Lilavati**—title of the 1st section of the Sanskrit astronomical work. *Siddhantasiromani*—“diadem of (astronomical) doctrines” written in 1150 A.D. by the Indian astronomer *Bhaskaracarya*. This section deals with arithmetic.

**Sakkatabhidhanapada** (section on Sanskrit words)—Pali title of a work on Sanskrit Lexicography.

**Sasanalamkara** (adornment of teachings)—Pali title of a Buddhist work written by the Burmese monk *Maung Daung Sa Do* in 1832.

**Yogayatrakatapa** (“collection of rules for setting out under lucky stars”)—Sanskrit astrological work in verse, written by the Indian astronomer, astrologer and poet *Varahamihira*, who lived in the 6th century A.D.

**Mahavamsa**—historio-epical poem in Pali. Its author apparently was *Mahanama* who lived towards the end of the 5th century A.D. This work gives the history of Buddha, of three Buddhist Councils, of Emperor *Ashoka*, and the history of Buddhism and royal dynasties in Ceylon up to 302 A.D. Apart from valuable historical information, this book contains numerous legends.

**Sasnadipika**—apparently an abbreviated title of the work *Sanasuddhidipika* (illuminating the purity of Buddhist teachings), written by the Burman *Madamala* in the 18th century. Various questions on Buddhist doctrines are examined in this book.

304. (Page 151): **Dakkhinasrama** (“southern sanctuary”)—name of monastery near *Mandalay*.

305. (Page 152): **Bombay Burma T.C.** (Trading Corporation)—British Mercantile Company established in 1863. With the licence of the Burmese and Siamese Governments the Company was engaged in working the forests and exporting trees and timber from Burma and Siam. In Burma, in contravention of the conditions of their contract with the Government they predatorily destroyed valuable teak forests, ignored the prohibition against cutting down forest to the west of *Mandalay* and paid money considerably less than what was due from them etc. In 1885 the Burmese Government imposed upon the Company a fine of 2,30,000 pounds sterling for non-fulfilment of the terms of the contract. The Company then turned to British Government with

a complaint which was exploited by the latter as a pretext for starting a war with Burma. On the 22nd October 1885 the Viceroy of India, Dufferin, sent to king Thi-baw an ultimatum under the terms of which Burma would be turned into a British Protectorate. The terms of the ultimatum expired on the 9th of November. British troops had been however moved to initial positions even before the ultimatum was sent to the Burmese Government.

306. (Page 152) : “. . . . the so-called **French intrigue**” French colonial penetration in Indo-China began as early as in the 18th century; however, the policy of colonial occupation by France in this part of Asia underwent considerable expansion only in the second half of the 19th century. In 1867 France occupied the southern part of Vietnam (Kohinhina) and the Khmer kingdom. From the eighties, in connection with the struggle for a parcel of the world, began a new stage of colonial penetration by France into Indo-China. From 1882 to 1885 France carried on a war in Tong king (northern Vietnam) as a result of which she subjugated the whole of Vietnam. Simultaneously with their advance into Indo-China, France, taking advantage of Burmese Government's fear of British aggression, tried through her agents in Mandalay to subject the Burmese Court and the Burmese Government to French influence. In middle eighties French diplomacy achieved remarkable success in this behalf. In 1883 an embassy was sent from Mandalay to Paris and a permanent Burmese diplomatic mission to the President of France was established in the beginning of 1885. In January 1885 a trade agreement was concluded between France and Burma which opened up the possibility of France being the most favoured nation in Burma. French agents in Mandalay were preparing the ground for the conclusion of an agreement for the establishment of a French Bank in Mandalay, for receiving concession in building railways and for working the ruby mines. England, which looked upon Burma as the object of her colonial monopoly, jealously watched French activities in the Court of Mandalay, and disturbed by the French advance in Tongking, she was only waiting for a propitious moment to annex Burma. The moment arrived in the autumn of 1885 (see note 305).

307. (Page 153) : **Atumashi** (“the incomparable monastery”)—Buddhist monastery with the famous temple built by King Min-Dun in 1857-77. On the forehead of the statue of Buddha placed in the temple there was a large diamond which was looted by the British troops at the time of annexation of Burma. The temple was looted and burnt down in 1892 by the British colonisers.

Mahatulaveyyan (Janika: Pali)—“The great incomparable oracle.”

308. (Page 153) : “**This is in the nature of the Sat Mahal in Pallanarua.**”—I. P. Minayeff speaks about the monument of Buddhist architecture in Ceylon—a seven-storied building with steps, built with large stone-blocks. It dates back to the 12th century A.D.

309. (Page 154) : **Catutthasamlayana**: In the canonistic list, Mahavamsa, there is no chapter of this name.

310. (Page 154) : **Daladadhatuvamsatika**—commentary on

the historico-epical composition, Daladadhatuvamsa (see note 209).

311. (Page 155) : Speaking about the Anglo-French fight in India in the 18th century; open military action between the English and the French East India Companies took place in South India in 1740-54, at the time of the war for Austrian accession (1740-1748) and thereafter also during the time of Seven Years' War (1756-1763). In 1761 the main military forces of the French were routed. France could keep in India only five cities along the coast with ground fortifications. The French still carried on military activities against the British at the time of the second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-1784) and were in touch with the irreconcilable enemy of the British, Tipoo Sultan, the ruler of the State of Mysore (1782-1799). However, in the beginning of the sixties of the 18th century England had already become a decisive force in India.

312. (Page 156) : **Burdon** (J. S. Burdon; 1826-1907) : a missionary of the Anglican Church in China and East Asia (1853-1901); an active protagonist of British colonial policy. At the time of the revolt of Taipins in China (1850-1864) Burdon acted as an agent of the colonial powers working for the suppression of the revolt. From 1873 to 1897 he was the Bishop of Hongkong.

313. (Page 156) : **Ku-tho-daw-payah monastery** (see note 299).

314. (Page 156) : “. . . . **Suttapitaka**”—2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Mainly contains teachings and utterances of Buddha and his disciples.

**Abhidharma**—by this Sanskrit term the Abhidhammapitaka, 3rd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon, is contemplated here. It consists of texts of philosophical and dogmatic contents.

315. (Page 157) : **Vinayamahavagga**—1st text in the 2nd part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. It is usually called Mahavagga (“Large section”). It contains rules of admission into monastic community, of observance of holidays and other instructions for the community and its individual members.

**Cullavagga**—2nd branch of the 2nd part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. The first ten chapters of Cullavagga contain instructions imposing punishments upon Buddhist monks and nuns for petty offences. In the last two chapters (11th and 12th) there is a description of the first two Buddhist Councils in the cities of Rajagaha and Vesali.

**Parivara**—3rd part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Parivara serves as the text book for teaching Buddhist monks and nuns the rules of conduct and is also called Parivara-patha.

316. (Page 157) : **“Indriyajataka”**—name of a few Jatakas (tales of former births of Buddha). The collection, which contains more than 500 jatakas, is the 10th text of the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon.

**Patthana**—(full title being Patthanappakarana or Mahapatthana)—7th part of the 3rd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains scholastic interpretation of causation from the point of view of Buddhist philosophy.

317. (Page 157) : **Dhatukesapakasini**—See Kesadhatu-pakasini (note 303).

318. (Page 158) : **Payah Gyu** or the Arakan Pagoda—so called because of the huge metal image of Buddha there which was carried away from Arakan in 1784 (see note 218) after the annexation of Arakan to Burma.

319. (Page 158) : **Mahamunipayah**—“recluse of the great anchorite” (i.e. Buddha). The name is composed of one Burmese and two Pali words.

320. (Page 158) : **“Iti pi so Bhagavan”** (Pali) : “And so the Lord (said)” : Opening words of a number of texts of the Pali Buddhist Canon.

321. (Page 158) : **Milindapanha**—ancient non-canonistic work in Pali. Its earliest portion was written in the 1st century B.C. In Milindapanha are set out various theories of Buddhist philosophy in the form of a dialogue between the Graeco-Bactrian King Menander (the Pali form of this name is Milinda) and the Buddhist sage Nagasena. Hence this title Milindapanha which in Pali means “questions of Milinda.” In Burma Milindapanha is included in the second section of the Pali Buddhist Canon.

**Petakopadesa**—a work in Pali. Contains a systematic exposition of the Buddhist teaching of Hinayana School. In Burma it is included in the body of the 5th part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. The title, ‘Petakopadesa’, in Pali means “Instruction for students of the Pitakas” i.e. Buddhist Canon.

**Netti** (full title Nettipakarana)—the most ancient systematic exposition of the Buddhist teaching of the Hinayana School in Pali. Written in the earliest centuries of our era. In Burma this work is included in the body of Pali Buddhist Canon.

322. (Page 159) : **Jaki** : distortion of ‘Jek’—English name of a tropical wood plant of the so-called corn tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*) the fruits of which are used in food. The Burmese name of this tree is ‘pein-ne.’

323. (Page 159) : **Sumangalavilasini**—commentary on the 1st part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Written in Pali by the famous Singhalese commentator Buddhaghosa, who lived in the 5th century A.D.

324. (Page 159) : **Yamah-oh-Kyoung**—Buddhist monastery in Mandalay.

325. (Page 159) : **Suttapatheyyatika**—commentary on the 1st part of the 2nd section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Written in Pali.

326. (Page 160) : **Chivara** (Sanskrit) : dress of Buddhist monks.

327. (Page 160) : **Pacittiya**—2nd text in the 1st part of the 1st section of the Pali Buddhist Canon. Contains a list of sins with commentary—sins for the commission of which ecclesiastical punishment is prescribed for Buddhist monks and nuns.

328. (Page 161) : **“ . . . . House of the French Engineer ”** : Obviously speaking about the engineer Bonvillain who had been in the service of Thi-baw. In 1885 Bonvillain tried unsuccessfully to obtain concessions from the Burmese Government for exploitation of the Ruby mines.

329. (Page 161) : **Sinkan**—a village on river Irawaddi at its confluence with the river Sinkan.

330. (Page 161) : “. . . . **Ministry of Ferri**” : Speaking about the French Government which was headed by Jule Ferri (1883-1885) and which followed an adventurist policy of colonial usurpation. Ferri ministry fell on the 30th of March, 1885, after news had been received about the complete routing of the French armed forces near Langson by the Chinese troops which came forward in support of Vietnam, which was a nominal vassal of the Manchurian dynasty in China.

331. (Page 161) : **Frelsine, Charle de** : occupied the position of the minister for foreign affairs in the Cabinet of Henri Brissou (April to December, 1885), which replaced the Government headed by J. Ferri.

332. (Page 161) : In January, 1886, the Conservative ministry of Salisbury (June 1885—January 1886) was replaced by the Liberal ministry of Gladstone (January to June, 1886). I. P. Minayeff erred in thinking that the British Liberals followed a less aggressive policy on colonial questions than the conservatives did.

333. (Page 162) : **Lankarama** : A Buddhist monastery in Mandalay.

334. (Page 162) : **Klauk tow gyi payah**—Buddhist temple in Mandalay.

335. (Page 162) : **Rahana** (Burmese)—‘Perfect’, the Burmese name of monks.

336. (Page 162) : **Shwe-Ki-Min**—Buddhist temple in Mandalay built in 12th-13th centuries.

337. (Page 162) : **Kammattana**—a Pali term denoting one of the aspects of contemplation practised by the Buddhists.

338. (Page 162) : “**About books on codes**” : Speaking about the Dharmashastras—“books on codes”—written in Sanskrit. These are collections of precepts compiled in ancient and medieval India.

339. (Page 162) : **Nagari** (Devanagari—name of the script which came into existence in the 13th century and in which is written a part of the ancient and early medieval Indian literature reaching us. The Devanagari script is also used as the medium of writing in respect of a number of modern languages of the northern and central India.

340. (Page 163) : **Sya-daw** (Burmese) : one of the highest ranks in the Buddhist ecclesiastical hierarchy in Burma—head of a monastery.

341. (Page 163) : **Sasanavamsa** (history of teachings)—historical composition in Pali, written in 1861, by the Burmese monk Pannasami. In writing this work he followed the old Pali Buddhist tradition. This work contains much valuable information about the history of Pali literature.

342. (Page 163) : **Sasanavamsadīpa** (Luminary of the history of teachings)—Pali historical work.

343. (Page 163) : **Bidagat-ok** : See notes of the 2nd February, 1886.

344. (Page 164) : “. . . . **not Pabbajito**” : Accepting the ‘three refuges’ (Buddha, the teachings, and the community—



the Buddhist Trinity) and having taken an oath to fulfil the commandments a person becomes a member of the Buddhist community.

**Pabbajito**—Pali title of a Buddhist monk who has completely renounced the worldly life.

345. (Page 164): **J. G. Scott**—an official of the British Indian Services, occupying important positions in the colonial administrative machinery in Burma. Author of numerous works on Burma, published from 1880 to 1900.

346. (Page 166): **nasa**: Pali composition on Pali grammar, also called Nyasa. Its author was Vimalabuddhi, who lived not later than in the 12th century. This work follows the Kaccayana school of Grammar.

**Abhidhammasangaha**—Pali composition devoted to the exposition of philosophy and dogmatics.

347. (Page 166): **Thathanabain**—the title of the head of the Buddhist church in Burma who is appointed by the Burmese king; Samgha-thera—(senior of the community)—a title of respect conferred on the most outstanding Buddhist monks, in Burma and Ceylon.

348. (Page 166): **R.E.**—Royal Engineers—Corps of Engineer—Sapper troops.

349. (Page 167): **Mr. Voz**—the owner of the European hotel in Mandalay.

350. (Page 168): “. . . . **beggars in yellow robes**”—Buddhist monks in Burma living on the charity of the worldly people.

351. (Page 170): **Chindwin**—a district in Upper Burma. Apparently referring to the agent of the Burma Trading Corporation in this district, where the Company, in spite of the prohibition of the Burmese Government, was predatorily destroying teak forests.

352. (Page 170): **F. Haas**—French consul at Mandalay (from the Spring to October of 1885).

353. (Page 170): **Snider**—Snider type rifle.

354. (Page 171): **Irawaddi Flotilla Company**—a British navigation company, monopolising the river transport in the Irawaddi basin. Established in 1860. At the time of the third Anglo-Burmese War (1885) the company placed their ships at the disposal of the British command and thus helped the speedy annexation of Upper Burma.

355. (Page 172): **Mr. Alexander**—See note 240.

356. (Page 172): **Jordan**—owner of “Hotel Jordan” in Rangoon.

357. (Page 173): **Pretenders to the Burmese throne**—members of the royal family who survived the massacre of 1879 (see note 239).

358. (Page 173): **Sasanabain** (Thathanabain)—title of the head of a Burmese Buddhist church (see also note 347 and 359).

359. (Page 173): **Thathanabain** (Taungdaw Sayadaw died in 1895) by a special proclamation asked the Buddhist monks in Burma to show their loyalty to the British conquerors and forbade them to take part in the anti-British partisan movement. I. P. Minayeff called him Sangharaja.

360. (Page 173): **Bacchante**—British warship.
361. (Page 174): **Kesadhātuvamsa** (History of the Hair Relic of Buddha)—historico-epical work written in Burma in the Pali language. It is well-known also by the name of **Chakesadhātuvamsa** (History of Six Hair Relics of Buddha). The text of this work was published by I. P. Minayeff in the "Journal of the Pali Text Society", London, 1885.
362. (Page 175): **Sando Payah or U-Zima Payah**—a pagoda in Moulmein which, according to the legend, was built at the time of the Indian Emperor Ashoka (273-232 B.C.).
363. (Page 175): **Matika**—abridged text of the first section of the Pali Buddhist Canon: Contains a list of rules of conduct for Buddhist monks and nuns.
364. (Page 175): "**Jatila**"—Pali word meaning hermit who bears matted plaits of hair.
365. (Page 175): **Hpungl** (Burmese):—Buddhist monk.
366. (Page 176): **Fawcett** (H. Fawcett; 1833-1884)—Professor of Political Economy in Cambridge. His principal work—"The economic position of the British labourers", London, 1865.
367. (Page 176): **Kiaik-San-Lan** (Kyaik-Than-Lan)—Pagoda in Moulmein situated on the summit of the hill towering on the city. Built in 875 A.D.
368. (Page 176): **Adams** (C. G. Adams)—Director of the English School in Rangoon.
369. (Page 177): **Salam**: Abbreviation of "Salam Aleikum" (Peace be with you—Arabic)—the usual greeting of the Muslims: **Anjali** (Sanskrit)—palms folded for expressing respect and greeting. The ancient Indian form of greeting is to touch the forehead with the ends of the fingers with the palms of the hands folded, and for the Muslims to touch the forehead with the ends of the forefinger and the middle finger of the right hand.
370. (Page 177): **Holy place**: Pagoda Shwe Dagon in Rangoon (see note 214).
371. (Page 179): **Cantonment gardens**—the gardens laid around the barracks of the military town in Rangoon: **Royal lakes**—a system of artificial lakes in the Rangoon city park, dug out in 1852 after the annexation of the province of Pegu to the British dominion in Burma.
372. (Page 179): **Dalhousie Park**—a park in Rangoon, turned into the city park under the orders of Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India (1848-1856).
373. (Page 180): ". . . . **Beresford** (W. L. Beresford, 1847-1900)—Important official of the British Indian Services. From 1875-1881—Adjutant to the Viceroy of India, from 1881-1894—Military Secretary to the Viceroy. **Goodrich** (H. S. A. Goodrich)—officer of the British Indian Services, member of the Viceroy's Council.
374. (Page 180): **Mg. Shwe-Kyu**—officer of the Department of Education of the Government of Lower Burma.
375. (Page 180): British authorities in Lower Burma brought under their control the monastery schools in 1866. In 1880 all the State and Private Schools in Lower Burma were classified into three groups: Lower, Middle and Higher. The policy of the British in Burma in the field of education was

directed towards the preservation of the system of primary education under the supervision of Buddhist monks.

376. (Page 181) : **Pa-Zun-Daung**—a quarter in Rangoon inhabited by the Burmans. During Minayeff's time undertakings for husking paddy were localised at this place.

377. (Page 182) : **Rangoon Times**—a newspaper, organ of the British bureaucracy in Lower Burma.

378. (Page 182) : **The Chamber of Commerce**—Association of British merchants and industrialists in Burma. Founded in 1877.

379. (Page 182) : **Rice duties**—Export duty on rice. In Minayeff's time rice had already become a chief item of Burmese export.

380. (Page 182) : **Land tax**—tax levied by the British colonisers from the landowners in Lower Burma.

381. (Page 183) : **Anagatavamsa** (History of the future) — Pali work comprised of 142 verses. It contains a description of the activities of Buddha Metteyya which, according to the Buddhist faith, must manifest themselves in future. The text of this work was published by Minayeff in the "Journal of the Pali Text Society", London 1886, Page 36 onwards.

382. (Page 183) : **E. R. J. Gooneratne**—well-known Singhalese Scholar—philologist, a great specialist in the field of Pali Language and Pali literature. Gooneratne was the Honorary Secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the London Pali Text Society (Society for the study of Pali Texts). His honorary title is "Governor's Gate Mudaliar"—the anglicised form of a title conferred on the most distinguished feudal chiefs of medieval Ceylon. This title was preserved even at the time of British rule. The Singhalese form of the title is "Maha Vasala Mudianse" which means 'Mudaliar of the Great Gates' (i.e. of the Royal palace). Mudaliar—a tamil term used in the middle ages in Ceylon and in Tamilnad (country of the Tamils) as an honorary title of the feudal chiefs: Mudaliar—also an honorary title amongst some of the Shudra castes of Tamilnad.

383. (Page 184) : **Queen Betsie**: Speaking about the British Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603).

384. (Page 184) : **Tungda Mengda** (Toung-Vin-Mingi)—one of the ministers of Thi-baw's Government in charge of the Taxation Department. After the occupation of Mandalay he stayed on there in March-April 1886 and collaborated with the invaders in the establishment of colonial administration.

385. (Page 185) : **Great Teacher i.e. Buddha.**

386. (Page 185) : ". . . . **Sumeru**": According to Indian mythology a mountain on the summit of which there is the city of Brahma and around this city are the cities of Indra and other gods. **Jambudvipa**—According to Indian mythology one of the seven continents separated by seven seas and located around the legendary Sumeru mountain.

387. (Page 187) : **Mr. Mackenzie** (A Mackenzie: 1842-1902)—important official in the British Indian Services, which he served from 1862 to 1898. In 1886 he was the Home Secretary to the Government of India.

388. (Page 188) : **Commissioner**—i.e. Bernard.

389. (Page 190) : "**Days of Kashmir's independence are**

**numbered, it seems**": I. P. Minayeff makes this remark in the sense that Kashmir may be turned from a vassal principedom into a part of British India. In 1892 the Maharaja of Kashmir was in fact removed temporarily from the administration of the principedom.

390. (Page 190): "... travelled with me on board 'Assam'"—i.e. from Europe (Brindisi) to India (Bombay).

391. (Page 191): **Atkinson** (E. F. T. Atkinson)—high official of the British Indian Services which he served at first in the North Western Provinces and then in Bengal where he occupied the post of Accountant-General. Author of a few second rate works on archaeology of India.

392. (Page 191): **Haraprasad Shastri** (1853-1931)—Bengali historian and novelist, author of a number of novels including two historical novels one of which vividly paints the life in medieval Bengal; specialist in the history of Buddhism.

393. (Page 191): **Sarat Chandra Das**—Bengali by nationality, well-known traveller in Tibet. From 1874 to 1881 S. C. Das was the head of a school in Darjeeling (Northern Bengal). In 1879 and 1881-82 made two expeditions to Tibet. From 1881 to 1904 occupied the post of Translator from Tibetan under the Bengal Government. In 1884 took part in a British expedition to Sikkim (a frontier state in the Himalayas between Tibet and India). Published a few accounts of his expeditions, which serve as valuable materials on the history and geography of Tibet and Sikkim of the end of the 19th century. He also published a Tibetan-English Dictionary.

394. (Page 192): **Haridas Sastri**—Bengali scholar—Philologist and a specialist in Pali literature and Pali language. Later on Minayeff calls him 'H'.

395. (Page 192): **Amrita Bazar Patrika**—a weekly newspaper of nationalistic trend, published in Calcutta in Bengali. From 1868 to 1874 published in the village Amrita Bazar near Calcutta, where the printing house was situated, and from 1874 in Calcutta itself. From 1891 it became a daily newspaper.

**Bangabasi**—a newspaper of nationalistic trend and published in Calcutta in Bengali from 1881.

**Indian Mirror**—(see note 206).

396. (Page 192): **Rajanikanta Gupta** (1849-1900): Bengali writer who in addition to Bengali novels also wrote 'Sipahi Yuddher Itihas' (History of the battle of Sipahis: Indian national uprising of 1857-59). A number of works of Gupta are devoted to the study of the ancient Indian civilization.

397. (Page 192): **Sanitarium** (more precisely, Eden Sanitarium): a British hill station sanitarium in Darjeeling, opened in 1883 exclusively for Europeans.

398. (Page 193): **Hoernle** (see note 198).

399. (Page 193): Speaking about the museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

400. (Page 193): **Wood-Mason** (J. Wood-Mason)—British scholar—biologist. Was in the British Indian Services, many times Secretary of the Natural History Section of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

401. (Page 193): **Surveyor-General's office**. (Survey Department): a department of the Government of British India,

set up in 1878, which was in charge of the topographical survey of India and compilation of land cadastres.

"I received the report on the Journey to Tibet". Amongst Minayeff's books the following report on the journey to Tibet was preserved: An account of an Embassy to the Court of the Techoo Lama in Tibet . . . . By Captain Samuel Turner, London, 1800.

402. (Page 194): **A. K.** (Pandit Krishna, Kissen Singh) —one of the few Indians working in the Indian Topographical Bureau, and from 1863 onwards, went to Tibet repeatedly on British-Indian authorities only (in 1868, 1869, 1872-73, 1878-82). A. K. carried out a series of researches on the geography of Tibet.

403. (Page 194): Speaking about the book of Sarat Chandra Das, "Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa", which was published by the British-Indian authorities with a note 'for official use'.

404. (Page 194): **Durand** (H. M. Durand; 1850-1924)—a diplomat and high official of the British Indian Services which he served from 1873-1894; occupied the position of foreign Secretary to the Government of India in 1884-1894.

405. (Page 194): **Mursh**—a tribe settled in the Himalayas between India and Tibet.

406. (Page 194): "**Two tribes are called Kiratas**": Kiratas—a nationality, living in Nepal. Khumbu and Limbu—tribes living mainly in Nepal and also the neighbouring regions of the Himalayas.

407. (Page 194): **Lepcha**—a tribe living in Sikkism.

408. (Page 194): **Gandhar bas-reliefs**—images of Gandhar arts developed during the 1st century and the 3rd century in Gandhar (territory stretching over modern West Pakistan and Afghanistan).

409. (Page 195): "**. . . . the letter of Hume**": Refers to the letter of A. O. Hume (see note 207) to Auckland Colvin who in 1883-1887 occupied the position of the Head of the Finance Department of the Government of British India. In his letter, Hume quite clearly painted the picture of the poor economic condition of India.

410. (Page 195): **'Old man'**: a term of intimacy and respect used of Hume in Indian moderate nationalist circles.

411. (Page 195): **Pandit Jibananda** (Jibananda Vidyasagar)—Indian philologist, publisher of a big explanatory Sanskrit Dictionary, compiled by the well-known Indian Sanskritist and eminent specialist in the field of Sanskrit Grammar and lexicography, the Bengalee Taranath Tarkavachaspati (1812-1885).

412. (Page 195): Speaking about the Sanskrit Dictionary, published by Taranath Tarkavachaspati. **Vachaspatya**—A comprehensive Sanskrit Dictionary. Calcutta, 1873-1884: a dictionary in 22 parts.

413. (Page 195): **Dasakumaracharita**—An Indian adventurous novel written in Sanskrit by the famous poet Dandi who lived in the 6th-7th centuries. There are two Russian translations of this novel by Academician F. I. Scherbatsky (**incom-**

plete), Journal 'Vostok', 1923-1925. No. 3-5: by P. G. Ritter (Adventures of Ten Young men). Kharkeff 1928.

414. (Page 195): Speaking about the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, in the wake of which corresponding laws were promulgated in different provinces of India. The Act of 1885 formally restricted to some extent the right of the feudal landowners to eviction and to enhancement of rent of a few categories of tenants. At the same time the Act visualised different administrative-police measures with the help of which the levy of fixed rate of the feudal rent [payable to Zemindars] was guaranteed to the landowners. By promulgating the Tenancy Act of 1885, the British authorities in Bengal calculated to bring about a split among the peasantry, making a few groups of tenants stronger and weakening in the same process the growing opposition of the peasantry to feudal and colonial oppression. The Act, in essence, was directed to strengthening the semi-feudal relations in Bengal villages and, needless to say, did not improve the condition of the Bengal peasantry.

Zemindar (a term of Persian origin)—In Indian languages, landowner, landlord. Here I. P. Minayeff speaks about the zemindars—the feudal landowners of Bengal.

415. (Page 195): **Black Hole**—Speaking about the British prisoners who were suffocated in a narrow close in Calcutta in 1756 during the Anglo-Bengali war. Referring to the above mentioned incident, British reactionary historio-graphers and publicists tried to "justify" the atrocities of the British colonisers who oppressed hundreds of millions of Indians.

**Kanpur Brutalities**—The events, which resulted in the revolting populace exterminating a British military detachment and other British residents of Kanpur, were thus characterised by British colonisers. These incidents took place in July 1857, during the Indian National uprising.

416. (Page 196): **A native**—in the present case a contemptuous name given by British colonisers to the inhabitants of the colonies and semi-colonies occupied by them.

417. (Page 197): **Max Muller** (1823-1900)—the famous British philologist and indologist of German descent. From 1848 he was living in England where he taught at the Cambridge University from 1848 to 1875. Max Muller worked in the field of Sanskrit philology, history of Indian philosophy, history of religion and comparative linguistics. Well-known chiefly for his work on the publication of monuments of ancient Indian literature. From 1875 to 1900 he published a series—'Sacred Books of the East' (Translations of the monuments of Eastern literatures) in 51 volumes of which 48 were published during his lifetime. In his scientific, pedagogical and publicistic activities Max Muller supported the British colonial policy in India.

418. (Page 197): **Gurungs and Magars**: tribes living in Nepal.

419. (Page 197): **Bhutia bustee**—a village near Darjeeling where the Buddhist monastery, built in the XIX century, is located.

420. (Page 199): **Capua**—ancient city in the Neopolitan province of Italy, which is situated at a place famous for the bounties of nature.

421. (Page 200) : **Wheels of Prayer** (Dharmachakra) —Cylinders on pivots full of xylography (wood engravings) and manuscripts of Buddhist texts or papers with written Buddhist prayers. Some of the cylinders are of huge dimensions and hold in them the entire library of a monastery. At some places (for example, Western Himalayas) the cylinders are set in motion by the current of water. The rotation of the cylinders symbolises the repetition of prayers and reading of religious texts.

422. (Page 200) : **Mudra** (Sanskrit)—different positions of the hands and its fingers, each of which has its own symbolic significance.

423. (Page 202) : “**Blue Book about the Burmese affairs**” —Speaking about the Parliamentary publication of 1885—a blue book which was a collection of documents relating chiefly to the Anglo-French diplomatic correspondence on the eve of the annexation of Burma.

424. (Page 203) : **Akshayabat**—old Banyan tree in the neighbourhood of Allahabad, regarded as eternal according to Indian legends.

425. (Page 205) : **Comte de Gubernatis** (Anglo de Gubernatis, 1840-1913)—well-known Italian Indologist, specialist in the field of an ancient Indian literature and a number of languages; occupied the chair of Sanskrit philology first in the University of Florence and then in the University of Rome. Travelled over India in 1885-86; on his return to Italy founded in Florence the Asiatic Society of Italy and the Indian Museum where his Indian collections were kept. Later [in his diaries] I. P. Minayeff refers to him by his surname ‘de g.’

426. (Page 205) : **Lord Reay** (D. J. M. Reay; 1839-1921) : Dutch aristocrat, naturalised in England in 1887, Occupied important administrative posts. Was the Governor of Bombay from 1885 to 1890.

427. (Page 206) : **mercantile people**—i.e. British merchants.

428. (Page 207) : **Dr. Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji etc.**—A Parsi, member of the Bombay branch of the London Asiatic Society. Later [in his diaries] Minayeff calls him simply ‘Dastur.’

429. (Page 207) : **Dawuna** (Persian)—Doctor.

430. (Page 208) : **Sherry-Sherab**—a kind of grape wine.

431. (Page 208) : **Lowell**—an American, director of the Bombay branch of one of the French banks.

432. (Page 208) : **Sir Charles Sarjent**—a judge of the Bombay High Court.

438. (Page 208) : **Dipperton**—It could not be ascertained whose surname it was.

434. (Page 208) : Here I. P. Minayeff has in view the growth of national movement in India and particularly the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

435. (Page 210) : **V. Gregory**—an ex-British Governor of Ceylon.

436. (Page 210) : **Grant Duff** (M. E. Grant Duff; 1829-1906)—British politician; occupied a number of important administrative posts in England and India. Was the Governor of Madras from 1881-1886.

437. (Page 211): **Fojlo**—city, the headquarters of the province of the same name in Apulia in south-eastern Italy.

438. (Page 211): Speaking about the news sent by the St. Petersburg correspondent of the 'Times' on the 9th of April 1886 and published in the newspaper on the 12th April under the headline "Plot of the Nihilists." The correspondent quoted the text of the letter received from a "highly authentic source" in the south of Russia. The letter informed that the police had succeeded in discovering in a tank a Cossack village near Novocherkassek a few hand grenades stuffed with dynamite with great explosive power. The police arrested at the village a Cossack officer and his brother, a student, who were members of the 'Nihilist party.' Quoting the letter of his anonymous informant, the correspondent of the 'Times' added that the information given by him furnished a fresh proof of the continuance of the activities of the Russian 'Nihilists', aimed directly against Alexander III.

According to the data of "survey of important investigations carried out in the gendarme department about the crimes against the State from 1st January 1886 to 1st January 1887", a group of 'Narodovolets' [members of a Secret Society] in the south of Russia including a officer of the Don troops, V. Chernoff, and his cousin A. Alexandrin, a student of the University of Petersburg, actually proved to be participants in keeping in hiding shells charged with dynamite, which were found in a tank in a farmstead near the village Chernishevyskaya. Thus, the information gathered by the correspondent of the 'Times' coincide in the main features with the facts contained in the materials of secret Police investigations.

439. (Page 211): **Plale**—an Italian firm dealing in books having in Minayeff's time its shops in Rome at Piazza de Spania.

440. (Page 211): "... speaks only about the circular of the Minister of Home affairs"—He there is a mistake committed by Minayeff: The reference is to a circular of the 6th of March 1886 of the Ministry of Public Education (and not Home Affairs) issued to heads of Educational circles, cited by "Morning Post."

The communication reminded the readers about the acceleration of the activities of the 'Nihilists'; as a symptom extracts from the aforesaid circular of the Ministry of Public Education were quoted, whereby the heads of Educational circles and Rectors of Universities were called to use extensively the wide powers (given to them by the new University Charter) for the purpose of putting an end to the anti-Government agitation amongst the students community.

441. (Page 212): **Rieu C. P. H.** (1820-1902): Well-known British Orientologist, Swiss by origin. From 1847 Rieu was the Curators of the Department of Oriental Manuscript in the British Museum in London. Known particularly for his exhaustive catalogues of Persian (Published in 1879-95) and Turkish (published in 1888) manuscripts.

**Bendall** (C. Bendall; 1856-1906—well-known British Indologist, specialist in the field of Sanskrit and Pali philology. Was a professor of Sanskrit at the Cambridge (1881-1886) and London (1885-86) Universities; from 1882-1898 he was also the Curator of the Department of Oriental Manuscript of the British



Museum. Bendall compiled a few catalogues of Sanskrit and Pali books and manuscripts.

442. (Page 212) : **Rawlinson** (G. K. Rawlinson; 1810-1895)—British General and diplomat, ideologist and active conductor of the British occupational policy in Asia from 1838 to 1868. During 1838-1868 occupied a number of diplomatic posts in the near and the middle east. Famous for his work and deciphering the engraved Behistun inscriptions.

**Vambery** (A. Vambery; 1832-1913)—Hungarian Indologist, Turkologist, linguist and ethnographer. Famous for his travels in Central Asia and Iran where he wandered in the guise of a Muslim Dervish. Vambery in a number of his works appeared as a supporter of the British policy in Asia.

443. (Page 212) : **Rost** (H. Rost; 1822-1896)—British Orientologist, who was teaching eastern languages in Augustin College, Canterbury, from 1851 to 1896; well-known as a philologist-polyglotist.

444. (Page 212) : **Asiatic Society** (Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland)—British Scientific Society of Orientologists.

445. (Page 212) : **Goldsmith** (F. J. Goldsmith 1818-1908)—British officer, who served from 1839 to 1883 in the military and diplomatic services in India, and middle and near east and rose to the rank of a Major-General. From 1885-1887 he was the Secretary of the London Asiatic Society.

446. (Page 212) : **Yule** (G. Yule 1820-1889)—eminent British Orientologist-geographer. Was in the British Indian Services from 1840 to 1872. Author of a number of historico-geographical works and an Anglo-Hindi dictionary of terms and expressions.

**S(ir) A. Eden.** (1831-1887)—a high official of the British Indian Services; from 1871 to 1877 occupied the post of Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma; from 1877 to 1882—Governor of the province of Bengal.

447. (Page 212) : **R. N. Cust** (1821-1909)—British Orientologist. Was in the British Indian Services from 1842 to 1867. Published a number of texts and results of his researches on the philology of the countries of the east.

448. (Page 213) : **T. G. B. Northbrook** (1826-1904)—Reactionary British politician Viceroy of India in 1872-1876.

449. (Page 213) : **T. W. Rhys**—Davids 1872-1898)—Famous British Orientologist, scholar on Buddhism. Well-known for his publications of the Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Pali.

450. (Page 213) : **A. P. Sinnett**—One of the leaders of London Theosophical Society. Author of the book, "Esoteric Buddhism", published in 1883, in which the teachings of Buddha are expounded from the mystic reactionary standpoint.



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